

An Examination of Protestant Reaction toward
the non - English - speaking Immigrant in
Port Arthur and Fort William, 1903-1914

by

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ABSTRACT

Religious leaders helped to provide Canada with a significant tradition of English Canadian nationalistic thought that cannot be overlooked in any thorough examination of Canadian nationalism. Indeed, to a considerable degree, there was exhibited by many English-speaking Protestants that kind of spirit that French Canadian nationalists like to point to as proof of hatred of other races and cultures.

This thesis is primarily a local study; it deals with attitudes that an influential number of Protestant English-speaking Canadians had toward non-English-speaking immigrants who were greatly swelling the populations of Port Arthur and Fort William from 1903-1914. An examination of the ideas of a number of Protestants in the Lakehead during this period will help to explain their particular response to the immigrant problem as they saw it. That response was an appeal to a growing spirit of Canadian nationalism in order to accomplish their goal -- the assimilation of the immigrant to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. An important part of this culture was the preservation of the Protestant faith and ethic.

PREFACE

The subject of this thesis was chosen largely because of a long held interest in Church History. And what better place can one find to investigate than where one lives! Therefore Thunder Bay was chosen, or rather, the original Port Arthur and Fort William, as they were called before amalgamation in 1970. And since Thunder Bay is very much a microcosm of the Canadian mosaic it seemed only natural to look into the relationship the Churches had to the immigrants who played an important role in the city's early development. It was necessary, of course, to limit the study to a particular period. Hence, the years 1903-1914 were chosen, not only because they were the years when Canada had its greatest influx of immigrants in the first quarter of the century, but also because they were the years of Thunder Bay's most rapid numerical growth.

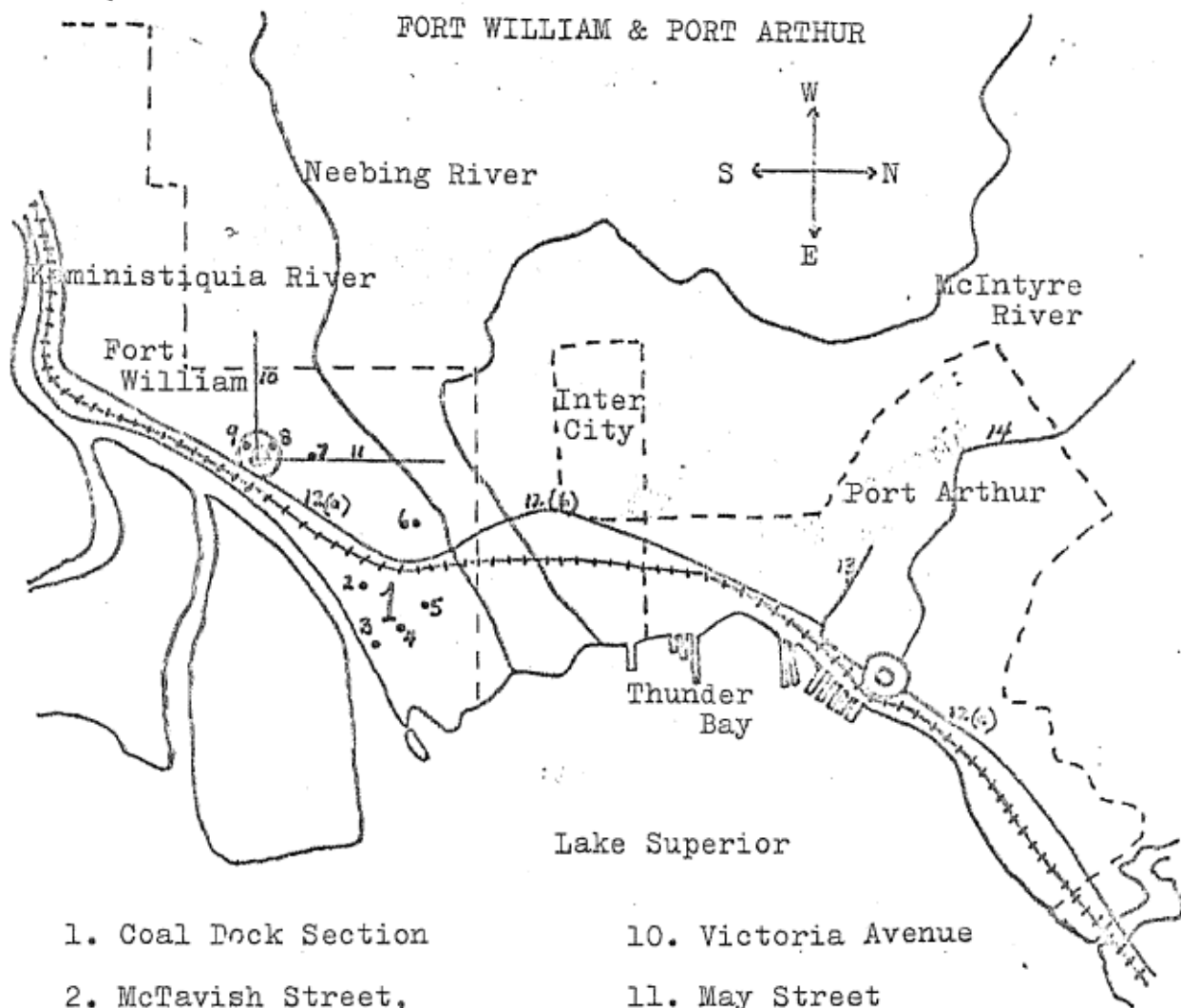
This investigation meant breaking new ground most of the way since no known work had been done on the role of the Churches in the early growth of the two cities, Port Arthur and Fort William. A number of people, therefore, proved to be of great assistance by granting interviews and loaning materials. The Reverend Cecil King of Thunder Bay was a key source on Methodist involvement

with the immigrants; he was there. Mr. Earle Buckley, retired Thunder Bay school teacher, was a valuable resource on Wesley Institute. Mrs. Gertrude Dyke's memories of the period and her involvement with the Baptist and Methodist missions were helpful. Dr. R. A. Peden, retired United Church minister of Thunder Bay, gave some insights on both Presbyterian and Methodist efforts. Dr. Agnew H. Johnston, longtime minister of St. Andrews Presbyterian, pointed the writer to Presbyterian sources. The Reverend Roland F. Palmer of Toronto, who ministered in Port Arthur from 1916-1920, and Canon Thompson of St. John's Anglican Church, Port Arthur, provided information on Anglican activities in the Lakehead. A debt of gratitude is owed to all of these people.

The staffs at various Archives in Ontario and Manitoba provided much assistance and need to be acknowledged: the United Church Archives in Toronto, and in particular Director Glenn Lucas; the United Church Archives in Winnipeg; the Baptist Archives in Hamilton; the Anglican Archives in Toronto, and especially the Lakehead University Library staff proved extremely helpful over an extended period of time.

Finally, Dr. Elizabeth Arthur of Lakehead University's History Department needs a special mention. As advisor on this thesis, her patience, encouragement and expert criticisms were invaluable and very much appreciated.

And of course, it seems wives are always left to do the big chore -- the typing. So a thank you to Ursula.



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| 1. Coal Dock Section | 10. Victoria Avenue |
| 2. McTavish Street,
Wesley Institute | 11. May Street |
| 3. CPR Freight Sheds | 12. (a) Simpson Street
(b) Fort William Road
(c) Cumberland Street |
| 4. Christie Street,
Presbyterian Ruthenian
Mission | 13. Bay Street |
| 5. Baptist Mission | 14. Arthur Street |
| 6. Ogden Street School | © Business Centre |
| 7. Doukhobor Residence | +++++ CPR |
| 8. Wesley Methodist | |
| 9. St. Andrews Presbyterian | |

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THE CONCEPT OF ASSIMILATION

"If we do not Canadianize and Christianize the newcomer, he will make us foreigners and heathen on our own soil and under our own flag."¹ This attitude represents the reservations commonly held by native English-speaking Protestants in Canada, during the period 1903-1914, toward non-English-speaking immigrants. This period saw the greatest influx of immigrants in Canada's history to that time.² It coincided with a rapidly growing interest in Canadian nationalism, albeit an interest sustained largely by English-speaking Canadians. The majority of native Protestants (those born in Canada) were caught up in the fervor and they found themselves in the vanguard promoting an English-Canadian nationalism. This was a nationalism that most often amounted to a call for the complete assimilation of the immigrant to Anglo-Saxonism. Religion and nationalism joined forces to meet what many regarded as an immigration crisis.

It is not easy to arrive at a comprehensive

¹ _____, "Canadianizing the Newcomer," Canadian Courier, _____, 1914. Cited in J. M. Bliss, (ed.), Canadian History in Documents 1763-1966 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 205-207.

² Each year the percentage of non-English-speaking immigrants (those mainly from southern and eastern Europe) was increasing.

definition of Canadian nationalism. Nor can the concept be applied equally to all periods in Canadian history. Nevertheless, Canada seems to have come close to achieving some feeling of nationhood or national unity, from 1900-1914, to a degree she had never before experienced. What many Canadians desired was an autonomous Canada active as the senior dominion of the Empire. This demonstration of single national purpose culminated in Canada's role in World War I.

An early plea for nationalism was given in the 1865 Parliamentary debates by an MLA from Essex, Colonel Arthur Rankin. He suggested that the province of Canada should "commence the establishment of a nationality for ourselves" or else absorption by the United States was a real threat.³ Yet, even with Confederation, there is little evidence that loyalty was transferred in any great measure from the older communities to the newly formed Dominion. Religion, provincialism and the French-English conflict were among the chief obstacles to attaining a strong national pride and devotion to Canada. New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec and Ontario all had their own interests chiefly in mind. British Columbia and Manitoba later had their clashes with the Dominion. Indeed, it

³Parliamentary Debates (Quebec: Hunter and Rose and Co., 1865), p. 916.

was difficult for the federation scheme to overcome regionalism.

Fresh stirrings for Canadian nationalism, however, can be seen in the apparently contradictory schools of thought; between Imperialists like George M. Grant and Nationalists like J. S. Ewart. Yet, whatever title each group preferred, both were really advocating Canadian nationalism or greater national status for the Dominion. They were merely divided over the method of attaining this. In reality, the goals of Grant and Ewart were basically identical. Ewart himself admitted that there was no substantial difference between them.⁴

In addition, there was an increasing economic interdependence among the provinces as the new century began. The transcontinental railway and the protective tariffs helped to promote a wheat boom and a situation wherein the manufacturers of the east depended more and more on the agriculturalists of the west. This general economic expansion lent much encouragement to a greater national unity. The Rowell Sirosis report of 1940 on dominion-provincial relations concluded: "The common efforts of all regions in building up the country between

⁴See J. S. Ewart's speech to Canadian Clubs at London, Brantford, Hamilton, Kingston and Queen's College, February, 1911 on "Canadian Independence". Kingdom Papers, No. I (Ottawa, 1912), p. 1-2.

1896 and 1913 cemented the political union of 1867 and Canadians became conscious of themselves as a nation."⁵

Many English-speaking Canadians believed strongly, however, that this new sense of nationality could only flourish, in the face of such large scale immigration, if all immigrants were assimilated. The demand was for Anglo-Conformity. In essence this meant, as Milton Gordon suggests, the "complete renunciation of the immigrants's ancestral culture in favor of the behaviour and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group".⁶ Assimilation was understood to mean "almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group".⁷ This thinking was shared by most native Protestants in Canada and especially in those areas, like the Lakehead, that possessed a predominantly English-speaking core population, and where the non-English-speaking immigrant became a significant factor in the growth of the locality.

Many Canadians were concerned with immigration because of political implications. An indication of that

⁵Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, Book I. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1940), p. 87.

⁶Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 85.

⁷A. D. Dunton, et. al., Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969), IV, p. 5.

concern was seen in the growth of Canadian Clubs in numerous localities. James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States, expressed it best, when he warned the Canadian Club of Toronto in 1912 of the political danger Canada faced from immigration. He states:

. . . now the immigrants are largely from the South European and Slavonic peoples, who are more unlike us. Many of them have little or no notion of what free self-government means. It is a serious matter for you, if there should remain an unassimilable foreign element in the body politic, not understanding the spirit and genius of your institutions, who would take part as voters without understanding the principles by which you are guided.⁸

Immigrants did hold the balance of political power in many areas and many of them were inexperienced in the workings of democracy. English-speaking Canadians assumed that immigrants were more susceptible to corruption and manipulation. The tendency for immigrants to remain in colonies also aroused Canadian fears that the country might become 'Balkanized'. In addition, Protestant English-speaking Canadians were especially disturbed with many immigrants because the latter gave little political support to a prohibition movement that was gathering steam at this time.

Social disruption was attributed to the presence

⁸James Bryce, "The Past and Future of Our Race" Addresses; The Canadian Club of Toronto, 1911-1912 (Toronto: Warwick Brothers and Rutter Ltd., 1912), pp. 6-7.

digester, the public school, may make a good Canadian."¹¹ J. T. M. Anderson, a Saskatchewan Director of Education, also believed strongly in the school as a medium of assimilation. "This is the great melting-pot into which must be placed these divers racial groups and from which will eventually emerge the pure gold of Canadian citizenship."¹² The only other socializing agency was the Church, he said, and it was too divided to be an effective tool of assimilation. "The common school exerts its supreme influence over youthful minds at their most impressionable stage of development," he argues. Many of the newcomers, arriving when middle-aged, he said, have no hope of becoming true Canadian citizens, but their children can be trained in Canadian habits and customs (no doubt English) so that they are the new Canadians.¹³ Anderson was convinced that Canada's national existence depended on newcomers learning the English language. In respect to the great tide of immigration, he states: "The safety and happiness of our nation depend upon their assimilation."¹⁴ National unity, he contended, depended upon the

¹¹O. D. Skelton, "Our Asiatic Problem" Queen's Quarterly, vol. XV, Oct. 1907, pp. 156-157.

¹²J. T. M. Anderson, The Education of the New Canadian (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1918), p. 114.

¹³Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 88.

English language being the "one medium of communication from coast to coast".¹⁵

For years Anderson had advocated night schools "in every illiterate foreign community throughout Canada,"¹⁶ where the English language and Canadian standards of living could be taught. He encouraged a Dominion wide campaign for the education of the immigrant and lectured to this end.¹⁷ His strong Anglo-Saxon bias can best be seen in the following statement:

Unless we gird ourselves to this task with energy and determination, imbued with the spirit of tolerance, the future of our Canadian citizenship will fail to reach that high level of intelligence which has ever characterized Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world.¹⁸

Dr. Anderson's views were shared by many English-speaking Canadians in the first two decades of the twentieth century. There was an overwhelming confidence in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon language, culture, and traditions. Many were thoroughly convinced that the development of Canada as a nation depended on a firm entrenchment of these values in her citizens -- especially

¹⁵Ibid., p. 93

¹⁶Ibid., p. 181.

¹⁷In 1920 he gave a lecture to the Toronto Board of Trade on "Canadianization -- Canada's Greatest Problem".

¹⁸Ibid., p. 240.

those newly arrived and with a radically different cultural baggage.

And yet, many Protestants, despite Anderson's criticism, felt that the Churches had to be the chief agents of assimilation. Only they could guarantee a strong moral national life. There is no reason to doubt, however, that most Protestants had a genuine sympathy for the sufferings of newcomers as well. J. S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister at the time, indicates as much in his books. The Churches were aware that the immigrants were most often the helpless victims of poverty, poor housing and unemployment. It was difficult for them to function very successfully in a society of new customs, language and values. Often they were excluded from society. Many Protestants, therefore, saw assimilation as a solution to this alienation and discrimination.

The Social Service Congress spoke freely of the need for the Church to take the lead in assimilating non-English-speaking Europeans. The Social Service Congress, meeting in Ottawa in 1914, was an attempt by Protestant Church leaders to discuss Canada's social problems with the politicians of the day. Prime Minister Borden opened the Congress and he and many other politicians entered the discussion. Mr. W. W. Lee, National Council immigration secretary of the Y.M.C.A., stated that --

"the greatest problem we are facing today is the problem

of immigration".¹⁹ He viewed it as the root of all of Canada's national problems. Lee's main concern was the enormous increase in immigrants from Continental Europe; 133,000 had landed in 1913, he said. Lee estimated, that if such a rate of increase continued, by 1923 some 687,000 would be landing annually on Canadian soil. At any rate, even in 1913, Canada's population was regarded as too small to assimilate so many newcomers.

Lee further argued that the southern European was economically inferior to begin with; this accounted for his inferior standard of living in Canada. Thus, by competing with Canada's industrial workers, Lee contended, he lowers the Canadian standard of living of the latter as well. Lee expressed the fear that the immigrant children were becoming increasingly criminal since many of them despised their ancestry and parental customs. He saw the duty of the Church, not in terms of proselytizing, but in educating "these potential citizens who are coming to our shores",²⁰ in order to give them an opportunity for a better social life. Lee concluded that making these immigrants "real" Canadians was more important than preaching to them. A number of Protestant leaders were willing

¹⁹W. W. Lee, "Immigration from Europe", Social Service Congress (Toronto: The Social Service Council of Canada, 1914), p. 242.

²⁰Ibid., p. 246.

to sacrifice dogma in these pre World War I days in order to advance what they deemed to be the cause of nationalism and Anglo-Saxonism.

A committee on Political Purity summed up the role that many Protestant Churches assumed from 1903-1914 in regard to Continental European immigrants:

The Churches also have a peculiar responsibility resting upon them. Because of their numbers, prestige and distinctly religious viewpoint, the Churches have a splendid opportunity for, and tremendous responsibility in, the development of a strong, pure moral national character.²¹

The Methodist and Presbyterian Churches were the two largest Protestant denominations in Canada before the war. They were also the most involved with the Canadian social gospel movement. The Protestant desire to assimilate the immigrant from Continental Europe and give him a "pure, moral national character" was most often voiced by them. Yet, other groups gave limited support. All efforts were often hampered by the fact that many immigrants refused to participate in religious activities once they had left the old country. Nevertheless, attempts at Canadianization were made in the cities.

It was to the cities that many immigrants went even though Sifton had appealed for agriculturalists to

²¹S. E. Grigg, "Special Report on Political Purity", Social Service Council, op. cit., p. 278.

fill up the vast, empty west. Since the British Isles were limited in their supply of farmers, Sifton cast his net wide. His call was answered mainly by American farmers²² and by eastern and southern Europeans. Slavs, especially, well represented Sifton's 'stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat'. And yet, many of these Continental immigrants went to the cities instead of the country, where, by contrast, they were even more noticeable to many English-speaking Canadians who were becoming increasingly concerned about their presence.

Sifton's immigration policy did not compel them to settle in any particular place. In fact, by the early 1900's, much of the best land in the west had already been taken by eastern Canadians, Americans, British and northern Europeans. Since many non-Anglo-Saxons were offered only marginal land, they were tempted to try their fortune in the cities.²³ The economic opportunities were more plentiful there.

Industrialization had also helped many Canadian towns and cities to grow rapidly after 1900. Since the pattern of using cheap immigrant labour had been set with

²²See H. M. Troper, Only Farmers Need Apply (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972) for an excellent analysis of Sifton's encouragement of immigrants from the U.S.

²³Dunton, op. cit., p. 43.

the construction of railways and roads, it was not uncommon to see more and more unskilled immigrants employed at the low paying jobs that few English-Canadians wanted in the cities. Consequently, we find the railroads, for example, employing mostly immigrants in places like the Lakehead. Once having gained a foothold, their relatives and those of the same nationality often joined the group.

It is appropriate now to examine one Canadian community, the cities of Port Arthur and Fort William, where one finds a disproportionate ratio of non-English-speaking immigrants to core population, in order to test the validity of the national picture on the combined issue of assimilation and Protestant nationalism. All of the major Protestant Churches were well represented in the Lakehead by 1903 and they reacted in various ways to the immigrants and the call by English-speaking Protestants for a specific type of nationalism.

THE SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF A NEW COMMUNITY:

THUNDER BAY, 1903-1914

Canadian settlement of the Thunder Bay area (often referred to as the Lakehead) has been quite recent. Before Confederation the Hudson's Bay Company was the "only basis for contact between Thunder Bay and the rest of the world".¹ But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century opportunities for employment were found in mining and lumbering. For example, a silver mine at Silver Islet on Thunder Bay attracted settlers and encouraged the opening of other mines in the area. Lumber mills began operation in Fort William in the 1870's and surveying on a grand scale for timber began around 1890. Eastern Canadians and a number of immigrants came to work in the mines, mills and bush gangs. And even as early as 1875 English Canadian prejudice toward the immigrant was evident. Simon Dawson, surveyor, politician, land holder, speculator, and a man who had much to do with the Thunder Bay area, stated that he was happy that the majority of settlers were from the eastern provinces and were "vastly superior to foreign immigrants".² This attitude grew and

¹Elizabeth Arthur, Thunder Bay District, 1821-1892 A Collection of Documents (Toronto: U of T Press, 1973), p. xxiii.

²as cited in E. Arthur, p. cii.

flourished in the Lakehead in the early part of the twentieth century.

It was probably employment by the CPR, however, that helped the most to establish the locality as a permanent settlement. The grain elevators were built in the early 1880's and the CPR works, which were to employ 500 men, were begun in 1890.³ Foundries, brick works, and various minor industries further provided a growing economy for people migrating to the area. Predictions were even being made that the ports of Fort William and Port Arthur -- the gateway to the west⁴ -- were fast becoming the Chicago of the North.⁵ The populations of the two towns, which numbered about 3,000 each around the turn of the century, were well established and optimistic about the future. Few could have foreseen the problems each would experience with the great influx of 'foreigners' in the next two decades.

