

REVIVALISM IN CENTRAL CANADIAN  
WESLEYAN METHODISM, 1824-1860

by

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## Abstract

Three significant theories have been advanced to explain the development of 19th century Canadian Church history: frontierism, metropolitanism and the church-sect typology. Consequently, they have concluded that revivalism in Central Canada began to decline with the disappearance of the frontier from about 1820 and with the emergence of a complex society. For example, S.D. Clark suggested that the British Methodist organization had a profound influence on the Canadian Wesleyan Methodists, thereby resulting in the development of a sophisticated Methodist organization in Central Canada after 1832 and the decline of revivals.

No detailed studies of revivalism in Central Canada have been made for the period from 1830 to 1860. By studying the Wesleyan Methodist Church during the period delineated, this thesis demonstrates that the revival movement in Central Canada survived until at least 1860. Its success was determined more by Methodist preaching, programmes and doctrine than by any external factors.

## Résumé.

Trois grands thèmes ont été avancés pour expliquer le développement de l'histoire de l'église canadienne du 19<sup>ème</sup> siècle : la notion de frontière, la conception du "Metropolitanism", et la typologie "église-secte". Par conséquent, l'hypothèse est que le mouvement du "Réveil" a commencé à décliner avec la disparition de la frontière qui s'amorça aux environs de 1820, et avec l'apparition d'une société munie d'une structure plus complexe au niveau social, politique et religieux. Par exemple, comme le suggérait S. D. Clark, l'église méthodiste anglaise avait profondément influencé l'église méthodiste wesleyenne, au point de lui faire adopter une organisation bien plus sophistiquée dès 1832.

La notion du mouvement du "Réveil", ainsi que d'autres disparurent lentement. Cependant aucune étude n'avait été faite sur ce mouvement du "Réveil" au centre du Canada - l'Ontario moderne - pendant la période s'écoulant de 1830 à 1860. En étudiant l'église méthodiste wesleyenne dans cette région à ce moment précis, cette thèse nous prouve que ce mouvement du "Réveil" a survécu tout au moins jusqu'en 1860. Son succès était dû bien plus aux méthodes de prédication, aux programmes et aux doctrines dont il se servait, plutôt qu'aux facteurs extérieurs.

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## CHAPTER 1

### Revivalism, Frontierism, Metropolitanism and the Church-Sect Antithesis

#### A. Need for This Study

Occasionally a student of history may, in a pensive mood, question the relevance of "unearthing the relics" of past generations while pressing problems of apparently insuperable magnitude continue to crush the hopes of even some of the most optimistic in our society. Often there are few resources with which to tackle them. In other words, is it prudent for historians to utilize their resources to delve into records of past centuries rather than employing those resources to tackle present exigencies? Perhaps a judicious way to respond would be to allow the evidence to be its own vindicator. Let the results of the colossal tasks undertaken by historians speak for themselves. In bringing to light past records they have revealed how past generations extricated themselves from at least some of their problems and laid foundations upon which modern societies are established. On the other hand, those individuals living in later generations may better understand certain current problems since they were bequeathed to them as legacies from errors of past generations.

Despite increasing interest in 19th Century Canadian Church History many historical data remain unexplored. This is true particularly of Methodist revivalism between 1830 and 1860. Further investigation could result in the conceptualization of formulas or techniques to deal creatively

with present and future religious as well as social challenges. Indeed, since the latter 20th century has developed with unusually great complexity and diversification, a mere transference of techniques or ideas would prove to be inadequate. Looking at a similar concept, Albert Outler remarked: "A Church continues to be evangelical only by being constantly and unanxiously reformed - and this means change - constant updating, constant new ventures, as history and human destiny unfold."<sup>1</sup>

Through curiosity individuals may ponder possible reasons why a researcher decides upon a specific area for research. In the case of the present researcher, the subject was brought forcefully to his attention while participating in a reading course in 18th and 19th century religious literature in his Master's degree program. The Burned-Over District by Whitney Cross<sup>2</sup> caught and held his interest. In studying Canadian Church History the question emerged: What was Central Canada's revival experience during the decades prior to 1860 when revivalism flourished in the United States? That question remained mainly unanswered until this investigation was undertaken. Few detailed studies dealing with revivalism in Canada had been undertaken.<sup>3</sup>

Five attitudes could be cited to indicate possible reasons for limited interest in revivalism in Canadian historical studies. The first is that of bias. This may well be illustrated by the description of Henry Alline, revivalist of the latter 18th century in Nova Scotia, by H.H. Walsh in his book, The Christian Church in Canada. Alline is considered to be a

"boisterous farm boy".<sup>4</sup> Timothy L. Smith pin-pointed this problem in pointing out that mass evangelism since 1890 has been associated with theological obscurantism as well as socially negative religion, resulting in an increased focus on the barbarities of frontier camp meetings.<sup>5</sup> Revivalism has been considered a "half-breed child of the Protestant faith, born on the crude frontier, where Christianity was taken captive by the wilderness".<sup>6</sup>

Second, until recently Canadian Church historians have generally associated revivals with the frontier: the period of early Canadian development. Therefore the passing of the frontier meant the obsolescence of revivals. The three historians who dealt in some depth with revivalism in the light of 19th century methodism had obvious limitations with regard to any serious revision of the frontier theory for the mid - 19th Century. Arthur Kewley researched the earlier period (before 1830) and emphasized the United States origins of Canadian evangelism.<sup>7</sup> Neil Semple investigated the effect of urbanization on the Methodist Church from 1854 to 1884, treating revivalism only cursorily.<sup>8</sup> His thesis is in harmony with the metropolitan theory which points to the influence of the metropolis on the early Canadian settlements, thus negating a real frontier influence. Had Semple's thesis been applied directly to revivalism serious attention would have been called to the issue. His thesis as it stands however, does assist to a limited extent in changing Canadian Church historians' focus away from frontierism. S. D. Clark has written from a sociological point of view. This has its inherent limitations.

H. H. Walsh commented:

The nearest approach we have to any comprehensive view of our religious development is S. D. Clark's Church and Sect in Canada, in which he has made it abundantly clear

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just how influential were religious movements in the sociological development of Canada. But Professor Clark's purely empirical manner of observation leaves much to be desired. His failure to separate the wheat from the chaff, and his tendency to judge revivalism from a purely sociological point of view misses much of the true significance of religious "enthusiasm".<sup>9</sup>

It should also be noted that Clark surveyed the denominations rather than specializing in any particular area or church group.<sup>10</sup>

Clark's cut-off date for early 19th century revivalism has likely been the most influential upon later writers. As well, the influence of William W. Sweet should not be overlooked.<sup>11</sup> The union between the Canadian Methodist body (then named Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada) and the British Wesleyans in 1833 resulted in a dramatic change in the character of revivals in the Canadian Methodist Church, according to Clark.<sup>12</sup> Other Canadian historians agreed with Clark's conclusions, if not with his views. J. S. Moir wrote that the Episcopalals (i.e. the branch of Methodists who carried that name after the union was effected in 1833) were more evangelical than the Wesleyans.<sup>13</sup> John Grant wrote of the later period that the social gospel provided the "transition from old rural moralism to urban sophistication".<sup>14</sup> As recently as 1977, William Brooks emphasized strongly the passing of revivalism in the frontier period before 1840. Brooks wrote:

Methodism in Ontario had grown up in traditional fashion in an American-style frontier community in the years prior to 1840. The urgency and harshness of frontier life in what was then Upper Canada created needs similar to those which existed in similar American frontier conditions.<sup>15</sup>

He regarded those who responded to revivals as ignorant and generally from the lower class of society. Referring to Western Canada in relation to Central Canada he stated: "Since the Methodists' audiences of ignorant and unsophisticated people were generally leavened by the well-educated and relatively cosmopolitan, frontier revivalism found no place."<sup>16</sup> "All the Methodist denominations which came to the West after 1840 had passed their evangelical stage some time before."<sup>17</sup>

With the exception of S. D. Clark, the earliest date given for the demise of revivalism is that by John Moir. Dealing with the incentives to union, he explained: "The first of these occasions was about 1820 when the earliest wave of frontier revivalism was dying down, sects were becoming churches and each was beginning to find its constituency as large as it could handle."<sup>18</sup> Interestingly enough, it was not until the 1820s that revivalism really generated momentum in Central Canada. The only prominent revival activities of note before 1820 were the 1805 camp meeting which William Case, Henry Ryan and Nathan Bangs attended and the revival following the 1817 Conference held at Elizabethtown. Moir interpreted early Methodist revivalism as a frontier experience which would inevitably be outdated as the Church developed an organized structure.

Third, the sources which referred to the period 1830 to 1850 are not readily available. The Christian Guardian index in the United Church Archives in Toronto lists only a few revivals from the late 1930s with the exception of one or two years. Since earlier published books (such as Clark's Church and Sect in Canada) projected a scarcity

of revivals after the 1830s, the general tendency of later historians was to conclude that the age of revivals had passed. The revivals that were observed in the sources were taken as exceptions.

Fourth, the tendency of the Methodist Church in Canada was to divest itself of the "republican image" it had developed. The fact that there was strong prejudice in government and among several members of the Upper Canadian society against republicanism created an impression that camp meetings and other United States revival measures were abandoned by the indigenous Methodist Church.

Fifth, perhaps the most subtle reason for limited interest in researching Canadian revivalism is the implication of the church-sect theory as applied to the Canadian society. Traditionally, Canadian society - particularly Upper Canada - has been perceived as an appendage of British sophisticated urban and erudite ecclesiasticism even though these had to struggle for survival in the inimical frontier conditions. In his church-sect theory S.D. Clark has advanced the idea that religious disorganization occurred on the Canadian frontier. However, he maintained to some limited degree that at least the vestiges of these traditional British graces undergirded the early Canadian communities. N.K. Clifford pondered the question: why have Canadian Church historians not gone beyond the church-sect typology? He concluded with John Moir: "Canada has preserved Churchism to preserve itself."<sup>19</sup> Consequently, Canadian Church historians avoid the term "denomination" since in the United States this is normative whereas in Canada there is the constant progress toward church unions. These church unions reflect the Canadian ideal

as it "looks beyond denominationalism as the final destiny of the church of Canada."<sup>20</sup>

This institutionalized church posture tended to reject products of what appeared to be frontier-induced or of "republican" origin. Hence the Primitive Methodists and continuing Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada would be considered revivalistic. The former accepted camp meetings in Britain when the Wesleyan Church rejected it and the latter was tied to its republican heritage. On the other hand, the Canadian Church being united with the British Wesleyans displayed the parent's matured social graces in its denial of excessive emotionalism associated with revival measures of the frontier. John Moir has put it bluntly:

The circuit-rider tradition of democracy, lay participation in Church management, and militant evangelism were maintained by Episcopalians long after their Wesleyan brethren had been "corrupted" with the formalism and respectability of bourgeois urbanization. The other Methodist Churches - Bible Christians, New Connexion, and Primitive - were separately insignificant in numbers and influence...<sup>21</sup>

When the writer undertook the task of investigating the period from 1828 (the date for the separation of the Canadian Methodist Church from its parent body, the Methodist Episcopal Church in The United States) to the end of the nineteenth century, he was under the influence of the foregoing positions. Compounding this problem was the apparent paucity of original source materials for the earlier period of the proposed study. There appeared to be an effervescence that marked the reporting of revival activities up to the 1830s and then an almost unbearable silence on the subject until the age of the popular professional



revivalists. In order to overcome the problem it was thought necessary to deal only casually with the decades of the 1830s and 1840s; then emphasize the second half of the 19th century when the evidence for revivalism and its supposed divergent paths - those of social gospel and the holiness movement - suggested that Methodism had embarked upon a new era.

Influenced to some extent by Arthur Kewley's view<sup>22</sup> that camp meetings continued with greater success in Central Canada beyond 1830 and Timothy Smith's findings<sup>23</sup> with reference to a strong revival activity in the United States between 1840 and 1865, the writer developed an interest in revivalism in the region of Central Canada for the period between 1830 (the termination of Arthur Kewley's research period) and 1854 (the beginning date of Neil Semple's thesis). Whitney Cross' point was also noted: that the greatest revival activity took place in areas of economic or agrarian maturity and not those with frontier or urban conditions.<sup>24</sup> Martin Marty arrived at the same conclusion: "Revivalism has been as much the instrument of aspiring middle classes in the bourgeoisie as it ever was the agency for change among backwoods proletariat."<sup>25</sup> He found that for the American experience, revivalism was not a revolt of "backcountry producers from the strident controls of the mercantile aristocracy."<sup>26</sup> This division between classes was not evident. Even though the more well-to-do classes of society were not as receptive to the gospel as the lower classes they were not generally averse to the revivals. Neither was there a solely rural-based revival activity. "The revivals were both urban and rural. They might attract the admiration of educated and influential people even when they did not convert."<sup>27</sup>

While engaged in researching the 1830s and 1840s, it became evident that revival activity did continue in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, and that sources were sufficient to describe the trend during those decades. A new problem emerged however. Despite the writer's interest in the second half of the 19th century, particularly the opportunity to explore the actual transformation of the Methodist Churches as they merged into a strong central organization between 1874 and 1884 with regard to attitudes toward revivalism, there had to be a limit to the study in order for it to become manageable. Also, of particular interest was the attitude of prominent leaders of the church to revivalism during the development of an academic programme for the training of ministers and the influence of biblical criticism on the church. The United Church Archives in Toronto recently catalogued thirty-three boxes of personal papers and sermons for Nathaniel Burwash alone. Together with his published materials and the documents for his predecessor as President of Victoria College, S. Nelles, there could likely be a thesis just from these materials. In the interest of manageability, and considering the fairly adequate materials available for the period delineated, the termination date, 1860, has been chosen, albeit with some reluctance. As well, 1860 represents the date when both influences were in evidence - a strong revivalism and a strong tendency toward institutionalization. The starting date, 1824, is selected in order to provide the developing prelude or setting for the strong revival period from 1830. It was also the date when the Canada Conference was organized. There was no sudden occurrence of the change as indicated by S. D. Clark and others, hence there could be

no arbitrary date, but surely there was a time when this transition became evident. The thesis ends with the beginning of a new kind of revivalistic programme, the last public revivalistic measure to be introduced into Central Canadian Methodism before the decline and demise of this historic 19th century revival spirit.

The task undertaken by the researcher is to describe the revival activity during the period delineated and to determine the effect of revival theology on the Methodist Movement in Central Canada. The Methodist Movement has been selected for this study of revivalism since it had historical links with the originator of 18th and 19th century revivalism in North America. Indeed, John Wesley's followers led the revival in the new world. Central emphasis has been given to the main Methodist body, the Episcopal Methodist Church In Canada, 1824-1833, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church In Canada after the Union of 1833 with the British Wesleyan Missionary Society.

Of significance to the study are three related aspects. A background or setting is necessary to provide some interpretative framework for this thesis. The theories advanced by historians which bear upon this theme are only introduced to provide direction for this study. S. D. Clark will be considered in a limited way but providing sufficient information to indicate the writer's differing opinions as a result of his research. As was indicated earlier, the assumption that the church-sect typology accounts to a large extent for Canadian Church development strongly underlies even several recent studies of 19th

Century Canadian Church history notwithstanding the more recent development of the metropolitan theory. (This is supported by N.K. Clifford's study.)<sup>28</sup>

Since Wesley's influence was indispensable to the Canadian revival experience and the theology of revivalism was seen to buttress the movement, a presentation of the main themes of revival theology as taught by John Wesley was considered necessary. Attempts will then be made to show how Canadian preachers and members related to these main theological themes.

The final chapter (Chapter VI) will focus on an interpretation of revivalism. Is revivalism uniformly interpreted, or is there a need for clarification regarding what the writer intends by its use and what is generally understood? Of no little significance also is the meaning conveyed or the actual understanding by the subjects of the study themselves. It may prove a difficult exercise to disengage one's mind from the complex conceptualizations of modernity and engage it with the 19th century mind, or to be more specific, the mind of revivalists of the 1830s and 1840s. An appraisal of revivalism within the Central Canadian Methodist context will be included.

Although this study has followed a general chronological sequence, chapter IV has not conformed completely to that order; rather it has been treated thematically. Chapter IV discusses Methodist revival theology in the light of Central Canadian revivalism.

B. Historiographical Background: Frontierism and Metropolitanism

Since the advancing of Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier hypothesis on July 12, 1893,<sup>29</sup> nearly all attempts to interpret the nature and development of American history have been measured by it. Professor Turner considered the comments of the Superintendent of the census for 1890 of epoch-making significance, namely, that

up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent, its westward movement, etc., it cannot, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports.<sup>30</sup>

Turner struck out on the path of frontierism. For him this statement represented the official closing of the historic frontier movement. American history to that point had begun the settlement of the West and American future history would reflect the impact of this western occupation on the nation as a whole. Hitherto American historiography would reflect the demise of the romantic view and the surge of the frontier view in the interpretation of the settlement of the Great West.

Professor Turner saw the occupation of the West as a series of developments in this westward movement, each beginning in a raw section of wilderness, battling its native forces, eventually becoming a settled society and passing the challenge of a new beginning in the wilderness

just beyond the periphery. American development may be explained by the "existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward."<sup>31</sup> Interpreting Professor Turner's hypothesis M. Zaslow remarked:

The impelling motives behind the advance of the agrarian frontier were the desire to avoid conventional society, to obtain fresh, fertile land, and to profit from a rise in value of lands acquired with a minimum of expense. Each newly-settled district began with a fluid society, and in due course became more fully settled and evolved its own political institutions.<sup>32</sup>

During these periods of transition when creative improvisation was necessary for survival, the frontier underwent dramatic changes which led to a creation of new or modified social and political institutions. The result was a distinctive American culture.

For Turner, the shaping of the American culture was not the Atlantic coast but the Great West. Thus American development has exhibited not merely advance along a single line, but a return to primitive conditions on a continually advancing frontier line, and a new development for that area. American social development has been continually beginning over again on the frontier. This perennial rebirth, this fluidity of American life, this expansion westward with its new opportunities, its continuous touch with the simplicity of primitive society, furnish the forces dominating American character.<sup>33</sup>

Professor Turner agreed that European life influenced early

American life. In fact, he did not intend by his thesis to preclude other views of American development.<sup>34</sup> But the frontier soon mastered the colonist. It represented the line of "most rapid and effective Americanization". In Turner's words:

(The wilderness) finds him a European in dress, industries, tools, modes of travel, and thought. It takes him from the railroad car and puts him in the birch canoe. It strips off the garments of civilization and arrays him in the hunting shirt and the moccasin ... In short, at the frontier the environment is at first too strong for the man. He must accept the condition which it furnishes, or perish, and so he fits himself into the Indian clearings and follows the Indian trails. Little by little he transforms the wilderness, but the outcome is not the old Europe, ... The fact is, that here is a new product that is American.<sup>35</sup>

The farther west America developed; the further it moved from European influence. This steady advancement west meant a steady development of the culture along American lines. In this movement the frontier became the "outer edge of the wave - the meeting point between savagery and civilization". Thus the "most significant thing about the American frontier is, that it lies at the hither edge of free land".<sup>36</sup> This margin of settlement would have two or more persons to the square mile.

The natural outcome of frontierism then was environmental determinism. "The wilderness and the men it produced had made America."<sup>37</sup> Individualism, coarseness, strength, inquisitiveness, inventiveness, idealism, self-confidence and the belief in opportunity for all were born on the frontier and became the mark of the American. Characteristic

of the frontier was the stress on democracy. American democratic philosophy soon affected every aspect of American life. Thus the democracy of the frontier pressured the lifestyle of the East<sup>38</sup> and became the dominant force in United States' history.

How have American and Canadian historians reacted to the frontier hypothesis? American historians for nearly a century have been seeking to modify or even supersede Turner's frontier hypothesis. Several attempts have brought fruitful results, but Turner's proposition with some modifications is still highly regarded among some American historians. In fact, histories of other countries have been re-interpreted in the light of Turner's views.<sup>39</sup> For Canada, different approaches have been used to explain its development. The frontier hypothesis and the metropolitan thesis have featured prominently. Generally speaking, attempts have been made either to link Canada with the United States' experience or by contrast, point to Canada's peculiar historical background.

The view was advanced early in the twentieth century that Canada was an extension of the American frontier.<sup>40</sup> The movement west at times shifted to the north creating an American expansion despite the international boundary line. Turner's frontier hypothesis could then adequately explain Canadian development. Regardless of L. S. Stavrianos' claim that "(s)trangely enough, students of Canadian history have practically ignored this theory, despite the parallels in certain aspects between the developments of the two countries,"<sup>41</sup> it is clear



especially in the Canadian religious literature, that the frontier hypothesis had been applied to Canadian history.<sup>42</sup> The announcement in the Canadian Historical Review concerning Frederick Jackson Turner's passing on March 15, 1932, indicated at least the view of the editor:

His emphasis on the importance of the frontier was the greatest single influence in the re-interpretation of the history of the United States during the past generation. The application of his views to Canadian history has scarcely begun but it is safe to say that they will have a profound effect - perhaps not less than the similarities in the development of the two countries.<sup>43</sup>

More recently though, some Canadian historians have been keenly aware that Canadian society is much different from its neighbour to the south. More emphasis has been given to a modification or a re-interpretation of the frontier hypothesis for the Canadian situation. A. R. M. Lower has been credited with emphasizing the lack of universality in Turner's thesis. American democracy was forest-born since social democracy usually developed from the egalitarian conditions of pioneer life. However, political democracy was not inherent in such an agrarian environment; rather its importation was necessary.<sup>44</sup> Professor Lower pointed to the concept now known as metropolitanism. The strong influence of the urban centres on the frontier began to be stressed. Business interest, centred in the metropolis, projected its dominating, organizing power into the agrarian society. Emphasis on environmental materialism soon gave way to the influence and transmission of ideas from the metropolis to the frontier. Fred Landon's publication in 1941 describing the

frontier era in western Ontario emphasized the transmission of ideas and movements from the United States even though the frontier thesis remained dominant.<sup>45</sup>

During the past few decades much more emphasis has been placed on the Canadian identity. Canadian historiography has catalogued various attempts to explain Canada's past in the light of its two dominant cultures (French and English), the strong European and American heritage, the somewhat brief duration of some of its frontier communities, the peculiarity of the ecclesiastical systems, its imperial political ties and the evolution of its economic system. No consensus has been reached among historians regarding the nature of the Canadian development.

In viewing the development of Canadian religious history, archivist Glenn Lucas stated: "It is difficult to apply Turner's frontier theory to the development of Canada's religious institutions. During the early years of settlement, our people were not long isolated. In the older provinces, settlement was usually along a river or a lakefront (in the Eastern provinces along the seacoast) not far removed from a major shipping lane."<sup>46</sup> Glenn Lucas concluded that "(m)etropolitanism appears to be a more fruitful concept in any examination of Canadian religious phenomenon."<sup>47</sup>

Much could be said regarding other views of Canadian development but a more extensive review would not be entirely relevant. However, mention should be made of the "Laurentian School" of Canadian historiography.

