The Search for a Christian Canada[1]

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By the time Columbus sighted the New World in 1492, Europe was ripe to explode in a way impossible five hundred years earlier when Vikings reached the American hemisphere. New political and economic structures, religious ferment, "modern" science and printing made the sixteenth century one of the most dynamic periods in world history. Columbus' discovery brought wealth to western Europe, and from this wealth flowed greater power to the new, centralized and bureaucratic governments of Spain, Portugal, France and England. Motives for promoting exploration and exploitation of the new world soon became complex, but the primary reason for seeking the fabled Orient had been to replace the profitable caravan routes lost by the Turkish conquest of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. Besides wealth, however, explorations gave Europeans a comfortable conviction of their cultural and religious superiority over "lesser breeds without the law."

As discovery developed into settlement, it became the practice of all the European colonizing nations to reproduce in the New World a mirror image of the mother-nation. A galaxy of "New" creations appeared, such as New England, New Scotland, New France, New Netherland and New Sweden. Whatever the material incentives of their Most Christian Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, for supporting Columbus' first westward venture, religion played a major role thanks to the influence and conviction of Spain's minister of finance, Gabriel Sanchez. Sanchez specified that the undertaking was for the salvation of the souls of many lost nations, and after the "great Discovery" of 1492, credited by Columbus to "the holy Christian faith," priests were present in Columbus' subsequent expeditions.

When it became clear that Columbus had not reached the "lost souls" of Asia but had, in his words, found a "new land," then difficult theological considerations followed. What were these inhabitants of this unknown world? Where did they fit in the simple and rigid schema of the Biblical creation story

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taught by the church for more than a millennium? Were these tribes lost from history and were they subject to original sin, or were they pre-Adamite? Were they even humans, like Europeans, or products of some separate and unrevealed creation? Whether pre or post-Adamite, however, they were clearly in need of the gospel and of salvation. In 1537 Pope Paul III ended much of the theological discussion by announcing that "the Indians are truly men" who wanted to be Christianized.[1] Therefore the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," imposed an obligation on Christians to evangelize the New World as part of the process of Europeanizing it.

A French *mission civilizatrice* to Canada's natives began tentatively in the 1540s. Francis I had first sent Jacques Cartier to find "great quantities of gold and other riches," but the missionary motive was clearly stated at Cartier's third voyage in 1541. The king noted then that Cartier had already brought Indians to France, "to instruct them in the love and fear of God, his holy faith and Christian doctrine," before sending them back as missionaries to their own people. Now, however, the creation of a French colony was being planned, "so that we may better fulfil our intention and to do actions agreeable to God" in a typical merging of national and divine designs.[2] Permanent French settlement was delayed, however, until the beginning of the 1600s. With France and its monarchy weakened by a half-century of domestic religious warfare, the new missionary initiative, first in Acadia and later at Quebec, seems to have come largely from Samuel Champlain. His "great project" aimed to convert the natives to Christianity and French culture. For this purpose he brought Recollet friars in 1613; two decades later the larger and more famous Jesuit mission to the Huron Indians began. Eventually, however, the church's methods were criticized even by contemporaries for reducing the mysteries of the Christian faith to easily assentable proportions and for using questionable tactics and tricks that might damage or even destroy the goal of creating Christians. Religious facilities for the few French settlers in Canada were only incidental to the missionary programme. Even at Quebec City the institutional structures of the church were directed primarily at the native peoples, not the French. When Montreal was founded in May, 1642, the motive was again missionary, inspired by the Jesuit *Relations*. For the small and beleaguered French colony on the St. Lawrence, its physical salvation was Louis XIV's decision in 1663 to make it a province of France as suggested by its first missionary bishop, Laval. Thereafter colonization officially replaced the missionary motive, although the first step in this direction had been taken more than three decades earlier at the seige of the Huguenot

stronghold La Rochelle in 1627. There Louis XIII had signed a charter for the Company of One Hundred Associates, creating a new and exclusively Catholic trading consortium and ordering that "none but French Catholics" could live in the settlement.