The cities of Port Arthur and Fort William were prime examples of areas that had to cope with the problems of assimilating huge increases of immigrants from Continental Europe. Most immigrants came to the Lakehead

³Ibid., p. xcv.

⁴Port Arthur Daily News, (hereafter PADN), Feb. 13, 1906.

⁵For Example, S. C. Young, local politician, Daily Times Journal, Fort William, (hereafter DTJ), Nov. 2, 1904.

because of the increasing job opportunities in mining, shipping, timber and industry. But some came because the cities were on the way to the west. It is true that Port Arthur and Fort William were places of temporary residence for a number of immigrants. Census reports suggest, for example, that of a total immigrant population in Fort William in 1911 of 8,385, an estimated 3,404 left by 1921.⁶ But even if many immigrants moved on after World War I, how was anyone to know but that the rate of increase would continue as it had prior to 1914? Thus one sees the English speaking citizens of Port Arthur and Fort William reacting toward the Continental European immigrant, in pre World War I days, in a fashion similar to that manifested in other parts of the country. It was a reaction of apprehension at the dangerous ratio of Continental Europeans (mostly southern and eastern Europeans) to reliable Anglo-Saxon stock. It was born from an intense patriotic desire to maintain what English-speaking Canadians regarded as Canadianism. Certain informed citizens in other Canadian cities were writing about the problem of assimilating the newcomers, and they were using Port Arthur and Fort William as examples of the potential danger to the nation that Continental

⁶1931 census, op. cit., p. 123.

European immigration posed.⁷

According to a census report on the period 1901-1911, Thunder Bay District registered the second highest percentage increase in population in all regions of Canada east of the Manitoba border. It was an amazing 252% increase.⁸ When one adds up the population of the two cities it will be seen that most of the people in the region were residents of Port Arthur and Fort William. The only other region in eastern Canada to post a higher percentage increase was the district of Temiskaming, Ontario; its population in 1901, however, was only 1,000 as compared to 11,000 for Thunder Bay. No other region even reached the 100% increase level.

In 1901 the populations of the cities of Fort William and Port Arthur were 3,633 and 3,214 respectively. They were to increase at a phenomenal rate to 16,499 and 11,220 by 1911.⁹ The proportion of the population of Fort William in 1911 that was born in the British Isles was 21.74%; the figure in Port Arthur was 17.95%. Census figures, however, state that 24.34% of the population of

⁷For example, C. B. Young, Canada and the New Canadian (Toronto: The Board of Home Missions and Social Service, Presbyterian Church, n.d.) p. 33ff.

⁸1931 Census, Vol. I, p. 124.

⁹1951 Census, Vol. I, table 9-8.

Fort William in 1911 was born in "foreign countries" -- referring mostly to Continental Europe (only 3% was from the United States). The figures for Port Arthur similarly show 22.39% of the 1911 population born in "foreign countries" with 5% from the United States. Of the 65 Canadian cities, with over 10,000 population, listed in the 1911 census, Fort William and Port Arthur show the two greatest percentages of "foreign born".¹⁰ Places like Calgary, Edmonton, Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, New Westminster, and Sault Ste. Marie came close to the Lakehead cities in their percentages of foreign born, but approximately half of their totals were from the United States. Winnipeg had a total of 19.34% foreign born among its population, and indeed, many of that number were Continental Europeans. In addition, since its population was much larger than either Fort William or Port Arthur that would mean more Continental Europeans in the city. Nevertheless, the fear and concern in the Lakehead cities was just as great and the reactions of English-speaking Canadians just as serious. They were seeing themselves swamped by non-English-speaking immigrants who were coming close to representing one quarter of the total population.

The Reverend J. M. Shaver, who ministered to Fort William Methodists from 1912-1921, was convinced

¹⁰1931 Census, Vol. 4, pp. 304-305.

that the established population did not understand the foreigners. In fact, he said, people formulated their opinion of them largely "through the police court column of the newspapers, whose reporters always find it an easy matter to throw an atmosphere of terrible mystery around the stranger's shortcomings, or through the light hearted report that another foreigner, with an unpronounceable name, has been killed in the onward march of our commercial development".¹¹ In fact, Mr. Shaver himself, almost thirty years after he left Fort William, still had in his possession, newspaper clippings that reminded him of how bad things were in the "foreign areas of our cities".¹² Mrs. Gertrude Dyke, longtime resident of the Lakehead, supports Shaver's view that peoples' opinions of the immigrant then were strongly affected by the newspapers. She stated that her father, T. A. Woodside (who came in 1883) "usually read of Italian murders in the newspapers and mentioned it often".¹³ It is probably right to infer that

¹¹J. M. Shaver, Missionary Bulletin, vol. XI, no. 1-4, 1914-1915. Toronto: Methodist Mission Rooms, p. 124. UCA, Toronto. (United Church Archives)

¹²Peter Shepherd, With Glowing Hearts, True Stories of Canadians in the Making (Toronto: United Church of Canada, 1946), p. 50.

The Reverend Cecil King, a personal friend of Shaver's for over thirty years, said that this was Shaver's autobiography, written under the pseudonym Peter Shepherd. (King Interview, May 8, 1973.)

¹³Interview with Mrs. J. A. Dyke, May, 1973.

the newspapers of the day, which usually reflected and reinforced current value systems, not only were relied on as a chief source of knowledge of the immigrant, but also they helped to increase dislike for the foreigner as he was blamed for many of the existing social evils. And yet, new and intrusive groups have often been blamed for social problems that have resulted largely from industrialization and urbanization.¹⁴ To be sure, in the two growing cities of Port Arthur and Fort William the differences of the immigrant stood out clearly. And the newspapers began early to exhibit relentless prejudice against the strangers arriving in ever increasing numbers.

In 1903 the Daily Times Journal of Fort William called its readers' attention to the conviction of two "Galicians" for various crimes.¹⁵ A few months later a front page article entitled "Bold Men in the East End", stated that "Russians who scare women and children seem to infest the vicinity below the Hudson's Bay Company

¹⁴See J. Joseph Huthmacher, A Nation of New-comers (N. Y.: Dell Pub. Co., 1967), ch. 3. The author states that America was experiencing vast changes toward urbanization toward the close of the 19th century. Consequently, there seemed to be more opportunity for immigrants to make a living in the cities than in rural America. Yet many of the immigrants, formerly rural peasants, were "extremely visible" in a rapidly changing and troubled America". p. 30.

¹⁵DTJ, June 20, 1903. Slav immigrants during the period are often referred to as Galicians or Ruthenians. Today they would be called Ukrainians.

stores".¹⁶ Stories were reported by the Times Journal of drunken men (and not so drunken men) chasing people and stealing purses. "Many of them are of the foreign class" the article said.¹⁷ An interesting and quite revealing incident appeared in the newspaper in 1904 giving the account of the death of a CPR fireman. In front page coverage, it stated that the victim "was shot dead by an Italian Fruit Vendor in Port Arthur".¹⁸ Apparently the victim and a friend were drunk and came into the store, insulted and beat up the vendor, broke the store window and damaged the premises. The city people were "all" talking about it and visiting the place. For all of the next week the newspapers gave the episode front page coverage. A jury of 12 men (all Anglo-Saxon, see Daily Times Journal, June 15 for listing) convicted him of manslaughter. Ten of the jury members were reported to have even wanted hanging, for what looked like a clear cut case of self-defence.

For the next ten years the newspapers in both cities reported quite regularly on the violence and crime, the slum conditions, the gambling and drinking of the foreigners in those sections of the cities largely inhabited

¹⁶Ibid., Oct. 29, 1903.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., Mar. 19, 1904.

by immigrants: "Greek met death by knife stab" in the coal docks. Finlander charged.¹⁹ "Desperate conflict at the Coal Docks" -- 2 Finlanders not expected to live.²⁰ "Unknown Italians by a trick entice Finn Youths into a Quarrel" -- 2 Finns might die.²¹ "Italian commits an Assault in a Restaurant".²² "Italian Hugger pays for fun".²³ (He had attempted to kiss some well known ladies on Algoma Street). "Galician women sold liquor".²⁴ "Close to 200 Chinks reside here". Many go to Sunday school and church but "some think that the Chink only goes to learn English".²⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that, when a violent incident is reported to have been committed by an Anglo-Saxon there is no reference to his nationality, only "Desperate fight in Port Arthur"²⁶ (in which, incidently, a McDermott, Sheffield, and Bentley were involved) or "James O'Sullivan stole a watch and went to jail".²⁷

¹⁹Ibid., Mar. 6, 1905.

²⁰Ibid., June 6, 1906.

²¹PADN, June 6, 1906.

²²Ibid., Mar. 11, 1907.

²³Ibid., Nov. 2, 1907.

²⁴DTJ, Oct. 15, 1907.

²⁵Ibid., Oct. 26, 1907.

²⁶DTJ, July 10, 1905.

²⁷PADN, May 5, 1906.

of foreigners within the cities. It seems, foreigners were blamed for almost everything that went wrong. Mr. W. H. Sharpe, MP from Lisgar, said in the House: "there are 49 different languages spoken in Winnipeg alone. There is no doubt that this foreign immigration is not only filling our jails and asylums in western Canada, but, as shown by the returns brought down, the asylums and jails of Ontario as well."⁹ Higher crime rates, illiteracy, disease and other social problems were associated with immigration. It needs to be said, however, that immigrants were forced to occupy the poorer, crowded sections of the cities in Canada. They had to perform tasks others did not want because most of them were unskilled labourers. J. S. Woodsworth was perhaps the greatest exponent of the problems of urbanization and the immigrant on a national level.¹⁰

Education and religion were regarded as the chief keys to assimilation in Canada during the years under study. O. D. Skelton, Laurier's friend and biographer, stated: "Almost any brand of white man, in the second generation at least, when put through the national

⁹Mr. W. H. Sharpe, House of Commons Debates, March 14, 1910, Canada, House of Commons Debates, columns 5544-5.

¹⁰See his books, "Strangers Within Our Gates and My Neighbour."

The daily newspapers made their readers aware of the increases in immigration through the years under study (1903-1914), with such articles as "Rush was Heavy in July and August"²⁸ and "Great Increase in Immigration"²⁹ or "Expected Influx of Immigrants".³⁰ One editorial, entitled "Coming to Canada", discussed the rapid increase in 1906 and suggested the best type of immigrant. "Canada wants plenty of building material in this process of rearing the national edifice. But Canada also wants that building material to be of the best quality. It is gratifying to note, therefore, nearly 600,000 of the newcomers since 1900 are from Great Britain or the United States and are of the class of immigrants best fitted for conditions of life in this country."³¹

Perhaps statistics compiled and revealed six months previously helped to encourage this preference for Anglo-Saxons. It was reported that 1,388 crimes were committed in Fort William in 1906 as contrasted with only 560 the year before. The increase was "directly attributed", the newspaper reported, "to the unprecedented number of strangers who have arrived at the head of the

²⁸Ibid., Oct. 25, 1906.

²⁹Ibid., May 1, 1907.

³⁰DTJ, Jan. 30, 1906.

³¹PADN, June 5, 1907.

lakes the past 12 months".³² The police records, it is stated, showed that foreigners were responsible for 80% of the crimes committed. About 1,000 of these crimes were connected with liquor. This indeed would offend the moral sensibilities of a generation of people, many of whom were either supporters of prohibition, or whose drinking problems were not so obvious as those displayed at "Galician weddings" where "fighting and drinking seem to be an ordinary event".³³

Another generally accepted institution of the period, strict Sabbath keeping, was being flouted by many immigrants. A number of them were fined "for breaking the Sabbath".³⁴ Some were selling goods; one "Galician" even kept his dance hall open. Another report read: "the open Sunday which the local dock residents have been attempting to indulge in for the last few months was again rudely shattered by Chief Dodds who made a descent upon little Italy yesterday which resulted in a number of foreign gentry visiting Sunrise court this morning".³⁵ Again -- a number of arrests were made at

³²DTJ, Dec. 29, 1906.

³³Ibid., Sept. 22, 1909.

³⁴Ibid., Sept. 9, 1907.

³⁵Ibid. The east end of Fort William, often referred to as the Coal Docks, was also known as little Italy although there were many nationalities there.

the Coal Docks for rowdiness at Easter and abhorrence was expressed at such disrespect of "Canadian" institutions. The paper stated: "About the police station the official opinion was expressed that if the constables ply their clubs diligently in the coal docks sections for a few decades the people down there will in a hazy sort of way appreciate the significance Easter has for the people of Canada and they will stop making it an excuse for bestial (sic) debauches".³⁶ And some immigrants even had a peculiar way of celebrating a sacrament. A Galician Christening in the Coal Docks was followed by excessive beer drinking and the father of the baby being stabbed in the nose.³⁷

The Canadian Club was aware of problems immigration was causing and it did what it could to promote Canadian nationalism and the assimilation of foreigners. The Canadian Club held its first meeting in Port Arthur on October 23, 1907. The Reverend J. C. Walker of the Methodist Church (1904-1908) was elected Chairman.³⁸ The Club was organized in Fort William on November 29, 1907. Joshua Dyke, another former Methodist minister was elected Chairman.³⁹ The tone was set in the beginning

³⁶DTJ, April 17, 1911.

³⁷Ibid., Feb. 17, 1908.

³⁸PADN, Oct. 24, 1907.

³⁹Ibid., Nov. 30, 1907.

as the Reverend J. G. Walker, a longtime missionary of the Anglican Church, was quoted as telling the Port Arthur Club that the Japanese "are more desirable than southern Europeans".⁴⁰ It would be interesting to know what reaction this statement produced among those Continental immigrants in Port Arthur who could and did read it.

The Reverend Mr. Walker of the Methodist Church, as President of the Canadian Club, spoke of the many incoming immigrants and suggested that the Canadian Club was one of the best factors in assimilating them. Port Arthur, he said, was destined to be one of the most important cities in the Dominion and it was the "Genius of the Canadian Club" to "create and foster national sentiment".⁴¹ Other than constantly expressing the need for assimilation, it is difficult to know just how the Canadian Club assisted in the process. There is no indication that they tried to attract immigrants from southern Europe to join their organization.

Another incident that helped to cause hostile reaction to the foreigner was the arrival of the Doukhobors in Fort William in 1907. This unusual group of people had made an agreement with the Canadian Department of the Interior in 1898 that allowed 7,400 of them to

⁴⁰Ibid., Dec. 16, 1907.

⁴¹Ibid., June 27, 1908.

settle near Yorkton, Saskatchewan. In 1902, one radical splinter group, calling themselves the Sons of Freedom, marched to Winnipeg. Apparently they were anxious to see their leader Peter Veregin, who was to arrive soon. The march received a great deal of attention in the Manitoba papers. Finally the marchers were put on trains and returned to Saskatchewan. Sifton resigned as Minister of the Interior in 1905 and his successor, Frank Oliver, did not appear as concerned about peasants in sheepskin coats. In fact he cared little for "Slavs of any kind".⁴² Consequently, he permitted one half of the Doukhorbor lands to be confiscated in 1905 because these religious zealots from Russia refused to take the oath of allegiance required to gain final title to their lands. This government action sparked another march by the Sons of Freedom, again to Winnipeg and even further to Fort William.

The first party of eleven arrived in West Fort William on October 29, 1907 and more were on the way. Needless to say, they were not received as royalty. By November 4th the number had reached 78 and they had rented a house on the corner of Dease and May. Their leader was Paul Sochotoff, a man who had been in Canada for twelve years and who was fairly eloquent in English. He immediately

⁴²as cited in: R. C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921 (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart Ltd., 1974), p. 64.

began preaching to the people on Victoria Avenue.⁴³ The group made preparations to stay all winter, perhaps hoping to continue their march even on to Ottawa in the spring. The newspaper presses began to turn out many articles about the Doukhobors and the things Canadians should not tolerate.⁴⁴ Finally, an inquest was held and the Fort Arthur Daily News printed the reason under the caption "Revoltng Conditions Revealed at Inquest". Apparently a member of the group had died of malnutrition. His body was dragged on a sleigh along May Street in Fort William and was taken to the cemetery and left exposed to the animals and nature. The jury visited the home at Dease and May and found all the residents naked. The jury "considered the question" of removing the foreigners from Fort William;⁴⁵ but no action was taken. One month later nineteen Doukhobors were given a six months sentence, for trying to hold a nude parade through Fort William.⁴⁶ No inquest was required this time to 'expose' the fact that these immigrants offended public morality. To complicate matters, the ten men and nine women refused to eat and presented city and federal government officials with quite

⁴³PADN, Nov. 4, 1907.

⁴⁴DTJ, Jan. 1908.

⁴⁵PADN, Mar. 5, 1908.

⁴⁶DTJ, Apr. 9, 1908.

a dilemma. Fort William residents were happy to learn that the Honourable Mr. Aylesworth, Minister of Justice, suggested to city officials that the Doukhobors be pardoned and sent back to Saskatchewan.⁴⁷ A few weeks later, 79 Doukhobors were marched to the station and taken west by train.⁴⁸ But Fort William could not quite as easily dispose of its other immigrant problems.

Such overcrowding of living quarters, as the Doukhobors experienced, was often noticed in the foreign sections of the cities. Concern about slums, disease and crime was expressed by the local populations. "The Sanitary, Social and Moral Condition of the Coal Dock section needs improving" the Fort William paper concluded in 1909.⁴⁹ A vivid description was given of the squalor and unhealthy situation. "The repulsive conditions existing in the average dwelling in the coal docks district almost beggars description."⁵⁰ Much beer was being drunk by men, women and children; the slums there were similar to the ones in ancient Athens and Rome; there were many illegitimate children (one woman had four). "The morals are such" it was stated, "as would cause the lower world

⁴⁷PADN, Apr. 15, 1908. DTJ, Apr. 24, 1908.

⁴⁸PADN, Apr. 27, 1908.

⁴⁹DTJ, Aug. 21, 1909.

⁵⁰Ibid.

of Chicago to stand back and stare".⁵¹

Dr. R. J. Manion, medical health officer, and later member of Parliament, is reported to have said that the hygienic conditions in the coal dock area were the worst in the Thunder Bay region.⁵² There were few sewers and drains and overcrowded houses were the norm. For example, there were 68 people in one boarding house and often 50 or more living in ordinary sized houses. However, the doctor added, the wages of the immigrant were so poor that he was not able to board up town or at hotels.⁵³ Nevertheless, the situation there was considered deplorable by the local population of Fort William for the next few years and it prompted Dr. M. B. Dean, a local physician, to tell the Board of Trade that the mode of living "in the foreign section should be investigated".⁵⁴ The Methodist Church was also being asked to respond to the situation. The Reverend James Allen, home secretary of the Methodist Church, spoke in Fort

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., Jan. 18, 1909.

⁵³In 1914 Dr. Oliver reported that 75% of typhoid cases came from the coal dock section. Popular opinion blamed it on the poor sanitary conditions but Dr. Manion stated that the typhoid was actually caused because the people there drank more unboiled water than elsewhere. Thunder Bay Historical Society Report, 1914, p. 31, Dr. E. B. Oliver.

⁵⁴DTJ, Jan. 16, 1913.

William in 1910 on the occasion of the Manitoba Conference of the Methodist Church. He referred to the heaps of festering humanity" found in the streets where the European immigrants lived. He pleaded for the Church to "change these awful conditions, and make the people cleanly, healthy, and intellectually and morally strong" by "creating a taste and desire for cleanliness and purity".⁵⁵ Perhaps one could say that a type of social gospel was being preached in Fort William. At any rate, social surveys were conducted in March, 1913, by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, that attempted to deal with the social problems in Port Arthur and Fort William.

The social surveys expressed great concern over the rapid increase of the non-Anglo-Saxon population in both cities. It represented 1/3 of the total and it was estimated that the percentage would soon be 50.⁵⁶ The Ruthenians (known also as Galicians, Russians and Ukrainians) were the fastest growing group and they "threatened" the use of English in public and social life.⁵⁷ Attention

⁵⁵ Ibid., June 20, 1910.

⁵⁶ Bryce M. Stewart, Report of a Preliminary and General Social Survey of Fort William (Toronto: Dept. of Temperance and Moral Reform of the Methodist Church and the Board of Social Service and Evangelism of the Presbyterian Church, 1913), p. 10. A similar study was also done on Port Arthur.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Port Arthur Survey, pp. 7-8.

was drawn to the problem of overcrowding in both cities. Mention was made of the "separateness" of the immigrants, where national societies and Churches helped to perpetuate the conditions of the old world and cause a city to grow within a city.⁵⁸ It was reported that the Southern Europeans were mostly illiterate but the Scandinavians and Finns seemed to be eager and "progressive enough to learn Canadian ways."⁵⁹ Liquor was considered a real problem -- there were 17 outlets in Fort William alone -- and fear was expressed that soon the immigrant vote would destroy the cause for prohibition since that vote was "easily manipulated".⁶⁰

The survey suggested further that the crime increase of 1911-1912 and immigration were directly related. A comment by the Fort William child welfare inspector, Frank Blair, was printed as support for this view. "When we realize the meaning of the facts that can be proven from records, that the average of convictions of those born in America of foreign parents is three times that of the native born we will not rest until a solution has been reached in regard to the living conditions amongst

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 4.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 4 and p. 10.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 12.

the Foreigner."⁶¹ One might question his statistics yet J. S. Woodsworth also saw juvenile crime as a serious problem among immigrants. "Immigrant children grow to despise their parents who cannot speak English" Woodsworth wrote, "and who maintain their old-fashioned garb and customs. The ensuing loss of parental control is responsible for much of the juvenile crime among foreign children".⁶² J. M. Shaver, of Wesley Institute in Fort William, ran into this problem often.