Introduced by H. A. Innis and D. G. Creighton,<sup>48</sup> this view pointed out that the fur trade and the great systems of continent-wide communications, specifically the St. Lawrence water route, provided not only "major Canadian economic enterprises" but also transmitted ideas freely from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The emphasis that developed was not only materialistic environmentalism but the dominance of the metropolis on the total Canadian environment through the transmission of ideas. One of the most recent studies on reasons for changes in the 19th century Methodist church was done by Neil Semple who advanced the theory that urbanization featured dominantly in the development of the movement.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps L. S. Stavrianos' comments could serve to point up the need for an eclectic theory. He stated:

... the slower advance of settlement, the absence of Indian wars, the powerful influence of a conservative upper class and the general tractability of the population of the province all contributed to form a society distinctly different from that of the United States. It cannot be said, therefore, that the true point of the rebellion, is "the Great West". Neither can it be said, however, that the environment exerted no influence or that the rebellion was an accidental or incidental affair. Rather it was the quintessence of the whole history of the province, the product of three conflicting forces: the egalitarian influence of the frontier environment, the moderating influence of the imperial tie and the catalytic effect of the neighbouring republic.<sup>50</sup>

Central Canadian ecclesiastical history followed definite lines of development during the nineteenth century. As such revivalism shared prominently in this history. Can such metropolitan influences or frontier forces best account for its development? In his book,

The Winning of the Frontier, Edmund Oliver emphasized the effect of frontierism on the Canadian churches; S. D. Clark's work, Church and Sect in Canada, advanced the church-sect antithesis as the major factor in the development of the Canadian churches and Neil Semple in his recent thesis, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church of Canada, 1854-1884", postulated that metropolitan forces at work in the Canadian society helped to shape the Methodist movement. There is clear evidence in the literature of the nineteenth century to indicate that these theories are valid. The Methodist Church in particular was affected by the frontier conditions and the metropolitan forces as well as the struggle resulting from the natural growth from sect status to the prominence of territorial church. Nevertheless, other dominant forces were at work within Methodism itself which determined even more than the foregoing causes the nature of its developmental thrust-revivalism.

### C. The Church-Sect Antithesis

Since the church-sect typology is so frequently mentioned in current religious literature, it would seem redundant to detail this concept. Furthermore, it is only incidental to the main thrust of this study. In fact, it is introduced only to relate more accurately S. D. Clark's use of this theory in interpreting revivalism for the period under consideration. There seems to be no need to trace its origin with Ernst Troeltsch and others, but instead to introduce the concept by reference to its relevant application to Canadian Methodist revivalism.

The church is essentially "a natural social group akin to the family or the nation" whereas the sect is "a voluntary association".<sup>51</sup> The institutional church is a well established organization, usually national in scope. Members are born into it and consider themselves privileged. Its doctrine, administration and clergy reflect its acquired prestige and the universality of the gospel is emphasized. The sect is in effect its opposite. One becomes a member by agreeing to adhere to its exclusive individualistic principles and strict ethical demands. Evidence of a deep and earnest religious experience is usually required before being accepted into the sect. Whereas the church requires a highly trained clergy and is strongly supportive of the national, economic and cultural interests of the society, the sect emphasizes an individualistic, emotional, semi-ascetic concern with a predominantly lay leadership.

Interestingly enough, Richard Niebuhr acknowledged the anti-typical nature of the Methodist movement<sup>52</sup> even though he included it among the typical sect to church profile.<sup>53</sup> While in a general sense his theory may be applied to Methodism, some difficulty would be experienced in attempting in a more strict sense to apply some of the fundamental concepts of this theory to the Central Canadian Methodist revival movement. Consider these statements:

It holds with tenacity to its interpretation of Christian ethics and prefers isolation to compromise. At times it refuses participation in government, at times rejects war, at times seeks to sever as much as possible the bonds which tie it to the common life of industry and culture...

In Protestant history the sect has ever been the child of an outcast minority, taking its rise in the religious revolts of the poor, of those who were without effective representation in church or state and who formed their conventicles of dissent in the only way open to them, on democratic, associational pattern.<sup>54</sup>

And also:

Doctrines and practice change with the mutations of social structure, not vice versa...<sup>55</sup>

Further detailing of the profile of the sect include the emphasis on emotion rather than reason; intellectual naivete over mature well-trained judgment and professionalism. Emphasis on "practical need combine to create a marked propensity toward millenarianism, with its promise of tangible goods and with the reversal of all social systems of rank."<sup>56</sup>

It should be pointed out that both the frontier thesis and the church-sect antithesis have religious, social and historical validity. They have not only been espoused by renowned authorities but they have been widely accepted and supported. Nevertheless, these were by no means intended to be universally applied. Not all churches owe their development to these forces. Central Canadian Methodism is one such exception since it developed much of its history on a semi-frontier and as a semi-sect. Other factors were clearly at work within Methodism itself. Therefore, too much emphasis should not be placed on those external influences.

Impressed by the continuity of the Canadian with the American frontier, Fred Landon stated:

In forms and methods the revivals and camp meetings in Upper Canada differed not a whit from their counterparts in New York State, from whence they were derived, and the results corresponded also, chiefly because the same sort of people came under their influence.<sup>57</sup>

Much evidence is available to show that Canada did not react to revivalism in the same way as the United States.

S. D. Clark stressed the dominance of the sect forces in the development of early Methodism in Central Canada. These operated in the milieu of strong frontier conditions. "Methodism", he declared, "was the religion of the pioneer farmers, and pioneer farmers had little money and little leisure time. Extravagance and dissipation had no place in their way of life. Thus asceticism was essentially the expression of the philosophy of a social class. It was a protest against the manner of life of the privileged social classes in the community."<sup>58</sup> To him, Methodism was a protest against their social and economic status. They were, in fact, irresponsible and thriftless. Asceticism then, served as a replacement for the profit motive.<sup>59</sup> Clark also emphasized that the best of the sect coincided with the retreat of the frontier.<sup>60</sup> The Methodist movement showed evidence of transition to an institutional church from the 1830s<sup>61</sup> In fact, "influences tending to a shift away from the evangelical position increasingly asserted themselves from 1820 onwards"<sup>62</sup> and "by

1840 the rural frontier had ceased to exist in the lake shore areas of central Canada."<sup>63</sup> Methodism then shifted its emphasis from religious to secular values and interests. Its political alliance bolstered its alliance with the successful class and abandoned its exclusive emphasis placed on religious matters. "Such gains, however, were achieved at the price of abandoning its claim of being the evangelical church of the social masses."<sup>64</sup>

To the contrary, revivalism was strongly emphasized in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada past the mid-19th century. Chapter II will describe the revival emphasis during the 1830s.



NOTES: CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup> Albert Outler, Evangelism in the Wesleyan Spirit (Nashville, Tennessee: Tidings, 1971), p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District (New York: Cornell U. Press, 1950).

<sup>3</sup> The historical accuracy of any terminology describing the general area now known as Ontario (the specific area of this study) may be more appropriately determined by the nomenclature at specific historical periods. The term "Canada" included the present Quebec and Ontario until the Canada Act in 1791 which separated Lower Canada (Quebec) from Upper Canada (Ontario). Upper Canada region was designated "Canada West" from 1841 until 1867 when it became the Province of Ontario. For the purpose of this study the area now called Ontario will be designated "Central Canada".

In 1945 Maurice W. Armstrong produced his doctoral thesis at Harvard University on the Great Awakening in Nova Scotia. Since that time Canadian church historians and researchers have shown some interest in the study of revivalism in the Maritimes. To date, only a few studies have dealt with revivalism in Central Canada. A few studies have paid some attention to revivalism in Central Canada. These include H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948); Neil Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Canada, 1854-1884", (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1978), Arthur Kewley, "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830", (unpublished Th. D. Thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1960); J. S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), and J. W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972).

<sup>4</sup> H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956) p. 119. The fact that prominent leaders in church and government up to the 1830s regarded Methodists as "ignorant enthusiasts" perpetuated the concept until our present generation.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 79.

7 Arthur Kewley, "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830", (unpublished Th. D. Thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1960).

8 Neil Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church in Canada, 1854-1884", (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1979).

9 H. H. Walsh, "Canada and the Church", Queen's Quarterly, vol. 61, 1954, p. 78.

10 See for instance: S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1948).

11 ibid, p. 262. See Appendix A.

12 ibid, p. 262.

13 J. S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), pp. 164, 165.

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

15 William H. Brooks, "The Uniqueness of Western Canadian Methodism 1840-1925" Committee on Archives of the United Church of Canada, The Bulletin, No. 26, 1977/Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, March-June, 1977.

16 ibid, p. 61.

17 ibid, p. 65.

18 John S. Moir, The Cross in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), p. xiii.

19 N. K. Clifford, "Religion and the Development of Canadian Society: An Historiographical Analysis", Church History, vol. 38, 1969, p. 513.

20 N. K. Clifford, loc. cit., p. 513.

21 John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 9.

22 Although Arthur Kewley did not extend his thesis beyond 1830 he commented that revival programmes such as camp meetings developed slowly in Central Canada before 1830 and rapidly thereafter. He could find records of only 29 camp meetings before 1830 (Arthur Kewley, op. cit., pp. 96-98). In a later study, he revised the number of camp meetings.

However, he believed that such revival programmes (particularly camp meetings) were short-lived since the independence of the Canadian Church and its link with the British Wesleyans resulted in the proverbial nail in the coffin of camp meetings ("Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830", op. cit., p. 41).

23 Timothy L. Smith, op. cit., p. 8. He stated: "... revival measures and perfectionist aspirations flourished increasingly between 1840 and 1865 in all major denominations - particularly in the cities".

24 Whitney R. Cross, op. cit., pp. 75 ff.

25 Martin Marty, Religion, Awakening and Revolution (U.S.A.: McGrath Publishing Co., 1977), p. 77.

26 Ibid, p. 77.

27 Ibid, p. 77.

28 N. K. Clifford, op. cit., P. 513.

29 Turner's frontier hypothesis was presented in a paper read at the American Historical Society meeting in Chicago. It subsequently appeared in the Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin on December 4, 1893. His paper on: "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" was destined to affect the interpretation of American development.

30 Frederick J. Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1920), p. 1.

31 Ibid, p. 1.

32 M. Zaslow, "The Frontier Hypothesis in Recent Historiography" (Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 2, 1948), p. 154.

- 33 Frederick J. Turner, op. cit., pp. 2, 3.
- 34 M. Zaslow, op. cit., p. 155. See also: J. M. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History" (Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXV, No. 1, March 1954), p. 7. Careless stated: "Defenders of Turner might claim that he had not proposed a frontier hypothesis as the only key to American history, but it was widely seized upon as the true explanation, especially as its (nationalist) and romantic implications gripped the American imagination." Professor Careless cited F. L. Parsons as one of Turner's defenders. Turner himself pointed to this limitation: (See: Frederick Turner, op. cit., p. 3).
- 35 Frederick J. Turner, op. cit., p. 4.
- 36 Frederick J. Turner, op. cit., p. 3.
- 37 J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History" (Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXV, No. 1, March 1954), p. 7.
- 38 M. Zaslow, "The Frontier Hypothesis in Recent Historiography" (Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXIX, No. 2, 1948), p. 155.
- 39 M. Zaslow, ibid, p. 158.
- 40 M. Zaslow points out that the frontier hypothesis was first used by Professor Sage in 1928 to explain Canada's development. He "treated North American expansion as a single great movement which ignored the international boundary line". This view, he suggests "simply incorporates Canadian settlement into the general framework of the frontier hypothesis". A scholarly treatment may be found in The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, vol. 1, by Professors M. L. Hansen and J. B. Brebner. See: M. Zaslow, op. cit., p. 158.
- 41 L. S. Stavrianos, "Is the Frontier Theory Applicable to the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838?" (Michigan Historical Magazine, vol. XXII, summer, 1938), p. 326.
- 42 See, for example, E. H. Oliver; The Winning of the Frontier (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1930).

- 43 The Canadian Historical Review, vol. XIII, no. 3, 1932, p. 343.
- 44 For Lower's views see: A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longman, Green & Co., 1948). Others such as F. H. Underhill also expressed at that time the influence of the eastern rather than the western forces in Canadian development.
- 45 Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967).
- 46 Glenn Lucas, "Canadian Protestant Church History to 1973", The Bulletin (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House, 1973), p. 8.
- 47 Ibid, p. 9. Cf. Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada", The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age, W. L. Morton (editor), (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968), p. 17. French points out that both the frontier thesis and the church-sect antithesis are useful conceptual tools but "metropolitan pressures were stronger and the antipathy toward them less acute - a factor of greatest importance in producing the specific flavour of Canadian Protestantism". See also: J. M. S. Careless "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History", Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXV, no. 1, March 1954, p. 21.
- 48 -See: J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History", The Canadian Historical Review, vol. XXXV, no. 1, March, 1954, p. 14.
- 49 Neil Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church of Canada, 1854-1884", (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1979)
- 50 L. S. Stavrianos, "Is the Frontier Theory Applicable to the Canadian Rebellions of 1837-1838?", (Michigan Historical Magazine, XXII, summer, 1938), p. 335.
- 51 H. R. Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Meridian Books, 1957) (originally published by Henry Holt and Co. Inc., 1929), p. 17.
- 52 H. R. Niebuhr, Ibid, pp. 59-72. In this section which applied the church-sect theory to the Methodist movement, the author made many assertions which point up the difference between Methodism and

other sect groups. While these do not disqualify Methodism from validating the theory per se, they indicate the significant difference inherent in the Methodist movement which sets it somewhat apart from the classic sect type. Note, for instance, the statements: "This difference in temper between the earlier churches of the poor and Methodism doubtless had much to do with the latter's success in a class-governed world, which feared nothing so much as social revolution and easily defeated the enthusiastic millenarianism of previous movements." (p. 66). And, "Despite these influences upon social ethics, however, Methodism was far removed in its moral temper from the churches of the disinherited in the sixteenth and seventeenth century." (p. 65).

<sup>53</sup> H. R. Niebuhr, ibid, p. 28. He stated: "This pattern recurs with remarkable regularity in the history of Christianity. Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, Salvation Army, and more recent sects of like illustrate this rise and progress of the churches of the disinherited."

<sup>54</sup> H. R. Niebuhr, ibid, p. 19.

<sup>55</sup> H. R. Niebuhr, ibid, p. 21.

<sup>56</sup> H. R. Niebuhr, ibid, pp. 30; 31.

<sup>57</sup> Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1967), pp. 123, 124.

<sup>58</sup> S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University Press, c. 1948), p. 160.

<sup>59</sup> ibid, p. 160.

<sup>60</sup> ibid, p. 329.

<sup>61</sup> ibid, p. 262.

<sup>62</sup> ibid, p. 270.

<sup>63</sup> ibid, p. 270.

<sup>64</sup> ibid, p. 271.

## CHAPTER II

### METAMORPHOSIS OF CENTRAL CANADIAN METHODIST REVIVALISM

1824 - 1839

#### A. Setting

The Annual Conference Session held at Hallowell in August, 1824, was significant for several reasons. Perhaps the most remarkable was the historic occurrence of a first Canadian Methodist Conference being held, and that it convened on Canadian soil.<sup>1</sup> Although this newly inaugurated Canadian Conference was still essentially a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church in United States of America and was therefore presided over by an American bishop, it was still an eventful occasion for it meant the first major step toward independence for the Canadian Methodist family. In fact, the Conference proceeded along clear lines of Canadian concerns. In 1824, a new era in Canadian Methodism was emerging. The pioneer period of adventure in the Canadian wilderness in which the gospel was carried with very little relief was giving way to a new age in Upper Canadian development: economic, social, educational, cultural and spiritual. It was as though the Province itself had completed its gestation period and was now giving birth to new life - even though (as will be seen) the next few decades would be exceedingly difficult and complex ones. One should bear in mind, however, that political organization of any progressive people after recent or during current settlement of large numbers of immigrants could prove problematic.

The differing opinions of the newly settled peoples from various regions where stable economic institutions, orderly government and mature social and religious programmes prevailed, could easily result in social instability and political anarchy. But historians who employ the metropolitan theory to explain the development of Canadian society have already assured us that the stabilizing influence of the metropolis, namely, the British institutions and government, was at work in Upper Canada to ensure reasonable order and stability and a decidedly progressive movement toward orderly development.

Another important factor related to the period of the first Canadian Conference was the maturity of its ministry in dealing with the matter of administration. Indeed, they generated misunderstandings in the process, but most of them were not of their own making. External pressures were brought to bear directly on their situation. The Ryan controversy, for instance, had developed mainly because of prevailing prejudicial attitudes against Methodists residing in the province, thereby pressuring them to break from the "republican" influence. Hence Ryan was evidently impatient with the slow turning of the wheels of the Methodist headquarters, and in his attempt to expedite the matter of separation, fell into irreconcilable conflicts with his Canadian colleagues. The actions of the 1824 to 1830 Conferences reflect mature, visionary, and socially responsible Methodist leadership. Several programmes were formulated that would establish Central Canadian Methodism as a leader in vital areas, such as educational, religious, and social reform.



Before proceeding to present certain factors within and without Methodism which affected revivalism, it may be necessary to point out that only certain aspects will be selected for discussion. No attempt will be made to provide a survey of any political, social, or religious institutions since the present concern is revivalism, and not the Methodist organization. Even in mentioning individuals, as will be the case in the succeeding chapters, only that which is considered pertinent concerning their backgrounds or personal lives will be presented. While there were several prominent administrators and pastors in the Methodist Church in Canada, none shone in the realm of revivalism with unquestioned brilliance during this period. In order to focus on specific trends, the general pattern will be to select one or two persons in each decade to represent the trend and to provide a basic course along which the study will progress. In such cases, as in the cases of Anson Green and George Ferguson, brief references will be made to their backgrounds in order to provide a place and time setting as well as to acquaint the reader with the persons while presenting their points of view. The study will proceed on a period by period basis, analyzing certain important events or issues as they develop.

In the experience of Methodism in Upper Canada, the period before 1820 may well be regarded as the time of preparation for organizational development that would take place in the 1820s. That should not be understood as institutionalization in as much as that was occurring. Emphasis should rather be placed on the

mechanisms developed to cope with the advancing societal institutions, population increase with its concomitant social demands, and spiritual requirements. The earlier period was supervised by the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States which sent missionaries into the province during its pioneer stage. During the 1820s and 1830s unprecedented changes would occur in the society itself and the Methodist preachers of the previous decades certainly prepared the way by their incessant labours in visiting scattered settlers over a vast territory amidst the incredibly poor economic and travelling conditions.

Amelia Harris, a cousin of Egerton Ryerson, recalled conditions in the period prior to the development of the 1820s in the developing region of Central Canada:

There was a sad want of religious instruction amongst the early settlers. For many years there was no clergyman nearer than Niagara, a distance of 100 miles, without roads. My father (Captain Samuel Ryerse) used to read the church service every Sunday to his household and any of the labourers who would attend. As the country became more settled the neighbours used to meet at Mr. Barton's and Mr. Bostwick who was the son of a clergyman used to read the service and sometimes a sermon, but there were so few copies of sermons to be obtained that after reading them over some half dozen times they appeared to lose their interest.<sup>2</sup>

There was little amusement provided by the community. However, on Sundays, groups would gather to go fishing, shooting, bathing, gathering nuts and berries, and playing ball. While these activities

could provide recreational and social outlets during the summer, other types of activities would engage their time during the winter. Skating and gliding down the hills on hand sleighs were popular activities.<sup>3</sup>

Roger Bates from the township of Hamilton added:

There was no fuss about religion in those days. The families would assemble together on Sunday evenings to read the Scriptures and sing a psalm or hymn, often found more solid consolation than in our crowded churches nowadays.<sup>4</sup>

Preachers, he claimed, were few and thinly scattered throughout the isolated inhabited areas.

According to the eyewitness, Amelia Harris, when Baptist and Methodist preachers arrived in the Niagara region they preached in barns and houses bearing "every privation and fatigue, praying and preaching in every house where the doors were not closed against them, receiving the smallest pittance for their labours."<sup>5</sup> Too much cannot be said in praise of these pioneer preachers, she thought. Married men received 200 pounds yearly wages with a log house for their families and the unmarried preachers received half that salary.

Their sermons and prayers were loud, forcible and energetic and if they had been printed verbatim would have appeared a sad jumble of words. They encouraged an open demonstration of feeling amongst their hearers, the louder the more satisfactory, but notwithstanding the criticisms and ridicule cast upon those early preachers, were they not the class of men who

suiting their hearers? They shared their poverty and entered into all their feelings and although unlearned they taught the one true doctrine to serve God in spirit and in truth. And their lives bore the testimony to their sincerity...<sup>6</sup>

C. Stuart, an emigrant from England, published a book in England in 1820 to serve as a guide to would-be travellers from Britain. Stuart was a retired captain of the Honourable East India Company's service, and one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the western district of Upper Canada. He described the difficulty encountered by emigrants including the privation and hard work. In section nine of his book he gave views on "Religion, Churches and Clergy". Despite recent improvements, he thought that religion was deplorably languishing in Upper Canada.<sup>7</sup> The "Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, have concurred in keeping alive in it the worship of God. Of these, the most active and the most successful, are the Methodists."<sup>8</sup> Not being a Methodist himself, his comments regarding them were as explicitly defensive as those which might have been issued by a Methodist preacher. Stuart wrote:-

With the mention of that name (Methodist), I see the sneer, the smile of odium which arises; but I commiserate and pass it by. Let those who divide the efforts of that people, go and investigate the genuine limits of their labours; not derive them from presumptions and ignorant theory; neither from the abuses, however shocking, which have been committed, until they can demonstrate, that what is good, ceases to be so because abused. Or until they are willing either to admit that there is no virtue in themselves, because (perhaps they will allow) they themselves sometimes fail; or that they are hypocrites, because there is not a perfect consistency between their conducts and their professions.<sup>9</sup>

Stuart's foregoing comments are particularly remarkable, hence quoted at some length, because of the contemporary feeling it expressed concerning the Methodists, a view in fact widely accepted by not only the government leaders but several in the population as well. Nevertheless, being a recent, apparently unbiased observer, his defense of the Methodists would have been viewed with a measure of importance. As well, he had recently arrived from England, the reputed centre for genteel and dignified social graces and the ecclesiasticism and exclusiveness of the dominant state church. Stuart did not hesitate to remark: "I have, indeed, there as elsewhere, heard the most absurd and most disgusting stories concerning them; but my own observation is that on which I judge."<sup>10</sup> Blatantly condemning some of their teachings, he still concluded: "I believe them, in the most essential particulars, to be correct; and I cannot deny the clearest evidence of my senses." Being more specific he added:

Where drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and profaneness reigned, sobriety, attention to the holy day, and seriousness have arisen. Little congregations have been formed, and exist extensively, where holiness and devotion (however abused by false professors) grace the exterior, at least, with propriety, and I doubt not, flourish sweetly in many a regenerate bosom. They have evidently been (and in a very extensive degree) the ministers of God to the people for good. They pervade, more or less, almost every part of the province.

Thomas Webster had written concerning Bishop Philander Smith<sup>12</sup> that in Smith's youth, he was cautioned by his Calvinist parents against the Methodists and developed a strong prejudice against them.

because of what he had heard. Among other things, he developed objections regarding their form of worship. Upon reaching maturity and leaving home, Smith remembered one particular caution from his careful parents above all others, "shun the Methodists", as they believed there was some 'demoniacal influence about their preaching: it was dangerous to even hear them; those listening might be bewitched."<sup>13</sup> Smith tried to avoid the Methodists, but eventually concluded "in his intercourse with these people, that they were peaceable and well disposed, and that their walk and conversation was not that which he would have expected..."<sup>14</sup> Philander Smith not only accepted Methodism but served in its cause for fifty-one years during which he functioned at the highest level of its leadership.