This emigration policy embodied the Reformation principle that, for political stability, the religion of a nation must be the religion of its ruler, and in the last four decades of the 1600s this policy bore full fruit when extensive emigration created social, religious and linguistic cohesion in the colony. As New France grew demographically and economically, the dream of Christianizing the native people took second place to maintaining a Christian society among the settlers themselves. Louis XIV underlined the shift by declaring that his interest in France's North American territories was "the re-establishment of commerce." As for the church in New France, its attention turned increasingly to a displaced European society that seemed to ape the worst aspects of European life. The church promoted moral rigorism in its quest for a Christian New France, and tried to use the power of the state to enforce church decrees.

Instead of a theocracy directed by the Pope, increased royal attention to New France introduced Gallicanism—the political claim of near autonomy for the church in France—which was used to justify interference with the church. The king's officers in the colony searched nunneries for contraband furs, and parish priests were required to be unpaid civil servants of the central government. As surely as Henry VIII was a self-made pope-king, Louis XIV exercised control over the Catholic church in his realms. The degree to which New France became a Christian society may be contested, but whatever was achieved probably owed more to the efforts of the French-Canadian parish clergy than to France, since the episcopal seat at Quebec was empty for about a third of the century before the British Conquest.

The Conquest opened a new and more complex phase in the Christianizing of Canada. Britain's new subjects—francophone and Roman Catholic—became part of an anglophone and legally Protestant empire. The Acadians had been deported for strategic reasons, but with the French threat to the English colonies now removed, the proposed solution to the Canadian question was assimilation to the conquering culture. Religion, not language, was the stumbling block in making the Canadiens British. The military administrator of the conquered colony reported that, because French Canadians were tenacious of their religion, the best way to make them loyal

Britishers was to guarantee their freedom of religion. The 1763 peace treaty promised that freedom "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit," but those laws denied political rights to Catholics.

Governor Carleton had estimated the disfranchised "new subjects" at more than ninety-five percent of Quebec's population, and in 1767 he assured the British government that Canadiens would people the country forever, "barring a catastrophe shocking to think of." Presumably the catastrophe that Carleton feared was an American revolution. In 1774, on the eve of that Revolution, the Quebec Act gave the Catholic Church in Quebec legal recognition along with Anglicanism. The Act's purpose was to keep Quebec British by keeping it French and Roman Catholic; it became, however, one of the four Intolerable Acts condemned by the American Declaration of Independence and denounced by the Continental Congress for establishing in Canada "a religion that has deluged England in blood, and dispersed bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world."[3] Nevertheless, thanks to the Quebec Act the colony now had two established churches, and later two bishops of Quebec.

The American Revolution reshaped the North American colonies both religiously and demographicly; its most immediate impact was the arrival of the Loyalists. As long as French Canadians were a majority, they felt secure in their religious rights, but the Loyalists changed the religious complexion of Canada. The presence of so many anglophones drawn from majority and minority Protestant traditions of the Reformation experience justified dividing the province of Quebec. Thus, the Constitutional Act of 1791 imposed a Solomon-like solution by creating Lower Canada, predominantly francophone and Roman Catholic Lower, and Upper Canada, anglophone, pluralistic and Protestant, or at least non-Catholic, but with the Church of England legally established. Although double "establishment" irritated the Church of England, it did reflect certain political realities. The Roman Church supported Britain in the Revolution, and for his loyalty during the War of 1812-14 Bishop Plessis received a government salary and a promise that royal supremacy would not be imposed on his church. By obtaining such legal recognition the Roman Catholic Church regained an independence lost in 1663, while the Church of England was still treated as a branch of government.

In Upper Canada the Church of England could claim, at the very most, only twenty percent of the population, yet it monopolized the income of the Clergy Reserves—almost two and a half million acres of the richest lands in North America set aside for the Protestant Clergy when Upper Canada was

created. Church establishment and religious pluralism already co-existed in the Maritime colonies, but without the temptation of such loaves and fishes as the Reserves. Was it then realistic to expect that a pluralistic Upper Canada would become Anglican, or that Lower Canada could reconcile the two rival Roman Catholic and Anglican establishments? Such questions remained irrelevant to an imperial government already convinced that a major cause of the American revolution was the absence of church establishment.