The social surveys therefore called upon the Churches to have more involvement with the immigrants and their problems rather than staying interested mainly in the "moderately well to do". "The Church must be a conscience to the community upon its social problems, and must lead it into a neighbourliness and brotherly kindness towards the immigrant of whatever nationality."⁶³ The call was for a more complete social gospel. It was felt that there was more to gain than to lose -- for the immigrant, for the city, for the Protestant Church and for the nation.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 23.

⁶²J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates (Toronto: Methodist Church of Canada, 1909), p. 165.

⁶³Social Survey of Port Arthur, op. cit., p. 6.

THE REACTION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES

By 1900 Protestant sentiment about the threat of immigration was being articulated at an increasing rate throughout the nation. The leaders of one of Canada's largest Churches, the Presbyterian, were among the first to draw attention to what they considered was a need for assimilation. The Presbyterian Record, an official organ of the Church, reminded its readers of the responsibility of the Church in nation building. The Church should be "the cement that binds these people into a solid, loyal, whole".¹

In addition, the editor expressed a commonly held conviction that the Church and morality stood or fell together. Concomitantly, it was believed that a nation could not flourish without a strong sense of morality. "Without the Church, moral influences wane; self rules, might makes right, savagery prevails, true national life is impossible."² The Church, then, was indispensable to the nation, so many thought.

As a consequence, the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church made plans to erect buildings

¹Presbyterian Record, April 1900, p. 97.

²Ibid.

wherein secular and religious knowledge could be dispensed to "these new settlers in the Northwest". Evangelism and Canadianization seemed to merge into one and the same responsibility. "No more patriotic work can be done", it was suggested, "than aiding the committee in thus building up at once the Kingdom of Christ and a strong loyal Canadian-British people".³ Since many of the incoming thousands were from lands "where the sentiment is distinctly anti-British" it was argued that the Church must help to save Canada for the Empire. "No agent" the editorial stated, is "so valuable to the Empire as the missionary and minister".⁴

Thus, it was concluded, that if the Church could win the immigrant to an "intelligent religious life" it would weld him "quickly and thoroughly and sympathetically into our national life".⁵ This in general was the Presbyterian mission to immigrants from Continental Europe. The Church's role appeared to be essentially that of an agent of assimilation.

Indeed, Presbyterian leaders repeatedly expressed loyalty to things British. They considered themselves to be part of the "greatest Empire the world has ever seen".⁶

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid., p. 98.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Presbyterian Witness, Dec. 29, 1910, p. 412.

They spoke of the great responsible position in which they were "placed by the ruler of all". They saw a necessity to discourage immigrants "alien in race, language, in loyalty to our Empire".⁷ One Presbyterian minister vehemently opposed the influx of "wild-eyed Asiatics and Eastern Europeans" because one could not expect "the best class of Anglo-Saxons to come in and mix with those inferior elements".⁸

The Presbyterian Church did begin to make some attempts to reach the non-English element with their Protestant gospel. For example, in 1899 eight missionaries were holding services in five languages -- "Ruthenian, Bohemian, Hungarian, Buchovenian, and German".⁹ The ministers involved sent a report of their efforts to the Synod of Manitoba and the North West (in which Synod Port Arthur and Fort William Churches played significant roles). As a result of that report, the Home Mission Committee proposed and passed a number of resolutions. Of considerable

⁷Presbyterian Record, April 1900, p. 98.

⁸James R. Conn, as cited in H. M. Troper, Only Farmers Need Apply (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972), p. 12.

⁹Minute Book of the Home Mission Committee of the Synod of Manitoba and the North West, Vol. II, p. 288. UCA, Winnipeg. See also -- Record of the Proceedings of the First General Council, United Church of Canada; Home Mission Committee Review, Toronto, 1925, p. 37. It is not stated where the missionaries were working.

importance was the following:

It is most desirable in the interests of morality and religion as well as in the interests of patriotism and the public weal, that the settlers coming from foreign countries who are ignorant of our institutions, language and customs, should be educated, evangelized and Canadianized as soon as may be.¹⁰

There could be no doubt that the Churches under the jurisdiction of the Synod of Manitoba and the North West were to follow a policy of Anglicization with respect to the non-English-speaking immigrant. The topic of assimilating the immigrant was discussed often in subsequent meetings of the Synod and Home Mission Committee. They spoke of the failure of assimilation as a "national peril".¹¹

The Synod of Manitoba and the North West was keeping in tune with the voices that rang out in the General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church warning of the danger of not assimilating the "foreigners".¹² Attention was focussed on the North West where they believed the situation was becoming serious, because a growing proportion of the new population was coming from central and southern Europe, especially Galicia. "These foreigners",

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Home Mission Committee Report (HMC) of the Synod of Manitoba and the North West. Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1898, p. 30, (hereafter known as Presbyterian General Assembly, PGA).

a report stated, "differ from Canadians in language, manners, customs, ethical and religious opinions, and every effort should be made to evangelize, educate and assimilate them".¹³ The Presbyterian Church was active in promoting the English language, English customs and the Protestant religion and ethics as "characteristic features of our national life".¹⁴ The Church appealed for more effort to be made in raising the immigrant to "higher intellectual and religious levels" and imbuing him "with a deeper appreciation of our Canadian institutions".¹⁵ A search was on for more ministers to preach to the foreigners with this goal in mind.

The Methodist Church of Canada also began to clearly identify its destiny with the life of the new nation. Indeed, the Methodist Church developed a distinctive sense of national mission.¹⁶ In regard to the north west, this mission involved not only saving souls but also insuring the "continental destiny of a nation, a nation of unquestioned Protestant loyalties".¹⁷ Methodists

¹³HMC Report, PGA, 1900, p. 10.

¹⁴PGA, 1903, p. 5.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶See W. H. Magney, "The Methodist Church and the National Gospel, 1884-1914", United Church of Canada Bulletin, No. 20, 1968.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 19.

thought that they were called to the task of nation building. For example, two generations of Woodsworths answered the call.

In 1898, the Reverend Mr. James Woodsworth, (father of the more famous J. S.), superintendent of Missions for Manitoba and the North West, challenged the General Conference by stating: "The possibilities of influencing for good the coming millions, and helping to lay the foundation of empire in righteousness, appeals alike to the ambition of our citizenship and the holy instincts and principles of our Christianity."¹⁸ It was difficult for Woodsworth and his colleagues to separate Christian and civic responsibilities. They were vitally concerned about the future intellectual, moral, and spiritual characteristics of the new nation.¹⁹

In regard to Methodist responsibility to the immigrant, Woodsworth identified their first task as helping to "make them good Canadian citizens".²⁰ Their final objective should be to "ultimately, so far as may be, attach them to the Methodist Church", Woodsworth stated.²¹

¹⁸ Reverend James Woodsworth, General Conference Reports of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1898, p. 132. (hereafter known as MGC)

¹⁹ MGC, 1902, p. 113.

²⁰ Woodsworth to J. Allen, Dec. 1, 1908. Winnipeg Missionary Society, Home Dept. Correspondence, 1906-1926. UCA, Toronto.

²¹ Ibid.

Attempts to proselytize and evangelize, for the time being, were to give place to the more immediate needs at hand -- to teach English and the responsibilities of Canadian citizenship. The pattern is borne out in Methodist efforts with the immigrants in Fort William (see chapter 6).

Within Presbyterian and Methodist circles, loyalty to Anglo-Saxonism was becoming increasingly obvious. Perhaps it was in the main a reaction to the threatened loss of English domination of Canada. One Presbyterian writer, who classified immigrants as Anglo-Saxon if they were English-speaking by birth and all others were foreigners, stated that Canada was an Anglo-Saxon nation. Canada, he wrote, had been given a sacred trust, along with other Anglo-Saxon nations, to evangelize the world.²² Undoubtedly, to evangelize also meant to anglicize. This broader concept of evangelism was commonly held in the period under study. For example, Reverend A. E. Haydon, pastor of a Fort William Baptist Church, stated that evangelism carried out in the spirit of love and true patriotism is "for the well-being of the country".²³ "This is what evangelization stands for", he said, "to seek out and remove error, and falsehood, and

²²Presbyterian Record, June 1910, p. 18.

²³DTJ, Sept. 28, 1908.

banish superstitious fear, to educate and uplift".²⁴ The consensus of the period was that Canada had to "uplift" the immigrant if she intended to maintain her status among the 'Christian' nations of the world.

Many Protestant leaders viewed the immigration situation positively and even welcomed it as a divine commission. For example, Dr. Carmichael, Superintendent of Presbyterian Home Missions in the west, spoke at St. Andrews in Fort William and referred to the task of assimilating and Christianizing the immigrants as a responsibility "which God has entrusted the people of Canada".²⁵ The Reverend C. E. Manning, a Presbyterian minister, boldly proclaimed to the Toronto Empire Club that Anglo-Saxons were the "chosen people of God in the Twentieth century".²⁶ He was convinced that God had created this great Dominion and put its destiny into Anglo-Saxon hands so that it might receive and assimilate the incoming hordes from Continental Europe. Similarly, the Reverend C. G. Young, secretary of the non-Anglo-Saxon work of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, argued that God intended "America" to be a place for all people to forget old

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid., April 11, 1910.

²⁶ C. E. Manning, "Canadian Immigration and Consequent Problems" Empire Club Speeches (Toronto: Warwick and Bros. & Rutter Ltd., 1910), pp, 182-183.

quarrels. Canada would provide an opportunity for men of every race to become "one", thus issuing in the "Kingdom of God".²⁷ One can easily imagine the stereotype that would be chosen.

Yet not all Protestant leaders welcomed the immigrants. The Reverend W. Bridgman, President of the Manitoba Conference of the Methodist Church, contended that many people in the west wanted "foreign" immigration to cease and only English-speaking immigrants be allowed in by Ottawa.²⁸ Likewise, the periodical, Presbyterian, expressed a wish that "all the immigration come from Great Britain and the United States" because the Slavonic immigrants with their "crude" notions, were "often extremely undesirable from many points of view".²⁹ The Canadian Baptist was especially strong in its condemnation of Continental Europeans: "It requires but a very brief and cursory inspection of them" it said, "to at once discover their extreme crudity, their ignorance, low estimate of life, filthy habits, and their general lack of appreciation of all that is refined and wholesome

²⁷C. G. Young, Canada and the New Canadian (Toronto: The Board of Home Mission & Social Service of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, n.d.), p. 33.

²⁸Reverend W. Bridgman to J. Allen, Sept. 16, 1908. Methodist Church Missionary Society, Home Mission Correspondence, 1906-1926. UCA, Toronto.

²⁹Presbyterian, March 31, 1910.

in every sense of the word".³⁰ Evidently some Canadians could not support the federal scheme to settle the west. Yet the majority of the Protestants accepted immigration as part of Canada's destiny and immediately looked for ways to maintain their Protestant superiority west of Quebec.

At any rate, the volume of immigration from Continental Europe was increasing annually. As a result, church authorities were giving even greater encouragement to the clergy and laity to assimilate the newcomer. There was apprehension that Canada might not fulfill its responsibility in a Protestant world mission. One minister warned: "the prospect of being a chosen instrument in the hands of God for the evangelization of the world" would be "blighted" if they failed to effect the assimilation of those who "have come from lower civilizations and systems of doubtful morality".³¹ Another writer argued that the religion, manners, and customs of these "semi-civilized hordes" must be changed, and the key to assimilation was social service "multiplied a thousand fold".³²

³⁰The Canadian Baptist, June 9, 1910, p. 3.

³¹Reverend W. R. McIntosh, Canadian Problems (Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1910), p. 29.

³²E. S. Strachan, The Story of the Years (A History of the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1906-1916) (Toronto: WMS Methodist Church, 1917), pp. 307-308.

Few Protestants questioned the superiority of their philosophy of life and the Anglo-Saxon culture and language. It seemed to help the cause of assimilation to give it a divine sanctity.

Assimilation and patriotism regularly became topics for public discussion in Port Arthur and Fort William. The newspapers of the two cities conspicuously and consistently reported sermon topics and digests. For example, a pastoral letter from Reverend J. H. Morgan, president of Winnipeg's Wesley College, encouraged all Methodists of the Lakehead to recognize their responsibility to the nation in arresting the "force of decay in national life". He stated: "it is no less our plain duty to educate the public's conscience on every phase of moral and social reform" and "the faithful discharge of the duties of Christian citizenship is as imperative as the fidelity in the home and the Church".³³ In the same manner Dr. S. A. Chown, general secretary of temperance and moral reform of the Methodist Church, spoke to the men's club of Wesley Church in Fort William. Chown called for active Methodist political involvement in order to keep Canada a Christian nation. He stated that "there should be a moral union between religion and politics". He encouraged Methodists to regard highly

³³DTJ, June 21, 1906.

the democratic system and use it effectively because "next to the Holy Book of God and the elements of communion the ballot box is the most sacred".³⁴

It was the alleged misuse of the ballot box that worried many Protestants in the Lakehead. Liquor dealers were peddling their products from house to house in Fort William's coal dock area. For example, fifty empty kegs of beer were counted within a two block space on one morning in March 1913.³⁵ It was concluded that the immigrant vote was "easily manipulated".³⁶ This greatly aggravated the temperance groups in both cities as they lost a 1911 local option vote by a narrow margin. There was fear that victory would be impossible in the future as immigrants became more numerous.

Editors MacKay and Stephenson of the Port Arthur Daily News were concerned as well over the increasing numbers of immigrants who might not be assimilated. "The first consideration of Canadians today is their own welfare and the welfare of their descendants."³⁷ It was necessary, they thought, for immigrants to "accept our public institutions as their own" and continue to "build

³⁴Ibid., Nov. 5, 1906.

³⁵Fort William Social Survey, p. 16.

³⁶Port Arthur Social Survey, pp. 11-12.

³⁷PADN, Dec. 4, 1907.

up" the existing "social structure".³⁸ Lakehead citizens were warned often of the need to quickly assimilate the immigrants -- to "lift up the new arrivals from southern Europe".³⁹ The Canadian Club at Fort William was reminded of the inferior nature of the "non-English-speaking foreigners" from southern Europe. (Ten years earlier most were from northern countries.) "They are much inferior morally, physically, and intellectually and much less fit to assimilate with the people of this country."⁴⁰ Repeatedly Canadian citizens in the Lakehead were informed of the danger immigration posed to the established social structure. It was a call to patriotism that was heard the most. And Protestant churchmen were speaking the loudest.

The Reverend J. H. Morgan, President of Wesley College viewed immigration as a barrier to the growth of an abiding patriotism. In addressing Wesley Methodist in Fort William he referred to the "mixed character of the people that are populating our country",⁴¹ most of whom were not born here and were still very attached to their native lands. Morgan lamented that the country was so big

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹DTJ, Apr. 24, 1911.

⁴⁰Ibid., Dec. 17, 1912.

⁴¹Ibid., Mar. 16, 1907.

and without "historical associations which stir the blood and kindle the imagination", that patriotism was not yet a characteristic Canadian virtue. The program of Canadianization would be a difficult one.

In the same vein the Reverend J. C. Walker of Port Arthur's Trinity Methodist is reported to have "delivered a stirring patriotic address".⁴² He "spoke in glowing terms of Canada's heritage" and referred to Canada as the "Britain of the West". Walker mentioned how proud he was to be part of the British Empire. He warned that Canada would not be a great nation in the future unless she adhered to Christian principles and continued to build on a righteous foundation. He referred to the multitudes who were coming to Canada from "oppressed" countries, with "their own customs, religions and superstitions". Many of these immigrants were "poor material to build up a grand democracy". Walker spoke further of the overwhelming superiority of Canada's religion, customs and political system. He argued that Canada could not rely on politicians and schools to "control this mess, naturalize them, make good citizens of them" in reference to the assimilation of immigrants. Thus the Reverend Mr. Walker was calling on Protestants in the Lakehead, those who preach "the doctrines and teachings of Jesus

⁴²Ibid., May 27, 1907.

Christ", to take the lead in becoming the agents of assimilation. The message attempted to arouse both religious emotion and patriotic fervor; it was a call to arms to protect the status of the Protestant faith and the British Imperialist tradition in the Lakehead.

This interesting interdependent relationship of Church and state was the subject of some comments made on another occasion. The Reverend D. A. Macdonald of Westfort Presbyterian, Fort William, was helping to lay a cornerstone for the new St. Andrew's Church in 1908. After a short service by the pastor, the Reverend Mr. Rowand, and a brief history of St. Andrew's by Peter McKellar, Macdonald spoke of St. Andrew's obligation to Canada. A democracy was being built wherein the Church and state play important roles, he stated; they are "the two great organs of the Democracy".⁴³ He even contended that the Church must take full share of any responsibility for any fault with the democracy. Macdonald argued that the Church is "responsible almost more than any other institution" for the building up of the "character, the ideals of the nation". The Church must "permeate business, society, politics and the press" he added, for it is the "great civilizing factor in the state". It would be through the Church's influence alone, he therefore

⁴³Ibid., Sept. 1, 1908.

reasoned, that those people who were coming "from all quarters of the globe" would make a "new foundation in society, in politics, in business, in trade, in commerce". Indeed, one almost sees here evidences of a medieval concept of the character and function of the Church in society. It was sixteenth century Calvinism being applied to a special twentieth century problem. To be sure, some Protestants felt chiefly responsible for preserving the 'Christian character' of the Canadian democracy. It would do little credit to themselves or the efforts of their ancestors to allow their gains to be lost to a new brand of Canadian who had little sympathy with their objectives.

A good proportion of these new Canadians from Continental Europe were Roman Catholic in religion. The Methodist Church claimed that the Roman Catholics could not minister to these people in their own language since the priests from the old countries were state supported and would not leave home to minister in Canada where state support was not possible.⁴⁴ Hence it was argued that many immigrants had little assistance in making them good Christian citizens. It was the Methodist objective, however, to "assist in making them English-speaking Christian citizens who are clean, educated and loyal to this

⁴⁴Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1910, p. 33. UCA, Toronto.

Dominion and to Greater Britain".⁴⁵ Methodists were convinced that the Catholic Church in Canada was not sympathetic to this goal. On the contrary, the Guardian reports, the priests denounced Methodist efforts and described their workers as "devils' agents luring men to the flames of hell".⁴⁶ The Methodists viewed their efforts as Canadianization; the priests, however, only saw it as proselytizing.

Such priestly opposition is reported to have been encountered by the Methodists in their effort to reach non-Anglo-Saxons in Fort William through the establishment of Wesley Institute in the coal dock section of the city in 1912. Mr. Cecil King, one of the first workers at the mission, and later a United Church minister, writes of an appeal that was made to the Catholic priests in the area for cooperation with the Methodists in alleviating "the deplorable situation" in the east end. The Methodists even promised "to abstain from any religious activities if they could secure cooperation".⁴⁷ Yet, the amount of cooperation was reported as "infinitesimal". King further recalls that consistent efforts were made by priests to

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Christian Guardian, Mar. 11, 1908, p. 11.

⁴⁷Cecil King, Report on Wayside, n.d., Fort William, Ontario. In King's collection.

discourage Catholic immigrants from taking advantage of the English, Civics, and other practical courses offered by the Methodist Mission. The mission was informed that Protestant motives could not be trusted.⁴⁸ English Protestants recognized Quebec as the stronghold of the Catholic Church in Canada but western Canada had been claimed by them as a predominantly English and Protestant territory.⁴⁹

G. T. Daly, in his book Catholic Problems in Western Canada, admitted that his Church had waited too long to act in initiating the newcomer to Canadian life; they had "unfortunately" left this duty to others -- "to neutral, and most often, openly anti-Catholic agencies".⁵⁰ Daly deplored the "selfishness, jingoism, narrow nationalism" that motivated many Protestant Canadians to rush the immigrant into Canadianization.⁵¹ He contended that ethnic assimilation was a complicated matter and ought to be a slow, delicate process. This "patriotism" that demanded instant uniformity, he said, was "nothing but Prussianism wrapped up in the very folds of the Union-Jack".⁵²

⁴⁸King Interview.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰G. T. Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada (Toronto: MacMillan Co. of Can. Ltd., 1921), pp. 85-86.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 156.

⁵²Ibid., p. 82

Daly was very critical of the sanctity that the religious element was supposed to give to the kind of patriotism exhibited by many Protestant Canadians. He regarded the whole program as an effort to "wean new Canadians from the faith of their fathers".⁵³ In his view, however, the endeavour to "Christianize" the Catholic foreigners only resulted in "indifference and irreligion among our foreign element"⁵⁴ and not increases in Protestantism. Indeed, as the years unfolded in Port Arthur and Fort William, there were very few 'foreign' additions to the Protestant Churches despite a concerted effort to "Christianize" the foreigner.⁵⁵

Concerning the Protestant effort to make Canadianization synonymous with Protestanization, Daly then made a rather biting analysis. With the non-Catholic denominations, he said, "Christianity is nothing more than social welfare inspired by a vague philanthropy. Differences of creed are being cast to the winds, and Social Service is the basic idea of their forward movement, around which they are trying to rally their dwindling forces. It is then but consequent to have the burden of their message and the policy of their apostolate

⁵³Ibid., p. 83.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Interview with Dr. R. A. Peden, 1973, retired United Church minister, Thunder Bay.

bear on Citizenship".⁵⁶ In the minds of many Protestants, chiefly Methodists and Presbyterians, social service was becoming the focus of attention. Differences of creed seemed to become secondary to a cooperative Protestant effort of Canadianization.