The post-Napoleonic depression and the industrial revolution soon swept tides of immigrants into Upper Canada. The Colonial Advocate published that the flood of immigrants which started as a trickle in 1816 soon developed momentum. Consequently in 1831 alone, 15,471 immigrants landed in York, Niagara, and the Head of Lake Ontario.<sup>15</sup> This new wave of immigration created a rapid transformation of the province. Cities and towns began to develop rapidly. Roads were built to facilitate accessibility to various points in the province; buildings had to be erected to facilitate housing, commercial enterprises, churches and social gatherings. In other words, industrialization and urbanization would soon displace the rural frontier-like conditions of the decades prior to 1820.

Of interest are the conflicting views of contemporaries and researchers of the period from the 1820s to the early 1830s. Patrick Sheriff toured through the United States and Upper and Lower Canada about 1830 on a private fact finding mission (so he claimed in the introductory remarks in his book), and he wrote extensively concerning his rather mixed impressions.

A person will find considerable difficulty in choosing a lot of land in Canada. Nine-tenths of the population are interested, directly or indirectly, in the sale of land. The accounts he will receive are more likely to mislead than instruct him.<sup>16</sup>

Sheriff observed the leading signs of a nation being organized which was actually at the pivotal point of transition from a simple agricultural based community to an industrial and socially complex one. The key sign he observed was that of the key economic principle of supply and demand. Trading was still being carried on by bartering in the midst of the emerging commercial enterprises. Because this economic system of exchange proved unsatisfactory to farmers who were already struggling against the inimical forces of nature to produce a livelihood and also realize their dream of wealth in a land of promise, several abandoned their farming to seek work in the developing towns. Obviously, this would prove enigmatic to itinerant preachers seeking to establish stable, ongoing religious societies. More ambitious members would likely sell their farms and move to the populated areas to seek steady employment. Social influences would then create new impressions on their minds and religion would become less attractive

unless this new type of challenge could be adequately met.

Patrick Sheriff observed that in many situations the farmer

would find difficulty in obtaining a cash price, which is at present one of the greatest drawbacks to the country. Barter is often had recourse to, and the farmer being generally indebted to storekeepers, they make their own terms with him, and prey on his vitals.<sup>17</sup>

Although the farmer could maintain himself by his own exertions, farming in Upper Canada required excessively hard work which many Britishers were not prepared to perform.

With forest land the British farmer would be sacrificed, unless in the prime of his youth. In chopping, logging, and burning timber, he could not for a time render much assistance, and his previous knowledge would be of little avail.<sup>18</sup>

The plough could not be utilized for seven or eight years. An alternative method of cultivating with the harrow, and mowing with the cradle-scythe among the stumps would not readily agree with the Britishers' background. Then, too, capital was needed even to become a farmer despite the lure and enticements to do otherwise.<sup>19</sup>

On the other hand, if an agricultural labourer chose to work on the farm, he might be paid with an order on a neighbouring store for goods that may be inflated by 20 or 30 per cent. It would be difficult for these individuals to pay their creditors by cash, or despite



their best intentions, to support their preachers. This could account, in part, for the lack of full subscriptions for the preachers' salaries so frequently occurring in many Methodist circuits. Sheriff himself stated that despite his limited knowledge of the "unagricultural population" (he was a farmer, hence his interest and intricate insights into the farming problems), his observation was that the "clergymen, lawyers, and doctors, seem not too much cared for by the inhabitants, and but indifferently rewarded." He further added that "bricklayers find ready employment. Stonemasons are not wanted. Joiners, who can put a great deal of rough work through their hands, are in constant demand at higher wages than other tradesmen, with the advantage of employment in the winter. Tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths, have good wages in towns and villages."<sup>20</sup>

Edith Firth's indepth study of York from 1815 to 1834 and the York Commercial Directory agree with Sheriff's findings. Firth stated that the commercial community of York was completely indifferent to industrial developments and did not invest in them but rather it invested in financial institutions and communications.<sup>21</sup> Those industries existing in York up to 1834, the year the city was incorporated and renamed Toronto, developed "out of artisans' shops or (were) established by newcomers such as Gooderham and Worts, or Peter Freeland"<sup>22</sup> Industrial expansion would develop more rapidly when finance was accumulated and the local market was protected against the influx of cheap American goods legally imported or smuggled

into Canada. Firth explained:

By 1834, however, York had two founderies, two soap factories which promptly engaged in a price war, and several distilleries, breweries, saw - and gristmills, and tanneries. In its immediate neighbourhood were a paper mill, carding and fulling mills, and more breweries, distilleries, saw - and gristmills. Very few of them produced goods that were sold beyond the Home District.<sup>23</sup>

The York Commercial Directory of 1833-34 readily reveals the occupational composition of the Town of York, which, by that time had assumed the status of the largest town in Upper Canada. It also shows the lack of industrialization and the lack of a real "self-conscious working class".<sup>24</sup>

<u>Types of Occupation</u>	<u>Numbers in Each</u>
Building trades - carpenters, masons, joiners etc.	191
Merchants and shopkeepers	157
Clothing trades - tailors, hatters, shoemakers, etc.	129
Service trades - barbers, blacksmiths, saddlers, etc.	117
Government Judicial military officers	90
Professional - clergy, lawyers, doctors, teachers	74
Keepers of taverns and lodging houses	70
Food trades - bakers, butchers, brewers, etc.	60
Transportation trades - sailors, carters, watermen, etc.	40
Metal work trades - iron founders, tinsmiths, silversmiths, etc.	26
Clerks	21
Miscellaneous trades - coach makers, tanners, soap makers, cabinet makers, etc.	47
Labourers	56

Carpenters and shoemakers were the largest categories, the former having 107 and the latter having 68.

Among the wealthiest and most influential in the province were the merchants and store keepers. Exploiting the economic principle of supply and demand, coupled with the excessive profit motive and the ignorance of scattered rural residents who were unaware of current prices, these people obtained inordinate gains from their unsuspecting or helpless clients. Consequently, in the struggle between commercial and agricultural enterprises, the former was destined to economically overpower the latter. "The inland store-keeper has still greater advantages over the farmer, and their profits are said to be excessive; 300 per cent on dry goods having been currently obtained at one time."<sup>25</sup>

There were differences in opinion regarding the population composition and the dominant influence prevailing in Upper Canada and particularly in York, the capital. Sheriff claimed that at the time of his visit (1830) most of the active business people and nine-tenths of the hotel keepers and stage-drivers were from the United States, which he claimed was much superior to Canada.

Every horse and ox of size or fatness could be traced to have come from the same territory, and the Canadians appear to me to be much indebted to the people of the United States for any activity and refinement that is to be met with in the province.<sup>26</sup>

Recent immigrants from Britain and Ireland, and Upper Canadians in general, had coarse manners and habits of intemperance not confined

to the lower class. He claimed he "heard more oaths and witnessed more drunken people the first few days I came to Canada, than I had met with during my previous wanderings in the United States".<sup>27</sup>

Edith Firth had another view. Since the large numbers of immigrants began to settle into the rural and urban areas of Upper Canada by the early 1830s, profound changes would continue to be experienced within the societal structure. The towns in particular would develop a special kind of character even if it was not clearly definable. Firth felt this was strongly British.

In the first place (immigration) came almost exclusively from Great Britain (i.e. those in York) and gave to the town the distinctly British Character it was to retain into our times... This sentiment was universally accepted; arguments might and did develop about the precise implications of the British tradition, but its desirability was unchallenged.<sup>28</sup>

It could be reasonably concluded that both influences - i.e., British and American - existed strongly in Upper Canada and especially in York. What took place, however, was that because of the pressures from government against American immigrants, American settlers decreased their influence while prospective United States

immigrants were deterred by these measures. Some of these measures<sup>29</sup> were the proposed bill to deport American clergy, the denial of rights to Churches of American attachments to the clergy reserves fund, the refusal to grant land titles to American citizens or to grant Canadian citizenship to American immigrants before seven years residence in the country. Then too, the large influx of Europeans, mainly British, who arrived during the late 1820s and early 1830s soon outnumbered the Americans and dominated their influence, bearing in mind, of course, that British residents tended to possess an air of superiority over the North Americans.

This new surge of population development would encourage lifestyles that would be in contradistinction to the gospel of the preachers and the character of Methodism. Obviously, with the popularizing of theatres, circuses, puppet shows, concerts, lectures, exhibitions, horse racing, art, literary and philosophical societies<sup>30</sup> spreading their influence in urban, and to a lesser extent rural areas, traditional revival methods would need updating or they would become readily obsolete or ineffective. In addition, a new phenomenon was beginning to reveal itself; a new group, the 'urban poor' began to develop. "Each boatload of newcomers included a few who were not

equipped physically, educationally, or psychologically to take advantage of a new country's opportunities." Hence by the 1830s York had developed "its slums in the little old log houses in its heart and in the squatters' hut on the Don".<sup>31</sup>

Although the political questions and issues featured significantly with regard to Canadian Methodism and revivalism, the issues are too complex to lend themselves to investigation in this study since one would feel under obligation to make the various facets of the issues explicit, a task not necessarily within the scope of this thesis. Furthermore, so much has been written about the Family Compact; William Lyon MacKenzie, his "Colonial Advocate" journal and his 1837 rebellion, activities of the "Reformers" political party, John Strachan's attempt to establish the Anglican Church and King's College and the clergy reserves question as raised and championed by Egerton Ryerson, that such information should be readily available. Goldwin French's book, Parsons and Politics, for instance, dealt adequately with aspects of these subjects.<sup>32</sup>

B. Revivalism and the Emergence of the Canadian Methodist Organization

1824 - 1830

One definite sign of the new Methodist era which began in the early 1820s was the new team of ministers inducted into the itinerant ministry. Some of them dominated church leadership between 1824 and 1854. They influenced politics (at least indirectly through the clergy reserves issue by which they were able to promote religious and political democracy), social conscience, education, and the development of the church organization itself. Above all, they were all revivalist preachers.

At the Annual Conferences of 1820, 1821 and 1824, sixteen preachers were admitted on trial in the Canadian Methodist ministry. Of these, seven formed a part of the core of influential leaders for the next thirty years. In the years 1822 and 1823, twelve were received into the ministry (i.e. on trial) but only Robert Corson (1822) and Joseph Stinson (1823) would become fairly influential, the former would be in the area of revivalism and the latter would be in missions and administration. Therefore, from 1820 to 1824, twenty-eight new preachers were added to the ministry of which seven - John Ryerson (1820), William Ryerson (1821), Solomon Waldron (1821), Robert Corson (1822), Joseph Stinson (1823), Anson Green (1824), Egerton Ryerson (1824) - would help create, develop and foster the Methodism of the next thirty years. Philander Smith (1820) and James Richardson (1824), completing the original seven persons suggested, were excluded since

their influence was shared with the new Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada (1834). Both became bishops of that body. Only four years after Egerton Ryerson was received on trial he was catapulted onto the centre stage of both Methodist administration and policy formulation, eventually becoming spokesman for Canadian Methodism as well as influencing politics and education. William Ryerson was regarded as a star Canadian preacher, blending eloquence with emotional appeal; John Ryerson and Anson Green provided strong, consistent leadership on the administrative level of the Methodist Church government. Solomon Waldron and Robert Corson are included because of their revivalistic contribution. They were "home-grown" revivalists with local or regional rather than national influence.

Of those ordained before 1820 only William Case (1805), Thomas Madden (1802), Thomas Whitehead (1783), Ezra Adams (1814), George Ferguson (1816), and Franklyn Metcalf (1819) gained any prominence. William Case, on whose life and service in Canada John Carroll based his well-known historical volumes, Case and His Contemporaries, served as the first General Superintendent (pro tempore) of the newly organized Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada in 1828, a position he held until 1833 when the Canadian Methodists united with the British Wesleyans. Thereafter Case's influence on the Methodist Church was limited, especially since he spent most of his time in Indian Missions until near his death in 1855. Upon the separation of the union in 1840, Case sided with the British Wesleyans. George Ferguson carried into this new period his strong inclination toward emotionalism in revivals:



an almost indispensable characteristic of the earlier Canadian Methodist revivalism. Ezra Adams, Thomas Madden, and Franklyn Metcalf served in leadership as Presiding Elders. Metcalf was also assistant to Egerton Ryerson in his first term as editor of the Christian Guardian. Thomas Madden became President of the Canada Conference in 1840. Perhaps only about six of the one hundred and twenty-eight preachers who served in Canada before 1820 had any observable influence on the church and in most of these cases their influence was either limited or of a short duration. The chart on the following page shows who the leading voices were in the administration of the church in its most formative years.

During the thirty years after 1824 other individuals would emerge to participate in developing policies, guiding the church, or creating new programmes to meet the challenges of the rapidly advancing society. Without being too arbitrary, an estimate of twenty names could be selected from three hundred and ninety-seven persons who were appointed to the ministry during that period and who participated in a more than average manner in church leadership - that is, they served as Presiding Elders (1824 - 1834) or District Chairmen (the term used from 1835), Conference Presidents, Victoria College Principals, Editors of the Christian Guardian, etc. Most of these persons' influence would be either limited or in a supportive role to the already developed programmes and administrative directions of the 1820s and 1830s.

## TEN YEAR PERIOD 33

Chart Showing Leadership Positions: Canada Conference (1824-1827)  
and Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada (1828-1833)

YEAR	DISTRICTS AND PRESIDING ELDERS					EDITOR CHRISTIAN GUARDIAN	CONFERENCE SECRETARY
	Niagara	York	Bay of Quinte	Augusta	Supt. Mission		
1824	Thomas Madden	-	W. Case	-	-	-	W. Case
1825	Thomas Madden	-	W. Case	-	-	-	W. Case
1826	Thomas Madden	-	W. Case	P. Smith	-	-	W. Case
1827	J. Ryerson	-	W. Case	P. Smith	-	-	W. Case
1828	J. Ryerson	-	W. Ryerson	P. Smith	W. Case	-	J. Richardson
1829	J. Ryerson	-	W. Ryerson	P. Smith	W. Brown (Rideau Dist) W. Case	E. Ryerson	J. Richardson
1830	J. Ryerson	-	W. Ryerson	F. Metcalf	-	E. Ryerson	J. Richardson
1831	J. Richardson	-	W. Ryerson	F. Metcalf	E. Adams (London District)	E. Ryerson	J. Richardson
1832	F. Metcalf	-	J. Ryerson	A. Green	E. Adams (London District)	E. Ryerson	J. Richardson
1833	F. Metcalf	J. Richardson	J. Ryerson	A. Green	J. Stinson	E. Ryerson	E. Ryerson

After 1833, the year of the union, there was no significant change in leadership to indicate any major change of direction in the future administration of the Church. The British president had replaced the American bishop and when the interims created the need for local leadership there were sufficient persons to fill the gap, excepting, of course, the 1828 search for a bishop. But it was not because of lack of "home-grown" leaders: rather the Canadian Church still considered the propriety of adhering to traditional administrative policies of the Methodist Church, in this case, tradition required a bishop at the head. Nevertheless, the innovativeness of the church was evident when an accommodation was made to place William Case at the head as "General Superintendent (Pro tem)". At a later stage (1840 - 1847) Joseph Stinson, Thomas Whitehead, William Ryerson, Anson Green, John Ryerson, Richard Jones, Henry Wilkinson and Thomas Bevitt served as president of the Conference.<sup>34</sup> It should be observed that in each case a smooth transition was effected.

For the period from 1824, the new men with new ideas and new energy were to shape, to a large extent, the future of the Canadian Methodist Church. Prior to 1824 the Canada Conference was a missionary outpost of the American Methodist movement. From 1824 it would not only give emphasis to its local needs but would develop quite rapidly into a mature organization and foster a strong missionary spirit.

At the organization of the Conference a confident, optimistic and visionary team of ministers tackled the task of structuring the movement - laying the foundation for programmes and projects that would meet the needs of a changing church and society and assure order and discipline for its members and ministers. From a sociological viewpoint, writers such as S. D. Clark could easily conclude that this progression toward a mature organization from a purely missionary and dependent movement in a sparsely populated province augured the demise of revivalism. More urbane traits would, in their view, certainly subdue free emotional religious expressiveness. But that was not the case.

The organizational development of the Church did not preclude or negate revival programmes. To the contrary, the facts reveal that the men who developed the organizational pattern, being revivalists themselves, geared organizational programmes to serve the needs of revivalism. Hence, Indian missions, Sunday Schools, temperance societies, the Christian Guardian publications, educational institutions, quarterly meetings, camp meetings, prayer meetings and class meetings were all structured to meet the challenge of soul-winning. Not only were all of the preachers expected to win converts to the Methodist Church but they were accepted on trial only if their dedication to and success in soul-winning testified to their divine appointment to the itinerant ministry. Although the preachers engaged in soul-winning, nevertheless, certain forces attempted to neutralize revivalism. For instance, the impact

of revivalism on Central Canada was seriously impaired because of the clergy reserves issue and the union with the British Wesleyans. Even though the foregoing statement appears to support the view that revivalism suffered its demise for those and similar causes, it will be argued that whereas an impairment occurred it was a proportional one. Hence, when submissions to the Christian Guardian bemoaned the absence of revivals it was not due to the lack of revivals in Canada; rather the observation was made as a consequence of the containment of revival forces in relation to the potential for revival success in the province as well as in comparison with successful ongoing revivals in the United States which were frequently reported in Canada. Revival reports from the Christian Advocate and Journal, Zion's Herald, and its successor, N. E. Christian Herald, and other American journals reached Canada either through subscriptions or reports in the Christian Guardian.<sup>35</sup> One such report from the United States could serve to illustrate the point. Advertized under the caption "Great Revival", the following report was recorded in the Christian Guardian.

The towns of Portsmouth, Greenland, Dover, Great Falls and Somersworth, in New Hampshire; and Berwick, Elliot and N.Y., in Maine, are at this time experiencing refreshing showers of grace. More than six hundred are reported to have professed religion and 3/4 united with the M.E. Church. A camp meeting and 4 days meeting are thought to have been the principal means of this revival.<sup>36</sup>

This particular quotation is significant for two reasons: it mentions the camp meeting as one of the instruments in this revival, thereby reinforcing the importance of this measure as a successful and accepted revival programme and it introduces four day meetings, a concept that would be adopted in Canada one year later and modified to suit the local needs.

Furthermore, the union of the British Wesleyans with the Canadian Church did not directly produce any observable negative effect on revivalism as is the general view.<sup>37</sup> Indirectly, however, the union had its impact. While the British influence was not allowed to shift Canadian revival emphasis (as will be shown later), the disagreements created a serious negative influence. Nevertheless, revivalism remained strong throughout these decades of conflicts and organizational transition.

In order to present the theme of revivalism during the period 1824 to 1830, three aspects have been selected - revival men, revival methods, and revivals. These have been presented in the context of the organizational development and changes taking place in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Upper Canada without, of course, attempting to detail the aspects selected or to analyze the organization itself in depth. The purpose has been to show that revivals did take place in the latter 1820s, that a "special" kind of leader was assuming leadership and determining the character of Methodism (particularly its revival aspect); that while the organization was developing from

a purely missionary church, revival measures were securely entrenched and that these men and programmes would produce ongoing revival emphasis in future decades.

By selecting certain aspects of Anson Green's experience following his conversion, the process leading to acceptance into the ministry and the programmes of the Church may be better understood.

Anson Green was regarded as the last of the American born preachers to achieve prominence in the Canadian Church. Green's grandparents were from England. Upon emigration to the United States Green's father, Joseph, settled in New York State, married Lydia Vorce, and established his family on a farm in Middleburgh, Schoharie, where Anson was born.<sup>38</sup> Although his father did not profess religion, he was careful about the training of his children. He was honest and abhorred the use of profane or debasing language. Being a strict parent, he passed on these qualities to his son. Anson's mother was a devout Baptist and brought up her three children with Christian discipline. But she passed away when Anson was about fifteen years old. His brother, sister, and some of his friends embraced the Methodist faith. This, of course, influenced Anson who experienced conversion on October 27th, 1819, when he was eighteen years old.<sup>39</sup> Shortly after conversion he became a Methodist.

His education, as was the case with nearly all the preachers prior to the 1830s, had been limited. His parents sometimes sent

him to the regular grammar school during the summer and at other times during the winter. However, he confessed that he never took studying seriously until he was sixteen years old. Even at that time he fell sick and had to delay his studies for another year. He was so anxious to learn, however, that within a few months he overtook his classmates. "Religion makes all things new," Green remarked, "and mine gave me new motives for study, and many hours rescued from the rounds of pleasure, to pursue it."<sup>40</sup> Since Cokesbury College had been destroyed by fire, no other Methodist school was available on the continent and his father could not afford to send him for regular collegiate studies, he resolved to educate himself.

While travelling in 1823, Green visited Upper Canada and stopped in Hallowell, which was then a small village mainly occupying one street with most of the residents being Methodists. His talents attracted their attention and he was persuaded to stay. This decision meant Green's permanent attachment to Canada.

His impression of the Methodist social position in Canada caused him some concern. He felt Canada compared favourably with New York State. In Canada, people professed religion and therefore did not scoff at divine things. Nevertheless, it was surprising to observe that although the Methodists were proportionately large in comparison to the total population,<sup>41</sup> the Methodist clergy could not perform marriages nor could the church own property. Considering that he was a new resident and that he was yet a youth, his views on the issue were rather strong.



How our people can quietly submit to this mortifying indignity is passing strange. It puts them to much inconvenience and is wrong in itself. Surely they will arise in strength, exert their moral influence, and put an end to this intolerable tyranny and exclusiveness.<sup>42</sup>

Green stated clearly that those were his thoughts after only a few months in Canada. After fifty-four years he felt just as strongly.

A brief look at Anson Green's experience leading to his induction into the itinerant ministry should serve to typify the experience of most preachers of his and later periods.

After his conversion and with the consent of his father, Green was received into the Methodist class as a probationer for the duration of six months. Upon the completion of his probation in the summer, he was received into full connection with the church and a day was appointed for baptism.

A large assembly gathered in a beautiful grove in Peleg Cook's farm. Both of our ministers were present, and the Rev. Henry Stead preached a most convincing sermon on Christian baptism, showing the nature of the sacrament, the mode and the subjects, together with the obligations it imposed upon its recipients.<sup>43</sup>

Methodists usually allowed the candidate for baptism to choose the form of the rite since they regarded it as a matter of personal conviction rather than a doctrinal injunction. Generally, Methodist preachers advocated sprinkling as the biblical form for baptism.

Following the sermon "we all stepped down to the brook, where a large number were baptized; some by immersion, some by sprinkling, and others kneeled in the edge of the water and received it by pouring."<sup>44</sup> These newly inducted members were then eligible to partake of the Holy Eucharist. Green felt so overjoyed by the experience that he desired to share his experience with others immediately.