Upper Canada's difficulties with church establishment began indirectly in December, 1813, when the Americans burned Niagara-on-the-Lake. After the war the Presbyterians of the town rebuilt their church, a Canadian architectural gem; faced with this heavy expense they petitioned the crown to provide a salary for their minister from the income of the Clergy Reserves. When the government took no action, leading Canadian Presbyterians pointed out the political advantages of co-establishing the national Church of Scotland in the colonies to ensure loyalty. They claimed their case was also patriotic because the sectarian denominations were Americans who "disseminate political disaffection." The Anglican Clergy Reserves Corporation responded that "Protestant clergy" meant Church of England—if "Protestant clergy" included others, where would such an interpretation end?

In retrospect, state support for religion seemed warranted when the poverty of the early pioneers made outside support desirable if not necessary. Clergy salaries were low, never certain to be paid in full, and the custom of partial payment in kind left some ministers saddled with quantities of inferior and unmarketable produce. The objections to the Church of England's privileged position regarding the Clergy Reserves, marriage laws and education, political appointments, and the selection of military and legislative chaplains, came from rivals for such preferred treatment, but more importantly from voluntarists eager to abolish, not share, an establishment which was unbiblical, political, and injurious to other denominations. When John Strachan, Anglican archdeacon and educator of a generation of conservative leaders of the colony, defended establishment in a famous sermon and in letters to the British government, voluntaryism became a political issue in the colony.[4]

Strachan equated religious dissent with disloyalty, which provoked an effective defence of non-established patriotism from the young Methodist Egerton Ryerson on behalf of all voluntarists, including Baptists and low church Anglicans.[5] An unrepentant Strachan insisted that a state without an establishment was a contradiction. This Strachan—Ryerson exchange opened a decade-long battle over the proper form for a Christian Upper Canada. On

one side was the conservative and establishment-minded "Family Compact"; on the other side were the voluntarists ranging from the moderate Anglican Robert Baldwin to the unbalanced William Lyon Mackenzie.

Strachan continued to assure the British government that there were only two kinds of Upper Canadians—Anglicans, and those who wished they were Anglican and who would become Anglican if given the opportunity. That opportunity would come when the mother country provided adequate economic support for clergy of the established church and, by thus ensuring loyalty, would end the threat of republicanism and irreligion. This assessment of the religious situation in Upper Canada was wrong because Strachan erronously assumed that all Anglicans supported the establishment principle, and that non-Anglicans could not be happy outside his church. Even if his dream of an established colonial church had become a reality, religious uniformity was unlikely to follow in pluralistic Upper Canada. In the early 1830s Lieutenant-Governor Colborne noted that something in the North American air made establishment an alien idea, yet in 1836 he aided the establishment cause by endowing forty-four Anglican rectories with 400 acres each from the Clergy Reserves.

The voluntarist reaction to this development was immediate and loud—the rectories were illegal and provocative. Strachan, however, persuaded the imperial government to save the rectories because they were part of a long-standing policy. After the Rebellions of 1837 less than two years later, Lord Durham reported that in Upper Canada the Reserves and rectories had been contributing causes to the unrest. The next governor, Lord Sydenham, was directed to settle the Reserves issue locally, but when for legal reasons his efforts failed, the imperial parliament enacted his proposal. A compromise was struck between the establishment principle and denominationalism: current income from the Reserves would be shared by those larger churches already receiving government aid and any future additional funds would be divided among the smaller denominations. Thus, the Church of England was joined at the Protestant Clergy Reserves banquet by the Church of Scotland, Roman Catholics and Methodists, and potentially by all non-voluntarist religious bodies.

Multiple establishment was supposed to create a nominally Christian colony by including the major denominations and hence a majority of the population. British North Americans had, however, been politicized by the controversies of the 1820s and 1830s, and by the 1850s many were ready to use the state to create their version of the righteous nation. One radical

reformer wanted to tax church property—"Why shouldn't God pay taxes? Everyone else does!" Another view of Christian nationhood came in 1844 in a short-lived law of the United Canadas that disenfranchised all clergy. Then suddenly the Reserves' policy of share and conquer collapsed in 1848 when the new Lafontaine-Baldwin Reform government announced that extra loaves and fishes were now available on demand for the smaller churches who would thus join the colony's hydra-headed religious establishment. Immediately voluntarists repeated their decades-old demand that the Reserves income be used for education.