J. S. Woodsworth's books, Strangers Within Our Gates and My Neighbour, which dealt much with immigrants in the cities, encouraged Methodists and Presbyterians to cooperate in taking a number of social surveys in selected Canadian cities. Such an effort was made in Port Arthur and Fort William in March, 1913. It was intended as a "preliminary look over the field with a view to learning the lines of investigation which would likely prove most profitable in an intensive social survey to be undertaken later".⁵⁷ However, it was never followed up -- probably as a result of World War I. The field work lasted for two weeks and a number of conclusions were offered. The foreign sections of both cities received much attention.

In the Lakehead the number of French-speaking Canadians was very small and was even diminishing. The Social Survey of Fort William showed a decrease from 791 in 1910 to 341 in 1912. And apparently there were not

⁵⁶Daly, op. cit., p. 83.

⁵⁷Stewart, Fort William Social Survey, op. cit., p. 2.

enough French-speaking people in Port Arthur to even rate a mention in their survey. Therefore, there is no need to be concerned with any reaction to this non-English-speaking group.

Fort William had a greater number of "foreigners" as an "increasing horde of unskilled workers", mostly "Russians, Ruthenians and Italians" came to work at railway construction, freight handling and other rough work at the docks and factories, Stewart wrote. For some time, he continued, there had been statements of social concern because of the "rapid increase of the non-Anglo-Saxon population". In fact, Stewart added, "in a few more years they will constitute 50% of the city's population, and according as they are Canadianized and lifted to a Canadian standard of living, will they make or mar its life".⁵⁸

The Ruthenians (Galicians, Ukrainians), he said, were the fastest growing group and there was fear that they posed a threat to the use of English in public and social life. How to Canadianize the adults was the main problem, Stewart contended, because the "social, political and industrial forces" in the city were having little success. In addition, most of them attended their "own Churches" and therefore "have no opportunity of becoming

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 10.

Canadianized through these institutions".⁵⁹ (Protestant Churches and public schools)

The situation in Port Arthur did not appear as critical to Stewart. "The steady encroachment of the immigrant people is not as marked here as in Fort William, as was to be expected but there is already a decidedly Finnish cast to the city."⁶⁰ And yet, the "non-English-speaking section of the community seems to be increasing rapidly",⁶¹ he wrote. It was pointed out that illiteracy was chiefly confined to immigrants from southern Europe whereas the Scandinavians tried hard to "learn English and take advantage of every opportunity offered".⁶² The same preference for northern Europeans was evident here as in other parts of the country. Unfortunately, Stewart concluded, only little effort in Canadianization was being exerted and the city needed to show greater concern. "The immigrants, to a certain extent, form a city within the city", he wrote. Stewart lamented the fact that Canadian newspapers did not influence most of these immigrants (since few could read); little instruction in English was given to adults; and many of the immigrant groups

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 8.

⁶⁰Port Arthur Social Survey, p. 5.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 4.

⁶²Ibid.

had their own Churches which prevented their assimilation. In addition, the Survey stated, the conditions of the old world were perpetuated by national societies among the immigrants, like the Finns' "socialist society".⁶³ The Methodist and Presbyterian Survey team at the Lakehead, at least, was advocating a clean break with old customs, language and religion and the adoption of the English language, 'Canadian' customs and 'Canadian' Protestantism. Their interest in the immigrant was part of a general concern manifested by a great many Protestants during the period under study.

This apprehension, felt and expressed by many Protestants in Canada about non-English-speaking immigrants, was given emphasis by P. L. Arthurs in the Guardian when he cautioned: "Every member of every Church communion has a national crisis to meet."⁶⁴ Many Protestants felt threatened. Perhaps one underlying reason was the knowledge that most of the Continental European immigrants were of the wrong religion -- as Protestants saw things. The Reverend H. H. Berliss of Toronto, in a Presbyterian pre-assembly congress of 1913 spoke very frankly on the subject. He claimed that "the acuteness of the problem of non-English-speaking settlers hinges upon their religious

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Christian Guardian, Aug. 6, 1913.

attitude".⁶⁵ There was little to fear, he argued, from the "sturdy Protestant non-Anglo-Saxons of the evangelical type", those who adhered to a religion which "fosters intellectual development". But the majority of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants came from countries under the "despotic" influence of the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, whose priests, Berlis concluded, wanted to "retain these simple people as they are".⁶⁶ It was unthinkable that immigrants should resist Protestant attempts at enlightenment.

The Reverend W. H. Pike of Edmonton claimed that the concern for the rapid assimilation of the foreigner was in the main, selfish. "Their concern is not so much on account of the foreigners' need", he said, "as it is to the supposed menace to our civilization".⁶⁷ The Reverend W. D. Reid openly admitted that self-interest motivated him. "Either we must raise them or they will lower us", he warned; we must "Christianize" them or they will

⁶⁵ Reverend H. H. Berlis, The Non-Anglo-Saxons in Canada, their Christianization and Nationalization (Pre-Assembly Congress of the Presbyterian Church, Toronto, 1913), p. 127.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 128. In support of this view, Reverend W. D. Reid expressed fear of those non-Anglo-Saxons who comprised over 21% of the newcomers entering Canada in 1912, whose "foreign religion" was "only a mere caricature of Christianity", p. 119. Nothing, he said, was to hinder the erection of a "pure Christianity" in the new nation of Canada, p. 120.

⁶⁷ Christian Guardian, Oct. 8, 1913.

"paganize us".⁶⁸ Likewise, the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Church in Ontario was issuing the same warning -- "the ignorance, viciousness and superstition of the foreigner, the strongholds of the aliens must be destroyed or the foreigners will destroy our national institutions".⁶⁹ The objective was clearly self preservation. Of course, the Protestant Church was one of those cherished national institutions. And Port Arthur and Fort William were frequently quoted in religious reports as "our most serious case" of the need to Christianize the foreigner.⁷⁰ The Social Surveys of these cities concluded that the fast growing immigrant Churches were responsible for preventing Canadianization.⁷¹ It seemed obvious to many Protestant leaders that the religious struggle (Protestantization) had to be won first in order to effect the Canadianization of the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant.

Cries of concern were also being heard regularly in General Assemblies and Church papers. The Reverend S. C. Murray, longtime Presbyterian minister in Port Arthur

⁶⁸W. D. Reid, Pre-Assembly Congress, op. cit., pp. 123, 126.

⁶⁹Annual Report, Home Mission Board of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Oct. 21, 1912. Baptist Historical Collection, McMaster University (B. H. Coll.), p. 3.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Port Arthur Social Survey, p. 4. Fort William Social Survey, p. 8.

until he became Superintendent of Home Missions in the Synod of Manitoba, felt that the Church was greatly endangered by the "hordes of foreigners" drifting into the cities of the north west.⁷² Churches could not expect these immigrants to become active in Church life, he reasoned, since even Anglo-Saxon immigrants "with Christian training and Anglo-Saxon traditions" often remained aloof from the Church.⁷³ Murray was greatly concerned about purifying "these floods before they precipitate a European silt upon our virgin soil".⁷⁴ It was the duty of the Church to act in order to "save ourselves and save Canada from deteriorating" he later concluded.⁷⁵ Murray also regarded the "non-Anglo-Saxons" as a "menace to our best institutions".⁷⁶

The Reverend W. L. H. Rowand, of St. Andrews in Fort William, likewise warned of the "danger of our nation in the problem of race contact".⁷⁷ He contended that there was no hope for the future if the Church loses

⁷²HMC Report, PGA, 1912, p. 15.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵HMC Report, PGA, 1920, p. 29.

⁷⁶S. C. Murray, The Challenge of our Prairie Provinces (Toronto: Forward Movement, Pres. Church, 1920), p. 6.

⁷⁷DTJ, Oct. 28, 1907.

ground to godliness. "Race contact without Christian influence", he said, "is to demoralize, to degenerate, and to degrade".⁷⁸ In the crisis at hand he called on all Protestants to "lose their lives" for the sake of the nation.

Church leaders often associated a number of social problems with immigration. They were attempting to arouse emotions and draw attention to a situation they considered serious. For example, the Reverend E. W. Parson of Port Arthur Baptist, warned that the immigrant would soon hold the balance of power politically in the north west even though he was not equipped to use it correctly.⁷⁹ Similarly, the Reverend W. R. McIntosh, in a text for Presbyterian young people, spoke of the anarchy seen among southern Europeans -- "the readiness with which Italians find and use concealed weapons, and the number of such cases reported in the press".⁸⁰ The Reverend J. D. Byrnes, District Superintendent of the Presbyterian Church in New Ontario, elaborated further on the same theme and spoke also of the immorality of the many immigrants who read "the rankest kind of literature"

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ PADN, Feb. 12, 1906.

⁸⁰ W. R. McIntosh, Canadian Problems (Toronto: Pres. Pub., 1910), p. 41. Lakehead papers were full of such accounts and inuendos during the period under study.

and advocated "the doctrine of free love".⁸¹ The Finns, he added, had a disregard for marriage. The Reverend W. D. Reid deplored the disease, intemperance, illiteracy, and atheistic socialism that he said accompanied many immigrants.⁸² To be sure, Methodist and Presbyterian reformers especially, were conscious of the fact that little support for temperance and Sabbath keeping would come from Continental European immigrants.⁸³ As a consequence, since these items were major ingredients of Protestant thought and the Victorian ethics of the day, further impetus was given to the efforts to change the immigrant so that he would adopt what Protestant leaders labelled as Canadian ideals.

It seems therefore, that many Protestants had convinced themselves that Canada had reached her place of pre-eminence among the nations "because of righteous principles and conduct" as the Reverend James Woodsworth wrote.⁸⁴ Even though they might have overstated Canada's importance and over-sanctified her citizens, many Protestants

⁸¹PGA, 1914, p. 20.

⁸²W. D. Reid, op. cit., p. 121

⁸³W. R. McIntosh, op. cit., pp. 139-140.

⁸⁴James Woodsworth, Thirty Years in the Canadian Northwest (Toronto: McClelland, Goodshild and Stewart, 1917), p. 232. The book was completed in 1914 but not published for three years.

believed that they had worked hard to establish a bridgehead of righteousness in the new world and especially in western Canada. They had no intentions of retreating or being dragged to a 'lower level'. The immigrant from a vastly different background posed a threat to the fulfillment of their Protestant national order. Consequently, Protestant reaction to the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant was perhaps not so much altruistic or even nationalistic as it was a move for self-preservation and recruitment.

"For our own sake, as well as for theirs", a Presbyterian General Assembly warned, "we must strive to give them the wider outlook, the larger sympathies, and the conceptions of life that are necessary to enable them to play their part worthily in the upbuilding of the Canadian nationality of the future".⁸⁵ Some of the Protestant Churches in the Lakehead, however, were not as radical in their response to the non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant as were the Presbyterians and Methodists.

⁸⁵HMC Report, PGA, 1908, pp. 5-6.

BAPTIST, LUTHERAN, AND ANGLICAN
REACTION IN THE LAKEHEAD

All of the major Protestant Churches in the Lakehead were well established in the two towns by 1903. There were only five Protestant Churches that had any significant numerical strength among the population from 1903-1914; they were the Presbyterian, Methodist, Anglican, Lutheran and Baptist.¹ And although the Baptist Church was the smallest of the five, it was the first to make any real effort to deal with the non-English immigrant problem.

Miss Agnes Sproule, a missionary of a small Baptist Church in Fort William (41 members in 1893)² started the distribution of tracts in the coal dock section of the town in 1893. This was the eastern part of the town that came to be largely inhabited by people of non-British stock. They were generally employed in moving the masses of coal from the ships to the trains heading west. It was there that she visited "foreigners",

¹See the 1913 Social Surveys of Port Arthur and Fort William. All five numbered over a thousand, whereas the next largest Protestant group had only a few hundred adherents.

²Miss Agnes Sproule, The Early Days of the First Baptist Church, Fort William, n.d. But she died in 1911. B. H. Coll.

and held Sunday School and meetings "during the week to teach English and other subjects which would be helpful to the people".³ No effort to organize a Church there, however, was put forth until a few years later.

The Baptist Church showed considerable interest in the Scandinavian immigrant, perhaps largely because a number of them had joined that faith in their home country. For two years, 1903-1905, the Reverend Fred Palmberg, a representative of the Swedish Baptist General Conference of America, conducted services in Port Arthur. Then on September 24, 1905, a Church was organized and given the name 'Swedish Baptist Church'. The name was soon changed to the 'Scandinavian Baptist Church' in order to attract Norwegians as well.⁴ However, it was a struggling work; there were seven members in 1905 and only 19 by 1918.⁵ In 1909 a building was erected and Sunday School work was also carried on at Stanley and Slate River. One of the members, Axel Carlson, went to study at Brandon College in 1908 and later returned in 1916 to minister to the small Church in Port Arthur. Apparently there was no

³W. S. Buchan to Mrs. Cameron. Fort William, Oct. 14, 1947. B. H. Coll. Buchan directed the Prince Arthur Blvd. mission.

⁴J. E. Williamson, Historical Report of the Port Arthur Scan. Baptist Churches, Oct. 14, 1937. B. H. Coll.

⁵R. G. Babion, History of the Norwestern Association of Baptist Churches (Dryden: Alex Wilson, Pub., 1968), p. 4.

effort to begin a similar work in Fort William because it was "difficult holding meetings" there.⁶ The Baptist Church was using traditional methods of outreach in order to interest the immigrant. Success was minimal.

As the new century advanced and immigration to the Thunder Bay area increased rapidly, Baptist leaders expressed concern over the problems immigration brought with it. In 1906, the Reverend E. W. Parson of Port Arthur, in reference to Laurier's phrase that the 20th century belonged to Canada, lamented the fact that little was being done for the "ignorant immigrants" who were being allowed into the country. These newcomers, he stated, were coming with their "own thought, their own civilization, and their own conception of license and liberty".⁷ Although the Reverend Mr. Parson insisted that the foreigners had a need for spiritual deliverance, it seems he was equally concerned that Canada maintain its British dominance and preserve "the integrity of the British nation".⁸ He expressed his conviction that the west would soon be the "main force" in governing Canada and foreigners, therefore, would soon be sending men to Ottawa to make laws and hold "the balance of power".

⁶J. E. Williamson, op. cit.

⁷PADN, Feb. 12. 1906.

⁸Ibid.

In the same manner, the Reverend W. E. Norton of Fort William Baptist spoke in 1907 of the great increase in population in Fort William during the previous five years. He suggested that Fort William presented an opportunity for Christian work unsurpassed in the Dominion.⁹ It was no doubt this type of concern that motivated the different Protestant Churches in the two cities to make the decision "that each denomination should look after one nationality".¹⁰ The Baptists were "allotted" the Ukrainians, although they soon found themselves dealing with "Italians, Greeks, Persians, in fact anyone".¹¹ In 1910, the Reverend Peter Shostak began working for the cause of Christianity in the coal dock section.¹² Perhaps this was the result of the Home Mission Board's report in 1910 that stressed the need of mission work in the north, in places such as Port Arthur and Fort William, where "foreign languages were spoken as much as the Anglo-Saxon tongue".¹³ The call was to protect "our" sons and daughters there because "New Ontario is being endangered

⁹DTJ, Feb. 5, 1907.

¹⁰Buchan to Cameron, Oct. 14, 1947. B. H. Coll.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²DTJ, Apr. 21, 1910.

¹³59th Report of the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Church, Oct. 19, 1910. Toronto: Standard Pub. Co., p. 9.

by the fact that it is getting much more than its proper share of the foreign-speaking peoples, who are swarming into Canada in such great numbers at the present time."¹⁴ In essence, the report was suggesting that it was becoming impossible for a handful of Anglo-Saxons to assimilate such large numbers of immigrants who desperately needed to be Canadianized and Christianized. "We dare not refuse the appeal which the incoming thousands with their moral and religious darkness and insensibility make to us, to lead them to the light, and into the larger and better life of which our own gospel privileges have made us the happy possession."¹⁵

The Baptist Church therefore made a concerted effort to preach to the foreigners in the east end of the city. According to their own standards, the work "grew so fast that there was not room in the building to carry on the English as well as the Ukrainian".¹⁶ Thus in 1912 the English segment of the congregation moved into a new location on Prince Arthur Boulevard nearby,¹⁷ and the Ukrainian parishioners were left in the charge of the Reverend Mr. Shostak. This "Ruthenian" mission¹⁸ was

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Buchan to Cameron, Oct. 14, 1947. B. H. Coll.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸DTJ, Jan. 11, 1913.

deemed successful enough to demand a larger Church house, so they left the old building on McDonald Street and moved to one on Pacific and McIntosh¹⁹ (see map). But even though the reports of success among the immigrants seemed to indicate great progress, the number of people at any one service never exceeded forty.²⁰ Even by 1916 the membership was only fifteen.²¹ The Baptists were experiencing considerable difficulty in their attempts to convert the immigrants to Protestantism. "The work among the non-English peoples had been carried on in the face of many difficulties" it was recorded.²² In fact, the Home Mission Board gave a history of the mission and reported that Baptists had endured many hardships in Fort William in trying to influence the immigrants, including being cursed at and having their lives threatened.²³ Perhaps this type of experience helped the Methodists to

¹⁹The building was purchased in 1943 and has since been occupied by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Catholic Church.

²⁰Buchan to Cameron, Oct. 14, 1947. B. H. Coll.

²¹65th Annual Report of the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Church, Oct. 19, 1916. B. H. Coll. The Reverend Boris Klotchkoff began working with the Ukrainian mission in 1916 and carried on the effort for many years thereafter. It was a constant struggle.

²²Minute Book of the Thunder Bay Association of Baptist Churches, n. d., p. 20. B. H. Coll.

²³67th Annual Report of the Home Mission Board of the Baptist Church, 1918, p. 10. B. H. Coll.

aim chiefly at teaching English and Civics to the foreign element rather than at conversion, as the Baptist W. S. Buchan recalls rather sardonically: "When Mr. Shaver was there, there was no religious teaching. It was all physical and mental."²⁴

To be sure, the Baptists had made a concerted effort to deal with the immigrant problem in the Lakehead. Baptist numerical strength had grown as well, from 377 in both towns in 1901 to 967 in 1911.²⁵ That number represented about 1/4 and 1/6 of the largest Protestant groups in the cities, the Methodists and Presbyterians respectively.²⁶ The Lutheran and Anglican Churches had also grown considerably.

The Lutheran Church was growing rapidly in both cities due to the influx of Scandinavian immigrants.²⁷ Most, if not all Lutherans, however, were recent immigrants themselves. Hence, one can understand why this church, not yet 'Canadianized' itself, and still in need

²⁴Buchan to Cameron, op. cit. Shaver was Director of the Methodist mission in the coal dock area.

²⁵1901 Fourth Census, Vol. I. 1911 Fifth Census, Vol. II.

²⁶In 1901 the Baptists had 1/3 the number the Methodists had and 1/4 that of the Presbyterians.

²⁷There were 2696 Lutherans in Port Arthur in 1913 and 1551 in Fort William. Finns, Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes made up the bulk. 1913 Social Surveys.

of solid leadership, was interested only in strengthening its position as a leading spiritual force in the community. Lutherans in the Lakehead were not very interested in the movement that emphasized the Canadianizing of the non-English-speaking foreigners. In fact, the Lutheran Church in Canada rejected the ideas of the social gospel movement. Its pulpit was to be used to emphasize man's relationship to God and the need of regeneration. The securing of social reform was left to individuals.

One might think, however, that the Church of England would take a leading role in the Protestant patriotic effort of assimilating the immigrant. Yet such was not the case. This too is understandable when it is remembered that most of the Anglican clergy were themselves immigrants. It would be unlikely that they would be as enthused as native Canadians in Canadianizing foreigners. The Reverend Roland F. Palmer, an Englishman who ministered in Port Arthur from 1916-1920, stated that the Anglican feeling was one of "indifference rather than opposition" to the foreign population.²⁸ The Church was "slow about ministering to ethnic groups" he wrote.²⁹ He contends, however, that one of the first Anglican efforts to minister to "ethnic groups" was an experiment the Port Arthur

²⁸Palmer Interview

²⁹Roland F. Palmer to Canon Thompson, Nov. 23, 1972.

Anglican Church (St. John's) conducted with Swedish immigrants from 1905 to 1910.³⁰ Although it in no way ranks with the Methodist, Presbyterian or even the Baptist effort it still constituted a reaction of a Protestant Church in the Lakehead toward a non-English-speaking immigrant group.

Palmer recalls that the "Anglican Church has always been far too much a Church of nice English-speaking families".³¹ There was not a great deal of interest, he says, in seeking new members from other ethnic groups. However, at least one Anglican leader was trying to arouse Anglican interest in the immigrant problem. The Reverend L. N. Tucker wrote a study book for mission study classes, called From Sea to Sea. He encouraged missionary work among the Scandinavian immigrants, who were the most "desirable" because they were "intelligent, moral, progressive and easily assimilated".³² He referred to the Galicians, on the other hand, as the "lowest class of immigrants".³³ Nevertheless, Tucker called upon his Church to engage in a work among the Galicians similar

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Palmer Interview

³² L. N. Tucker, From Sea to Sea, The Dominion Study Book of the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church, 1911, p. 28.

³³ Ibid., p. 34.

to that being done by Presbyterians. In 1908, he wrote: "It seems a pity that the Church of England, which has so many points of contact with them, and which is so eminently qualified to meet their special needs, should have either have lacked the will or the power to undertake any work in such a hopeful field."³⁴ Thus, for whatever reasons, Anglicans across Canada (and in the Lakehead as well) seemed unconcerned about this "rapid influx of illiterate foreigners" who were "dangerous", according to Tucker, and "posed a threat to our national life".³⁵ The mission outreach of the Anglicans continued to be extended mainly to Indians and Eskimoes, and occasionally Orientals.³⁶ In the Lakehead, Anglicans took a special interest in the Scandinavians. This would carry on a traditional friendly connection that the Church of England in general had maintained for centuries with the Church of Sweden, which was basically a Lutheran Church.