My soul was full of love to God and sympathy for sinners. I even allowed myself to think that when I told them what great things God had done for me, they would believe me and turn to the Blessed Redeemer as I had done. But when I attempted it I soon found my mistake.<sup>45</sup>

Green's next experience would be to attend the quarterly meeting in his district. He looked forward to meeting the large crowd of people and hearing the Presiding Elder preach. Although he travelled only seven miles, others travelled up to twenty miles to attend the services which would convene on Saturday and Sunday. Homes in the neighbourhood would host the attendants at the meeting, even though, in some cases, they had to sleep on the floor. The fellowship, however, would overshadow any inconvenience. These occasions were usually ones which promoted revivals. While emphasis was placed on the spiritual growth of the members, visitors would also be invited and prayer meetings and sermons would be directed toward their conversion. The evangelistic aspect would become significant as the years progressed through the 1830s and 1840s. "Our prayer

meetings on Saturday evenings, in which ministers, local preachers, exhorters, leaders, and others had taken part, greatly enhanced my veneration for the official members, and increased my desire for the love-feast.<sup>46</sup>

The love-feast, a means of grace usually held at the time of the quarterly meeting, was intended mainly for the members to enjoy fellowship in a solemn atmosphere. Unconsecrated intruders or even casual observers could destroy the spirit of reverence they sought. Anson Green observed an unusual scene when he attended his first love-feast. Crowds were gathered at the church door, but a large number was not allowed to enter. Upon inquiry he learned that three classes of people were allowed to enter the love-feast. First, all members of the church were admitted as a matter of right. Second, all persons could enter if they confessed that they were "seeking the pearl of good price". Third, entrance was given to members in good standing in other churches.<sup>47</sup> Doorkeepers were assigned to prevent any others from entering.

From the large number without, I began to fear that we might find but few persons within; but, when I entered, I found the large house well filled with people and with the songs of praise. Prayers were offered, and then, as now, bread and water were passed round by the stewards, which, we were told, were not sacramental symbols, but simply tokens of our mutual love. In receiving these tokens, we spoke in symbolic but forcible language to each other, saying, I am your friend, your fellow-pilgrim, your brother. We will joyfully travel on together, mutually praying for and helping each other on the road to Paradise.<sup>48</sup>

Testimonies concerning the personal experiences of the members would then follow to the conclusion of the meeting.

In the absence of the quarterly meeting or the love-feast, individual societies would carry on a local spiritual and revival programme. Wednesday night prayer services followed by a class-meeting, and the visiting of various preaching opportunities, wherever and whenever these appointments could be made by local preachers, exhorters or the itinerant minister provided the opportunity for constant revivals to occur. Of course, the success or failure of these opportunities would depend on the local talents available as well as the availability and dedication of the preachers. Hence, one circuit could be experiencing exciting revivals while an adjacent circuit could be lamenting their spiritual destitution. The constant rotation of preachers up to the 1850s provided for at least occasional revivals in each area as gifted revivalist pastors entered their territory. One of the reasons revivalism remained strong in Central Canada until past the mid-19th century was that the preachers who were inducted into the ministry in the 1820s quickly developed to form the core leadership for the church until the 1850s and some being revivalists at heart were usually chairmen of the various districts where their preaching and influence championed the cause of revivalism. Thus, by example and requirement, preachers under their charge followed the path of revivalism. Men such as Anson Green, William Ryerson, Henry Wilkinson, and

Franklyn Metcalf would not bow to pressure and relent in their mission of revivalism. Indeed, they were not suddenly transformed by British clerical influence. They were born and bred in the spirit of revivalism and supported the revival movement until their demise - i.e., until another generation of preachers ushered in a new era for Methodism which would reflect their own passion and their response to contemporary challenges.

For the period under study the soul-winning concept remained a primary objective for administrators, circuit superintendents, and laity. Preachers fostered revivals through prayer meetings, class meetings, quarterly meetings, camp meetings and, beginning in the 1830s, protracted meetings. Even Annual Conferences were not exempt. As may be seen in the case of Anson Green, strong participation on the membership level, developing and encouraging local preaching, provided a broad base for promoting revival activity.

Green observed that the system of conducting prayers and social meetings during a revival resulted in the developing of the talents within the church.

Our ministers preached only once in two weeks in our village, and then passed on the next morning to other appointments. The local preachers, exhorters, and leaders then took the lead, and carried on the work, while the members rallied around them.<sup>49</sup>

In addition, Sunday and Thursday evening appointments and cottage prayer meetings were conducted in various places in the neighbourhood. The meetings would begin with a prayer followed by an exhortation, not in the form of a sermon; rather a challenge in the form of a testimony designed to elicit a response in the hearers or the elucidation or practical application of a sermon or spiritual thought with the aim of obtaining a spiritual response - be it conversion or dedication to a holier life. After the exhortation the members were invited "to use their liberty, and sing, pray, or speak as the Spirit gave them utterance. All were urged to take some part. I was sometimes called on to lead in prayer, or give a word of exhortation." 50

Green's name was soon brought before the Society for consideration to appoint him as an exhorter. In 1819, his minister informed him that his name was approved and he would receive his exhorter's license from the Presiding Elder as soon as the matter was brought before the quarterly meeting. Upon receiving this license, Green would be authorized to exhort at prayer meetings, cottage meetings, class meetings and other occasions of revival.

In 1823 Anson Green was invited by a member to preach a sermon at an appointment in the Hallowell area. Plans were laid and the people were invited even before he was informed. Samuel Orser brought the message to him after he had retired for the night.

Green got out of bed and attended the meeting, preaching his first sermon to a full crowd at Mr. William's house. His topic was "The Wages of Sin Is Death". He developed this theme as follows:

- I Think of this master - SIN - his origin, his nature, his government.
- II The Work - disobedience, rebellion, drunkenness, murder, war.
- III His Wages - DEATH - temporal, spiritual, eternal. <sup>51</sup>

His appeal was with pathos. "Do you admire the master? Do you love his work? Do you covet his wages? If not, abandon his services tonight, and choose Christ, whose work is pleasant, and whose reward is eternal life." <sup>52</sup> Even the youth who were involved in levity broke down in tears. He kept the meetings twice each week until several were converted. "We soon formed a class; then obtained week-day preaching; then Sunday preaching; then a church was built; and now it is the head of a prosperous circuit." <sup>53</sup>

According to Thomas Webster's "Memoirs", <sup>54</sup> his father's experience was similar to Green's thereby indicating the general pattern for lay involvement with soul-winning. Thomas Webster observed that the habit of the people at the time would be to attend religious services on week-days as well as Sundays. The men often travelled three or four miles in ox sleighs, bringing with them their wives and family. Others would travel through the woods for several miles to listen to the preacher until late at night only to engage in a hard day's work the following day.

Webster recorded:

For a length of time, my father had charge of two Methodist societies, and met the classes every Sabbath. The Bailey class, in Nissouri, he met in the morning at 10: a.m. and the Society at Belton's schoolhouse at 2: p.m., walking a distance each Sunday of from eight to nine miles, besides conducting the services.

His method of conducting meetings was to read the Scriptures, sing a hymn, and pray, then deliver an exhortation, hold a prayer meeting, and meet the class. He was generally brief in all his exercises, and services. 55

These meetings were conducted even during the haying and harvesting seasons and were usually well attended. People from various villages and townships would meet together for such occasions as quarterly meetings and camp meetings and lively fellowship would ensue.

Webster explained that in the early 1820s when his father conducted meetings, Methodists gathered from London township, Oxford, Nissouri, Westminster, Malahide, and Lobo. They were all acquainted with each other from the fact that they would come from many miles so as to meet each other at quarterly meetings and camp meetings". 56

Local preachers or exhorters who wanted to continue to develop their preaching talents by giving up their secular engagements for full time appointments would be considered at the quarterly meetings. On April 3, 1824, the quarterly board recommended Green to the Local Preachers' Conference for "License to Preach".



The members were anxious to get him into the travelling ministry. Green confessed: "I have had many offers to go into business here, but; really, my heart is in the work of saving souls."<sup>57</sup> That year he substituted around the circuit for David Wright whose family was ill. In June he attended a camp meeting in the northern part of the circuit and met Henry Ryan who, at the time, was encouraging the members to support his opposition to the government of the church. His aim was to attend the General Conference in the United States to urge separation of the Canadian Church.

An insight can be gained into the method of their preaching by a few brief references. At the 1824 Conference Dr. Bangs preached on the fruits of the Spirit and William Ryerson preached on the topic "The world passeth away". Green's impression was that Bangs preached with depth and Ryerson preached with enthusiastic eloquence.<sup>58</sup> Green reported that while Bishop George of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States was preaching, babies started to cry due to the crowded building.

When the preacher became eloquent, he frequently wiped tears from his eyes, while the people also wept freely. Just at that crisis about 20 infants set up such a tremendous, combined, and continued scream, as nearly drowned the Bishop's voice. He stopped, raised up both his hands toward heaven and exclaimed, "God have mercy upon the children". Suddenly, as if by concert every child stopped crying, and all was still.<sup>59</sup>

At an 1828 summer quarterly meeting, William Ryerson led a successful revival by his eloquent preaching. The crowd was so vast on Sunday that they could not remain in a building but had to hold the meeting out-of-doors. The meeting was held on S. Belton's circuit with Anson Green assisting. Green described Belton as an Irishman who had a good appearance in the pulpit. His sermons were not proverbial for their depth of thought nor for their thrilling eloquence.

At that time Ryerson was the Presiding Elder for the district. His sermon was entitled "We shall be like Him". Green said of Ryerson, "Bro. Ryerson came to us in the fulness of the Blessing of the gospel of peace...the vast assembly was swayed by the eloquence of our Presiding Elder like leaves before the zephyrs." Describing his sermon, he said: "as he spread his wings he soared; as he soared he plucked flowers, and towering higher and higher, threw them out with a profuse hand, freshly perfumed as from the Garden of Paradise".<sup>60</sup>

According to custom, the circuit superintendent should follow the sermon with exhortation. However, when Ryerson was finished, Belton requested Green to do the exhorting: "Can you exhort? He is too high for me. If you can go up and find him and bring him down within sight of ordinary mortals, I may then deliver my message."<sup>61</sup>

Green exhorted. The membership on that circuit at the beginning of the year was 130, it increased by 50 members during the year.

Whereas William Ryerson was unusually ecstatic in his preaching, the general preaching of the main body of preachers from the 1820s to the 1850s was a fair balance between emotion and logic. Nowhere in the literature of this period has the writer found overly excitable preaching (except by a few surviving earlier preachers) or emotionless, dry sermons such as those abundantly available in the later period. W. S. Blackstock is a good example of the dry sermonizing characteristic of the period after 1870.<sup>62</sup> The earlier period, i.e. before the 1820s, was characteristically more emotional than logical. A camp meeting was held in 1825 on Mr. Cummer's property, situated about nine miles north of the town of York and about two miles east of Yonge Street. George Ferguson, Robert Corson and Lorenzo Dow - all from the early period - were among the preachers. Ferguson was said to remark of Corson's preaching: "Bobby is not himself today, or he would have had a shout before this time."<sup>63</sup> Carroll wrote:

Those old demonstrative preachers usually thought there was nothing achieved unless the congregation was put in a state of commotion. In those early days, after the example of the prophet Ezekiel, he often emphasized the strong points of his sermons by "smiting with his hand", the battlement before him, and "stamping with the foot" the floor of the stand.<sup>64</sup>

By the earlier illustration of one of Anson Green's sermons one could readily discern the balance between emotional appeal and logical presentation which was also characteristic of several of

his colleagues. Called to his first appointment on the Smith's Creek Circuit in 1824, Green was prepared for the task. "I had purchased the best young horse I could find in the township, got my saddlebags, completed my travelling outfit, and was ready for my appointment!"<sup>65</sup>

His commitment was indeed similar to his contemporaries in the ministry. He declared:

I have no selfish ends in view. I go at the call of God and his church, only to bring forth "fruit that will remain". And now, having fairly and prayerfully buckled on the armour, I am quite resolved never to cast it off until the war is over, and the victory is gained, or I receive an honourable discharge.<sup>66</sup>

Before long Green could report that his circuit included twelve townships with thirty-three appointments, generally one for every twenty-eight days. He led classes after public service, preached funeral sermons, and attended as many prayer meetings as possible. He had to ride four hundred miles around his circuit, winter and summer, and had only two churches which could be used for quarterly meetings - one in Colborne and the other in Hamilton, near Cobourg. When he opened an appointment in Port Hope he expressed: "I had a shoemaker's shop for my church, his shoe bench for a pulpit, and six persons for a congregation."<sup>67</sup>

Green found only one house on the present site of Peterborough. He described his path as a winding Indian trail where no wheel carriage had previously passed. He had to jump his horse over logs,

ride it through deep mud-holes and bridgeless streams being frequently guided only by marked trees. Upon approaching one house in the wilderness, a woman who had not seen a preacher for three years kissed the ground where his horse had trodden.<sup>68</sup> As he went he followed Adam Clarke's advice to young preachers: to pray in every home. Green had no home since he slept where he found a place of abode for the night. He declared: "my saddle was my study, saddlebags my wardrobe, and my Bible and Hymnbook my select library."<sup>69</sup> The people supplied his food and lodging as he went on his mission.

With four other candidates, Green was examined for ordination at the 1827 Conference Session held in Hamilton. They were examined on theology, grammar, history, logic and geography. Green summed it all up by saying:

The past year has been eventful and happy one. We have witnessed the conversion of many souls, received all our salary, and closed up the year in peace. My studies as a candidate for the ministry, are over, but for the great work of the ministry and for the battles of life, they have just commenced, and I hope to prosecute them with industry and success.<sup>70</sup>

By 1830 the Methodist Church in Canada had nearly completed its framework for its growth and development for the next several decades. It had established a missionary programme by organizing an active missionary society and begun from 1824 to engage in missionary outreach to the Indian tribes. From its 1824 Conference strict guidelines were laid down for conduct of the ministers and appropriate

behaviour of its members. There was clear evidence that the Discipline would be strictly enforced. At each Conference session the ministers were held up to its scrutiny: those who failed to live up to its requirements were rebuked by the Bishop, subjected to censure or expelled from its ministry. Ministers were expected to discipline the members through the class meetings or quarterly meetings.

In 1828 the Canadian body established its independence from the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. The following three important actions gave greater prominence to the Canadian Methodist body. A committee of five was appointed "to take into consideration the propriety of establishing a Seminary and drawing up a Petition to the next session of the Provincial Parliament for an act of incorporation".<sup>71</sup> The committee appointed the previous year to study the feasibility of publishing a journal reported and recommended that the Christian Guardian begin its printing. Egerton Ryerson was named editor. Having launched an attack on religious establishmentarianism in 1826, he now had a vehicle to promote his views of religious democracy. That same year a Sabbath School constitution was adopted. The Sabbath School would become increasingly important as an instrument of Methodist revivalism.

In 1830 the Conference took a decided stand on its support for the cause of temperance. Following its action that year,

ministers would find themselves actively engaged in promoting temperance and linking it with their revival endeavours. As well, stricter rules of temperance would be enforced for its members. Hence temperance would become a vital expression of Methodist exclusiveness as well as its social ethic. Members were expected to adhere to its rules or risk disfellowship. As well, it would provide strong incentive for societal concerns through its goal of moral reform.

#### C. Conflict and Confirmation, 1831 - 1839

The decade of the 1830s could prove to be one of the most enigmatic in the analysis of Canadian Methodist history. It was a decade of diverse conflicts and divisions within and without the Church. Yet on the other hand it was the first decade in Methodist history (and perhaps the only decade) when all revival programmes employed by the Methodist Church were operating simultaneously and with unusual success, despite the strife and disunity so evident within the Church. During the 1830s Methodism faced the full force of the triple influences upon its development - the British, the American and the Canadian. Since by the 1830s the Central Canadian population had large numbers of new British and American residents, new demands would be made upon the church for a cooperative endeavour in order to accommodate the religious and cultural differences within the main branch of Methodism.

To illustrate the complexity of events in the 1830s and the ambivalence that could plague the mind of an interpreter of these events, comments from two observers may prove helpful. In his Authentic Letters From Upper Canada (1832), Thomas Radcliff included a letter concerning the state of religion in the province. "The Methodist dissenters", he wrote, "have obtained an ascendancy over our infant population. Their habits of domiciliary visitation, their acquaintance with the tastes and peculiarities of the Canadians, their readiness to take long and fatiguing rides, in the discharge of their self-imposed labours render them formidable rivals to our more easy going clergy."<sup>72</sup> Describing their form of worship he said: "The forms of sectarian worship; they generally commence with a prayer, (the congregation sometimes kneeling) then a hymn, the people standing; and a very long sermon concludes the service."<sup>73</sup> From his statements we may deduce that he was a Church of England adherent or at least he was not a Methodist. As a recent immigrant to Upper Canada he had given his reasonably fair appraisal.

William Proudfoot's observation was opposite to that of Radcliff's. Arriving in Canada in 1832 as a missionary from "The United Associate Synod of the Secessions Church in Scotland," Proudfoot recorded his impressions of the Methodists. He stated: "I have fancied that in every place where I have preached where Methodism prevails, that the people are exceedingly careless in hearing the word, . . ."<sup>74</sup> He suggested that perhaps the reason for their inattentiveness was due to the



"highly seasoned food which they are accustomed to" or their lack of interest in scriptural statements. "The Methodists", he declared, "have had with almost no opposition the whole of the people in the Township, on the lake side, and the majority of the people do not even profess religion and these are the men who are said to have done good, and who tell of the good they have done."<sup>75</sup> So strongly did he feel about the Methodists that he expressed his condemnation. "Something must be done to dislodge these pretenders, .....

The country will never become Christian till these fellows be dislodged."<sup>76</sup>

In order to understand Methodist revivalism in Central Canada during the 1830s, three vital aspects should be considered: the disunity and strife resulting from the union between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists, including reference to the clergy reserves issue, the emphasis placed on educational opportunities for the ministers, and the introduction of two new revival programmes and the fostering of existing programmes.

After the inauguration of the independent Canadian Methodist body in 1828, the British Wesleyans assumed that the original arrangement between their body and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, in 1820 was abrogated since this new organization was no longer connected to the United States body with which they entered that agreement. The 1820 agreement provided for the supervision of the Methodists in Upper Canada to be under the jurisdiction of

the United States while the Methodists in Lower Canada would be under the supervision of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society. The town of Kingston was included in the Lower Canada territory.

Subsequent to the organization of a full-fledged Canadian Church the British Wesleyans decided to re-enter the Upper Canada region. Obviously, conflict would be inevitable since both Methodist groups would be competing for the same potential members and, more seriously, affections would be divided since several new immigrants from the British Isles would more likely favour British born ministers. In addition, there would be overlapping with regard to chapels for worship as well as personnel.

Conflicts resulting from the Ryanite schism in the 1820s had not yet died down. Fortunately it was under control, allowing the main Methodist body to turn to the tasks of consolidation and expansion. But this ending of one quarrel marked the beginning of another with only a brief transitional period of relative peace. The 1830 "Pastoral Address of the Conference" presented a picture of optimism regarding disturbances caused by the Ryanite schism. "The spirit of discord and contention that disturbed some parts of our church has been banished from amongst us, and peace and unity and brotherly kindness again prevail in our societies..."<sup>77</sup> However, Anson Green did not think that the effect of the schism had disappeared, although he admitted that its influence had greatly diminished. In 1830, the same year the Pastoral Address expressed its

optimism on the issue, Green wrote: "Mr. Ryan does not appear to extinguish us entirely, for we have a net increase of 553".<sup>78</sup> Green proceeded to indicate that the strife was very much alive. He reported that a direct attempt had been made by Ryan to take over the congregation in Niagara. One evening Ryan attended the service in that church which was under the supervision of A. Green and S. Belton. Green was not present but Belton did not prevent Ryan from taking over his meeting that he had convened. The following evening Ryan appeared with the same objective in view. On this occasion he met opposition from Anson Green who had rebuked Belton for his submissiveness. Green assumed the leadership before Ryan could get the attention of the members who were by this time in a state of confusion. Green even denied Ryan any opportunity to speak in the church.<sup>79</sup> During that same year (1830) the presence of the British Wesleyan Missionaries had already become evident although the conflict had not yet become very serious. In fact, a spirit of cordiality existed between the British and Canadian members.<sup>80</sup>

By 1832 rivalry between the British Wesleyan Missionary Society and the Canadian Methodist Episcopalians became a matter of serious concern. The British had the money to fund their programmes, building chapels and supplying ministers thereby creating uneasiness on the part of the local body which was struggling to raise enough funds to cope with their visionary programmes - Indian Missions, Upper Canada Academy and the supplying of preachers to meet the needs of the fast growing

population. However, neither group retreated. They engaged in constant rivalry in the various districts, particularly London, Hamilton, York and Kingston. Ryan had already gained stronger influence in Hallowell and the Niagara region.

Having arrived in Upper Canada at the height of this rivalry, William Proudfoot had everything but complimentary remarks. Stationed in London Ontario, he could observe the scene at close range. In conversation with another Presbyterian, Mr. Lalor, Proudfoot was informed that there was to be a two day meeting of the Wesleyan Methodists about four miles from Bayhem, western Upper Canada, and that all the people would be there. The Presbyterians were bemoaning the fact that "perhaps the Presbyterians have been to blame in making no exertions to get preaching in their own way, and thus allowing the Methodists to steal them away".<sup>81</sup> After the meeting had occurred, Lalor reported to Proudfoot:

... the Methodists had 2 days' meetings in rivalry of one another. If the Episcopal Methodists announce a protracted meeting then the Wesleyans will announce one the same day a week before it and vice versa. What follows!<sup>82</sup>

When Proudfoot preached to about fifty persons in Beverly School House near Mr. Thompson's farm on March 23, 1833, he suggested that he would preach at Flamborough on Sabbath and proceed to organize a church. Proudfoot reported:

There is not a dissenting voice. They seem to be a fine people, and it is the opinion of them all that the state of things amongst the Methodist in the neighbourhood presents a very encouraging prospect for the Presbyterians. The Methodists are carrying on their civil war with very great bitterness, a scandal to religion and an offense to all good men.<sup>83</sup>

Various motives have been attributed to the reason for the union between these bodies. One has to do with the intentions of the Family Compact to neutralize the growing influence of the Canadian Methodists. This was done by offering funds to the British Wesleyans to foster their work so that Wesleyan influence might overshadow what the Family Compact regarded as republicanism in the local body. The British were reputed for their neutrality in politics and had given assurances to the government that they would not interfere with the clergy reserves issue.<sup>84</sup> This motive for union would indicate that the British influence would supersede and neutralize the Canadian Methodist influence. Should that be the case then the characteristics of the local Methodists would be drastically impaired. This view has been responsible for providing support for the theory that the character of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada changed from a missionary-type church to an institutionalized one in conformity with the more educated, sedate, and dignified social graces inevitably imposed by the British upon the newly organized Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, a union which was consummated in 1833. This would mean that camp meetings and other revival programmes would become less effective after 1832.

S. D. Clark, whose work has been favourably appraised as recently as 1976 by William de Villiers-Westfall,<sup>85</sup> was decisive in determining the influence of the British on the Canadian Church. He expressed that the break of the Methodist movement in Canada from their American connection and their establishment of ties with the English religious body signified the effects of the changes which were taking place in the Canadian community structure. This provided greater accommodation of the religious organization to the social order.<sup>86</sup> "The English tie provided an important support in the transition from the sect to the church form of religious organization. Out of developments which took place after 1832 the Wesleyan Methodist Church ... emerged as distinctive religious denominations in the community."<sup>87</sup> According to Clark:

Increasing social accommodation of the Methodist movement after 1832 was evident in the greater reliance upon a professional ministry, in the shift away from an evangelical appeal, in the weakening of ascetic standards of behaviour, in the growing identification with the upper social classes in the community and in the increasing alignment with Conservative political forces. In securing such accommodation, English Wesleyan leadership played an important role, but significant support was drawn from local leaders and local members.<sup>88</sup>

By 1832 Methodism had almost completely ceased to be a movement which relied upon "the call" as the sole qualification of the preachers it "employed".<sup>89</sup>

Because local leaders were no longer ordained, Clark assumed that this led to the curtailing of their influence and the subsequent dependence upon trained ministers to carry out the regular appointments in the Church. This change in the character of the ministry was directly related to the change in character of their religious appeal. "The highly evangelistic preaching of early Methodism was largely the work of the local preachers, and as the ministry became increasingly professionalized Methodist preaching became more moderate in character." Therefore Clark concluded that the revival became less important as a means of extending the influence of the Church.<sup>90</sup> It is important to include a further theory developed by Clark.