This renewed mêlée over the Reserves was only one of the issues unsettling the Canadas in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Responsible government, the University Question, seigniorial tenure, rapid technological change, government corruption, the collapse of the Reform party, the rise of radical fringe groups, and several religious controversies linking language and religion combined to make the 1850s one of the most chaotic decades in Canadian history. Among these disputes the campaign to end the Clergy Reserves was bitter and noisy, and introduced the use of a public opinion poll in Canada. Finally, a bill to secularize the Reserves was introduced by John A. Macdonald's Conservative government in 1854—the same year that seigniorial tenure was abolished and Canada received an elected senate. The Act states its intention to "remove all semblance of connexion between Church and State," the only such reference in Canadian law. The establishment version of a Christian nation seemed to die with the Clergy Reserves, but so too did the voluntarist ideal of separation of church and state. The four "established" churches received cash settlements for their vested interests in the Reserves, money that the churches of England and Scotland promptly turned into perpetual funds. To this day the Anglican Church of Canada in Ontario still has an income from the defunct Clergy Reserves, but the Presbyterians lost theirs in bad investments. Thus, the victory of voluntarism was incomplete, even more so when a second vestige of establishment, the rectories, was perpetuated in 1856. When the validity of the rectories was tested in the courts (using public funds), British jurists declared that, even if the Rectories were "objectionable on grounds of public policy and offensive to the feelings of a portion of the people," their patents were legally sound. To this day Ontario possesses endowed Anglican rectories, a reminder of that abortive plan for a church establishment.

Despite that pre-Confederation preoccupation with issues of church and state, a Christian Canada in the broader sense was not forgotten. Pioneer life

was characterized by excessive drinking, gambling, swearing and violence, but into the harsh, lonely and religionless pioneer existence the Christian church came as a civilizing influence. The first denomination to appear in the field probably attracted and retained many for whom denominationalism had become meaningless. All the churches preached a shotgun attack against such time-wasting (and hence ungodly) leisure activities as dancing, card playing, the theatre, reading novels, and ice skating.

If Canadian churches have a chequered record of religious intolerance, at the very least they can claim an enviable tradition of denominational cooperation and concern for social problems. Stemming from the spirituality of the nineteenth-century Evangelical Revival and from colonial conditions, two religio-social concerns cutting across denominational lines emerged before confederation. The first was the temperance issue, the second sabbatarianism, or keeping the sabbath holy as required by the Fourth Commandment. Grain was grown in vast quantities, but when distilled it became a smaller and more profitable product, which made liquor a major economic consideration. At 25 cents a gallon, and fifty percent stronger than the modern product, whisky was the major cause of wide-spread alcoholism. In some families whisky was given to all members every morning to prevent colds. At residential schools boys drank "small beer" (recently rediscovered and renamed "lite").

Christian clergymen generally believed in moderate drinking but alcoholism became so common, even among men of the cloth, that importing the temperance movement from Europe and the United States was a natural response. By the 1830s temperance societies appeared in all the colonies. Because alcoholism leads to abuses of persons and property, first temperance, and later teetotalism, became a persistent theme in the search for a Christian Canada, and when anti-alcohol education seemed fruitless, the campaign demanded state-enforced prohibition. Legal prohibition was proposed in the Maritimes before the 1830s, and in Upper Canada by 1840, where temperance was also recommended as a test for church membership. Some denominations did not believe that sobriety could be legislated, but all agreed that governments should fire intemperate civil servants. As late as Confederation, however, colonial society was not ready to legislate a sober Christian Canada into existence.

If temperance was the particular enthusiasm of the Methodists, Baptists and evangelical Anglicans, the Presbyterian passion for keeping the Lord's Day holy earned the nickname "the Covenanters' hobby." The sabbatarian crusade to achieve a Canadian sabbath by forcing the closing of post offices

and canals on Sunday began in the 1840s. In 1853 over 17,000 persons in Upper Canada, but only 3,000 in Lower Canada, petitioned parliament for a Lord's Day law. One Toronto newspaper objected that a law against Sunday labour would contravene the separation of church and state, but almost every year for a decade George Brown introduced unsuccessful private bills to compel Sabbath observance. Canadians apparently still did not feel that a Christian Sunday was so threatened by commercialism as to justify government intervention.