In fact, three Lambeth Conferences, 1888, 1897 and 1908 had discussed the possibility of some sort of alliance between the two communions.³⁷ In the United

³⁴L. N. Tucker, Western Canada (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1908), p. 24.

³⁵Tucker, From Sea to Sea, op. cit., p. 10.

³⁶A Miss Maunsell, a deaconess of St. John's, ran a settlement house at intercity for Chinese, teaching them domestic procedure. She also assisted Palmer, 1916-1920.

³⁷Algoma Missionary News, Oct. 1909. (hereafter AMN)

States many Swedes passed under the control of the Protestant Episcopal Church after the American Revolution. This Church is the American equivalent of the Anglican communion. Many new Scandinavians, mostly Swedish and Norwegian immigrants, when they came to America around 1850, refused to leave the 'mother' Church and eventually formed the Augustana Synod of North America in 1860.³⁸ A number of these Churches were established in Minnesota and Wisconsin in the 1870's and 1880's. They were the ones seeking to commence a work among the Scandinavians in the Lakehead. It seemed only natural that they should seek assistance from the Anglican Church.

The Algoma Missionary News, the official organ of the diocese of Algoma, of which the Lakehead was a part, mentioned the arrival of the Reverend K. S. Totterman in August, 1899, to speak to Bishop Thorneloe who was visiting Port Arthur. Totterman had a "curacy in Duluth" and was a Swede, but he was interested in the growing Finn community. He was able to preach to them on August 23,³⁹ before returning to Duluth. Nothing more came of this. In 1905, however, the Missionary Society of the Canadian

³⁸This Synod was later absorbed into the Lutheran Church (1918).

³⁹AMN, Sept. 1, 1899. The Finns had erected a Church, Holy Trinity, in 1897 in Port Arthur. The Anglicans took a minor interest in it by sending a deaconess to do a "work of charity in this place". AMN, Nov. 2, 1899.

Church (MSCC), granted a sum of money for "experimental work" among the Swedes and Norwegians of Port Arthur because they were "absolutely unprovided with spiritual ministrations".⁴⁰ Mr. Larzon, a Scandinavian missionary at Schreiber, consented to make an effort in this direction. Services were started, at St. John's Church in Port Arthur and at St. Luke's in Fort William, for Scandinavians. On one occasion Larzon even met with "100 Swedes" on Mount McKay to conduct a service according to "the beautiful form of the Church of England, translated into Swedish".⁴¹ Nevertheless, Larzon's efforts were considered a failure. The Anglican explanation was that the people refused to "pay their quota to the support of the Church's ministrations", so they "gradually lost interest and drew back".⁴² Anglicans were apparently not overly enthusiastic about aid to an ethnic Church. The work was abandoned for the time being.

Totterman, however, appeared on the scene again. This time he stayed long enough to establish a Church, April 20, 1906, and to begin the erection of a building.⁴³

⁴⁰AMN, Feb. 1906, p. 17.

⁴¹DTJ, June 13, 1905.

⁴²AMN, Feb. 1906, p. 17.

⁴³The Canonical Church Register of St. Ansgarius Swedish Church, Port Arthur, 1906. (records at St. John's Anglican).

It was called St. Ansgarius Parish. St. Ansgarius had been a leader in the Scandinavian Churches in the 9th century. Totterman was described by the Anglicans as "our missionary to the Scandinavians in the Thunder Bay district".⁴⁴ He "enthusiastically ministered" to the Scandinavians in both towns "to whom the Lutherans have not ministered at all".⁴⁵ Totterman baptized and married Finns, Swedes and Norwegians.⁴⁶ Yet, some of the Scandinavians disagreed with Totterman's "plans and work" and consequently brought in a Lutheran minister from America, the Reverend P. N. Sjogran. He soon established a Swedish Lutheran Church and laid a cornerstone in August, 1907. Although a number of Scandinavians "rallied about Mr. Totterman"⁴⁷ in the rivalry between the two factions to win support, the Swedish Lutheran group finally won out. Totterman left in 1908. He was replaced for a year by another Scandinavian minister from Minnesota but to no avail. The Scandinavians gradually quit attending and St. Ansgarius began to be used mainly by Anglicans themselves in 1910. It was too near St. John's Church to

⁴⁴AMN, Oct. 1908, p. 112 and Feb. 1909, p. 18.

⁴⁵AMN, Sept. 1906, p. 103.

⁴⁶St. Ansgarius registers 1906-1908. Totterman entries.

⁴⁷AMN, Feb. 1906, p. 17.

merit another building so it was sold outright to the Norwegian Lutheran Church.

Why did this Anglican mission to the Scandinavians fail? Bishop Thorneloe suggests that the Scandinavians "failed to appreciate its privileges".⁴⁸ The Bishop had even advised against Totterman's building schemes from the first and had refused to give him authority. St. John's later had to bail out the effort and pay debts. According to the Anglican Church, "everything depended on their willingness (Scandinavians) to accept and profit by these opportunities".⁴⁹ Apparently aristocratic Anglican paternalism was not enough to influence Scandinavians to maintain a connection with the Church of England as their American brothers had with the Episcopal Church. Then too, Totterman's "strong views"⁵⁰ and poor business sense obviously did not help the mission to win a permanent place of trust in Anglican minds.

Lakehead Anglicans displayed interest, and that was marginal, only in the "intelligent, progressive" Scandinavian immigrant during the period 1900-1914. This interest was due to the long connection the Swedish Church had with the Church of England and the appeals by Totterman

⁴⁸MSCC Report, 1910, p. 19.

⁴⁹AMN, Feb. 1906, p. 17.

⁵⁰AMN, Dec. 1912.

and American Lutherans for assistance. They were largely indifferent to the needs of any other ethnic group with whom they had no ecclesiastical connection. The Algoma Missionary News gives no evidence during those years that Lakehead Anglicans were interested in establishing a Church or social effort among any southern or eastern European immigrants. All of this seemed true to the national pattern for Anglicans. Canadianization and the evangelizing of the non-English-speaking immigrant was by and large left to the Methodist-Presbyterian social gospel reformers. This is borne out clearly in Port Arthur and Fort William.

THE PRESBYTERIAN COMMITMENT TO LOCAL MISSIONS

Bryce Stewart, who compiled the 1913 Social Surveys of Port Arthur and Fort William, was critical of Presbyterian and Methodist lack of concern for a fuller social gospel. He wrote: "In the main, the message thus far has been confined to the individual religious life, but there is a wide scope for influencing the social, political, and economic development of this new city."¹ S. D. Clark also makes a similar criticism of the Churches throughout Canada: "Such religious denominations as the Church of England and Presbyterian Church, by failing to develop a more inclusive social philosophy, became inevitably class churches or churches dependent upon the support of particular ethnic groups in the community."²

It is perhaps true that the Presbyterians in the Lakehead were mostly concerned with individual Christian piety and with involving themselves with the many "Presbyterians from the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland" who were coming to the area from 1903-1914.³ It is perhaps

¹1913 Social Survey of Port Arthur, p. 5.

²S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948) p. 172.

³DTJ, Oct. 25, 1969. Dr. Agnew H. Johnston "Presbyterian Centennial".

also true that the Presbyterian Church in the Lakehead was less successful than the Methodist Church in meeting the social needs of the immigrants in the growing cities of Port Arthur and Fort William. And yet, there is a substantial amount of evidence that Presbyterians, both nationally and locally, made some serious attempts to solve some of the nation's social problems. And high on this list of problems was the relationship with the non-English-speaking immigrant. The Presbyterian Churches in the Lakehead addressed themselves to this issue, a key issue in the social gospel movement, very early in this century when the problem was paramount.

The presence of Presbyterians in the Lakehead area goes back to the 1700's although it was some time later before a church was established. Mrs. F. C. Perry, a long time member of St. Andrews recalled in 1907 seeing gravestones that dated back to 1787 with names such as McTavish, Fraser and Murray.⁴ In 1869, the Reverend Mr. Topp of Toronto, at the invitation of John McIntyre, the Hudson's Bay Company official in charge of Fort William, conducted the first recorded Presbyterian service in the Lakehead. For the next four years itinerant ministers and students held service in the store house of the old Fort. Finally, the Reverend Donald McKerracher became

⁴DTJ, October 21, 1907.

the first Presbyterian minister to take up residence in the Thunder Bay area. He resided in Prince Arthur's Landing from 1873-1880 and preached each Sunday in a small school house in the east end of Fort William. He ministered to the surrounding district -- Prince Arthur's Landing, Fort William and Silver Islet. By 1890, however, the Presbyterian Church had well established congregations in both towns.

In 1890, the Reverend W. L. H. Rowand was chosen to minister to St. Andrew's Church, a name given to the congregation that had moved to the corner of Donald and Brodie Streets (see map). He remained here until 1910 when he was succeeded by the Reverend J. A. Cranston. In Port Arthur, another Presbyterian minister was to have a similar lengthy stay. The Reverend S. C. Murray came in 1893 and remained until 1911. He was succeeded by the Reverend Andrew D. Reid.

Murray was keenly interested in the social problems at the Lakehead, in labour struggles, in civic responsibility and public morality, in patriotism and national efforts like Prohibition and the Lord's Day movement. He soon became involved with the non-English-speaking immigrants moving into the Lakehead at the turn of the century. Of special concern to him were the Finns who began to arrive in large numbers in the 1890's and settle mainly in Port Arthur. According to Murray, the

Lakehead has perhaps the oldest Finnish settlement in Canada. And it was from "among the Finns of Port Arthur", Murray recalls, that he had "some warm friends".⁵

In 1897 a request came from a settlement of Finns in Port Arthur and Fort William, "consisting together of about forty families and forty single persons, whose own Church, the Lutheran, is unable to supply with Gospel Ordinances".⁶ Murray was being asked to help support a missionary of the Finnish Lutheran Church. The appeal had been made by the Reverend J. Heimonen, an American minister who was visiting the Finns in the Lakehead and trying to arrange some religious services.

Murray had a "warm heart toward these new Canadians", Heinomen recalls,⁷ and so he took up the matter with the newly formed (1894) Superior Presbytery (North Western Ontario) who agreed to petition the Winnipeg based Synod. This unusual request for a grant was further referred to a committee of the General Assembly. It was finally agreed to support the Finns in the matter

⁵S. C. Murray, in a letter printed only in a rough draft of A. I. Heinomen, Finns in Finland and in Canada, United Church of Canada, 1927, pp. 113-115. UCA, Toronto.

⁶Minute Book of the Home Mission Committee (hereafter HMC) of the Synod of Manitoba and the North West Vol. II, Sept. 29, 1897, p. 144. UCA, Winnipeg.

⁷A. I. Heinomen, pp. 113-115.

if the missionary in charge applied to be received as a "minister of our church".⁸ Murray replied that he was convinced the Finns would refuse such an offer. As Convener of the Home Mission Committee of Superior Presbytery his view on the matter apparently carried enough weight to guarantee a weekly grant of \$4 to the Finnish settlement with no strings attached. Yet the Synod reports were already referring to this support as "the mission to the Finns at Fort William and Port Arthur".⁹

Indeed, it was an unusual experiment for the Presbyterian Church to be supporting a "mission" that still maintained connection with the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Murray had won his case with the Synod and Assembly by awakening in them a fear of the non-church going immigrant. "These were Protestant people who needed pastoral care" he pleaded, "and unless they received attention would drift away from the Church, eventually becoming a menace to the community".¹⁰ Murray could not conceive of public morality and responsible citizenship without the Church's direct influence in the lives of Canadians. Therefore, for the moment at least, social concern had outweighed doctrinal differences.

⁸Minute Book, HMC, Manitoba Synod, Sept. 29, 1897, p. 160.

⁹Minute Book, HMC, Sept. 27, 1898, p. 188.

¹⁰S. C. Murray, in A. I. Heinomen.

The first minister of the Finnish "mission" was the Reverend Frans Erik Odhe who came in September, 1898. He only remained until March, 1899 because the American Lutheran Synod "suspended" him "from the office of minister".¹¹ Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church continued its effort with the Finns. The grant was maintained "in order to keep faith with the congregation of Finlanders" of Fort William and Port Arthur.¹² In November, 1900, the Reverend J. Heimonen was inducted into the Finnish mission as a "missionary speaking their own language".¹³ He served both Port Arthur and Fort William Finns but the meeting place was in Fort William.

Local Presbyterians got involved in the Finnish work by assisting the Finns in erecting buildings at Port Arthur and Fort William around the turn of the century. Murray assisted in the opening exercises at the one in Fort William. However, there were problems with property. Apparently a Mrs. Johnson had been mainly instrumental in soliciting subscriptions from Finns and Presbyterian Church members for the erection of the building. It was later discovered that she owned the lots and "when services

¹¹Minute Book, HMC, Mar. 14, 1899, p. 201.

¹²Ibid.

¹³General Assembly Reports, Presbyterian Church, 1901, pp. 17, 430.

were well established, she claimed the church and demanded rent".¹⁴ Murray and Rowand were asked by Superior Presbytery to try and solve the problem.¹⁵ The Finns, however, were indignant, and withdrew from the Church altogether and erected one of their own. Many Presbyterians were angry as well, and demonstrated their displeasure by refusing to assist in the erection of another meeting place for the Finns. Some Presbyterians undoubtedly were questioning the wisdom of Presbyterian support to this immigrant mission.

Yet, the General Assembly still reported it as a Presbyterian "foreign work among the Finlanders".¹⁶ And in 1903, there were 91 families connected with the mission and an average of 200 at "Sabbath" meetings. But, in 1904, the Assembly decided that the mission was now self sustaining and withdrew their grant. "The strength of the congregation had very greatly increased"¹⁷ -- in fact, their 150 communicants almost equalled the number enrolled at St. Andrews in Fort William.¹⁸ Thus came to an end an unusual venture for Presbyterians, one that was

¹⁴S. C. Murray, in A. I. Heinomen.

¹⁵Presbytery Minutes, May 26, 1902.

¹⁶Pres. General Assembly Report 1903, p. 33.

¹⁷Superior Presbytery Minutes, 1904, p. 112.

¹⁸Pres. General Assembly Report 1904, pp. 25, 427.

to be repeated as well with Ukrainian immigrants. But Murray's initial concern for and interest in the Finns did not terminate here. The Reverend Mr. Heimonen frequently discussed his "troubles" with him and they teamed up to seek solutions.

In 1906, Murray wrote, there came to Fort William and Port Arthur "a large body of Socialistic Finns who repudiated the church entirely. They frequently paraded on holidays, carrying a red flag."¹⁹ These became a "source of pain to Mr. Heimonen" because they discouraged Finnish involvement in Protestant pursuits. Then too, their "views on marriage" were radically different, for "they refused marriage by a Christian minister". "They would have accepted marriage by a civil magistrate", Murray continued, "but magistrates were not allowed to marry".²⁰ Consequently, a Finlander would purchase a marriage license and then live with a woman as though legally married. Often they would remain loyal to each other, but if the man were disloyal, the woman "had no redress by law," Murray argued.

Upon the encouragement of Heimonen and a few other Finns, Murray wrote a letter to the Port Arthur council demanding that an investigation into the situation

¹⁹S. C. Murray, in A. I. Heinomen.

²⁰Ibid.

be made immediately. Council was shocked and so were the newspapers which gave the story front page coverage with such titles as "Believes neither in Bible nor God".²¹ The councillors, ministers and newspaper men all saw a social institution being threatened. The newspaper deplored the fact that a "certain proportion of the Finnish population"²² was acting "contrary to the rules of society".²³ Murray was deeply concerned about the social implications of this "evil" -- about the "protection of unsuspecting women", and the "scandal" facing the town.²⁴ Heimonen, on the other hand, complained: "A few years ago, we had a flourishing church . . . we have not the number we should have on account of this sentiment."²⁵ It seems he saw the very existence of the Church threatened.

It is difficult to determine if the investigation into Finnish marital habits accomplished anything. There was a complaint two years later, however, concerning the "large number of illegitimate children" born in Port Arthur and Fort William, because "conditions under which men and women exist in certain foreign quarters . . . have

²¹DTJ, June 2, 1906.

²²Ibid.

²³DTJ, May 30, 1906.

²⁴DTJ, June 2, 1906.

²⁵Ibid.

not been investigated by the proper authorities".²⁶ And after the war the Superior Presbytery tried to renew efforts with the Finns in Port Arthur and Fort William, because they concluded that the "Presbyterian Church in Canada owes some duty to these nominal Christians".²⁷ They suggested again that the Presbyterian Church place a "paid worker" among the Finns. They argued that this would be a "very important Christian and national work" because the Finns' "atheistic and other erroneous beliefs have made them a most serious menace to the religious and industrial future of our City and District".²⁸ The Presbyterian Church in Port Arthur and Fort William apparently saw their Protestant Evangelical Christian concepts as a panacea for all social problems.

In November, 1907, the Reverend Mr. J. G. Shearer spoke at St. Andrews in Fort William and encouraged his listeners to become involved with the social problems of the city. Shearer had ministered in Fort William from 1881-1885. He was now secretary of social services for the Presbyterian Church of Canada and had just been successful, in cooperation with labour groups and various Christian groups, in getting a Lord's Day Act passed.

²⁶ DTJ, May 20, 1909

²⁷ Superior Presbytery Minutes, March 1, 1921.

²⁸ Ibid.

This cooperation soon led to the formation of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada (which Shearer and the Reverend T. A. Moore, Methodist Secretary, headed) which in 1913 changed its name to the Social Service Council of Canada. It was to have a great part in the Social Gospel Movement with its 1914 Ottawa Assembly. In Fort William, Shearer called for the enforcing of the Lord's Day Act; he spoke against trashy literature, gambling and other social evils; he upheld the temperance effort and encouraged St. Andrews to get interested and involved in the industrial problems of the city.²⁹

Shearer's plea was similar to the one given later, in 1913, by Bryce M. Stewart who compiled social surveys for the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Port Arthur and Fort William, and was himself very active in labour causes. Stewart expressed disappointment at the lack of interest shown by the clergy in attending meetings of the Trades and Labour Councils. The latter encouraged their participation but "the ministers . . . have never availed themselves of this privilege . . . except by paying the fee and appointing delegates who seldom attend the meetings".³⁰ Stewart felt that the discussion of social and industrial problems such as "labour exploitation in

²⁹DTJ, November 18, 1907.

³⁰Social Survey, Port Arthur, p. 8.

camps, graft in employment, want of inspection in workshops, military service in strikes etc." would help them to "appreciate the working man's point of view".³¹ And yet, some leading Presbyterians had become involved in the social problems of the two cities.

As far back as 1898 the Presbytery of Superior was adopting resolutions for prohibition and placing them in the local newspapers.³² In 1906 Rowand, now clerk of Superior Presbytery, was calling for "Funeral Reform" because too much extravagance and "unseemly display" characterized most funerals and the poor "have often to go without proper food and clothing that the demands of fashion may be met".³³ Rowand might not have considered the practice so much as "exploitation" of the poor but he was indeed aware of the vicious circle into which the "wealthier and middle classes" had placed the poor. To be sure, the immigrants would be the first to suffer.

S. C. Murray too was prominent in city affairs and often spoke out in the newspapers and the pulpit on civic problems.³⁴ Murray found the social conditions

³¹Ibid.

³²Presbytery of Superior Minutes, Sept. 6, 1898.

³³DTJ, Nov. 1, 1906.

³⁴PADN, Dec. 21, 1907.

"a challenge for the minister and moral reformer".³⁵ He encouraged public debates on socialism and the labour movement. In April, 1908, his Church (St. Paul's), was the setting for a meeting of the Port Arthur Trades and Labour Council. Murray welcomed the trade unionists from the area and called for law and order, reason, and the golden rule.³⁶ Murray reacted to the 1909 strike much like the Reverend J. M. Shaver of Wesley Institute viewed the labour struggles. Murray blamed the conditions of the workers, most of them immigrants, on the English population's treatment of them. He said there was an immediate need to solve the "problems of education, sanitation and child labour".³⁷ Murray was a social reformer preaching a social gospel.

In 1907 Murray and Mr. Fred Urry, a socialist and leader in the labour movement and a member of Murray's congregation, were checking the census rolls to determine what percentage of Port Arthur was church going. In the process they discovered inflated returns in the assessors figures and quickly reported a number of examples to the

³⁵S. C. Murray, cited in Jean Morrison, unpub. M.A. Thesis, Lakehead University, 1974. "Community and Conflict: A Study of the Working Class and its Relationship at the Canadian Lakehead 1903-1913", p. 96.

³⁶Ibid., p. 97.

³⁷Ibid., p. 165.

papers. Murray felt that an inflated census was "of direct value in increasing the number of liquor licenses and thus adding something to the city treasury".³⁸ Murray was calling for civic honesty.

In 1908 Murray organized the Moral and Social Reform League in Port Arthur. Mr. Urry was chosen as secretary-treasurer,³⁹ and soon he was chosen to represent Canadian Labour on the Presbyterian Board of Moral and Social Reform.⁴⁰ A Moral and Social Reform League was organized by Rowand in Fort William in 1910 after a meeting that discussed the "awful power that the liquor interests have in West Fort William". Public drunkenness was on the increase and Presbyterians were disturbed that "most of the people accepted it as inevitable in a western town, and put forth very little effort to secure the enforcement of the law".⁴¹ The Presbyterian Church was honestly attempting to arouse social action on some issues.

In his concern for social reform Murray certainly had the immigrant in mind. He was troubled about the

³⁸DTJ, Dec. 23, 1907.