The decline in the importance of the camp meeting was the most significant indication of the extent of the shift within Methodism away from an evangelistic position after the union with English Wesleyanism in 1832. The camp meeting attained its fullest development in Canada during the eighteen twenties and by the next decade it was coming to be less used as an agency of religious revival. The decline was evident in the fewer numbers of such meetings, in the falling off of religious fervour of those who did attend.<sup>91</sup>

These theories advanced by Clark are clearly contradicted by the facts. Although the British Wesleyans attempted to superimpose their views and concepts of church government upon the Canadian Church and even though the Canadians did much to accommodate them, (for instances, in abandoning the episcopacy for the English Presidency subject to annual appointment and submitting to the English discipline by terminating the ordination of local preachers and deacons) the Canadian church maintained its distinctiveness at least

with regard to revivalism. In fact, at no time did the Canadian preachers intend to submit to British influence to the extent of subjugating their own administrative flavour. Furthermore, it was the British preachers who adapted to the Canadian system, (though with self-conscious resistance) rather than vice versa.

In the "Address" of the newly formed Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada to the Episcopal Methodists in the United States the Conference expressed its view of the union clearly. To them it was providential that such a union came about since the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in London was responding to pressing appeals by "the large influx of British emigration to this Province, and especially of persons who had been connected with Methodist Societies and congregations in Great Britain and Ireland,"<sup>92</sup> hence they could justify their presence and also be assured of success. On the part of the local body there existed the "admitted and notorious fact of our inadequacy as a body, both in regard to ways and means, to supply all the religious wants of the white settlement and Indian Tribes".<sup>93</sup> As a consequence of the rivalry that ensued, negotiations began between Robert Alder, representative of the British Conference, and the local administrators, particularly Egerton Ryerson. Of note is the statement by the Canada Conference explaining its understanding of the union agreement:

Between Mr. Alder and this Conference a negotiation was commenced, which has now resulted in a union



between the Canadian and British connexions. This measure has been accomplished upon a principle of perfect equality, without any sacrifice of principle or independence on either side, and with merely those changes in one or two features of the prudential part of our economy "which our local circumstances require" - as stated and provided for in the articles of separation from your connexion in 1828. 94

These words were not idle diplomatic rhetoric. The Canadian preachers had already created their system of operation by 1833 which was adapted to the local needs and they were not prepared to surrender any part of it even at the risk of failing to effect a workable union with the British Conference. Therefore, regardless of the motives of the British Missionary Society or the local government officials, the architects of the Canadian Church intended to remain in control. True, they gracefully submitted to the English Presidency and changed a few rules but these were seen as necessary to the effecting of the union, the alternative to which grave consequences would be attached. But there is no evidence in the sources to indicate that any controlling influence of the British changed the Canadian Church to any significant degree, especially if the administrative accomplishments of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada from 1824-1832 are taken seriously into account. The eventual dissolution of the union in 1840 is strong evidence that the expectations of the British Missionary Society with regard to influencing the Canadian Church and the assumptions of the Canadians regarding their independence to manage their own affairs were vastly different. When these extreme attitudes confronted

real issues, such as the preservation of religious democracy, the underlying currents swept to the surface. In essence, the assumptions of the British regarding their operation after the union would have been unworkable without significant revision.

John Carroll, a keen observer of the events surrounding the union experience, recorded that at the time of the meeting between the Canada Conference and the British Conference there was a general feeling that both were the same.<sup>95</sup>

Apparently the greatest difference between the two bodies was on the question of Church-state relations. Canadian preachers were able to adjust to British administrative procedures for they saw no threat to their tried and proven methods. Sutherland confirmed that in the consummating of the union "no principle essential to Methodism was abolished or changed. The doctrines were untouched and from every Methodist pulpit in the land sounded forth, after the union, the same glorious truth as before."<sup>96</sup> Nor were there any changes in the distinctive usages of Methodism, he explained.

The weekly prayer meetings still sent up its cloud of incense; in the class-meeting the faithful still "spoke one to another"; while in the quarterly love-feast, these scattered lights of individual experience were gathered into an intenser focus, showing "how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity". Nor yet was anything done whereby the rights and privileges of the membership of the church were invaded in the slightest

degree. All that they enjoyed before the union they enjoyed equally after. They heard the same doctrines, candidates were received into the church in the same way, held their membership by the same tenure, and could be excluded only by the same disciplinary process. Nor could any change be made in the temporal economy of the church without the consent of two-thirds of the quarterly official meetings of the connexion. In no other branch of the Methodist church at that day was an equal influence wielded by the laity. <sup>97</sup>

In harmony with Sutherland's views, the Conference acted with the attitude of independence or sought to maintain it. In the agreement adopted in 1832, the Conference instructed the representatives to the British Conference in the fifth clause:

That keeping constantly in view the propriety and importance of raising up, to as great an extent as possible a native ministry, our representative is authorized to negotiate with the committee respecting the appointment of young men from England only by and with the consent of this Conference to labour in connexion with us. <sup>98</sup>

Upon his return from England in 1833 Egerton Ryerson reported that the British Conference acknowledged the Canadian Conference's desire to develop as much as possible a native ministry. "The missionary secretaries stated that they would have an eye to this, during the present year, in the examination of young men who had offered or might offer themselves for foreign work." <sup>99</sup> The British Conference further agreed that "the young men thus sent shall be subject to all the rules of the Canadian Conference, the same as young men taken out in Canada, possess sound constitutions and respectable talents, and a spirit of Christian sacrifice to go into any part of the work..." <sup>100</sup>

Of interest is the fact that Egerton Ryerson's assessment of the work in the British Conference was vastly different from that of his brother, George Ryerson, who felt there was little compatibility between the two branches of Methodism. After dialoguing with several leading persons in various parts of England and preaching and visiting widely, Egerton Ryerson concluded that he witnessed several practical evidences that the distinguishing features of Methodism - doctrine, discipline and general practice - were the same in England as in Canada. With the exception of the episcopal form of government the general rules were the same: "Prayer and class meetings are the same, and conducted generally in the same manner, as in the public worship and the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper", and "the duties of the preachers are the same in both countries".<sup>101</sup> Of course, Ryerson overlooked the camp meetings. He did point out, however, that differences would exist in the peculiarities of the different countries. The point was made quite clearly that he saw no hindrance with the combined systems of church government. Nor did Ryerson anticipate any capitulation on the part of the local body on any major policy or practice, excepting the episcopacy and the ordination of local preachers and deacons.

Ryerson even clarified to Jabez Bunting, President of the British Conference, the necessity for the Canadian body to seek equality in the eyes of the law and that intermeddling in politics was not their

objective. Bunting even remarked to the members of the Conference that while he did not agree with political involvement, the Canadian Church was right in seeking equality.<sup>102</sup> Conceivably the British leaders expected greater cooperation from the Canadian Church in this particular aspect than they eventually obtained.

The British Conference must have cooperated with this arrangement to send workers who could adapt, for even though the background of British workers caused them to experience some difficulty, in general, they adjusted to the Canadian environment.<sup>103</sup> The British workers were able to adjust slowly to soul-winning methods being utilized successfully in the Canadian field but neither body could adjust adequately to the matters regarding church and state. The British regarded the establishmentarianism of the Church of England in Britain as normative both for the mother country as well as the colony. Canadians were staunchly committed to voluntarism and democratization with regard to state and church. Both groups maintained their position rigidly. Canadian preachers depended upon Egerton Ryerson to defend religious democracy. Even though the Canada Conference took several actions to emphasize their position regarding separation of the church from politics and even though they assured the British that they would not interfere with politics, it was clearly understood by the Canadian preachers that their position did not include the attempt by the government to establish any one church in Canada or to support its clergy from

the clergy reserves funds to the exclusion of other churches. They intended to maintain that principle - that of religious freedom - regardless of the outcome. In 1838, the Conference voted to affirm its non-interest in interfering in the secular politics of the day but in the same action it clarified its position by stating that the Conference felt bound to express itself on church establishment in the province regarding its constitutional and religious rights and privileges, and that it was determined to maintain them.<sup>104</sup> To complicate the matter, Canadian administrators did not consider funds from government sources to be in conflict with the basic position of voluntarism, especially since the educational institution they sponsored was non-sectarian and a neutralizer to the Anglicans' Kings College being promoted by John Strachan. Hence when Egerton Ryerson returned from London in 1837 with the news that he had obtained funds from government sources for Victoria College, he was warmly congratulated. When the bill for funds for the Academy failed to gain passage through the Upper House, even though supported by Chief Justice Robinson, Ryerson appealed in person to the colonial secretary in England, Lord Glenelg, and got clearance from him to Governor Sir Francis Bond Head to release 4,100 pounds for the Academy from the Casual and Territorial Revenue.

Anson Green remarked that "The Rev. Ryerson's integrity and ability in gaining this victory will long be remembered by us".<sup>105</sup> This victory, he observed, was especially noteworthy since they had so few supporters in the House in Toronto.

This points out that the Canadians had in fact no intention of capitulating to the British sentiments. In his defense of the British after the dissolution of the union in 1840, William Harvard wrote a series of letters to the Toronto Herald. One of its correspondents attempted to be "pacifator" between the two groups. Harvard defended the British against the charges of the Christian Guardian which claimed that the British were at fault in dissolving the union and charged the Canadian Conference of being a Ministry - unnecessary, unfriendly, of mere political character and of injurious tendency. Harvard claimed in his letters that the British Wesleyans were not engaged in a "quarrel" with the Canadian Conference; rather this was a misapprehension on the part of the correspondent. He mentioned that in all their dealings during the seven years duration of the union the British Conference never condemned the Canada Conference but sought to preserve the union. It was the Canada Conference that sought to deprive the Wesleyan Missionary Society of the agreed government grant for the Indian missions. 106

When Matthew Richey and Joseph Stinson attended the 1840 Conference as representatives of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society their presentation of the Resolution from the London Committee would determine the attitude of the local body - i.e., whether they considered themselves bound or even strongly influenced by British governance. The British resolution even contained a threat of dissolution if there were no compliance by the Canadian body. The result of the vote was

eight in favour of the resolution (A. Prindel, M. Richey, M. Lang, J. Norris, Wm. Scott, E. Evans, J. Douse and B. Slight) and fifty-nine voting against.<sup>107</sup> Even William Case, who supported the British through his interest in Indian missions, voted in this case with the majority. However, he moved a motion immediately thereafter to censure Egerton Ryerson's views as editor of the Christian Guardian in opposing continued efforts to allow the Church of England to monopolize the clergy reserves. The subsequent vote resulted in nineteen in favour and twenty-seven against his motion. The Conference proceeded to present its position in six resolutions in response to those of the London Committee.<sup>108</sup>

There existed no room for duplicity. Even if in the previous seven years misunderstanding regarding their expectations existed, herein lay a clear expression of their past and present course of action. The contents of the six resolutions clearly support the idea that the Canadian leaders acted independently of the British administrative pressure.

Nearly all the contemporary Methodist writers expressed their concern for the effect of the strife and conflict resulting from the schisms and ill-fated British Wesleyan and Canadian Methodist union. However, although it was undesirable it was inevitable unless major concessions were made by the Canadian leaders, the London Committee or both parties.



Ministers were often obliged to take sides, thus creating disagreement among fellow preachers. When the separation occurred, both preachers and members were involved in a disruptive rivalry resulting in division of societies and law-suits for ownership of chapels. The public was often the spectator since some of the conflicts gained public attention through the news media, public debates and gossip. Ultimately revivalism would be affected but only to a limited extent. Since these disruptions were almost continuous from 1817 to 1847, from the time the British Missionaries entered Upper Canada until the final union with the British Conference in 1847, revivalism had been engaged in a battle to surge forward despite the inimical environment. Revivalists had a many-sided struggle. Their energies had to be often directed toward the defense of the church or the Canadian position. The government proved unfriendly to the Methodist cause because of their alleged United States connection and their insistence upon the secularization of the clergy reserves in order to prevent church establishment. Their religious credibility was constantly on trial before the public because of their internal strife. Fragmentation of the Methodist movement added a new dimension of confusion in the eyes of the public. The Ryanite schism occurred in 1828; the Primitive Methodists arrived in Upper Canada in 1829, the continuing Methodist Episcopal Church organized as a body in 1834 and the Methodist New Connexion arrived in 1837. All these groups sought to foster the development of their connexions through

similar means: doctrines and administration. Although it may appear that the smaller connexions were more lay-oriented, therefore being more revivalistic, there is no evidence to indicate that they operated much differently from the main Methodist body. While the main body was subjected to faster organizational developments and greater social prestige through the British influence, it never lost its lay-oriented emphasis. Preachers were groomed from the ranks in a similar fashion until at least in the 1850s. British preachers, it should be noted, soon ~~learned~~ to use Canadian revival methods.

Thomas Webster pointed specifically to the effect of sectarian strife in revivals. "The year 1819 was one of contention and strife, even worse than the preceding one. ...The disastrous results of these dissensions were manifested at the close of the year."<sup>109</sup> He related the strife directly to the numerical results: "The Canadian circuits were only able to report to the Conference in 1819 an increase of 501, while the year previous the increase had been 1624, thus showing conclusively how the work had been retarded by the contention which had sprung up."<sup>110</sup> Alexander Sutherland concluded that the conflict between the British Wesleyans and the Canadian Methodists developed "all the bitterness of a family quarrel, which grew more intense as the years went by, and was eagerly seized upon by politicians as a means of discrediting and weakening the Methodist Church."<sup>111</sup> He claimed that certain political papers teemed with "bitter articles on the

tyranny, despotism, political depravity and religious apostasy of Wesleyan Methodism.<sup>112</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie's Colonial Advocate certainly serves as a prime example of opposition to Methodists in the public media when in the 1830s Mackenzie turned against Egerton Ryerson and attacked the Methodist Church with his usual vehemence.

Another disruptive factor was the contention over the ownership of chapels. Particularly during the time of the 1834 schism with the continuing Methodist Episcopal, some cases had to be settled by legal recourse. When the disruptions occurred the ensuing strife directly affected the preachers by absorbing their time in settling disputes, re-assuring the members and wooing the public from contrary sentiments regarding Methodism. These exertions affected their health and lessened their effectiveness in their major endeavour - evangelism. At times preachers found themselves defending their characters against slander.

In the case of the Ryanite schism, a cursory reading of the Minutes would readily indicate that several of the prominent leaders were involved, either directly as accused or indirectly as witnesses. Members would also be involved. The Conference would proceed to investigate every case and arrive at its verdict for or against the accused or accuser. In the 1825 trial of Ryan's case before the Conference, William Ryerson, T. Madden, D. Culp, T. Whitehead, G. Ferguson, R. Corson, and E. Ryerson were only some of those

involved. They were either accused of some misconduct (slander, for instance) or they were brought in as witnesses. Since the conflicts were played out in the circuits, preachers were constantly drawn in and members would be left in a confusing state of mind regarding the propriety of such conduct by their leaders. Ironically, when Ryan charged Madden at the Conference (1825) for injuring his character, Madden made similar charges against Ryan and won the approval of the Conference. He charged Ryan with:

1. Making injurious statements in the district about his family and himself;
2. leaving his own appointment to go into Ancaster and Niagara.<sup>113</sup>

Regardless of the final decisions taken by the Conference, rumours were inevitable because of the personality clashes. In the 1826 Conference, Bishop Enoch George presented a letter from the Annual District Conference of Niagara which referred to a circular implicating the conduct of the Conference.<sup>114</sup> In the 1827 Conference Session most of the nine-day session was spent discussing the Niagara District letter, Ryan's case and a letter from David Brackenridge who charged the Conference for allegedly misleading and deceiving him by their promise at the Hollowell Conference, in 1824, to carry out certain negotiations with the British Wesleyans, a promise, he claimed, that was never carried out. Of course, Brackenridge

was subsequently denied admission into full connexion.<sup>115</sup>

As evidence of the continuing disruption in the circuits, James Jackson's case taken up by the Conference in 1829 is significant. His Presiding Elder and others charged that he attempted to "degrade and sink the characters of the preachers and the connexion in general by misrepresentations before the late conventions at Cape Town and Hallowell".<sup>116</sup> He had even claimed the proceedings of the Conference were designed to ruin Henry Ryan.

In 1828 Ryan made a proposal to the Conference that if the ministers desist from saying anything injurious to his character he would desist from agitation. The Conference declined.<sup>117</sup>

In 1829 the trial of Jackson was evidence of even fiercer clashes in the field. Jackson claimed that "there was a party who were combined against Ryan and were determined to destroy him and that these designing instruments of his destruction were cloaked in their wickedness by the Conference."<sup>118</sup> He even compared the Conference to the Spanish Inquisition. He claimed that while pretending to be holy men, they were guided by ambitious views and "bent to destroy even the innocent person who conscientiously oppose their ambitious views". They were hypocritical in "weeping over their devoted object of destruction and pretending much sorrow for their fate, while they are bent upon torturing and killing them".<sup>119</sup>

Saturated with constant discontent, the Conference expelled Jackson and denied any further discussion on Ryan's case. When the secretary presented a letter to the Conference that was submitted by Ryan, the Conference voted:

— That on account of the elusive strain of former communications received from H. Ryan, this Conference will receive no letter from him, and that letter now presented be thrown under the table.<sup>120</sup>

George Ferguson's experience could illustrate the effect of the conflicts in the 1820s and 1830s on the preacher himself as well as the people.

During the Ryan debate, George Ferguson was accused of being one of the preachers addicted to strong drink. The charge was "that some of the preachers were fond of the bottle": That George Ferguson was an example because "he brought a number of gallons in one place for his consumption" and drank considerably at the Jacksons' house. As well, Thomas Harmon, a local preacher, got quite intoxicated at Westminster",<sup>121</sup> Obviously, these rumours would be spreading throughout the circuits.

By beginning with George Ferguson's experience, an attempt will be made to establish the point that despite these apparently insuperable odds revivalism surged forward in the 1830s. In the previous section

dealing with the 1820s, that point was already demonstrated and the succeeding chapter will treat revival progress in the 1840s.

Ferguson denied the charge of addiction to strong drink brought against him by Ryan and Jackson. He claimed he did not take strong drink except for medicinal purposes but he had diluted drinks at dinner. He considered that kind of conduct unbecoming of a minister since it would set a bad example, hence he never practiced it.<sup>122</sup> Ferguson claimed that at his trial at the Conference Ryan's friends sat on the committee, yet he was exonerated. "None but Christ could have sustained me in my severe trials. My chief solicitude was the cause of God and the interests of the Church ...".<sup>123</sup> Ferguson expressed the intensity of his feeling as he left the Conference to face his congregation.

On Sabbath, after the Convention, I could have cheerfully have died as meet the congregation, in the chapel. The assembly was unusually large, and many that were inimical to Methodism were present. Weepingly and tremblingly I entered the pulpit...while at prayer the Divine power was manifestly present. After prayer, I was taken with a bleeding at the nose, during which a local preacher gave out a hymn.

As soon as the blood ceased, I read my text, "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy". My fears were completely dissipated, my mind enlarged, and the truth of God seemed unusually clear and plain. The congregation felt the divine influence, prejudice received a severe blow.<sup>124</sup>

A revival followed his preaching.

After the Conference of 1833 held at York, Ferguson was appointed to the Waterloo Circuit with James Currie as his companion. Ferguson saw it as a "year of turmoil, agitation and strife from first to last. Some of the local preachers became dissatisfied, and scattered the seeds of discord and litigation wherever they could".<sup>125</sup> Before the close of the year some of the local preachers and exhorters and members left the main Methodist body. "This was the beginning of sorrows. My health was very much impaired in the consequence of my exertions, and anxieties of mind."<sup>126</sup>

George Ferguson was moved to the Sidney Circuit after the 1834 Conference held in Kingston. His travelling companion was T. Harmon. The Episcopalians were organizing themselves into a church when he arrived on his circuit. Bishop J. Reynolds lived only two miles from his circuit, in the town of Belleville. Joseph Gatchel, a superannuated preacher who had recently joined the Episcopalians as a Presiding Elder, was on his circuit. Gatchel made an appointment in one of the meeting-houses but Ferguson arrived the week before and started to inquire about securing the chapel. Being informed by the trustees that the deed had been in the office in Belleville for more than a year but not registered, he hastened to the office the following morning, collected the deed which needed to be signed. To his amazement the grantee of the property (son of the original donor of the property who was now deceased) refused to sign since he and his family were now in favour of the Episcopalians. After some persuasion he signed the deed.



Early the following day he returned to Belleville to have the deed registered. There he met John Reynolds who challenged him to call a meeting and let the people decide regarding the ownership of the property. Ferguson promptly told him he was of age and if he (Reynolds) would attend to his business, he would attend to his own. "We got the deed on record and secured our property. After this I came in for a full share of hatred and slander from the opposing party. It was (industriously) reported that I had taken clandestine, unlawful, and wicked measures to obtain the deed. But they gained little from such a course." <sup>127</sup>

Ferguson proceeded around the circuit reading documents relating to the current issues and answering objections. For much of the year he met in class meetings and private houses on his mission of settling the members. But as soon as he left one place the Episcopalians moved in and sought to win the members to their side. Ferguson claimed that since Reynolds was in the mercantile business many of the people were indebted to him, hence he had much influence over them. <sup>128</sup> Ferguson wrote: "I wept, prayed, and visited the people, and entreated them on my knees to follow after holiness... In the meantime, the party continued their opposition. Some persons broke into the Sydney Chapel several times and turned cattle and hogs into it." <sup>129</sup> The stove was taken out and was repossessed only after obtaining a search warrant.

Friendship was almost entirely forgotten. Neighbour was arrayed against neighbour. Family against family, and members of families against each other. Even the school children quarrelled and fought with each other denouncing each others parents as Wesleyans and Episcopal.<sup>130</sup>

While his partner, T. Harmon, got offended and reacted angrily thereby causing offense, Ferguson said as little as possible about the Episcopal.<sup>s</sup> He endeavoured to increase the spirituality of the members. However, even he lost patience and sued for payment of the subscription to the Christian Guardian which some members refused to pay. He finally resolved to bring the matter to the open before the societies and give them the option to leave or remain. "I then requested such to stand up. In the course of a few weeks about two hundred left our church."<sup>131</sup> Peace was returned and he continued his efforts to bring about revivals. Ferguson reported significant success: "Many precious souls were brought to God, our congregations rapidly increased in numbers and influence ...In Marmora we had a gracious revival...In many other places... we received a large number into society, so that our loss was scarce felt."<sup>132</sup>

In the light of these occurrences it is difficult to see why Anson Green did not understand the real reason for the constant decline in numbers or the small increases reported to the Conference from year to year. Green himself recorded in 1837 that Cobourg reported an increase of 226 but the entire district reported only 151.