By the era of Confederation the search for a Christian Canada had moved away from the issue of establishment towards a popular consensus about what constituted a righteous nation. This new vision was interdenominational and assumed that Canadians shared a common Christianity because, with the church-state issue buried, a sort of omnibus Protestantism emerged. This transdenominational consensus on such topics as evangelism, temperance, sabbatarianism and political responsibility when combined with a sense of dedication and activism flowing from the Evangelical Revival, pointed to a new, enthusiastic, aggressive and cooperative search for a Christian Canada. The belief that the Christian church is the conscience of the state and that the state's power can and should be used to create a Christian Canada, underlay two parallel movements, the Social Gospel and Catholic Action.

Temperance and sabbatarianism were only the thin edge of a wedge of traditional Christian social concern rekindled in Canada when the church found its prophetic voice again. The Evangelical Revival began this new search for a Christian Canada by stressing personal conversion, with proof of conversion measured in purity and piety of life. A theological revolution, however, gradually and subtly shifted emphasis from redemption to incarnation. Attention was now redirected from the individual to the group. To save the individual, society must also be saved; the goal of this world became the Jesus-like life in terms of moral and physical living standards.

Now the reconciliation of God and humanity seemed to come more through the Incarnate Word than through Christ the Redeeming Lamb—Jesus became more human, a sociable, activist, dedicated clubbable person. Where societal concerns were involved the range of social and moral problems expanded infinitely. To deal with an alcoholic was to deal with one person—to deal with alcoholism was to face a galaxy of interrelated social issues in an urbanizing and industrializing community. In Canada, however, the long post-Confederation recession delayed public awareness of the complexity and

interconnection of problems arising from urbanization and industrialization until the 1890s.

By the end of the century large-scale industry was drawing youth from the security of country life to the temptations of the city. The church was already there, preserving Christian Canada by easing this cultural transition for immigrants from the farms, and from overseas. The vast numbers of New Canadians arriving in eastern cities and in the West posed a second challenge to a Christian Canada. At the great 1909 Protestant Mission Congress in Toronto, C.W. Gordon declared that non-anglophone newcomers must be Canadianized through evangelization. To Canada, the lynch-pin of God's preferred Anglo-Saxondom, that Congress' slogan, "Evangelize the world in this generation," assigned Canada forty million Chinese to convert.

Whether the nation's mission was abroad or at home, whether to old Canadians or new, the response of the Christian churches to the challenges of immigration and industrialization was "practical Christianity," the application of Social Gospel principles. The Social Gospel movement was not an organization but a collective answer to the worst results of urbanization and industrialization. It was also an umbrella-term for special interest groups with social concerns. Yet the Social Gospel philosophy was never codified, and only popularized after it was a generation old. The degree of involvement in the Social Gospel by each Protestant church seems directly proportional to the Evangelical Revival's influence on that denomination. Methodists took an ideological approach to the Social Gospel, Presbyterians and Baptists were more pragmatic, and the Church of England adopted an essentially conservative strategy.

What the Social Gospel was for Protestants, Catholic Action was for the Church of Rome whose involvement in social action has a long tradition in Canada. Both English and French churches have shared that tradition, but the latter has been less willing to co-operate with non-Catholics. The crusades of the Social Gospel and Catholic Action reflected contemporary problems—intemperance, sabbath desecration, unsafe working conditions, child labour, long working hours, abuse of women and children, poor housing, impure food and water, crowded and polluted cities, moral impurity in politics and sex, and the ghettoization of New Canadians in a Christian Canada. Leadership came willingly from the clergy, but more importantly from the well-to-do Christian Canadians with time, money and organizational experience. As the leaders diversified their Social Gospel interests, networking became an operational norm in family and social life.

The Social Gospel's influence on Canadian life changed the tone and objectives of the nation irrevocably. In retrospect the Social Gospel was more preservative than revolutionary as it aimed to save the existing Christian Canada from the anti-religious and anti-Christian forces now loosed against society by the industrial revolution. Thanks to the war-time demand that grain be consumed exclusively as food, the manufacture of alcohol was banned in 1918, but without a patriotic and militant war effort even this short-lived legislation might never have become law. The story of legislated sabbath observance in Canada shows how effective organization by the Lord's Day Alliance won the Lord's Day Act of 1906, but that Act too was an incomplete victory. The Alliance had depended on the help of organized labour, which was more interested in a day of rest than in enforcement of the Fourth Commandment. The Lord's Day Act itself gave industry profitable loopholes, and a concerned Alliance warned that if reverence for the sabbath were lost not only a Christian Canada but civilization itself might disappear. During the inter-war years the Alliance successfully prosecuted small shop owners, the Hart House String Quartet, icecream vendors and movie house operators, but with wealthycorporations it was less successful. The sabbatarian cause was further weakened by disorganization and distractions during both World Wars, by the divisions of Protestantism, and by the leakage of denominational support into newer crusades. Church union cost the Alliance more church backing, as did generational leadership changes, and by the end of the 1940s the future of Canada's Christian Sunday was in doubt. Increasingly sabbatarianism was challenged by commercialism and a pluralism of non-Christian religions; by the 1960s Sunday had definitely become a holiday, but only partly a holy day, even for most Christians.