³⁹PADN, July 11, 1908.

⁴⁰This Board was headed by J. G. Shearer (former Fort William minister). W. Lyon MacKenzie also sat on it. Jean Morrison, p. 97.

⁴¹The Presbyterian, April 14, 1910, Vol. XVI, No. 15, pp. 462-3.

"hordes of foreigners" who were "drifting" into the cities. The majority of newcomers held "aloof from the Church",⁴² even those from Anglo-Saxon background. As a result, what could the Church expect, he questioned, from those coming from "Russia, Austria, Finland, Hungary, and other continental regions". He feared for a city that was unchurched because to him it meant social disaster. It meant greed by land speculators and therefore lack of property and housing among the poor who could not "purchase a city lot". He feared for the Church because poverty meant people would not have the "wherewith to support gospel ordinances" and new generations of the "toiling masses" would further and further alienate themselves from the Protestant faith. It seemed that Murray worried that immigration might sound the death knell of the Presbyterian Church in the west.

The Reverend S. C. Murray, who had long been interested in immigrants and Home Missions, now took over the Superintendency of Home Missions for the Synod of Manitoba and the North West. Although he moved to Winnipeg in 1911 he still encouraged the Presbyterian Church in the Lakehead to reach out to the immigrants, because the "future welfare" of the Church was at stake, he said.⁴³

⁴²General Assembly, Pres. Church, 1912, p. 15.

⁴³Acts and Proceedings of 31st Synod of Manitoba 1913, p. 224.

Murray was especially interested in the Ruthenians who were settling in increasing numbers within his jurisdiction. Indeed, during his eighteen year ministry in the Lakehead, he had seen their numbers grow rapidly. He now called for a "sympathetic consideration of the intellectual and spiritual needs of the foreign elements" and urged "the most aggressive policy possible for the evangelization of the non-Anglo-Saxon races".⁴⁴ Murray had much to do with formulating Church policy with regard to the immigrants within the next few years, including Presbyterian involvement with the Independent Greek Church. In his mind it was the special task of the Presbyterian "rather than any other Protestant element to determine the future intellectual and moral complexion" of the Ruthenians.⁴⁵

Murray's view of the Ruthenians was perhaps more moderate and complimentary than that held by many of his Protestant colleagues but similar to the view of the Reverend J. M. Shaver of Wesley Institute, who also saw "the latent possibilities of our foreign-born citizens".⁴⁶ Murray only partly accepted the possibility that they were "intellectually stunted . . . politically

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ General Assembly Report, 1914, p. 25.

⁴⁶ cf. chapter 6, p. 126, footnote 61.

corruptible . . . and a national menace".⁴⁷ He viewed them more as a "strong, virile prolific race", with "industrial courage" and a will to accept jobs in the cities "that Canadians would not touch".⁴⁸ He recognized that they were not "pagans" but were "intensely religious". He knew they dreaded the "thought of assimilation" yet they were "susceptible to the influence of a better social environment" and were "rapidly acquiring Canadian customs".⁴⁹ This was a "plastic period" for the Ruthenians; they had "cut the bridges behind them", he said, and it was the task of the Church to aid them in their social and spiritual needs. He pleaded for "patience in dealing with these people. They have farther to come than we have thought".⁵⁰

To be sure, Murray was aware of the attitudes of other ministers in his Synod toward the Ruthenians. As clerk of the Synod, and formerly Superior Home Mission Committee convenor, he would have known and perhaps have been involved in the making of a number of resolutions, in 1900, concerning the immigrants. Some of these resolutions were: "that it is most desirable in the interests of morality and religion as well as in the interests of

⁴⁷General Assembly Report 1914, p. 25.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰General Assembly Report 1917, p. 16.

patriotism and the public weal, that the settlers coming from foreign countries who are ignorant of our institutions, language and customs, should be educated, evangelized and Canadianized as soon as may be"; "that the Greek Church is doing nothing for the religious well being of its members, and the Roman Catholic Church very little and hence the mass of the people are left -- like sheep without a shepherd"; "that . . . it would be a national peril to neglect the moral and spiritual well being of these people and to leave the children uneducated and the whole mass unassimilated".⁵¹ In effect, the Home Mission Committee was saying that the only course open to Presbyterians at that time, and the one most patriotic, was the assimilation of the foreigner through evangelism and Canadianization. This would see the immigrant adopt English-Canadian moral standards, which were essentially Victorian, the Protestant religion (preferably Presbyterianism), the English language, and English-Canadian institutions and traditions. In general, this was the aim of most Presbyterians during 1903-1914. And this message was conveyed to the Lakehead.⁵²

⁵¹Minute Book of the H.M.C. of the Synod of Man. and the N.W., Vol. II, Oct. 5, 1900, p. 288.

⁵²For example, Miss Robinson, secretary of the Presbyterian Women's H.M. Society, spoke at St. Andrews about the thousands of foreigners at the Lakehead and the need to evangelize them "to win Canada for Christ". DTJ July 20, 1905.

It was as a result of this widely held sentiment that the Synod of Manitoba and the North West decided to foster the growth of the Independent Greek Church of Canada -- which gathered in thousands and provided one of the most interesting episodes in Canadian Presbyterian Church History. As Synod Superintendent of Home Missions, S. C. Murray was much involved in this movement. It soon provided a focus of attention for Presbyterians in the Lakehead who adopted the Synod policy in an attempt to incorporate Ruthenians into the Presbyterian Church there.

Most of the Ruthenians (Ukrainians) were from Galicia in the Western Ukraine which was under the domination of Poland. Therefore, they practised an unusual kind of Christianity. They were Greek Catholics or Uniates. This meant that they gave allegiance to the pope (as did their Polish conquerors) but they maintained their Greek liturgy and rites, the Slavonic language (not Latin) and a married priesthood. In 1894 the pope had forbidden married priests to leave Europe. Thus the Ruthenians arrived in a country from 1896 on where the Latin Catholic Church alone prevailed. They found themselves without their priests and unaccustomed to Catholic priests using a Latin ritual. Church attendance was, to them, an extremely important part of their culture. As they were used to a state supported clergy, they even appealed (unsuccessfully) to the Canadian government for help and a "nominal

salary" for the interim.⁵³ Therefore some Ruthenians turned to the Presbyterian Church in 1903 for assistance. One of their young men, Ivan Bodrug, was admitted to Manitoba College to study theology. The Synod, chiefly J. A. Carmichael, superintendent of Home Missions, urged Bodrug to form an Independent Greek Church in Canada. Thus in 1904, Ivan Bodrug was installed by the Presbyterians as moderator of the Independent Greek Church. The Synod suggested that the new Church be organized along Presbyterian lines and that a catechism used by non-conformist Anglican Churches be employed.

Presbyterian motives for supporting the "ignorant and neglected Ruthenians", they said, were: "human sympathies, patriotic fervor and religious instincts".⁵⁴ No doubt, too, they were hoping the Independent Greek Church would join them in a Protestant evangelical witness. Already, they were seeing Ruthenians passing from the "extreme of ritualistic formalism to the extreme of evangelical simplicity".⁵⁵ To this end, further assistance was given in financial aid to Ruthenian ministers, the establishing of a paper in their own language, the Ranok,

⁵³O. Woycenko, The Ukrainians in Canada (Ottawa: Canadian Ethnic Press, Federation and Centennial Commission, 1967), pp. 76-77.

⁵⁴The Presbyterian Record, Feb., 1911, p. 55.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 56.

and more of their students admitted to Manitoba College. (In 1910, 24 of them enrolled in theology.) Murray said of the Ranok: "it has been our best evangelizing agency . . . it sounded a strong note, too, on prohibition".⁵⁶ One can easily believe that it was a useful tool for spreading Protestant beliefs and goals. Many copies were distributed in the Lakehead.

The Independent Greek Church was appealing to a growing number of the Ruthenian settlers. By 1907 there were about 30 priests and 40,000 members associated with the group. Presbyterians rejoiced in the progress of this Church which was involved "in the rapid Canadianizing of their people".⁵⁷ Yet, to Presbyterians, there could hardly be any Canadianization without Protestantization. The Presbyterian Church was now assisting in the support of over fifty missionaries of the new Church. J. S. Woodsworth expressed his approval of the movement, for the "spirit of enquiry" was at work: the people were "feeling their liberty", and were "eagerly seeking for more light".⁵⁸ He viewed the Presbyterian effort and Ruthenian response as the "first sign of the leaven of

⁵⁶General Assembly Report, 1917, p. 17.

⁵⁷Acts and Proceedings of the 24th Synod of Manitoba, Nov. 1906, p. 117.

⁵⁸J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, p. 309.

Western Civilization at work upon the mind of the Ruthenian".⁵⁹

No one knew for sure the direction the movement would take. Was it the first step toward Presbyterianism? The Roman Catholic Church was making this accusation. They regarded it all as a case of "denominational selfishness" which Presbyterians vehemently disclaimed.⁶⁰ Presbyterians could point to a case in 1908 when one congregation of the Independent Greek Church requested to be received as a Presbyterian congregation, but the Synod of Manitoba refused this move. It was argued that the congregation in question would have more influence among the Ruthenians if it were separate.⁶¹ It seems the Presbyterians initially discouraged proselytism in their aim to make "strong, self-reliant Canadian Christians".⁶²

But then, Dr. Carmichael, promoter of the whole movement, died in 1911. At the same time a Catholic bishop of the eastern rite was appointed in Manitoba. S. C. Murray took over as Superintendent of Home Missions.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 137.

⁶⁰Presbyterian Record, Feb., 1911, p. 56. See also G. T. Daly, Catholic Problems in Western Canada; 1921, pp. 76-80. He refers to Presbyterians celebrating "bogus masses" among Ruthenians while "playing on their patriotism" and ridiculing their "faith and traditions".

⁶¹HMC Minutes, Synod of Manitoba, Jan. 17, 1908.

⁶²Presbyterian Record, Feb., 1911, p. 56.

His thinking had apparently changed with regard to proselytism. A decade before he had discouraged such with the Finns in the Lakehead. Now he seems to have viewed it as the only reasonable course left to the Presbyterians. Consequently, the Presbyterian Synod decided to withdraw its support and establish missions in Ruthenian settlements that would be totally under their supervision. As a result, twenty seven Ruthenian clergymen were received into the Presbyterian Church in 1913. One of them was sent to minister in the Lakehead.⁶³ It was now hoped that these clergymen would provide a "solution of the problem of Christianizing and nationalizing those non Anglo-Saxons in Canada, who otherwise would imprint a most undesirable stamp upon the Canadian nation and delay considerably the fulfillment of our cherished aim of winning Canada for Christ" -- so the Presbyterian congress was told.⁶⁴ The aim of the Presbyterian Church was now clear. It was to absorb the Uniates into the Presbyterian Church.

Many Ruthenians of the Uniate faith in the Lakehead (the majority lived in Fort William), faced the same problems as their brothers in Manitoba. They too had emigrated without their priests and were without their usual religious direction. They were vulnerable

⁶³General Assembly Report, 1914, p. 25.

⁶⁴Pres. Assembly Congress, Toronto, 1913, p. 129.

to imposters from among their own ranks who attempted to influence and control them. It was difficult to get reliable priests. For example, James Loudziak, who had officiated at many of their weddings and had preached in the coal dock area, was caught with a chisel and saw breaking into John Assef's store on McTavish Street. He was suspected of other crimes in the past as well, and was given five years for burglary.⁶⁵ It would be interesting to know how Canadian authorities regarded the marriages he performed.

Shortly after the break and entry, which received wide publicity, the Reverend Mr. Rowand of St. Andrews warned his congregation of the dangers from the east end of Fort William, especially if they did not fulfill their missionary obligations and try to improve conditions.⁶⁶ Of course, the famous CPR workers' riot in August of 1909 in the coal dock area (see chapter 6) must have greatly prompted Rowand's reaction as well. Rowand complained that the Presbyterians had, at the present, no suitable quarters for mission services. It seems that the Presbyterians in Fort William were thinking

⁶⁵DTJ, Aug. 30, 1909. John Assef was the father of the present Mayor of Thunder Bay, Walter Assef. Mayor Assef, however, has no information on the subject. It was before his birth, he said.

⁶⁶DTJ, Oct. 4, 1909.

more in terms of evangelism, rather than social action, as a cure for social problems. The Reverend Hiram Hull was also considering a mission to the east end, but this led to Wesley Institute.

In 1910 Archbishop Szeptycki, described as head of the "Ruthenian Churches" in Canada, and a representative of the pope, arrived in the Lakehead and received a hearty welcome. He had come to lay the cornerstone for a new Ruthenian Church (Uniate) in the coal dock section.⁶⁷ The Catholic Church in the Lakehead had tried to solve the dilemma with the Greek Catholics by encouraging them to worship at St. Peter's until they could erect a building of their own. It was thus a happy occasion for the Lakehead Ruthenians. It was reported that a congregation of 4000 could be expected for the area.⁶⁸ The Protestant faith had so far not appealed to Ruthenian immigrants. Therefore, early in 1913, the Presbyterian Church became actively involved in the Ruthenian situation in the Lakehead.

The Reverend J. A. Cranston, who had replaced Rowand, discussed the Ruthenian question with Superior Presbytery. It was decided that a "proper place" of worship was needed "if good work is to be done". The

⁶⁷DTJ, Nov. 11, 1910.

⁶⁸DTJ, Nov. 19, 1910.

Assembly's Home Mission Committee was "ready to help in securing such a place until such times as the people were able to help themselves".⁶⁹ Mr. A. W. Pyndykowski, Uniate minister associated with the Independent Greek Church in Manitoba, was asked to take charge of the mission.

Possibly the Presbyterians in Fort William were seizing upon an opportunity to capitalize on internal disturbances among the Ruthenian Christians. A serious split had occurred in 1912 when one group in the Ruthenian congregation nailed up the Church and kept the priest and 200 supporters out.⁷⁰ Maybe the division was a result of that same desire for an Independent Greek Church that Presbyterians encouraged in Manitoba. Anyway, it was not unusual for Lakehead Presbyterians to capitalize on an opportunity for evangelizing immigrants. For example, a mission was begun among the Persians in Fort William in 1913 because a young Persian student, a Mr. Robius, had been converted. Cranston oversaw this particular effort, which, incidently, did not produce many results and came to a halt within two years.⁷¹ The Ruthenian mission, however, had the full experience of the Synod to draw

⁶⁹Superior Presbytery Minutes, Mar. 13, 1913.

⁷⁰DTJ, Mar. 23, 1912.

⁷¹Superior Presbytery Minutes, Feb. 1913, p. 243. Also cf. Feb. 25, 1915.

upon and the Ruthenian ministers who had just been accepted into the Presbyterian Church. This mission was to last more than a decade.

Mr. Pyndykowski spoke of "the great need of the people and of the great opportunity of the church in the city".⁷² A hall on Christie Street (see map), which had formerly been used by the Presbyterians to house a Finnish congregation, was rented and the first service began on March 23. It was further agreed to recommend to Assembly that lots be purchased in East Fort William and West Fort William and buildings be erected for Ruthenian missions.⁷³ The newspaper announced that the Ruthenians were going to establish a new "Presbyterian" congregation in Fort William and later a new church. The Reverend W. Pyndykowski of Winnipeg, "an intelligent young Ruthenian divine" was to take charge, the report stated.⁷⁴ The Methodist Church had opted for a social institution to attend to the needs of the non-English-speaking immigrant. The Presbyterians chose the traditional, denominational mission.

Yet, St. Andrews took a special interest in trying to meet some social needs of the Ruthenians. The Women's Missionary Society formed a committee to assist

⁷²Superior Presbytery Minutes, Mar. 13, 1913.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴DTJ, Mar. 19, 1913.

Pyndykowski in the "distribution of clothing to needy people".⁷⁵ In addition, a deaconess, Miss Livingstone, was appointed by the Home Mission Board in 1914 to be of special assistance in the Ruthenian mission.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, the Superior Presbytery was calling for a permanent place of worship.⁷⁷ It was therefore decided that a new church should be erected. In the summer of 1914 the Ruthenian Mission Church was dedicated by St. Andrew's J. A. Cranston, Presbytery's Home Mission convenor. Naturally, Mr. Pyndykowski "preached the sermon in the Ruthenian language".⁷⁸ The work among the "Independent Ruthenian people" was "steadily growing" it was reported, and it was "bound to have far reaching influences",⁷⁹ Presbyterians conjectured. Yet, by 1914, the adherents to the Church had only reached fifty.

Still, the Lakehead Presbyterians continued their mission to the Ruthenians. In 1916 it became St. Stephen's Ruthenian Church, but under the oversight of the Presbyterian Assembly. There were 37 families involved.

⁷⁵Annual Report, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, 1913, p. 14.

⁷⁶Annual Report, 1914, p. 17; Superior Presbytery Minutes, 1914.

⁷⁷Superior Presbytery Minutes, Feb. 25, 1914.

⁷⁸Annual Report, St. Andrews, 1914.

⁷⁹Ibid.

In 1918 Pyndykowski transferred to Winnipeg. Later ministers became involved in teaching English to the immigrants in both cities.⁸⁰ However, the Church enrolment kept dropping until there were only 16 families in 1923. This Lakehead Church had run into many difficulties, according to Presbyterian authorities, not the least of which was "strong Bolshevic (sic) and Anarchic teaching that prevailed".⁸¹ The General Assembly considered dropping the Lakehead mission, and the whole Presbyterian-Ruthenian program, largely, they said, because of the ineffectiveness of its ministers who were not considered sufficiently indoctrinated; they suffered the "lack of a positive constructive message".⁸² Many of their missionaries had given up long before this. Still, the problem of the immigrant defied solution. Even in 1925 there was a call for "more effective supervision and organization of the work among non-English speaking peoples" in the Lakehead.⁸³

It would seem then, that Bryce Stewart's judgment -- that Presbyterians in the Lakehead were more concerned with individual piety than social problems -- was not entirely accurate. It is true he made that statement

⁸⁰ Superior Presbytery Minutes, Sept. 13, 1923.

⁸¹ Superior Presbytery Minutes, Sept. 9, 1919.

⁸² General Assembly Report, 1921, p. 17.

⁸³ Port Arthur District Minutes, United Church, 1925.

early in 1913 before Presbyterians began their mission to the Ruthenians, yet he should have been aware of the Presbyterian involvement and commitment to the Finns. Indeed, S. C. Murray demonstrated leadership for 18 years in attacking some of the problems the two towns faced in their early history -- and the immigrant question occupied a place of prominence in his thinking. And he had support from other Presbyterians. Murray was aware that the Ruthenians had no clergy and were placed in a rather confused situation. He was aware of and involved in the actions of the Synod since 1900. He saw the establishment of the Independent Greek Church and its success. There is no doubt that he was committed to the problem of the Ruthenians long before he could become directly involved in 1912 in seeking what he thought was a good solution.

S. D. Clark's criticism of Presbyterians as being a "class Church" does not tell the whole story either. It is true that they depended chiefly on Scottish immigrants for additional members. Yet they were anxious, at times, to incorporate into their Church, groups of people that were ethnically very different, namely the Finns and the Ruthenians (and even Persians). There was definite social concern as well for the problems of the city and the nation. Lakehead Presbyterians joined in the call for patriotism, however misguided

that call may have been, and offered Protestantism to the nation as a solution to the social problems they identified specifically with immigration. Clark's view may be modified in the future by studies in other localities such as Port Arthur and Fort William.

To some degree, the Presbyterians in the Lakehead, as they were in Manitoba, were opportunists. They answered calls of distress and used these occasions as open doors to involve the Presbyterian Church in a program of Protestant evangelism and proselytism. One can then understand G. T. Daly's accusation of sheep-stealing and fomenting of schism in order for Presbyterians to capitalize on a confused situation "never seen before in the history of the Church".⁸⁴ Yet Murray and his colleagues in Ontario and Manitoba did not seek at first to proselytize. Murray's concern, like that of Shearer, Rowand, Stewart and many other Presbyterians, had a broader base than selfish interest in any one ethnic group. Theirs was a fervor for the evangelistic cause, for maintaining the foothold the Presbyterian Church had gained, for preserving for themselves and the nation the standards of living and public morality they had helped to bring to the west. To them, a moral society was impossible without the direct influence of the Church in

⁸⁴G. T. Daly, Catholic Problems, p. 77.

the lives of citizens. As time passed, they became willing to try various means in order to realize their goal. They feared that Finns, Ruthenians and all non-English-speaking immigrants posed a threat to their ambition to mould an English Protestant-Christian nation.

The Reverend Dr. Agnew Johnston, longtime minister of St. Andrews, suggests that, except for the Roman Catholics, "the Presbyterian Church was the dominant Church" during the period 1903-1914.⁸⁵ Although this might be an overstatement, it is true that the Presbyterian Church in the Lakehead was definitely making significant attempts to meet the needs of non-English-speaking immigrants. It was left to the Methodists in the Lakehead to experience even greater success in the Protestant mission of Canadianization.

⁸⁵Agnew Johnston Interview

WESLEY INSTITUTE

The history of the Methodist Church in the Thunder Bay area² goes back to 1871 when a small congregation was organized in Prince Arthur's Landing. One year later they erected the first Protestant Church building in this village of a few hundred people. On the other hand, the earliest record of Methodist services held in Fort William dates to 1885 when a hall was rented in the west end. By 1890, however, the population of Fort William had risen to 1200, largely because of the arrival of the CPR. The Methodists benefited accordingly and decided to erect a new Church edifice. They had outgrown the small Church they had hurriedly put up. Property was secured from the McKellars, one of Fort William's pioneering families, and a building was completed by 1891. This Church was the predecessor of the present Wesley United Church on Brodie Street (see map). The Reverend Joshua Dyke was minister at that time.¹ By the year 1900, the Fort William and Port Arthur Methodist

¹Joshua Dyke moved west but soon retired from the ministry because of a severe stroke. He recovered greatly but did not return to the ministry. He did return to Fort William and became its mayor in 1902. His daughter-in-law, Mrs. Gertrude Dyke, recalls that he had a keen business head and was very much responsible for bringing many industries to Fort William. He continued to attend Wesley Church and was very active there. -- Gertrude Dyke interview.