He claimed "friction in the church and rebellion in the state have been most injurious to purity and prosperity."<sup>133</sup> Yet in 1839, only two years later, Green recorded:

After refreshing increase on our district, I was not prepared for the reported decrease in the Province. I am thankful to God the Spirit that I never yet travelled a circuit or district where we could not report an increase of members. There must be idlers in the vineyard somewhere, or great deficiency in management. Drones should be cast from the hive, and sluggards from the ministry. A cross, crabbed, indiscreet minister may drive members from the church as fast as the discreet and laborious gather them in.<sup>134</sup>

It would seem obvious that the effect of the schisms began to create discomfort in the minds of revivalists. As may be noted in the foregoing expressions of George Ferguson as well as the above passage the preachers were working harder than ever and obtaining results but the loss of members through discontent and apostasy was too great to reflect in the net increase in numbers. The amount of effort expended or the results obtained were overshadowed. Historians who conclude that revivalism waned in the 1830s and 1840s would easily be impressed by such expressions as that of Anson Green, who despite knowledge of the facts, allowed discouragement to permit him to express feelings contrary to his knowledge: Another example of successful revival results being negated by serious losses is that of Henry Wilkinson. Having entered the itinerant ministry in 1831, he immediately distinguished himself as a successful revivalist.

Ferguson wrote that in his perplexities (even though he was Wilkinson's senior in the ministry by over fifteen years) he sought his advice.

Wilkinson was stationed in Belleville, the headquarters of the Episcopalians during 1834. He met the conflict by mildly but firmly adhering to the discipline. Ferguson observed: "He met with much opposition and persecution, but the God in whom he trusted stood by him and sustained him in conflict. He succeeded (well, in) that after all the defections from the church, he returned nearly as many members as he found." 135

While the Methodists were battling internal strife they had to struggle against external foes concurrently. The political unrest of the 1830s brought the attention of Methodist members, many of whom could not resist being involved, if not actively at least in the debates. The Christian Guardian dealt frequently with issues that affected the politics of the time even though it did not intend to be political. Even if the editors chose to be neutral such men as William Lyon Mackenzie and John Strachan would make it necessary for Methodists to react, the end result being a political debate in which the Methodist members had to respond in favour or in opposition.

When Benjamin Slight arrived in Canada from England in 1834, he discussed the Canadian Methodist Church with several individuals to gain an understanding of the local situation as rapidly as he could.

He concluded that before 1828 some of the preachers had committed themselves to political matters and had excited the jealousy of the governor and government.

They were undoubtedly much misrepresented but they did exceed the bounds of prudence is certain upon the testimony of unprejudiced witnesses. They were exculpated by the House of Assembly in resolutions addressed to the King and yet it is true despite origin of feeling it did exist in the mind of the government and members of council.<sup>136</sup>

Speaking of the Canadian Methodists, he remarked:

"It also appears that they had not that order and regularity in the management of their affairs, necessary for continued prosperity.

They often designed hobly, but failed in the execution."<sup>137</sup> He considered them young and being no longer under the supervision of the General Conference and Bishops of the United States they were unable to conduct their own affairs. Some, however, were clever. Egerton Ryerson, for instance, judiciously sought the assistance of the British Missionary Society by contacting Robert Alder to propose the union.<sup>138</sup> He saw the cause of disharmony as a fundamental discontent with the union by certain sectors. Kingston refused to join the Canadians under the U.S. influence in 1820 and they still refused under this new arrangement (1833). Lower Canada was threatening to break from the Missionary Society in London because of their dissatisfaction with the union since they would be under Canadian leadership as well. Also "many of the preachers in the

Canada Connexion and some of them the oldest and most influential were strongly opposed to the union, and more especially many amongst the Local Preachers, and Societies whom they influenced," 139

Obviously, Slight's assessments were not completely accurate but he did obtain insights into the causes for discontent. He had progressed in his views toward the Canadian preachers from the usual British assessment of them in that he admitted that they had some justification in the political agitations but he certainly viewed them with a measure of condescension. In the 1840 vote on the the British Missionary Society's resolutions presented to the Conference by Richey and Stinson, Slight was one of the eight who voted in favour. 140

Despite these grave issues demanding the full attention of the Methodists, various sects were being introduced into the province. Ferguson described the scene in 1836: "Religion was rather low, politics general. Many were offended by the course taken by the Guardian. Our isms were many: Epsicopalianism, Universalism, Mormonism, Orangism, and downright Devilism - enough one would think to eat up Methodism." 141

In communicating to the membership at the time of the 1837 Conference the "Pastoral Address" gave some specific information. After indicating that a decrease in membership had occurred, it assured the members that no excitement was necessary since they were still enjoying the

favour and blessing of God. Among the causes for the decrease were "the unholy efforts of schismatics and separatists to divide the church; the obtainment, to some extent, on several circuits, of certain delusions well known as Irvingism and Mormonism; and an unusual number of removals".<sup>142</sup> The Address further stated:

By the schedules of various circuits, it appears that these have withdrawn to the party who have assumed the name of Episcopal Methodists, 283; the Irvingites, 15; the Mormons, 52; expelled and dropped, 830; removed 876; died, 131; - total, 2,187. Conversions, 1,140; received into Society, 1,709; - decreases, 591.<sup>143</sup>

With this statistical sampling it should not be difficult to conclude that by merely viewing the yearly increase or decrease of the church membership one could be misled regarding revival activity and result in any given period. Hence, it should be clearly observed that the years of net decrease were caused mainly from the schisms, divisions and contentions especially during the 1830s and 1840s. Serious losses were sustained in membership accessions, retention of members and some revival energy. Nevertheless, there is strong indication that revivalism was in full bloom during these periods. In the statistics quoted above for 1837, seventeen hundred and nine were received into the Societies but the loss of two thousand, one hundred and eighty-seven could not be over-ridden thereby resulting in a net loss of five hundred and ninety one. Since 1837 was one of the most turbulent years for the Upper Canada region both with the church as well as the society (bearing in mind the Mackenzie rebellion and the collision course of the Canadian Methodists with the British Wesleyans:

over the clergy reserves question) the accession of seventeen hundred and nine members in the Methodist Church could only result from a strong revival thrust. By no means was 1837 the exception, in fact, it represented a year of normal revival activity.

In the 1837 Annual Address of the Canada Conference to the British Conference, direct references were made to the various causes of unsettledness which affected revival activity.

With us the last has been a year of general and painful agitation, arising from the general elections, - the unsettled state of our Chapel property, - an excited spirit of insubordination to constituted authorities, - and the divided state of public sentiment, and various mis-representations, respecting certain government grants to several religious bodies, which have been employed as a pretext to the serious injury of the financial interests of many of the circuits, and the pecuniary embarrassment of several of the Preachers.<sup>144</sup>

The effect of these various re-adjustments and difficulties affected the Indian missions as well. "Several of our Missions have sustained serious injury on account of the unsettledness of the minds of the Indians, arising from a policy which proposed to remove them from those lands on which they have made considerable improvements..."<sup>145</sup>

Despite these setbacks the membership accessions reported at the 1838 Conference indicated a definite forward thrust of revival activity.



These increases were gained during the height of the political disturbances which directly affected the church. "The political extravagances of some of our fellow-subjects", the Minutes recorded, "have degenerated into disaffection, and that disaffection has ripened into rebellion, which has filled our whole Province with excitement and alarm..."<sup>146</sup> Much of the literature of the period indicated that the political disturbances were of a general nature, involving a large sector of the population. Although the rebellion was crushed before it escalated, the whole province was in a state of anxiety since fearful rumours regarding an American take-over were mixed with the local political grievances. Members became absorbed in the events. "The disturbances to which we have referred", stated the Address to the British Conference, "have been unfavourable to the spiritual prosperity of our Societies in many places, as many of the members have been employed on military duty, and the attention of others has been diverted by exciting topics of secular nature."<sup>147</sup>

Nevertheless, when the pastors submitted their circuit reports, a total of 2,525 had been received into the Societies. Again, viewing some of the statistics would be misleading since it resulted in a net loss of 125. The disturbances had their continued effect in creating serious losses. During that year 973 were dropped, 310 withdrew, 1270 removed for various reasons and 96 died.<sup>148</sup> A loss was also reported in 1839 but the trend was the same. "We have sustained, during this

past year, a numerical loss of one hundred and thirty-eight. Though this may easily be accounted for by the changes to which our Societies in these times are especially incident...".<sup>149</sup>

What, then, were the occurrences of revivals during the 1830s? When the "protracted meeting" was introduced into Upper Canada in 1831 not only was it the last major revival technique to be introduced by Canadian Methodist revivalism but it was the most successful, the most widely accepted and the most durable. Upon its introduction Upper Canadian Methodist revivalism soared to its peak and in general terms maintained its success until into the 1850s when it was utilized by professional revivalists in a greater and more dramatic manner. One important reason for continuous revival success was the vital fact that none of the revival procedures replaced the others. From the advent of revival preachers in Upper Canada the measures employed were accepted and supplemented or transformed but not abandoned or replaced. During the period 1824 to 1860 therefore all revival techniques were fully utilized. At the end of this period when revivalism began to experience a new phase which would eventually usher in its demise, some of the revival measures began to fall into disuse. Consequently, the camp meetings were transformed and the class meetings became increasingly unpopular since they were not changed innovatively to adapt to the new environment and protracted meetings yielded to the hands of the professional revivalists for "big evangelism."

Two statements referring to the protracted meeting, which were recorded in the Christian Guardian in 1831 and 1832 respectively, served to introduce this new concept to the Canadian ministry. The first under the title: "Protracted Four Days' Meeting" heralded its advent:

We have heard of an extraordinary religious meeting held in Grimsby, at Smithville, Niagara District, which though it had continued twelve days at the time of our latest intelligence, had no appearance yet of drawing to a close. On Wednesday evening last, we are informed 166 had professed to have experienced "a new birth unto righteousness", as fruits of the meeting. It is said to be altogether the most extraordinary religious meeting that was ever held in Canada.<sup>150</sup>

The other reference in 1832 stated:

Protracted Meetings appear to form a new era in this age of religious revivals. They are not liable to the most weighty objections which have been urged against camp-meetings, and are in some instances equally efficient and successful, although not designed to supersede them. The meetings are usually called "Four Days' Meetings" from the circumstance of their having been originally appointed to continue four days, but they are frequently protracted 8, 12, and even 20 days. ...The state of the world requires that every rational means should be used to extend the principles, experience and practice of true religion.<sup>151</sup>

John Carroll confirms the date of the introduction of the "four day meetings" which can be correctly viewed as being the precursor of the "protracted meeting."<sup>152</sup> The four day meetings originated in

the United States of America in 1827. A report in the Christian Advocate and Journal submitted by J. Lord of St. Johnsbury, Vermont on December 20th, 1828, suggested the origin to be 1827. He claimed that while at a camp meeting "a brother in the ministry observed to me that the state of things on his circuit was somewhat interesting and peculiar and that he had some thoughts of having, if I thought best, his next quarterly meeting to commence on Thursday eve, instead of Saturday afternoon..."<sup>153</sup> This meeting to be held at Lyndon would continue through until Sunday evening. With the actual carrying out of this plan, since Lord, his Presiding Elder, had no objections, a new concept developed.

Perhaps the greatest advantage of the protracted meetings which emerged as a logical outgrowth of the four day meetings is its versatility and adaptability. Any of the current church programmes, such as camp meetings, quarterly meetings, class meetings, Conference sessions, love feasts, etc., could be transformed into a protracted meeting. As well, it suited any setting, urban or rural, and whether there were proper accommodations or not. It had total versatility. In fact, it could even be conducted in conformity with the temperament of the preacher or preachers as well as adapted to the type of audience, whether strictly conservative or emotionally excitable. It could be held with no funds or at a large expense. Little wonder professional revivalists from Charles Grandison Finney to the present day have

found the concept indispensable as a revival technique. Protracted meetings became so popular in Upper Canada that nearly every quarterly meeting resulted in one such meeting. So popular had they become by 1835 that Anson Green could remark: "But we must be careful that our efforts for a constant revival, by ordinary means (i.e. the regular circuit appointments), are not weakened by depending too much on special efforts."<sup>154</sup> Needless to say protracted meetings became an instant success and catapulted the Methodist revivalism into a constant successful soul-winning venture. John Carroll recorded: "A great revival followed the use of this instrumentality."<sup>155</sup> Thomas Webster added:

This year, (1831) like the preceding, had been one of great spiritual prosperity. There had been several very extensive revivals. Two-days and four-days meetings had been held on many of the circuits, and so great had been the interest evinced by the people, so earnest their desire to listen and be profited by the pure word, that in several places these meetings had been protracted for ten and fifteen days. <sup>156</sup>

An editorial published in the Christian Guardian discussed the importance of protracted meetings to revivalism. <sup>157</sup> In so doing it revealed the current thinking on the subject. The state of the church requires great exertions in order to kindle and spread the flame of pure religion. Protracted meetings are specially adapted as an instrument to fulfill the task of reviving and spreading the religion of Jesus Christ, both within and without the pale of the Church.

"Protracted meetings are naturally calculated, when properly conducted to make deep and serious impressions, and excite a high tone of religious feeling." Impressions which are made by a single sermon are frequently effaced "by the influence of worldly society" and the natural vitality and carnal enmity of the unregenerate mind." Even after individuals are subjected to a full day of instructions on Sabbath, the hectic activities of the ensuing week could easily obliterate whatever had been learnt. However,

When the service succeeds service; when sermon follows sermon; when demonstration is added to argument; persuasion to demonstration; entreaty to persuasion; and these exercises are continued from day to day, to the exclusion, in a great degree, of other employments, the judgment of the at first, perhaps, thoughtless hearer at length yields to the accumulated force of truth, and the heart melts under influence of the repeated exhibitions of Divine Love, the spirit of devotional piety is quickened in the hearts of the pious... We should rejoice to see these meetings held in every convenient place in this province.<sup>158</sup>

The editorial article continued by emphasizing that protracted meetings were not novel inventions as some persons might have imagined. Historically, whenever any extensive revivals have taken place, meetings of unusual length and frequency have been held. Paul, the Apostle, held protracted meetings as recorded in the book of Acts, Jesus held protracted meetings in the wilderness and the Jews, with Jehovah's divine injunction, held religious meetings for several successive days. Regardless of the circumstances under which they are

held and irrespective of the names assigned to them they are in 'nature, design and tendency the same as our modern protracted meetings'. Consequently the meetings are recommended to ministers and professing Christians as 'a most suitable and successful means of extending the experience and practice of vital Christianity in this Province.' They should not be allowed to supersede other means but employed as auxiliaries.

This was indeed the experience of revivals in Central Canada. All revival techniques operated simultaneously and often complemented each other.

Any statistical figures attempted in order to determine the number of camp meetings or protracted meetings would be vastly inaccurate for several obvious reasons. All the preachers were by virtue of their appointment soul winners, especially during this period. Whereas in 1824 there were 36 preachers and 6,072 members in two districts, in 1831 there were 65 preachers, 12,563 members, four districts and 37 circuits. Since the preachers employed the various means of revivals including the regular appointment system, it would be unlikely that their activities could be recorded in any regular way or catalogued in sources such as the Christian Guardian. There is no indication that they kept specific records, such as the membership records, hence the possibility of specificity regarding the occurrences is unlikely. As has been mentioned elsewhere in this

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thesis, the yearly membership is misleading regarding specific increases since years of large accessions were often counterbalanced by serious losses. Some of the preachers were not prone to writing, therefore no submissions would have been made to the Guardian for several successful revivals. Preachers who were indefatigable workers but who lacked the mystique or talent for persuading large audiences would gain members in two-day meetings, class meetings, prayer meetings or just regular appointments at cottage meetings without gaining any prominent recognition. Robert Corson was such an individual. Then, too, the Guardian could devote only limited space for revivals and even that would be determined by whether other pressing issues were in competition for public attention. The judgment of the editor is also vital in selecting what is published. These factors could explain why researchers who depend upon the Guardian for trends in revivals could be easily misled, since silence in the Guardian did not in fact indicate a low period for revivals in the same manner that a decrease in membership would not be a true indicator of revival activities or revival results. For instance, between 1836 and 1839 the Christian Guardian had very few records of revivals. In the earlier stages of the writer's research he was influenced by that fact as well as by what other historians had written in order to conclude tentatively that that indicated either a low ebb for revivals or a decline of revivals after the success of 1830-1833. Further research in sources such as George Ferguson's "Journal", Anson Green's autobiography and Francis Coleman's "Journal" revealed that revivals were strongly maintained during that period



as well as during periods with similar false indications, for instance, the years immediately after 1843. Another factor which would prohibit the discovery of accurate data regarding revival results was the constantly changing circuits. As the church membership increased, the circuits would be divided and parts of circuits included in a newly organized circuit, at times, during the middle of the year. Computation of numbers for a specific preacher or circuit could be arrived at only with extreme difficulty, if at all.

However, some fair indication of revival success may be ascertained from the various sources - Christian Guardian, Minutes of Conference, etc., as well as reports of preachers or reports of eyewitnesses of these events. In such cases only an estimate is possible. To illustrate the complexity of ascertaining results of revivals, one could consider Egerton Ryerson's report submitted to the Guardian in 1832. Ryerson claimed:

Protracted or four day meetings have been special instruments peculiarly owned of God in the promotion of this gracious work. Nearly one dozen protracted meetings have been held in this district within a twelve month period. Some of these meetings have continued 12-18 days.<sup>159</sup>

For that same period the Christian Guardian has reported approximately the same number of revivals (including the various types) as Ryerson observed for the Niagara District alone. It could be reasonably concluded that extant reports of revivals may be only approximately twenty-five percent of the actual occurrences. Therefore,

the seven camp meetings and eleven protracted meetings found in the sources for 1831 could likely have been in actuality about twenty-eight camp meetings and forty-four protracted meetings.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, the twenty-five protracted meetings for 1832 could likely have been one hundred. This is not unlikely in terms of results since some meetings yielded few converts while others were very successful. Even the reports available however, should personal testimonies in diaries, journals and biographies, etc., be included, have given a clear indication of revival trends.

In 1831 Henry Wilkinson reported from the Long Point Circuit concerning a camp meeting held on his circuit. It closed in September but he had already conducted another camp meeting in June. He had no assistance from other preachers, except a travelling deacon. "Some were smitten down by the power of the Lord and lay some time. Convictions were numerous and in most cases pungent, and conversion during Sabbath night and Monday night quite frequent." <sup>161</sup>

Excessive emotionalism reported by Wilkinson was by no means the rule although it was not infrequent. Patrick Sheriff who visited Upper Canada in the early 1830s reported some lack of gracefulness in the proceedings of the camp meeting he attended.<sup>162</sup> Such eyewitnesses were biased. He testified that he only attended out of curiosity and did not understand the service. The prayer session during which all were permitted to pray simultaneously sounded to him as utter confusion.

whereas to the participants these proceedings would have appeared normal and acceptable. Despite the frequent identification of Canadian and United States camp meetings, the latter being more dramatic, usually influencing the impressions of the former through such records as the Autobiography of Peter Cartwright,<sup>163</sup> Canadian revivals remained distinct. They were usually more orderly, exercising reasonable emotional restraint and obtaining more moderate results. Few revival meetings, whether camp meetings or protracted meetings, except during the period of the professional revivalist, yielded unusually large results. It should be borne in mind, therefore, that while revivalism in Central Canada was widespread and, generally speaking, successful, yet the scattered population and the conservative British influence affected the outcome of revival programmes. The Town of York was not incorporated until 1834. Few other towns had large populations. Hence one should not expect mass conversions in revivals until much later, about the 1850s.

The Toronto Circuit camp meeting was one that experienced larger than usual numbers. Five hundred to one thousand attended on week days and about two thousand persons attended on Sabbath.<sup>164</sup> The reporter ("A Labourer") described the attendants as "worthy Europeans, from England, Ireland, and Scotland, and appear in general to be very respectable and intelligent, in a degree not surpassed in any part of the Province."<sup>165</sup> The meeting was orderly and undisturbed except for one or two instances. A magistrate in Toronto offered the services of

special constables to maintain order but they were not needed due to the high level of conduct. Four hundred and fifty-two persons, including forty-four Indians from the Credit, participated in the Communion service. Ninety to one hundred responded to the appeal to go to the altar and seventy claimed justification.

The first protracted meetings in Central Canada were held in Smithville and St. Catherines. Carroll's comments are quite revealing:

Though it was morally certain that both these Circuits gave of a part of their membership to the new organization, already referred to, the common ground of the two original Circuits rejoiced in the large numerical increase of 344. Henry Wilkinson's preaching talent began to display itself in these revival efforts. 166

Whereas most of the preachers in the period 1824 to 1860 were moderate in their preaching, emotion balanced with logic, a few had the spirit of the earlier period. In the 1830s society had not yet rejected this kind of emotionalism. However, there were frequent discussions on the issue and Methodists were anxious not to incur unnecessary ill-repute from their neighbours. Since most of the preachers were moderate in their preaching, often basing their appeal on the theology they preached and eliminating excess whether in style or content (such as hell-fire) it was not difficult to limit undue excesses. The Discipline required that ministers should not preach too long or too loud, and an action of Conference in 1834 required the ministers to maintain uniformity of worship services. 167

George Ferguson never gave up his approach to revivals which typified the period before 1820. His experience on the Bay of Quinte Circuit in 1831 is a typical example. He and his colleague, Alexander Irvine, whom Ferguson describes as an eloquent man and a superior preacher, sometimes soaring into the regions of the sublime, were conducting a protracted meeting in a Presbyterian Church. Both ministers were on the platform. That evening Ferguson preached from the text Ezekiel 35:2 ("Son of man, set thy face against Mount Seir, and prophesy against it") to a crowded assembly. Ferguson recorded:

When I came to the exhortation, I left the pulpit, and went among the people and entreated them, on my knees.

It was said the minister was much excited and looked all around but could not find me. He said to a Brother, "Where is he? I hear his voice, but I cannot see him." There were nearly one hundred at the altar. The power of God was present and before two o'clock in the morning about fifty were made new creatures in Jesus Christ. At Switzer's and at Big Creek, many were brought into the liberty of the gospel, and the good cause received a heavenly impetus.<sup>168</sup>

John Carroll's assessment was indeed correct when he judged 1832 as the peak year for revivalism in the 1830s. Not before 1841 would it be equalled. "This last year (1832) of the undisturbed independency from foreign jurisdiction and interference may be said to be the grand climactic year of the Upper Canada Methodist Church's success".<sup>169</sup> Stimulus was given to every kind of activity - Sunday Schools, education,

and temperance. "But the crowning glory was its revivals, which issued in an accession of no less than 3,714 members to the Church."<sup>170</sup>

For 1832 and 1833, Wright and Corson were on the Yonge St. Circuit. They had a net increase of three hundred and seventy-six in two years. The circuit was greatly expanded due to the large increase of appointments resulting in a circuit fifty miles long and twenty-five miles broad with thirty-two preaching appointments. With the aid of four local preachers they carried on their regular duties in addition to those missionary societies, nine or ten temperance societies and several Sunday Schools. They also erected two parsonages.<sup>171</sup>

In a report from Thomas Bevitt and Daniel McMullen on the Hallowell Circuit, important details regarding the conducting of a protracted meeting were given. It began in February and continued for sixteen days successively. There was opposition both from some Methodists as well as non-Methodists. They wrote: "professors of religion were not aware of its necessity nor alive to its importance and utility, some feared, others doubted, some said it might do good, others said nay."<sup>172</sup> Since the idea was new and even some Methodists were not enthusiastic about public evangelism because of the crudity and excessive emotionalism, particularly in the United States where they gained their infamy, protracted meetings were frequently opposed. Usually after the preachers engaged the church in that kind of activity they eventually gave their support.