In the crucible of World War I Canada had become a nation and so, in the opinion of many Protestants, it needed a national church. A union of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, planned for almost two decades, would help to win the world for Christ and create a collective conscience for the Canadian nation-state. A big, unified church could save Anglo-Saxon and Protestant values and institutionalize the dream of a Christian Canada. Church union would be both the natural and the national answer to change; it would be the Social Gospel at collective prayer. Ironically, the union of 1925 was also a return to the establishment principle—one nation, one church—that denominationalism had defeated almost a century earlier.

In part church union had been a response to earlier clashes between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. Religious violence had ended but in the late 1880s papal involvement in dividing the Jesuits' Estates funds allowed Protestants to protest "foreign" interference in Canadian affairs and challenge the Jesuits' loyalty to Canada. Militant Protestants organized the "equal rights" movement but failed to make their point with Canadian politicians or the Canadian public. The issue of Roman Catholicism's role in Canadian life arose again when the papal decree *Ne Temere*, issued in 1906 to prevent clandestine marriages, was used in civil courts to annul some mixed marriages. Although the Roman canon law is part of Quebec's *Code Civile*, Protestants insisted that, in the name of Canadian national unity and uniformity, the law of Canada must have precedence over denominationalism.

Despite these religious confrontations, a common language proved to be a greater reconciler of competing visions of a Christian Canada than a shared denominationalism. As rapprochement grew between English-speaking Catholics and Protestants, relations between English and French Catholics became more strained. The Abbe Lionel Groulx offered francophones a divinely destined, Roman Catholic Quebec in place of a Christian Canada, a French-Canadian homeland shaped by faith and heritage. Preaching a sacralized French-Canadian nationalism he became godfather to Action Française and Quebec sovereignty; ironically this very dream of a regional, religio-cultural Christian society was desacralized and politicized in the Quiet Revolution.

Was there ever a Christian Canada, or was it an impossible dream? What had begun as a mission to Canada became a mission in Canada, and then a mission of Canada. Today the values of Canada's Judeo-Christian heritage still inform the nation, and politicians employ such Social Gospel phraseology as "the just society." At home and abroad Social Gospel and Catholic Action ideals are proclaimed and practised by numerous Canadian organizations. Many individual Canadians retain their passionate thirst for justice as the highest Christian virtue and voice their concern for the welfare of others and their disapproval of discrimination against those less advantaged.

At the very least Canada remains numerically Christian, since nine out of every ten citizens claim adherence to one of the six largest denominations. As recently as 1981, when the proposed new constitution omitted all references to the Creator, 8,000 letters protested this oversight and the preamble of the bill was rewritten to acknowledge "the supremacy of God." Admittedly, only one Canadian in four attends church with anything

approaching regularity, but the Christian churches report a more intense spiritual life. Religious pluralism, first seen as a threat to Anglo-Saxon values, now seems to offer a further bulwark against secularism. The search for a Christian Canada has taken some unexpected turns in the twentieth century, but the legacy of four hundred years cannot be denied as the most formative influence in modern Canadian society.

Notes

1. See *Sublimis Deus*; quoted in Edwin S. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America* (N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 12.

2. Michel Bideaux, ed., *Jacques Cartier, Relations* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Universite de Montreal, 1986), pp. 233-234.

3. Gaustad, *A Religious History of America*, p. 118.

4. J.L.H. Henderson, ed., *John Strachan: Documents and Opinions* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 87-89; and John S. Moir, ed., *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 167-168; 170-172.

5. C.B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1937): I:23-29, 85-89; and Moir, *Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867*, pp. 180-181.