Churches were well established congregations, whose members totalled 112 and 162 respectively.²

At least as early as 1905 the Methodist Church in Fort William was aware of the need to begin a mission in the east end of the town. It was here that the majority of non Anglo-Saxon immigrants were establishing themselves in the Lakehead. A meeting, under the chairmanship of the Reverend T. B. Wilson of Wesley Church, passed a motion to form a committee to "take the necessary steps to secure property in the east end of town to erect a mission church on when needed".³ However, it was another four years before any action was taken on this motion, and then only after the dramatic events in the summer of 1909. For the present, there was greater concern among Wesley members in selling the Brodie Street Church and building a larger edifice elsewhere. By 1907, the decision was reached to erect a bigger building on the same spot. The idea of a mission to the east end was not revived again until the arrival of the Reverend Hiram Hull at Wesley Church in 1909.

Hull stated that he came to Fort William with three goals in mind: to preach to the members of the Church; to improve the Sunday School; and to advance work among the

²Minutes of the Port Arthur District of the Methodist Church (1900), p. 35. UCA Wpg.

³Minutes of the Fort William Methodist Church (May 16, 1905), p. 58. Thunder Bay Museum records.

"foreign element".⁴ He was persuaded that the aims of his Church should be "aggressive Christianity, and earnest support of the great missionary cause of the Church in our city and beyond".⁵ Mr. Cecil King, who first came to Wesley Methodist in 1912 after he had immigrated to Fort William, reflects that Mr. Hull saw the need to minister in the east end although some of his parishoners did not.⁶ No doubt Hull was conscious of the Methodist Home Mission desire to "initiate and prosecute work among the foreigners of this Province and the North West Territories".⁷

Near the end of 1909 the newspaper carried the story of Wesley Church's intention to build an Industrial Mission House. The Church board secured a lot, 50' x 90', on the corner of Pacific and McLeod in the coal dock section of the city. Their intention was to erect a three story building and basement the following year with coffee rooms, reading rooms, meeting rooms and baths.⁸ This, however, was never accomplished. Instead, "two small buildings, one a frame two storey (sic) house and the other an adjacent

⁴DTJ, June 30, 1913 -- on the occasion of his departure from Wesley Methodist.

⁵Christian Guardian Nov. 6, 1912, p. 19.

⁶King Interview

⁷Annual Conference of the Methodist Church, 1900. UCA Toronto.

⁸DTJ, Nov. 16, 1909.

frame shack, situated on McTavish Street next to Hartley's Broom Factory, were finally purchased by Wesley Trustees".⁹ The site was apparently chosen by Dr. James Woodsworth (Sr.) who, when visiting Fort William, suggested that it was a good location because it was just across the tracks that people had to cross in order to get to the shops on Simpson Street (see map).¹⁰ This purchase was in response to the Reverend Mr. Hull's challenge in the fall of 1911 to "start a mission to the foreign people living in the district known as the coal docks" and through "some kind of work, social and religious, to better the living conditions of these new Canadians".¹¹ Thus was born Wesley Institute, the second "work among new Canadians" by Methodists in Canada.¹² All People's Mission in Winnipeg, begun in 1899 and directed by the young J. S. Woodsworth, was the first Methodist effort to aid the foreigner in becoming Canadian. As S. D. Clark suggests, Methodism possessed a frontier heritage, for it had always attempted, in England and in North America, "to meet the needs of marginal social groups

⁹ _____, Wesley United Church, 70th Anniversary 1891-1961, Fort William, n.d., p. 17.

¹⁰ King Interview

¹¹ Wesley United Church, 70th Anniversary, op. cit. p. 16.

¹² A Century of Victory, 1824-1924. 100th Annual Report of the Methodist Missionary Society, Oct. 1924, p. 49. UCA, Toronto.

within the community".¹³

The great increase of the immigrant population into Fort William aroused the social concern of some local residents, to be sure. The Reverend Mr. King writes: "With immigrants from central and southern Europe pouring into the Lakehead and finding accommodation among their own in a veritable slum, some consciences in Fort William were being troubled around 1910."¹⁴ But it was the strikes of the CPR freight handlers, first in 1906, then in 1907 and again in 1909, and the "riot" that followed that "focussed attention on the coal dock area".¹⁵ The strikes caused great anxiety among the Anglo-Saxon population because the majority of the strikers were immigrants from Continental Europe. Violence was connected with the foreigner in the Anglo-Saxon mind. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Methodist decision (and civic encouragement) to set up a mission in the coal dock area was motivated largely by a genuine desire to assist the immigrant in improving his lot or by the fear that lawlessness on the part of a growing number of foreigners could threaten the existing

¹³S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948). Document in M. S. Cross, The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas (Toronto: Copp Clarke Pub. Co., 1970), p. 87.

¹⁴Cecil King, Report on Wayside, n.d., p. 1. In the Rev. Mr. King's possession. Wesley Institute was also called Wayside House or Wayside Church.

¹⁵Wesley United, 70th Anniversary, p. 1.

social order.

At any rate, the story of the strikes is an interesting part of Thunder Bay's labour history.¹⁶ In the fall of 1906 a strike was called by the CPR freight workers. It soon spread to the CN workers in Port Arthur and involved a total of one thousand men. Almost all were foreigners. There was violence in Fort William when strike breakers arrived to replace the strikers. Gunshots were fired resulting in one constable and three strikers being wounded. A compromise was reached, however, and peace was restored. The editor of the Port Arthur Daily News saw the strike as a threat against British dominance in the Lakehead.¹⁷ Feelings against the foreigner were further aroused.

In the spring of 1907 about five hundred Greeks and Italians were removed from the CPR freight sheds and were transferred to track work or construction camps. The reason given was their haughty attitude over the "disturbances" six months previously.¹⁸ "Britons" were to be employed from then on in unloading ships, the paper reported.¹⁹

¹⁶For a full treatment of the subject see Jean F. Morrison, *Community and Conflict: A study of the Working Class and its relationships at the Canadian Lakehead 1903-1913*. Lakehead University M.A. thesis.

¹⁷PADN, Oct. 1, 1906.

¹⁸PADN, April 20, 1907; April 29, 1907.

¹⁹Ibid.

In addition, 200-300 of them were boarded at the rear of the sheds "should trouble arise", the paper stated, for they would be "more than a match for the Greek".²⁰ One month later, a strike was called in Port Arthur, and it was led largely by British workers. They were soon joined by CPR British employees in Fort William. The CPR then decided to replace the strikebreakers with the same Greeks and Italians who had begun the 1906 strike and were themselves later replaced by the English workers. The CN also hired strike breakers and excluded British union leaders from the freight sheds. The union had lost. Relations between Anglo-Saxon workers, foreigners, and the railroads were greatly strained. Foreign labour was seen as a threat to the labour force and meaningful bargaining.

In the summer of 1909 the most serious strike occurred. It has been called "the bloodiest labour riot ever in Canada".²¹ Eight hundred freight handlers in Fort William were demanding a wage increase of five cents an hour. The strike was called on August 9 and immediately the police searched the houses in the coal dock area for weapons.²² A number of guns were reported found in the houses of the foreigners. This supported even further

²⁰Ibid.

²¹cited in Jean F. Morrison, op. cit., p. 115.

²²DTJ, August 10, 1909.

English suspicions of the foreigner. Thirty armed constables arrived on the 12th in order to protect strikebreakers expected from Montreal. The strikebreaker was the worker's main concern in a strike because most men in the coal dock area depended on the CPR for a livelihood. A shot was fired and a half hour gun battle ensued between strikers and constables. There were eight known wounded. Mayor Pelletier called for the militia from Winnipeg, read the riot act and put Fort William under martial law. A compromise was reached through Pelletier who promised improved working conditions. It was reported that the Greeks were to blame for the strike and they were banned from CPR work.²³ It is ironic that General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army, had visited Fort William two summers earlier and told the people of Fort William, "You want the right people, and they ought to be managed in the right way. Then it would benefit both the immigrants and the country."²⁴ Apparently, the right way to handle the wrong people was force. At any rate, thoughts of the dangers of the foreign element were again revived and openly discussed. National and local attention had been focussed on the immigrant situation in Fort William and some citizens looked for solutions.

²³DTJ, August 12, 1909.

²⁴PADN, June 13, 1909.

Undoubtedly, many of the immigrants were exploited by the local population. After all, foreigners were cheap labour and considered an economic necessity nationally and locally. Cecil King recalls how private employment agencies operated. They first charged the immigrant a one dollar fee. Then they found him a job, usually with the CPR. Often the immigrant was fired a few weeks later and he would return to pay another fee. King saw the whole procedure as a "racket".²⁵ The Reverend J. M. Shaver, who directed Wesley Institute, also blamed the local population considerably for the unfortunate circumstances immigrants often endured. He wrote:

The foreigner gets acquainted with us, to a great measure, through the boss who swears at him, the ward politician who tries to buy his soul, the policeman who arrests him after the beer peddler has filled him up with Canadian beer, and the agent who collects rent for his hovel of a home.²⁶

Yet, it required the strike and the riot of 1909, and the subsequent publicity, to stimulate another English group to respond to what was considered a critical immigrant situation. Consequently, soon after the arrival of the Reverend Hiram Hull, the Methodists in Fort William set about to establish Wesley Institute. Its creation was

²⁵King Interview

²⁶J. M. Shaver, Missionary Bulletin, vol. XI, op. cit., p. 124.

largely a defensive reaction. The word Institute was used to emphasize that it was not a Church but a social centre.²⁷ Hull applied to the Home Mission Board for a minister to work in the east end of Port William among the immigrant population.²⁸ As a result, the Reverend James M. Shaver was sent in 1912 to carry on the mission work and to become Superintendent of Wesley Institute.

It was definitely to be a social centre. In fact, Shaver had to promise the Roman Catholic Church that he would not preach to the immigrants.²⁹ Mrs. Gertrude Dyke, who was involved in assisting the Baptist mission in the east end and Wesley Institute before World War I, recalls that many of those who were helped at Wayside were "Catholic" because the priests were only interested in "souls, attendance at mass, and paying fees".³⁰ The Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists on the other hand, were interested in the body as well as the soul, she says. At any rate, Shaver saw a need for social work, not more Churches.³¹ Shaver's son recalls that his father's

²⁷King Interview

²⁸It was definitely Wesley Church that took the initiative "not a Methodist Board of Home Missions" as J. M. Shaver's son recalls. J. Shaver correspondence, Oct. 6, 1975.

²⁹King Interview

³⁰Dyke Interview. King also supports this view.

³¹King Interview

goals were "the welcoming and Canadianizing of the immigrant population"³² while resisting "the pressure to make Methodists" out of them.

The Reverend Mr. Shaver credited J. S. Woodsworth and his book, Strangers Within Our Gates, with arousing the concern of the Methodist Church for the immigrant and the social problems he created in the cities.³³ Shaver was one of a number of young men at Victoria College in Toronto who volunteered to spend a summer in the Toronto slums to win "the worst part of the city to Christ".³⁴ In an Appendix to Woodsworth's book, Shaver suggested that the students were trying to encourage the Churches in Toronto to recognize their "duty" to their brothers and sisters who were facing problems of "poor housing, poor sanitary conditions and poor remuneration for labour".³⁵ However, the students had to do battle with the prejudice many Torontonians displayed toward the foreigners, with liquor abuse and prostitution. Still, they reported many successes in helping people overcome these social problems.

³²J. Shaver correspondence

³³Peter Shepherd, op. cit. p. 112. Shaver's son does not know of any ancestral relationship between his father and James Shaver Woodsworth other than the fact both families were UEL from Pennsylvania.

³⁴Ibid., p. 5.

³⁵J. M. Shaver, Appendix to J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, op. cit., p. 350.

Shaver and his wife lived and worked among the slums of Toronto. Shaver tried to teach foreigners how to speak English. He had learned a system of "dramatized teaching" from a Dr. Peter Roberts, which he taught in kitchens and living rooms. The University was apparently interested in their work because they wanted to have a "ground for fieldwork for the contemplated social service department".³⁶ Perhaps Shaver's efforts had something to do with establishing courses in social work in Canadian universities. To be sure, the many experiences Shaver had as chairman of the Student's Organization at Victoria College³⁷ prepared him well for the work he accomplished in Fort William from 1912-1921.

When the Reverend Mr. Shaver arrived in Fort William in 1912 he was given the promise of \$1,000 a year salary, \$25 a month house rent, and "7,000 people whose languages I did not understand".³⁸ To assist him, however, the Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Church sent two deaconesses, a Miss Foley and a Miss Dobson.³⁹ They came to Fort William, fully aware of the aim of the

³⁶Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 10.

³⁷J. S. Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 351.

³⁸Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 15.

³⁹E. S. Strachan, The Story of the Years, 1906-1916 Women's Miss. Soc. of Methodist Church N.d., p. 92. UCA Toronto.

society, which was:

To secure an intelligent, moral, united people, ever loyal to Great Britain, to whom we are bound by so many ties, this is our aim in all our home fields through the spread of scientific and practical knowledge of the truth in nature and revelation.⁴⁰

This patriotic endeavour seems to have been accepted as well by the others connected with Wesley Institute at that time.

The Reverend H. Irvine, who replaced Hull at Wesley Methodist, reported to the Christian Guardian that the aim of Wesley Institute was "to reach some of Fort William's 7,000 foreign residents, and to interpret to them the Canadian Spirit and Canadian life".⁴¹ Two local Wesley parishoners, one Wm. McColl who had served on a committee trying to promote a mission in the east end in 1905,⁴² and the other S. G. Cole, secretary treasurer of city hall, were involved as Board members of Wesley Institute. They gave Shaver excellent support.⁴³ They clearly stated that Wesley Institute had been and was a "persistent effort to bring all nationalities and creeds to work for the common weal that they may experience democracy. This

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 40

⁴¹Christian Guardian, Nov. 19, 1913, p.1.

⁴²see footnote 3

⁴³Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 15.

is the direct road to Canadianization".⁴⁴

The Reverend Mr. Shaver held similar views. He felt that the one thing the foreigners needed was a working knowledge of English.⁴⁵ He hoped that Wesley Institute would help "the Canadian and the foreigner discover each other".⁴⁶ He stated further: "Every move we make is toward the end of bringing the foreigner and the Canadian together."⁴⁷ He insisted that the idea of the Institute was the "ideal of a united city where we all work together for the making of the city of Fort William into the city sent down from Heaven".⁴⁸ Shaver credited the Methodist Church and Institutions like the one in Fort William with preventing "the terrible dangers facing us as a nation" to grow -- dangers from "Continental European immigration" and the formation of new Balkan States.⁴⁹ Mr. Shaver adds further: "making a nation is no individualist undertaking".⁵⁰

The leaders of the Methodist Church in Canada

⁴⁴Wm. McColl & S. G. Cole, Annual Report of Wesley Institute, 1916-1917. n.d. UCA, Toronto

⁴⁵Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴⁶J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bulletin, Vol. XI op. cit., p. 124.

⁴⁷Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 15.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 110.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 109.

were also convinced that Wesley Institute was "one of the most effective ways of promoting the Canadianization of the foreigner".⁵¹ Mrs. Dyke recalls that the efforts at Wesley Institute were directed toward assimilation, and these efforts were often successful because "they saw our ways".⁵² The Methodist objective seems to have been to introduce the foreigner to the English language and customs so that he would soon be assimilated. Mr. Earl Buckley, who worked with Wesley Institute after World War I, recalls: "We were not trying to make them Methodists but to keep kids out of trouble and make them good citizens."⁵³

The Reverend Mr. Shaver and his assistants began their work in the east end of Fort William by cleaning up the building the Church had purchased on McTavish Street. Into this "poorly built pool room: they placed about 100 chairs, a table and a blackboard."⁵⁴ The word was quickly spread that English lessons would be offered three days a week -- afternoons and evenings.⁵⁵ Shaver did not know the foreigners' languages; he had no text or curriculum;

⁵¹ _____, Report of the Central Committee on the work among European Foreigners in Canada, Oct. 1, 1917. Meth. Church of Can. UCA, Toronto.

⁵² Dyke Interview

⁵³ Interview with Mr. Earl Buckley, May 9, 1973.

⁵⁴ Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 15.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 17.

so putting into practice what he learned in Toronto, he went armed to class with an Eaton's catalogue.⁵⁶ With considerable effort he was able to dramatize verbs and point out English names for objects in the book. Success attended his efforts. His classes became quite popular and numbers increased.

It was a real mixture of people, of all ages and nationalities. The ones who were completely illiterate were often helped by the others and a sense of brotherhood surrounded the learning.⁵⁷ In addition to English, Shaver also taught the immigrants Civics and History. The Institute was very "successful in enlisting the sympathy and cooperation of both the English and non-English-speaking people" and it was "taking a large place in the life of the city".⁵⁸ Shaver agreed that the "mission at that time was quite popular, because there was still fresh in the memory of the people the strike riots and the shooting in the foreign quarter, in the centre of which we were situated".⁵⁹ The local population, it seems, was quite elated that someone was in the centre of things and was trying to Canadianize the foreigner. It was not surprising,

⁵⁶King Interview

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Report of Central Committee, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁹Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 102.

therefore, to see an increase in contributions to support the work.⁶⁰ Volunteers were lending assistance in greater numbers and were "going back up town to preach the latent possibilities of our foreign born citizens".⁶¹ It was not easy re-educating the Anglo-Saxons. It was hard to overcome the natural inclination both immigrant and citizen had to remain separate identities instead of integrating. It was a slow process because the cultural differences between the immigrants of the east end and the receiving society were great.

One of the major differences, as Shaver saw it, as did many other Protestants at that time, was the immigrants' attitude toward alcoholic consumption. Mr. Shaver saw the liquor traffic as the "most terrible enemy the foreigner has to meet in Fort William. You would pray day and night if you only knew what a hell it is making of this place. If we can carry local option here, we will be going more in that one act for the foreigner than we could do otherwise in ten years".⁶² King recalls how great the consumption of alcohol was in those days in the

⁶⁰Christian Guardian, Nov. 19, 1913, p. 1. By Nov. 9, 1913, subscriptions for W.I. had reached \$1,200 and there was promise of another \$500.

⁶¹There were 30-40 volunteers by 1914. J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XI, op. cit., p. 125.

⁶²J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XII, op. cit., p. 15.

east end. He remembers seeing "beer barrels tossed in the ditches". It was "widely believed" also that political candidates took beer wagons there and gave it away for votes.⁶³ These local memories were supported in the findings of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The report concluded that "corruption and vote buying were rife among Ukrainian immigrants in the first two decades after their arrival in Canada".⁶⁴ Shaver even stated, in reference to vote buying, that the Canadian had taught the immigrant the practice.⁶⁵

Mr. Shaver was also appalled at the way Ukrainians "lied in court". Yet he somewhat excused the Ukrainian by recalling the 250 years he had lived "under servility, national and individual" when lying became a way of life to stay out of trouble.⁶⁶ In addition, the great amount of profanity he heard from the immigrant disturbed him considerably. Often he had to caution against stealing.⁶⁷

⁶³King Interview

⁶⁴A. D. Dunton et al., Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Vol. IV (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1973), p. 84. The Ukrainians began to arrive in 1896.

⁶⁵J. M. Shaver, Report on Immigration for Mission Board, n.d. Miss. Soc. Home Dept. correspondence, p. 5, 1906-1926. UCA, Toronto.

⁶⁶Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 42.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 40-41.

In all of this, Shaver states, he looked for opportunities to deliver a "sermon sitting at the well, as it were".⁶⁸ There was no end to his involvement with the people in the east end. He helped them buy homes, and write job applications. He assisted them in court cases, and tried to solve family quarrels. It is no wonder that the immigrants highly respected him and his work.

In a well written report to the General Board of Missions, Shaver very pointedly outlined the immigration problem as he saw it. He was convinced that Canada was "passing through a crucial stage in her history"⁶⁹ because of the great number of "non-English speaking immigrants" in Canada, with the likelihood of "perhaps millions" more coming from "Russia, the Balkans, Italy and Austria". Many of these people were suffering from illiteracy, poverty and a different set of morals. "One cannot imagine the change," Shaver wrote, "that these people are forced to undergo when they are immediately thrust into the complicated life of our cities with little or no restraint of the homeland."⁷⁰ The morals of the new community "are not his stake". His own Church, if he has

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 19.

⁶⁹J. M. Shaver, Report on Immigration for Mission Board, op. cit., p. 1.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 2.

any, is primitive in its methods of "introducing" the immigrant "to his new environment".

Adding to the problems the foreigner has, Shaver continued, is the attitudes Canadians have that "discourage any community spirit". The immigrant is "treated as merely a commercial asset" in which case he is worked as much as possible and paid as low as possible. He is sworn at when he does not understand English. Thus he copies Canadians until his whole family is "proficient in the art".⁷¹ The real estate agent, insurance agent, the landlord and liquor merchant all try to exploit him. But perhaps the worst attitude, Shaver concluded, is political. The immigrant is given the vote without adequate training in citizenship and then Canadians try to buy it back. The "immigrants from South Eastern Europe" easily sell their votes, Shaver said.⁷²

Underneath all of this is a general attitude of most Canadians, Shaver stated, that "we are the chosen people of God and all others are of an inferior race". He went on: "This conviction increases in direct ratio as to our ignorance".⁷³ The workman calls the immigrant a

⁷¹Ibid., p. 3.