Bevitt and McMullen proceeded nevertheless to conduct the meetings. As soon as some of the people were converted they went to encourage members of their family, their friends and neighbours to attend: "hence one would rise up and tell us he had a father unconverted, another a son, sister, daughter or brother, and desire an interest in prayers of the Lord's people in their behalf;..."<sup>173</sup>

The daily order of the meeting was described in some detail by the preachers as follows:

The order of the various religious exercises, after the meeting got into full operation, were as follows: Penitent meetings held in different houses in the village at 9 o'clock, a.m. These meetings were conducted similar to a class-meeting, and were attended with much profit. Public prayer meeting in the chapel at 10 a.m. - preaching at 11; after which an exhortation was given, enforcing the important subjects illustrated in the sermon, accompanied with a powerful invitation for mourners to come forward to the altar. These exercises generally continued till half past 2 o'clock. Public prayer meeting again at 4 o'clock which continued till 7 o'clock. This was the most interesting season; after a number of prayers were offered up to God for a revival of his work, liberty was given for Christians to rise and tell their experience in the things of God; which they did in the best manner possible, they spoke short, pointed, and powerful, saints were quickened and sinners trembled and called about for mercy; mourners again flocked round the altar and were prayed for till 7 o'clock, the time for public preaching; after preaching, another exhortation, and mourners invited as before. At these seasons our congregations were large to overflowing, and it was really pleasing to see the solemn awe that rested on the people and their attention to the preaching of the word of life; these exercises continued till past 10 o'clock. <sup>174</sup>

When the invitation was given for those seeking repentance to go to the altar "they came in crowds and willingly offered themselves, without urging the invitation." <sup>175</sup> At times as many as thirty-five proceeded to the altar without invitation. At the altar parents prayed for their children, children for their parents, husbands for their wives and wives for their husbands simultaneously. More than one hundred persons joined the Methodist Society from this series of meetings. The preachers added: "Many of the subjects of this revival are heads of families, and in some instances whole families ... both young and old, rich and poor." <sup>176</sup> They felt that the meetings should be held on every circuit in the Province.

Arriving on the St. Catherines' Circuit in 1832, Egerton Ryerson assessed the revival activities and submitted a report to James Richardson, editor of the Christian Guardian. He stated that he was

informed by a pious man who spent a principal part of last winter in promoting of religion, that, during the last 12 months, 1150 souls were converted to God in that region. Among these are many of the most intelligent and wealthy inhabitants of the district... Some instances of awakening, conversion, and complete renewal after the Divine likeness, have been related to me. <sup>177</sup>

Ryerson observed that temperance societies were considered important as "powerful instruments in promoting this great work of moral and



and religious reform...it has been stated that the revivals of religion in almost every neighbourhood, where they have taken place, have been preceded by the organization of a temperance Society.<sup>178</sup> Methodist preachers employed the temperance concept as an opening wedge to introduce their religious message. While they were engaged in an active social outreach programme they were expecting to reach beyond the preliminary accomplishment of health reform to lead individuals into spiritual reform. During later decades when the Methodist Church engaged in social programmes they were concerned more with the moral than the spiritual aspects of society's needs. To bring relief from sickness, suffering, or poverty became an end in itself.

Ryerson also commented on the manner in which the services were conducted. In his judgment:

Disorder has been uniformly discountenanced and the extravagances of ignorance and ungoverned passion have been immediately corrected. Not a particle of enthusiasm appears to have entered into this work, nor to have received the least encouragement from those engaged in conducting the meetings.<sup>179</sup>

When penitents were brought to the altar they were deliberately talked to, carefully instructed and then frequently prayed for, eliminating the excessive noise so frequently associated with these occasions.

In 1834 J. C. Davidson on the Belleville Station reported that despite the agitation in his circuit prayer meetings and class meetings were better attended than formerly.<sup>180</sup> Conrad Vandusen reported from Dumfries that although the circuits faced difficulties there appeared to be a general time of awakening and several penitent souls were brought to God.<sup>181</sup> That year several other revival meetings were held. Reports came in from Murray, Whitby and even the City of Toronto. There in the city prayer meetings were conducted in the Methodist Chapels every morning at 6 o'clock and every evening for several consecutive days. "Several nights successively the altar has been surrounded with penitent seekers of salvation ... a spirit of prayer and supplication appears to be poured upon the church - the congregations are large and deeply serious."<sup>182</sup>

In the previous year Ferguson, who had been conducting revivals, recorded in his Journal that at a camp meeting "on the old ground of Mr. Shibley's farm in Portland", there was a large encampment with tents accommodating a large crowd. According to Ferguson, they flocked to the meeting and "commenced working male and female as though they would take heaven by a storm".<sup>183</sup> The prayer meetings were "powerfull" and the preaching "the right kind". Several preachers were present and nearly all, if not all, were emotionally shaken during the services. Ferguson claimed he received the "second blessing" in that meeting. "Bro. Ryerson came to take care of me

in the tent, when I came to myself the good brother was helpless, he laid on the ground for some time."<sup>184</sup> Several struggled for and received the blessing of holiness, or sanctification.

Anson Green commented that in 1835 four day meetings had been frequently conducted. "Four days' meetings are become (sic) amongst us. Like Methodism itself, these meetings, in their origin, appear to have been providential."<sup>185</sup>

In 1836 C. McMullen reported a successful revival in Napanee.<sup>186</sup> J. Black conducted a successful protracted meeting in Peterborough, converting thirty to forty persons, including youths as well as adults.<sup>187</sup> Later in the year Black reported another protracted revival on the banks of the Hay Bay, in the Bay of Quinte Circuit, conducted by his colleague, W. Young. Forty conversions took place.<sup>188</sup> T. Fowcett reported from Etobicoke that there was religious prosperity on the Yonge St. Circuit. Great interest was shown in the meetings. "Last night we had a glorious time, and I believe one which will be long remembered ... The flame appears to spread from house to house, and adjacent neighborhoods seem to feel the sacred fire."<sup>189</sup> As chairman of the Bay of Quinte District, John Ryerson reported:

The prospects on this district are very favourable. There are revivals prevailing on most of the circuits, some of which are very powerful. The membership is very much quickened. I never heard so many persons profess

the blessing of perfect love, during the same time, as I have during the present quarter. The spirit of missionary zeal is also rising finely; and I have no doubt that the collections will be threefold the amount of those of last year.<sup>190</sup>

The spirit of revivals continued steadily throughout the decade of the 1830s uninterrupted.

So strong was the revival thrust during the 1830s that the British workers who joined the Canadian work force after the union became involved with its activities. Benjamin Slight, who arrived soon after the union, became fully immersed in revival measures. Other British workers also became involved. In chapter VI, William Harvard's defense of protracted meetings will be discussed. In describing a camp meeting conducted by Peter Jones and John Sunday in Muncey, Slight revealed that J. Stinson from the British Missionary Society was involved as one of the preachers. "The Indians were much affected, fell down stiff, and remained so for some time. What a sight! Could our friends in England but have beheld the whole scene!"<sup>191</sup>

In 1835 Slight showed great evidence of adapting to the rigors of the Canadian circuit requirements. Within eleven months he travelled 2,774 miles in addition to his trip from New York which totalled 4,074 miles. He preached 195 times since arriving from

England. He further claimed:

I have preached from 47 new texts, and have rewritten many of my old sermons, and besides other writings about 55 letters, some of them very large, filling a sheet of double post. I have also from about June to June read 33 volumes, but this has been a year of very great interruptions to reading. All this, with other activities - forming new missions, etc. <sup>192</sup>

He then resolved to ask each of his members to set aside one hour per day to pray for revivals.

By 1837 Slight began to Canadianize his revival approach. On July 9, he took to the open air with his preaching in Port Credit. "My design was to endeavour to gain a hearing by many wanderers. I preached in view of 3 taverns." <sup>193</sup> He had heard that transients would not likely enter the preaching house. Again on July 10 he preached in the open air at Port Credit. Slight recognized that he had to adjust in order to succeed. He stated:

The subject of the spread of the gospel is a highly interesting one. We see various modes by which it spreads here which we cannot perceive so well in England. As well as its more direct influence, it has what I may term its incidental effects. It acts reciprocally on England. <sup>194</sup>

He illustrated by telling of the convert in Canada who wrote back to England and converted other relatives.

On August 20, he again held a field meeting on the Indian Reserve. About eight hundred to one thousand persons attended. Utmost propriety and order prevailed and the hearers paid close attention. Meetings were conducted from morning until night and included four sermons, several exhortations and prayers. He felt the Indians to be in good spirits, industrious and materially successful.<sup>195</sup> In 1838 Slight continued using field preaching.

In the 1837 Conference Session, the spirit of emotion overtook the assembly at the ordination service for the ministers. The "Spirit of God moved the brethren to tears. Rev. W. Ryerson followed in on his matchless speeches and the entire assembly seemed to be carried up in heavenly ecstasies."<sup>196</sup> The following year the revival reached to the Upper Canada Academy. The Minutes recorded: "a delightful revival of religion has lately taken place among the students, upwards of thirty of whom have given evidence of a gracious change."<sup>197</sup>

In 1839 the revival was still strong. Despite the limited reporting during this period because of the other issues, political as well as conflict between the British and Canadian bodies, more than twelve camp meetings and protracted meetings were recorded in the Christian Guardian and other sources. Alexander McNab reported from the Ancaster Circuit that as a result of the protracted meeting at the Dénsemore's School house, thirty-three probationers were

received into class. He immediately launched another protracted meeting near Waterdown. "In this settlement", he said, "we have been favoured with a gracious visitation: 18 souls have been converted to God and added to our society; making in all as a result of two protracted efforts, an addition of fifty-one members."<sup>198</sup>

## NOTES: CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup> The first Conference held in Canada took place at Elizabethtown in 1817 and is remembered mainly for the prominent revival that it generated. However, that was the Genesee Annual Conference of which Upper Canada was a part.

<sup>2</sup> Amelia Harris, "Historical Memoranda", Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada, ed. by J. J. Talman (Toronto: The Publication of the Champlain Society, 1946), p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Bates, "Testimonial of Roger Bates", Loyalist Narratives from Upper Canada, ed. by J. J. Talman (Toronto: The Publication of the Champlain Society, 1946), p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Amelia Harris, op. cit., p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p. 143.

<sup>7</sup> C. Stuart, The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada (London: Published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row, 1820), p. 110.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 112.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 112.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 113.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 113.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Webster, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada (Hamilton: The Canadian Christian Advocate Office, 1870), p. 156.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 156.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 156.



- <sup>15</sup> York, Colonial Advocate, Oct. 27, 1831.
- <sup>16</sup> Patrick Sheriff, A Tour Through North America (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1835), p. 382.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 383.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 384.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 385.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 386.
- <sup>21</sup> The Town of York, 1815-1834, ed., Edith Firth (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1966), p. xxxii.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. xxxii.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. xxxii.
- <sup>24</sup> The York Commercial Directory, 1833-34, quoted in The Town of York, 1815-1834, op. cit., p. xxxii.
- <sup>25</sup> Patrick Sheriff, op. cit., p. 387.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid, p. 389.
- <sup>27</sup> Patrick Sheriff, op. cit., p. 389.
- <sup>28</sup> Edith Firth, op. cit., p. lxxxiii.
- <sup>29</sup> The trend against American influence in Upper Canada began with John Graves Simcoe, the first Governor-General in Upper Canada. John Strachan and others in the executive branch of the Upper Canada government continued to express their dislike for American sentiments.
- <sup>30</sup> Edith Firth, op. cit., p. lxxxiii.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. lxxxiv.

32 Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962).

33 Compiled from George H. Cornish, ed. Cyclopaedia of Methodism in Canada, 2 vols. (Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881).

34 Record may be found in the Cyclopaedia of Methodism, ibid.

35 For instances see: Christian Guardian, Feb. 5, 1831, p. 49; ibid, May 21, 1831, p. 111; ibid, Sept. 21, 1830, pp. 293, 294; ibid, Mar. 27, 1831, p. 148; ibid, May 22, 1830, p. 211.

36 Christian Guardian, Jan. 2, 1830, p. 46.

37 Views of various historians were presented in Chapter I.

38 Anson Green, Life and Times of Anson Green (Toronto: Published at the Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. 1.

39 His conversion experience will be discussed in the chapter on Methodist theology (Chapter IV).

40 ibid, p. 25.

41 Methodists were approximately 1/5 of the Upper Canada population in 1823.

42 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 32.

43 ibid, p. 14.

44 ibid, p. 14.

45 ibid, p. 15.

46 ibid, p. 16.

47 ibid, p. 17.

- 48 Ibid, p. 17.
- 49 Ibid, p. 18.
- 50 Ibid, p. 18.
- 51 Ibid, pp. 35, 36.
- 52 Ibid, p. 36.
- 53 Ibid, p. 36.
- 54 Thomas Webster, "Memoirs," Personal Papers, pp. 42, 3.
- 55 Ibid, p. 43.
- 56 Ibid, p. 43.
- 57 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 38.
- 58 Ibid, p. 47.
- 59 Ibid, p. 47.
- 60 Ibid, p. 133.
- 61 Ibid, p. 133.
- 62 W. S. Blackstock, "Sermons" Personal Papers, handwritten manuscript. Dozens of sermons are included in this collection. They all appear to be dry and non-evangelistic. Several of the preachers were beginning to strive for scholarly excellence to the detriment of evangelical appeal.
- 63 John Carroll, Father Carson (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1879), p. 32.
- 64 Ibid, p. 51.
- 65 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 48.

- 66 ibid., p. 48.
- 67 ibid., p. 58.
- 68 ibid., p. 52.
- 69 ibid., p. 64.
- 70 ibid., p. 106.
- 71 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842; op. cit., p. 14.
- 72 Thomas Radcliff, Authentic Letters from Canada (Toronto: The McMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1953), p. 115. First published in 1832. J. J. Talman in introducing the book said it was one of the most revealing and authentic records of life in the 1830s.
- 73 ibid., p. 116.
- 74 William Proudfoot, The Proudfoot Papers, 1833. Introduction and Notes by Rev. M. A. Garland. Reprinted from Ontario Historical Society's "Papers and Records", vol. XXVI, 1930, p. 16.
- 75 ibid., p. 16.
- 76 ibid., p. 16.
- 77 Minutes of Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1830, p. 36.
- 78 Anson Green, Life and Times of Anson Green (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. 135.
- 79 ibid., pp. 137, 138.
- 80 Minutes of the Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1830, p. 36.
- 81 William Proudfoot, op. cit., p. 14.
- 82 ibid., p. 16.

- 83 Ibid, pp. 20, 21.
- 84 Communication of Robert Alder and Matthew Richey with the Governor-General of Upper Canada in the 1830s indicated the willingness of the British Missionary Society to avoid any resistance to government policies.
- 85 William Westfall, "The Sacred and the Secular", (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1976). Of course, Westfall did not completely agree with Clark.
- 86 S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University Press, 1948), p. 262.
- 87 Ibid, p. 262.
- 88 Ibid, p. 262.
- 89 Ibid, p. 262.
- 90 Ibid, p. 263.
- 91 Ibid, p. 263.
- 92 Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1833, p. 67.
- 93 Ibid, p. 67.
- 94 Ibid, p. 67.
- 95 John Carroll, The "Exposition" Expounded, Defended and Supplemented (Toronto: Methodist Book & Publishing House, 1881), p. 20.
- 96 A. Sutherland, Methodism in Canada (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1903), p. 177.
- 97 Ibid, pp. 177, 178.
- 98 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 72.

99 Appendix to Annual Conference Minutes, 1824-1854, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 47.

100 Ibid, p. 47.

101 Ibid, pp. 52, 53.

102 Ibid, p. 54.

103 Most of the British born workers who came to Central Canada during this period cooperated or adjusted to the Canadian system. William Harvard, who served as President of the Conference in 1836 and 1837 is a good example. He became an apologist for the revival programmes.

104 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 130.

105 Anson Green, op. cit., pp. 211, 212.

106 W. M. Harvard, Facts Against Falsehood (Toronto: British Wesleyan Publications, 1846), p. 1 ff.

107 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 155.

108 Ibid, p. 156. See appendix B for Conference resolutions.

109 Thomas Webster, op. cit., p. 161.

110 Ibid, p. 161.

111 A. Sutherland, Methodist Church and Missions in Canada and Newfoundland (Toronto: Dept. of Miss. Literature of the Methodist Church, 1906), p. 142.

112 Ibid, p. 143.

113 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 33.

114 Ibid, 1826, p. 4.

- 115 ibid, 1827, p. 3.
- 116 ibid, 1829, p. 10.
- 117 ibid, 1828, p. 2.
- 118 ibid, 1829, p. 10.
- 119 ibid, 1829, p. 12.
- 120 ibid, 1829, p. 18.
- 121 ibid, 1829, p. 10.
- 122 George Ferguson, "Journal" (unpublished), p. 84.
- 123 ibid. p. 84.
- 124 ibid, p. 84.
- 125 ibid, p. 91.
- 126 ibid, p. 91.
- 127 ibid, p. 92.
- 128 ibid, p. 92.
- 129 ibid, p. 92.
- 130 ibid, p. 92.
- 131 ibid, p. 93.
- 132 ibid, p. 93.
- 133 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 220.
- 134 ibid, p. 227.

- 135 George Ferguson, op. cit., p. 93.
- 136 Benjamin Slight, "Journal," vol. 1, (unpublished), p. 25.
- 137 ibid, p. 27.
- 138 ibid, p. 28.
- 139 ibid, p. 31.
- 140 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 155.
- 141 George Ferguson, Journal (unpublished), p. 94.
- 142 Minutes of Annual Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada, 1837, p. 172.
- 143 ibid, p. 172.
- 144 ibid, p. 180.
- 145 ibid, p. 181.
- 146 ibid, p. 201.
- 147 ibid, p. 201.
- 148 ibid, p. 192.
- 149 ibid, p. 219.
- 150 Christian Guardian, Aug. 27, 1831, p. 166.
- 151 ibid, Feb. 8, 1832, p. 50.
- 152 John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, vol. III, (Toronto: Published at the Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871), p. 290.
- 153 Christian Guardian, Jan. 24, 1834, p. 45.



- 154 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 192.
- 155 John Carroll, op. cit., p. 29.
- 156 Thomas Webster, op. cit., p. 256.
- 157 Christian Guardian, Feb. 8, 1832, p. 50.
- 158 Ibid, p. 50.
- 159 Ibid, April 4, 1832, p. 83.
- 160 Sources include all available reports in such materials as the Christian Guardian, Life and Times of Anson Green, Case and His Contemporaries and various others.
- 161 Christian Guardian, Oct. 22, 1831, p. 197.
- 162 Patrick Sheriff, op. cit., pp. 183-188.
- 163 Peter Cartwright, Autobiography (New York: Abingdon Press, 1856).
- 164 Christian Guardian, June 16, 1831, p. 144.
- 165 Ibid, p. 144.
- 166 John Carroll, op. cit., pp. 290, 291.
- 167 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 26.
- 168 George Ferguson, Journal, pp. 88, 89.
- 169 John Carroll, Father Corson (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1879) p. 62.
- 170 Ibid, p. 62.
- 171 Ibid, p. 67.

- 172 Christian Guardian, March 28, 1832, p. 82.
- 173 ibid, p. 82.
- 174 ibid, p. 82.
- 175 ibid, p. 82.
- 176 ibid, p. 82.
- 177 ibid, April 4, 1832, p. 83.
- 178 ibid, p. 83.
- 179 ibid, p. 83.
- 180 ibid, April 2, 1834, p. 90.
- 181 ibid, April 2, 1834, p. 90.
- 182 ibid, Aug. 20, 1834, p. 162.
- 183 George Ferguson, op. cit., p. 90.
- 184 ibid, p. 90.
- 185 Anson Green, op. cit., p. 192.
- 186 Christian Guardian, Feb. 16, 1836, p. 62.
- 187 ibid, March 7, 1836, p. 74.
- 188 ibid, Oct. 20, 1836, p. 202.
- 189 ibid, Oct. 4, 1836, p. 194.
- 190 ibid, April 14, 1836, p. 98.
- 191 Benjamin Slight, "Journal," vol. I (unpublished manuscript),  
p. 86.

- 192 ibid, pp. 93, 94.
- 193 ibid, p. 134.
- 194 ibid, p. 134.
- 195 ibid, pp. 138, 139.
- 196 Anson Green, op. cit., pp. 212, 213.
- 197 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 202.
- 198 Christian Guardian, March 16, 1839, p. 81.

### CHAPTER III

#### CONFLICT AND AFFIRMATION:

#### REVIVAL MEASURES AND ORGANIZATIONAL TRANSITION,

1840 - 1851

While the decade of the 1840s brought crises to the door of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, the church was able to weather the storm since it had survived the conflicts of the 1830s successfully and was now mature, experienced and confident. As well, it had several reliable and capable leaders, not the least of which was Egerton Ryerson.

The decade began with the dissolution of the union between the British and Canadian bodies. The British had been disenchanted with the arrangements since they concluded that the Canadians were not co-operating, particularly with regard to the aspect of political interference - an area that was sensitive to the funding of their mission work from government sources. The Canadian leaders insisted on their independence, particularly in the area of religious freedom, the basis of which was the clergy reserves issue. The Canadians had obtained funds from the government for Victoria College but they did not consider that as interfering with sources of government funds for the British mission's work among the Indians. The British leaders had a different opinion.

When a Special Conference was convened by the Canadian church in

Toronto from October 22-29, 1840, it was to decide on its final action regarding the British attitude. Upon voting to maintain its position of support for Egerton Ryerson and to continue their policy direction the union was virtually dissolved. Eleven preachers, including William Case, joined the British Missionary Society. The others were Ephraim Evans, John Douse, Benjamin Slight, James Norris, Thomas Fawcett, William Scott, James Brock, John G. Manly, Charles B. Goodrich and Edmund Stoney. At the regular Conference Session for that year the statistical report revealed 16,354 members, 102 ministers, 6 districts and 69 circuits.<sup>1</sup> After the dissolution of the union there remained 5 districts and 62 circuits! The year 1840 marked the beginning of a new emphasis on camp meetings. Linked with protracted meetings, a new wave of revivals began. After three consecutive years of decrease in membership, the church finally recorded a gain - 1,164 members. Despite large accessions from revivals only a 663 increase was recorded in 1841 due to the disruption of the union. In 1842 and 1843, however, the net gain reached encouraging numbers of 2,461 and 3,833 and the total membership increased to 19,478 and 23,311 respectively. By 1843 there were 7 districts and 75 circuits.