⁷²Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 32.

⁷³J. M. Shaver, Report on Immigration for Mission Board, op. cit., p. 5.

"Damned Dago", the ladies refer to him as the "horrible foreigner" and even the clergy speak of the "poor ignorant foreigner". Contempt for the immigrant, it was added, ceases only for a brief period each year during elections.

The Reverend Mr. Shaver, in his report, encouraged the Methodist Churches to seek out men and women to engage in social work among the foreigners and to establish social centres to "work out a solution of their community problems".⁷⁴ He suggested that the leaders of each community work with the foreigners and in cooperation deal with the problems of "civic life and social development".⁷⁵ Shaver called on the Church and its leaders to provide halls, club rooms, reading rooms, equipment for technical classes, gymnasias and baths. He suggested that the ministers of the Churches, where immigrant problems exist, be educated, through extensive literature and the establishment of a school of training in one of Canada's Methodist Colleges, in how to cope with the immigrant situation. Finally, he requested the appointment of a field secretary who would travel and assist each community in need of his services, and this person would "lead in the whole program of the Canadianizing of the foreigner".⁷⁶

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 6.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 7.

Shaver left no stone unturned. It is difficult, however, to know how seriously the Home Mission Department considered this document.

To be sure, Shaver carried on his program at Wesley Institute with vigour. Classes were given in child care, cooking and housekeeping. Knitting circles were formed where immigrant women could "get a bit of that social life for which their lonely souls would otherwise cry out in vain" as Mr. Shaver expressed it.⁷⁷ Ladies from Port Arthur and Fort William were volunteering to provide a 'Big Sister' service to foreign girls. They would take girls into their homes on weekends and train them and help to clothe and feed them.⁷⁸ A boy scouts was organized, for one of the real serious problems the Institute tried to combat was juvenile delinquency among foreign children. Mr. Shaver gave an explanation for the "largest list of juvenile delinquency among children of foreigners". He suggested that foreign children "learn English much faster than their parents and often learn questionable things on the street, the meaning of which their parents do not understand. The result is often that

⁷⁷J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XII, op. cit., p. 12.

⁷⁸Dyke Interview. Shaver called the Big Sister effort "the linking up of a foreign home with a noble Christian home up town". Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XII, op. cit., p. 5.

the child despises the non-English speaking parent."⁷⁹ The children after all, had to live in sub-standard conditions. Mrs. Dyke, who was appalled at these conditions, remembers the cows and pigs that roamed about the houses, how little people had to eat, and how high was the rate of infant mortality. Mr. King remembers the open sewers, poor sanitation, the shacks and over crowding. He casually remarked that "no white woman from up town would go there day or night".⁸⁰ Wesley Institute honestly and patiently tried to improve the situation in the coal docks, or as Mr. Shaver expressed it, they worked so "that the light may shine more and more into the perfect day".⁸¹

As Shaver continued to teach English and Civics he found a need for texts. Consequently, he wrote a "series of lessons in simple sentences on Canadian Civics".⁸² He did the same for English. Mr. Shaver considered it a great "opportunity" to write the "history of Canada in simple speech"⁸³ because the immigrants "learned our history and traditions".⁸⁴ He was able to discuss national

⁷⁹J. M. Shaver, Report on Immigration, op. cit., p. 4. King spoke much of the distance between parent and child.

⁸⁰King Interview

⁸¹J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XI, op. cit., p. 126.

⁸²Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 34.

⁸³Wesley Church, 70th Anniversary, op. cit., p. 17.

⁸⁴Ibid.

freedom, religious freedom and personal religion with them through this means -- sermons he could preach to men they "could not reach in any other way".⁸⁵ During 1913 some sixty men and several women were taught in this manner.⁸⁶ As the number increased, Shaver applied to the Fort William school board for the use of four rooms in the Ogden Street School, near to the coal docks (see map). Mr. Cecil King was one of the volunteers that agreed to help.⁸⁷

By 1914 there were almost 200 men attending night school. Shaver wrote of them -- "Among them are many of God's first gentlemen, seeking, groping, longing for their place in this great new democracy which will never be perfect until they have found that place."⁸⁸ Indeed, Canada could only be considered a democracy, said Shaver, when a large proportion of her people, immigrants, were functioning as intelligent citizens in that democracy.

In 1915 the Fort William Board of Education gave recognition to the work Shaver and his volunteers

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 18

⁸⁶Christian Guardian, Nov. 19, 1913, p. 1.

⁸⁷King Interview

⁸⁸J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XI, op. cit., p. 126.

were doing by putting them on the payroll. This marked the beginning of night schools in the Lakehead. The local population was soon asking for a similar service.⁸⁹ It is even suggested that Shaver's "textbooks were an innovation in Canada and were later adopted by the Department of Education at Queen's Park, Toronto".⁹⁰

It is within the scope of this investigation to discuss briefly some of the successes experienced by Wesley Institute during J. M. Shaver's tenure as Superintendent. In his nine years there, 1912-1921, over 1,000 men came to learn English and Civics.⁹¹ A few of these became leaders in different Churches; some became lawyers, business men, and educators.⁹² One of Shaver's Russian students, Ivan Lasswick, enlisted in World War I. He was wounded and sent to England in 1917 to recuperate. While there, he was used as Alexander Kerensky's interpreter when Prime Minister Lloyd George spoke in the House of Commons.⁹³ A Bohemian student learned English so well that he was lecturing on his country at the Churches in

⁸⁹King Interview

⁹⁰Wesley Church, 70th Anniversary, op. cit., p. 17.

⁹¹Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 51.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 23, 28.

⁹³C. King, Report on Wayside, p. 1. Also J. M. Shaver in Wesley Church, 70th Anniversary, op. cit., p. 18.

Fort William.⁹⁴

In Port Arthur, however, little was done for the immigrant by the Methodist Church until 1917, when the "number of foreigners settling in this city had become so large and their needs so apparent".⁹⁵ In fact, they represented "1/3 of the population". An effort was begun, called the New Canadian Institute, and was run by the Reverend Walter Pavy, a bachelor who purchased and lived in a building on Bay Street. Two rooms and the basement were used, for youth work mostly. Pavy tried to instil in the immigrant children, who had received a "heritage of low moral sense" that idea of "the highest type of Christian and Canadian citizenship".⁹⁶ Pavy was not a J. M. Shaver in the least. In fact, King said that the work eventually folded because Pavy did not believe in "any restrictions" so the "kids did as they liked and had a riot there".⁹⁷

In 1921 Mr. Shaver received a call from All People's Mission in Winnipeg to become its Superintendent,

⁹⁴J. M. Shaver, Letter to Miss. Bull. vol. XII, op. cit., p. 14.

⁹⁵100th Annual Report of the Meth. Miss. Society n.d., p. 50. UCA, Toronto.

⁹⁶Walter Pavy, Report of Work done among New Canadians in Port Arthur, 1922. UCA, Toronto.

⁹⁷King Interview

a post J. S. Woodsworth had held for many years. Mr. Cecil King, who had gone to Wesley College in Winnipeg to prepare for the ministry, succeeded Shaver at Wesley Institute. King studied Ukrainian in College, instead of the traditional Greek. The Reverend Cecil King summed up the work at Wesley Institute and the role of the Methodist Church with respect to the immigrant problem: "In keeping with its tradition, the Church, in this matter of the new Canadian faced up to a situation which no other organization was willing to accept. Similarly, when the emergency situation has passed the Church has gradually withdrawn from the field."⁹⁸ No doubt the emergency situation King saw was the exceedingly difficult task of assimilating a non Anglo-Saxon population when the ratio of foreigner to Anglo-Saxon was continually increasing. Yet King concluded that Wesley Institute was effective. "In Fort William today" he wrote, "what was once a slum is now a respectable residential area."⁹⁹

Likewise, the Reverend Mr. Shaver praised the efforts at Wesley Institute. In recalling the events of 1909 that motivated Wesley Church to initiate the mission in the east end, Shaver reported in 1921 that Wesley Institute was influential in keeping the immigrant's involvement

⁹⁸C. King, Report on Wayside, op. cit., p. 8.

⁹⁹Ibid.

in labour troubles at a minimum, so that "the foreigners at the head of the Lakes have not aggravated the labour situation in the least".¹⁰⁰ Prohibition, he said, had a calming effect on the labour situation, but perhaps more influential have been "the great constructive activities in citizenship which have been brought about by the constant, vigilant inspiring leadership of Wesley Institute".¹⁰¹

Shaver discussed further the success of Wesley Institute. "Fifteen nationalities are represented in our membership", he wrote, "and we are bending every effort to blend them into one great nation which we call Canada and over which the free flag of Britain with its suggestive emblems of the Cross shall ever wave its loving folds".¹⁰² Years later Shaver recalled that the Anglicans, Baptists and Lutherans looked after their own people from the different races but the "most lavish expenditure of men and money on the south eastern European immigrants was made by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches".¹⁰³ He added: "The Churches with a vision and their workers with a passion for service have made a contribution to the making of Canada which historians will do well not

¹⁰⁰ Wesley Church, 70th Anniversary, op. cit., p. 18.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁰³ Peter Shepherd, op. cit., p. 116.

to forget".¹⁰⁴ And in conclusion, he wrote: "With such material and such sacrifice on the part of new and old Canada, we have seen a miracle in the building of a free, intelligent national life, in one generation, in that part of Canada between the Great Lakes and the Rockies."¹⁰⁵

J. M. Shaver was the J. S. Woodsworth of the Lakehead. He was the real driving force behind the Methodist attempt there at a social gospel. He was one of many patriotic Canadians who felt strongly that Canada was confronted with a serious problem -- that of Canadianizing a vast number of immigrants. As a result, he unreservedly devoted years to solving this problem which he thought was so acute in Western Canada. Mr. Shaver had a deep belief in the genuine worth of the immigrant, although he was persuaded that the immigrant had been deprived of some of the cultural and religious benefits Canadians enjoyed. Upon his arrival in the Lakehead, Shaver set about to deal with the immediate problems he saw facing the immigrant -- chiefly his need to learn the English language and his duties as a citizen. Shaver was motivated deeply by an earnest desire to live his Christian Protestantism and to teach its principles. Yet he was willing to lay aside the urge to indoctrinate his unusual

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 119.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 137.

flock theologically in order to attend to the more temporal and pressing needs of the hour. Certainly, he and King both upheld the objective of the 1910 Conference of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church which stated plainly: "Our objective on behalf of European foreigners should be to assist in making them English speaking Christian citizens who are clean, educated and loyal to this Dominion and to Greater Britain".¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ 86th Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, Toronto, 1910. UCA, Toronto.

CONCLUSION

The 'Dominion of Canada' was the raison d'être of a growing body of Canadian nationalists from 1900 - 1914. And Protestants became very much involved in this quest for national identity and greatness. Large scale immigration only fanned the fires of nationalism. Ideas of a national Protestant Church for Canada were being advocated by some Protestants who felt that this would be more appealing to the immigrant than a diversity of Churches. It would also be of greater assistance to Protestants in their crusade for assimilation to Anglo-Saxonism. Immigration gave encouragement to the exponents of organic church union -- especially among many Methodists and Presbyterians. In their minds this would greatly expedite the handling of numerous social problems generated by the arrival of non-English-speaking immigrants in western Canada.

There had been a growing measure of interdenominational cooperation as Port Arthur and Port William expanded in the 1900's. In 1906, for example, Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists joined in the "largest of any union meetings" to work for temperance.¹ The same Churches held "union prayer meetings" to arrange for the evangelizing

¹DTJ, Nov. 27, 1906.

of the Lakehead; Rowand (Presbyterian) and Flatt (Methodist) led the effort.² The Baptists suggested that the work "among the foreigners" in the coal dock section was too big a work for any one group; perhaps "union societies might do it" they said.³ The Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists agreed to divide the ethnic groups up and share the work load.⁴ And again, Presbyterian and Methodist ministers were exchanging pulpits. Mr. Rowand, of St. Andrew's Presbyterian, was reminding Wesley Methodist of the thousands coming to Canada and the need for all Protestants to do Home Mission work.⁵

Calls for organic union were openly coming from the Methodists in the Lakehead. In 1907, the Reverend J. C. Walker of Port Arthur Trinity Methodist voiced this desire on the basis of avoiding a waste of energy by duplication of effort among people in the Lakehead.⁶ In 1910 the Manitoba Conference of the Methodist Church met in Port Arthur and unanimously adopted a resolution for Church union.⁷ The Reverend Hiram Hull would have been

²Ibid., Aug. 22, 1906.

³Ibid., Oct. 29, 1907.

⁴see Chapter 4, p. 66, footnote 10.

⁵DTJ, Jan. 13, 1908.

⁶PADN, Sept. 30, 1907.

⁷DTJ, June 20, 1910.

in attendance as well, representing the voice of Fort William's Methodists.

The origin of the movement for Church union is credited to Dr. Patrick of the Presbyterian Church's school of theology, Manitoba College. He made the initial proposal in 1902 at a general conference of the Methodist Church. Patrick had been convenor of a special committee appointed in 1901 to confer with the Home Mission Committee of the Presbyterian Church, in regards to the foreign population within the territory of the Synod. This would include the Lakehead and S. C. Murray of Port Arthur, who would have been involved as Synod clerk. The committee recommended that interdenominational conferences be set up "with a view of preventing as far as possible over-lapping in this special field".⁸ Patrick, and many others of that period, wanted western Canada to remain predominantly Protestant. To accomplish this he believed that all the combined efforts and resources of the Protestant Churches would be required. Organic union was an answer. He wrote:

The increase of population was so rapid and continuous and the area covered by the new settlers so extensive, that nothing short of ceaseless effort and sacrifice could enable all the Churches with all their resources to

⁸Acts & Proceedings, 20th Synod of Manitoba, 1902, p. 49. Official meetings on union between Methodists and Presbyterians began in 1904.

perform the duty which the national safety required: to place the ordinances of religion within the reach of the entire body of people.⁹

J. S. Woodsworth was also calling for union in 1907 because of the special problems of mission work in Winnipeg.¹⁰ Others were echoing the same sentiments, because of the "demands created by the work among foreigners"¹¹ in Canadian cities in north western Canada. This search for religious unity coincided with a growing sense of Canadian nationalism.

The official board at Wesley Methodist in Fort William voted unanimously in 1912 in support of union with the Presbyterians. Opinion was divided, however, at St. Andrews.¹² Some Presbyterians preferred to continue cooperative efforts with the Methodists, such as Social Surveys, but opposed organic union. A decade later the Presbyterian Synod of Manitoba supported a resolution for Church union and the main reason seems to have been the immigrant problem. "The problems, political, social, educational, religious," it read, "arising from the presence of so large a proportion of non-English

⁹The Presbyterian, May 12, 1910.

¹⁰J. S. Woodsworth to James Allen, General Sec. of Missions, May 21, 1907, Home Dept. Correspondence. UCA, Toronto.

¹¹W. L. Osborne to James Allen, Sept. 3, 1906.

¹²DTJ, Feb. 15 and 23, 1912.

-speaking people in Canada in the upbuilding of our national life, are so grave, so complex and so pressing, as to demand the thought and action of a united Protestant Canadian Church, and every effort toward the realization of such a church should be earnestly made. Denominational Churches can never deal successfully with these great national problems."¹³ It would be interesting to know how much S. C. Murray, who favoured union, had to do with the drafting of that resolution. The Synod would certainly have his experience to draw upon.

To a large extent then, church union was a response to a pressing concern to Canadianize the immigrant. The impulse arose out of practical necessities, such as solving those problems found in the Lakehead with its foreign population. Deeds became more important than creeds and union was a cry of the utilitarians, a method of facing the challenge confronting Presbyterians and Methodists in western Canada -- that of assimilating hordes of non-Anglo-Saxon newcomers. If Protestantism could represent itself to the foreigner as a national (united) Canadian Church, then, in the minds of many, it would make the task of assimilation easier.

The reaction, elicited from many Protestants

¹³Acts and Proceedings, 39th Synod of Manitoba, 1922. p. 361.

in the Lakehead and throughout Canada upon confrontation with non-English-speaking immigrants 1903-1914, was very similar to the reaction John Higham saw in America, and to which he applied the term nativism. Higham defined nativism as an "intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign connections".¹⁴ The most characteristic complaint of the nativist, Higham stated, concerned the loyalty of some foreign group. When native-born Americans suspected their ability to assimilate newcomers, then those newcomers were charged with disloyalty and were considered a national menace.¹⁵ Josiah Strong, a Congregational clergyman and one of the first exponents of a social gospel in America, through his writings mainly, influenced many Anglo-Saxons with his nativist tirades against unrestricted immigration. He saw immigrants posing a serious threat to religion, morality, politics, life in the cities and social classes.¹⁶ In the 1890's immigrants in the United States, especially southern and eastern Europeans, who were least assimilable, but whose numbers were rapidly increasing, were blamed for a declining patriotism. Nativists, therefore, championed the

¹⁴John Higham, Strangers in the Land (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 4.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 39.

cause of nationalism. Anglo-Saxon nativists especially felt that their society and status were deeply threatened; therefore, they became very defensive as they led the crusade for assimilation. New England, where Anglo-Saxonism was most firmly entrenched, was a case in point. There the "proportion of foreign-born in the total population was rising more sharply than in any other part of the country".¹⁷ There nativism appeared the strongest.

Yet the proportion of foreign-born in the United States as a whole was not as great. Consequently, most Americans were not as nativistic as New Englanders, although Anglo-Saxon nationalism was rampant from 1900 - 1914.¹⁸ This enthusiasm, no doubt, poured over into Canada. At least one can witness the same nativist reaction, especially in areas like the Lakehead and Manitoba, where the proportion of foreign-born to native-born was rapidly increasing. Anglo-Saxon Canadians too became extremely defensive and fearful of their ability to assimilate Sifton's vast hordes of sheepskin clad foreigners, whom they began to suspect of disloyalty and to charge with machinations of disrupting life in the cities, threatening the Protestant religion and morals, and democracy itself. A vigorous campaign was begun, by politicians,

¹⁷Ibid., p. 139.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 173.

educators, intellectuals, clergymen and others, to support Canadian nationalism. This they defined as Anglo-Saxon culture, language, ethic and social values. Anglo-Saxon nativism 1903-1914 was a revival of the same spirit that gave rise to an anti-Catholic nativism in Canada (and the United States) in the 1890's. At that time, to the nativist, Catholics seemed unwilling to assimilate with the majority and therefore "frustrated the ideal of a homogenous nation based on common language and cultural background and a general pride in the so-called Anglo-Saxon race".¹⁹

Many Protestants, especially Methodists and Presbyterians, became the vanguard in the nativist movement for the assimilation of the immigrant, even though this enigmatic English-Canadian nationalism smacked of jingoism. Canadian Clubs, newspaper editors, and concerned citizens spoke much about the problem but no one knew what to do about it. At least some Protestant Churches put forth some genuine effort in attempting to find a solution. They perceived a need for large scale missionary enterprises even though they were not always sure of what they were trying to accomplish. Perhaps it was an effort to preserve the considerable influence the

¹⁹James T. Watt, Anti-Catholic Nativism in Canada: The Protestant Protective Association (Toronto: U. of T. Press, 1967), CHR, vol. XLVIII, no. 1, p. 46.

Church had in Canadian society at that time, which influence they saw waning due to the onslaught of immigration. They feared lest they might lose ground in their efforts on behalf of temperance, keeping the Lord's Day, and the Protestant ethic. It was evident that the non-English-speaking immigrants in the Lakehead did not share their concern on these matters. Some Protestant leaders even feared for the future existence of their Church in Canada. Many Protestants, in the Lakehead and Canada, felt that the Church was responsible for the moral and social fabric of Canadian life. They honestly believed that, without its influence, there could be no civic or national life worth preserving, no democracy or morality. Murray and Shaver emphasized this strongly.

It seemed obvious to these Protestants then, that the best way to Canadianize the immigrant was to Protestantize him, whether in spirit or in fact. For them, the Church therefore, became the chief agent of assimilation. Evangelism and Canadianization became inseparable. The immigrants, however, were generally not too sympathetic to Protestant aspirations of building a Kingdom of God on Earth. They had their own culture, language and Churches that they wished to preserve. Moreover, the immigrant Churches were often regarded by Protestants as the most serious hindrance to assimilation. No doubt this is the reason some Protestants, chiefly

Presbyterians and Baptists in the Lakehead, tried to coax immigrants out of their own Churches and proselytize them to the Protestant faith. There was not a great deal of success with this method of assimilation.

The Methodists, however, were the first in the Lakehead to seriously commit themselves to a sustained social action among the immigrants. Despite the fact that they had no more converts to Protestantism than other Churches, although Shaver hoped for this to happen, they had more success at assimilation than Churches using the more traditional methods of reaching the immigrant -- the mission Church, tracts and preaching, and proselytizing. The Methodists seemed to have had a more complete concept of the social gospel than did other Churches.

Shaver and Murray proved to be the leaders of the nativist response to the immigrants in the Lakehead. Yet they remained active disciples of the social gospel philosophy, which drove them to seek reform for the immigrant. They even tried to arouse English Canadians to admit some responsibility for the unfortunate conditions immigrants had to endure. On the other hand, the Anglicans, Lutherans and even the Baptists seemed to be concerned mostly with their own denominational goals.

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It was necessary to rely heavily on the newspapers of the period which very faithfully reported all Church activities, even resumés of sermons. Fortunately they are complete for the years under study and are on microfilm in the Lakehead University Library and the main Fort William Library.

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