The mid-1840s was unusually challenging for the church. The conflict and competition with the British Missionary Society, other rival Methodist bodies, such as the Methodist New Connexion, Primitive Methodists, and the Methodist Episcopal Church In Canada, and other sects, the chief of which was the Millerites, created difficulties for the members as well as the leaders. These difficulties resulted in serious loss of members. In 1844 the increase had

been only 438 and in 1845 a decrease of 803 shocked the entire ministry and membership. Had it not been for the strong revival program carried out by the church, the Wesleyan Methodists might have sustained a possible irreversible setback. Carroll remarked that "the strenuousness with which the ministers and preachers laboured indicated a determination to arrest the downward tendency indicated by the decrease of the previous year" (1845).<sup>2</sup>

When the special committee, appointed in 1840 to study ways of protecting the interests of the Wesleyan Methodists in Canada, convened it recorded in its resolution that out of about twenty British missionaries in the Central Canada region only five were not occupying fields already occupied by Canadian preachers: "the other fifteen are labouring as missionaries within the bounds of regular circuits, dividing neighbourhoods, societies, and families and producing all the other evils of schism, strife and divisions".<sup>3</sup> The schism that resulted, seriously affected the mood of the ministers. Egerton Ryerson expressed his thoughts:

The schisms and heart-burnings from the large societies, down to the domestic, were distressing beyond expression, and most painful to every lover of peace in the family of Christ. But enemies of the truth beheld this unnatural strife and disreputable discord with exultation and delight ....<sup>4</sup>

Ryerson pointed out, however, that the ministers did not give up and remain dormant. During the six years of divisive conflict much good was accomplished, "the preachers were very zealous; and although in many

instances, Christ was doubtless preached through envy and strife, yet Christ was preached and many souls were saved. The preachers were devoted to the one great work of spreading holiness over the land ...".<sup>5</sup> He pointed out that during the six years of separation, the aggregate increase in church membership was 6,622. Possibly that increase would not have occurred without strong revival efforts, since that was a trying period for the church. At that time, loss of members to various competing groups and apostasy caused by disillusionment were excessive. Carroll mentioned that no fewer than nine camp meetings were held between July and September of 1846. "Cheering letters were published from all the chairmen, who still travelled through their several districts."<sup>6</sup> He listed several places where revivals had occurred. That year the Christian Guardian mentioned only about four revivals despite their frequent occurrences.

In the mid-1840s, Millerism posed a serious threat to the Methodist Church. Since Millerism was strongly evangelical and the Methodist membership was in a state of unsettledness, this "Second Advent" religious group gained several of the Methodist members. Most of the contemporary Methodist writers mentioned Millerism. The Christian Guardian dedicated several of its columns for several years to the opposition of their doctrines, zealously and proselytizing. Carroll mentioned that they had affected his home church.<sup>7</sup> Porter stated: "There were, doubtless, instances in which religion and Millerism were so combined, that when the error of the latter was demonstrated, all confidence in the former was abandoned."<sup>8</sup>

The Christian Guardian almost abandoned the reporting of revivals during the mid-1840s in order to blacken its pages with such topics as "Doctrine of Millerism", "Millerism, End of the World", "Mistakes of Millerism", "Anti-Millerisms", "Millerism Mastered", "Evils of Millerism", "The Last Day of Millerism - The Spiritual Reign of Christ", "Dilemma of Millerites" and "Insanity Produced by Millerism", among many others. Methodists launched attacks on it, pleaded with their members to avoid it, condemned it and even caricatured it. On January 18, 1843, the Christian Guardian made the following statement:

It is said that Miller, the end-of-the-world prophet, is building a brick wall around his farm, which will probably last hundreds of years; and that he has refused a handsome offer for his farm. We suppose the end is not to be in 1843. But what consistency!<sup>9</sup>

Another article in June, 1843, was entitled "The Miller Tabernacle".

It stated:

This large edifice in Boston, designed for religious worship by Elder Himes and his fellow disciples, was recently dedicated with imposing solemnity.<sup>10</sup>

The article mentioned that the building was insured for seven years and Himes purchased a safe to store his cash and accounts in the conflagration. Excitement occasioned by the delusion of their preaching was dying away, "and men were returning to their wits and occupation since they had passed the 15th of April unharmed: and soon the drama would be remembered only in pity, shame and sorrow ...".<sup>11</sup> However, Miller renewed



his zeal when, from a re-study of the prophecy of Daniel, Chapters 8 and 9, he concluded that the end of the world would be October, 1844, instead of his former prediction of April, 1843.

As late as 1850 Millerism was still a concern to Methodism. One Wesleyan Missionary, Richard Hutchinson, who had defected to join the Millerites in 1843, showed overt opposition to the church in Lower Canada. John Borland, a Wesleyan Missionary, wrote a strong polemic against Millerism and Hutchinson in, A Brief Statement of Facts, published in 1850, in which he labelled Millerism, "devilism".<sup>12</sup> "What is Millerism?", Borland asked rhetorically, "I will tell you. It was to believe that the world would end in April, 1843, on pain of eternal damnation! Then when April had passed, it was to believe .... that the world would end in October of the same year." <sup>13</sup>

Internally, the church also faced constant uneasiness and strife due to conflict and renewed negotiations with the British Conference. When the re-union between the bodies occurred in 1847, it did much to calm the church after seven years of strife.

Revival meetings were held consistently throughout the 1840s. In fact, 1842 could be designated the year of the camp meeting. Even though protracted meetings were widely employed that year as well, camp meetings were utilized with renewed emphasis.

An editorial in the Christian Guardian stated: "... as a protracted

meeting is the leading special means now in operation among us we have asked ourselves whether more cannot be done through this instrumentality?"<sup>14</sup>

The article stressed the idea that the protracted meeting may be easily adapted to the religious life of Upper Canadians. It was "rendered powerful in its application by men who have judgement to call it into exercise..." It stated: "Our church is high in her anticipations of a further revival of pure religion; and the clouds already drop fatness; and the chief visible agency in the good now in progress is the protracted meeting, an agency approved by our preachers and effectively employed by them."<sup>15</sup> It should be borne in mind that often camp meetings were extended into protracted meetings. The emphasis then would be on the protracted revivals. In 1842, the Guardian made clear that there was success in camp meetings, protracted meetings and field meetings.<sup>16</sup> Another article stated that so many protracted meetings were held in 1841 that they had attracted the attention of public opposition.<sup>17</sup>

George Ferguson recorded constant revival activities until the 1840s. He referred to camp meetings, protracted meetings and "extra" quarterly meetings. "My colleague and I attended protracted exercises... and endeavoured to keep up the regular work."<sup>18</sup> On the Dumfries Circuit where he preached during 1841 and 1842, Ferguson said: "There was considerable excitement in most of the congregations. Our quarterly meetings seemed to increase in interest and were rendered happily beneficial." He further commented that the people and the preachers were united and "there was, on the whole, a considerable improvement and the circuit was on the rise."<sup>19</sup> At a camp meeting in

1841 the same revival spirit characteristic of camp meetings was evident. Ferguson recorded:

A sister, a woman of strong faith, who was labouring with these penitents, exhorted them to struggle and wrestle until they were baptized with the Holy Ghost, a better baptism than that of water. "Yes it is", said the Elder. (Presiding Elder). The sister continued, "It is coming, it is coming, glory be to God. It is coming, we feel it dropping, sprinkling! Hallelujah! It is pouring. We feel it. Glory!" The penitents seemed to share in this "greater baptism" and shouted aloud the praises of God. It ran through the encampment, and it was sometime before the baptism could be performed. <sup>20</sup>

Francis Coleman, who was accepted on trial in 1840, spent much of his time seeking holiness and promoting revivals. He recalled in his 'Journal' on February 14, 1842: "Since last entry in Journal, travelled and preached extensively. Held protracted meeting. Sinners converted." April 16: "Attended protracted meeting with McNab and Philp at Hopkins appointment." <sup>21</sup>

In 1843, a visitor wrote to the Guardian concerning his visit to a meeting in St. Catharines. J. Ryerson preached: "strive to enter in at the strait gate, etc.". Sixty persons crowded around the altar after the call. There were "sobs, sighs and responses". The meetings lasted several days. <sup>22</sup> There were similar meetings in Dumfries, Sidney, and Rideau circuits. In 1844 more revival meetings were held. Among them were those at Napanee, where 140 were brought into the church, and Rideau circuit, where three protracted meetings brought in 80 persons to the church. Others were held in Belleville, Kemptville and Gosfield circuits. <sup>23</sup>

In 1846 there were several camp meeting notices in the Christian Guardian and in 1847 meetings were held in St. Catharines, Merrittsville, Colborne, Osgoode and Bath areas. An editorial in the Guardian stated:

We have heard of several places in which revivals have taken place within the last two months; and of others in which the work is still in progress. A note, bearing date the 22nd of January from our highly esteemed friend the Rev. C. Vandusen informs us "that the Lord has greatly blessed the labours of his servants on the Elizabethtown Circuit. While they unfurled the Banner of the cross, nearly one hundred precious souls felt its attraction .... united with the Methodist Church".<sup>24</sup>

During 1849 several revivals were conducted throughout the Central Canadian region.<sup>25</sup> Henry Wilkinson held a revival in Hamilton Chapel for about three weeks. It resulted in the conversion of about forty persons. Others were held on Colborne Circuit, in Kemptville and Oakville. On the Goodrich Mission a protracted meeting lasting about three weeks resulted in eighty conversions. Many were promising youth. Business closed down and neighbours talked mainly of the revival. A revival was also conducted in the Toronto City West Circuit.<sup>26</sup> An account of a revival at an appointment on the Yonge Street Circuit commented: "We have been favoured with an unusual manifestation of Divine presence." Since there was no revival there for some time, it was a remarkable experience, "an extraordinary work of God". "The altar was crowded. The seats nearest (were) filled with penitents. The cry of the publican was heard. The groans of the prisoner were uttered ...."<sup>27</sup> Revivals continued into the 1850s but with increasing emphasis on protracted

meetings rather than camp meetings or any other measure. Nevertheless, indications are clear that all other revival measures introduced in the 1830s were still being utilized. A resolution at the 1850 Conference Session clearly indicated to the ministry its continued course:

We resolve to be scrupulously faithful in the fulfilment of all our appointments, in labouring for immediate conversions in our ordinary ministrations, to be more prompt and zealous in following up every indication of revival by special efforts, and by holding meetings for promoting the attainment and growth in holiness among our members, embracing a return (whenever practicable) to the organization of select and general bands.<sup>28</sup>

Until the 1850s, most of the ministers were either self-taught or received their academic training in a form of internship program. Preachers from England were exceptions since they would have received their college training before arriving in Canada. Then, too, they were not a large number. On June 27, 1842, Victoria College having received its charter, held its opening ceremonies at Cobourg and inducted Egerton Ryerson as its Principal. Richard Jones, Chairman of the Bay of Quinte District, John P. Roblin, M.P.P., and Anson Green, President of the Canada Conference, officiated in the opening exercises. The school had been opened six years before with Matthew Richey as its Principal but as Anson Green remarked, only "eight or ten young men have gone forth from this seat of learning, and been thrust out into the Lord's vineyard"<sup>29</sup> Several others, however, had graduated in various fields - law, teaching, etc., - and were gainfully employed throughout the province.

The Methodist Church had fought for religious democracy; now they would practise that principle by making the school non-sectarian and liberal in its educational programme. Parliament had granted the charter to confer degrees and it was endorsed by Lord Sydenham thereby conferring on Victoria College the honour of being "the first literary institution in actual operation in this Province, authorized to confer Literary Degrees".<sup>30</sup> The first degreed graduate in the ministry, completed his training in 1845.<sup>31</sup> It would not be until the late 1850s before any large numbers of theology students would be graduated from its ministerial programme.

But the Methodist Church was always concerned about proper training for its ministers. From the second Canadian Conference Session a plan for the academic training of the ministry was advanced. Action was passed to "view with concern the want of intellectual improvement among our young preachers generally".<sup>32</sup> The Presiding Elder and other qualified pastors were commissioned to give special attention and oversight to the young ministers in order for them to obtain that objective. Presiding Elders were directed to press the preachers in their charge to an improvement in study. They should set aside at least one month per year for this study, especially English Grammar. The Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church published in 1836 made the procedure quite specific:

The Chairman, at each District Meeting, shall, in addition, examine every preacher on trial, respecting his acquaintance

with the books recommended to him, and the general course of reading which he may have pursued during the preceding year. For this purpose every such Preacher is required to deliver to the Chairman of his District, a list of the books which he has read since the preceding District Meeting. This list shall be laid before the Meeting, that the senior brethren may have an opportunity of giving to the junior Preachers such advices and directions respecting their studies as may appear necessary.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, the Chairman of the district meeting should examine carefully each prospect for the ministry, "respecting their health, piety, moral character, ministerial abilities, belief of our doctrines, attachments to our discipline, and freedom from debt, as well as from all secular encumbrances."<sup>34</sup> In order to give full attention to circuit duties and to allow time for study, preachers on trial were not allowed to be married and travelling preachers were not allowed to engage in any secular business, except the sale of the Methodist literature.

With the opening of Victoria College, a more specific study programme for the ministers would be expected. In his address, Egerton Ryerson outlined his objective for the College and charted the academic course for future training of ministers. His principles were exceedingly comprehensive and visionary. The adopting of such a programme for ministers would automatically outdate the concept of an untrained minister. However, one should not assume that there was any great lack of education for the Methodist ministry. The grammar school education and the rigorous reading programme supervised by the

Presiding Elder ensured an academically developing ministry. Their constant exposure to other ministers' preaching and debates at conference sessions aided their intellectual capability.

Ryerson's concept of education was that "man is made for physical, mental, and moral action; and the grand object of education is to develop, improve, and perfect, as far as possible, his physical, mental or moral faculties".<sup>35</sup> Ryerson recommended that each minister should study at least five hours out of every twenty-four. "But, if study be so essential to the character and success of an able minister, in the labours of his vocation, how important must it be to qualify him for them."<sup>36</sup> A minister must therefore acquaint himself with various branches of knowledge necessary to his training not "immediately connected with his pulpit and pastoral duties". The natural, mental and moral sciences teach much that enters into a minister's everyday duties. These facts must first be studied before the principles can be understood. A college provided the opportunity for this type of learning, free from other encumbrances. Ryerson looked ahead to the day when ministers could obtain the four-year training programme required by the Conference during probation, before entering the ministerial work. "Such a consummation will add as much valuable ministerial labour to the church, as it will add to the efficiency of that labour."<sup>37</sup>

While Ryerson excelled as a visionary to inspire growth to match



future exigencies, his greatness and achievement lay in his incredible balance of views. Five years after he had given this address and had worked to realize his goal of an educated ministry, he gave this advice to a prospective minister who wrote him for counsel: that he should offer himself to the Conference on trial and that would facilitate his going to Victoria College while in training and if there were no opening for him at the College he should enter the regular work and do as he did when he was his age: "study theology on horseback and at every stopping place on the circuit and preach the Lord Jesus with all your heart and soul".<sup>38</sup> He told him that this was not the most systematic literary method of studying theology, but with the scholastic foundation he had already laid and the converting and reviving heart preparation which he had experienced, this method would be beneficial for it "is one thing to be an able divine; it is quite another thing to be an able preacher and a successful minister of the crop".<sup>39</sup>

In 1844, the Conference at its sitting in Brockville appointed a committee to revise the course of study for the ministers.<sup>40</sup> The resulting "Course of Study for Candidates for the Ministry" was exceedingly rigorous and demanding. Discipline was required to master such an academic four-year programme. The examination at the Annual District Meeting by the district chairman was required to be thorough. This programme was comparable to that offered by the College in its theology division.

The level of education of the preachers would become not only a concern of the preachers but of the members as well, particularly in the towns where the level of education was rapidly increasing. Although this attitude was only in its early stages in the 1840s, nevertheless it was still present. When Francis Coleman, who was received on trial in 1840, was assigned to the Toronto Circuit he was very conscious of the academic level of his sermon. He wrote out his sermon in full and committed it to memory but he was unable to preach effectively because of his self-consciousness. Immediately thereafter he wrote that he used his spare time for the study of Greek... "but I want to merge all my pursuits into that of promoting God's glory, and the salvation of souls". His zeal for soul-winning seemed to be gaining the battle for his time.<sup>41</sup> Other ministers of the period had to face a similar conflict.

NOTES: CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup> Minutes of a Special Conference, 1840, included in the Minutes of Annual Conference, 1824-1845, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, vol. IV (Toronto: Published at the Wesleyan Conference Office, 1876), pp. 455, 456.

<sup>3</sup> Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 434.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, p. 432.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p. 433.

<sup>6</sup> John Carroll, op. cit., p. 456.

<sup>7</sup> John Carroll, Past and Present (Toronto: Alfred Dredge, 1860), p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> James Porter, A Compendium of Methodism (Boston: George C. Rand, Publisher, 1854), p. 174.

<sup>9</sup> Christian Guardian, Jan. 18, 1843, p. 50.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, June 7, 1843.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, June 7, 1843. In writing about Millerism, Thomas Conant mentioned that a man by the name of Hoover became a Millerite and thinking himself more than human decided to walk "across Scrugog Lake, seven miles to the mainland". When hundreds of people had gathered to observe the event he "entered the water, slowly waded from shore, and sought refuge behind an old pile of the dock, ...". (Thomas Conant, Life in Canada (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), p. 69). R. Cooney mentioned the impact of Millerism on the Eastern Townships in Lower Canada while he was preaching on the Stanstead Circuit. (Robert Cooney, Autobiography of a Wesleyan Missionary (Montreal: E. Pickup, 1856), pp. 116, 117). Cooney wrote: "I have witnessed scenes myself that would disgrace dancing Dervosus, and make Harlequins blush with shame. Kicking, jumping, pounding each other; shrieking, and so forth, were among their common rites and ceremonies. They evinced

their renunciation of the world, and attested the truth of their creed by selling everything at the highest price. Their charity consisted of getting for themselves all they could; and their meekness and gentleness were forcibly displayed in the manner in which they abused and denounced all who differed from them. Ministers were 'dumb dogs, that would not bark, ...'." (Ibid, p. 119). Obviously, these reports were not impartial.

<sup>12</sup> John Borland, A Brief Statement of Facts (Stanstead: L. R. Robinson, 1850), pp. 11-16.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Christian Guardian, Feb. 3, 1841, p. 58.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, Sept. 7, 1842, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, Nov. 2, 1842, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> George Ferguson, "Journal" (unpublished manuscript), p. 100.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 101.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 102.

<sup>21</sup> Francis Coleman, "Journal", vol. 1, (unpublished manuscript), p. 32.

<sup>22</sup> Christian Guardian, Jan. 25, 1843, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, pp. 90, 96.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, March 26, 1847, p. 66.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, Nov. 7, 1849, p. 118. Also Ibid, Jan. 10, 1849, pp. 50-51; Oct. 10, 1849, p. 202; Jan. 3, 1849, p. 46; March 7, 1849, p. 82; March 14, 1849, p. 86; June 27, 1849, p. 146; Oct. 17, 1849, p. 206; May 9, 1849, pp. 107, 117.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, May 16, 1849, p. 121.

- 27 Ibid, Dec. 5, 1849, p. 236.
- 28 Appendix to the Annual Conference Minutes, 1824-1854, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 196. Although this was adopted from the Liverpool minutes, in England, it had special meaning to the local ministry as they understood it within the Canadian context.
- 29 Egerton Ryerson, "Inaugural Address of the Opening of Victoria College, 1842" (Toronto: Christian Guardian Office, 1842), p. vi.
- 30 Ibid, p. vii.
- 31 John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, op. cit., p. 456.
- 32 Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1825m p. 41.
- 33 Doctrines and Discipline, 1836, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, Section V, Quest. 4, p. 24.
- 34 Ibid, p. 24.
- 35 Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 9. See appendix C for training offered by Victorian College.
- 36 Ibid, p. 20.
- 37 Ibid, p. 21.
- 38 Letter, Egerton Ryerson to a prospective minister, Toronto, March 26, 1847, Reel III, 1847-1856.
- 39 Ibid, March 26, 1847.
- 40 The Committee consisted of:  
 The Chairman of the Toronto District  
 The Superintendent of the Toronto Station  
 The editor of the Christian Guardian  
 Anson Green, Henry Wilkinson, George Playter. See appendix D for "Course of Study for Candidates for the Ministry".
- 41 Francis Coleman, op cit, pp. 19, 20.

## CHAPTER IV

### REVIVAL THEOLOGY:

#### WESLEYAN HERITAGE AND CANADIAN EXPRESSION

##### A. Basis of Authority

Arthur Kewley, a Canadian church historian and archivist, studied mass evangelism in Upper Canada for the first thirty years of the 19th century and concluded that the doctrine formulated by John Wesley and accepted by the Methodists was more responsible for camp meetings "than environment, caprice or human enthusiasm".<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is significant especially since most Canadian historians usually give priority to external rather than internal factors in determining the major influences affecting Canadian revivalism. Goldwin French, another Canadian historian, has confirmed this view in pointing out that to a casual observer the essence of Methodism, even during John Wesley's age, might be considered to be its organization; to a keener observer it would be "a 'moral and philanthropic' movement, 'cast in a theological mould'", but to him: "The Methodist community was from its inception an association of those who accepted and applied Wesley's teaching about the beginning, the development and the end of the Christian life. The structure of the movement was directly related to the dissemination and application of his religious views, as were the social and political attitudes that he prescribes for his people."<sup>2</sup> Canadian Methodism was deeply committed

to Wesley's teachings throughout its strong missionary history.

Since Wesley did not establish doctrinal tests for his followers it has been frequently assumed that the revival movement was based on factors other than doctrine. Wesley himself asserted near the end of his life that the Methodists

... do not impose, in order to their admission, any opinions whatever. Let them hold particular or general redemption, absolute or conditional decrees; let them be churchmen, or dissenters, Presbyterians or Independents, it is no obstacle. Let them choose one mode of baptism or another, it is no bar to their admission. The Presbyterian may be a Presbyterian still; the Independent and Anabaptist use his own mode of worship. So may the Quaker; and none will contend with him about it. They think and let think. One condition, and one only, is required ... a real desire to save the soul. Where this is, it is enough; they desire no more; they lay stress upon nothing else; they only ask "If it be, give me thy hand."<sup>3</sup>

As late as 1881, Professor W. I. Shaw of the Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal, quoted John Wesley in support of his view. Shaw stated: "... from the membership of the Methodist Church no subscription to a creed is required".<sup>4</sup> But this should not be misunderstood. Wesley firmly believed in doctrine and was in fact "the great doctrinal preacher of the eighteenth century".<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, Wesley guarded the harmony of the ministry by including regulations in the 1784 Deed of Declaration, which was registered at Chancery Lane, London, (sometimes referred to as Poll Deed, in which after his death one hundred ministers named for the purpose would be responsible for

his property), instructing the conference to expel "any member of the conference or admitted into connexion; or upon trial, for any course which to the conference may seem fit or necessary ...".<sup>6</sup>

Canadian Methodists included doctrinal differences in this provision, since the Canadian Methodist manuals specified doctrinal positions that should be accepted by the prospective preacher before he is approved by the Conference. Frequently, however, some preachers, particularly local preachers, became overly assertive in proclaiming the Methodist doctrines and often assumed a combative stance, especially if their opponents were dogmatic in their views.

Methodists also looked to Wesley's works for clarification for their own doctrinal position. When Bishop Coke came to America, he was commissioned by Wesley to take to the American Methodists a Liturgy abridged from the English Liturgy entitled: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With Other Occasional Services." (London: Printed in the year 1784). In it were a form of public prayer, "The Form and Manner of Making and Ordaining of Superintendents, Elders, and Deacons," and "The Articles of Religion - the twenty-five Articles abridged from the thirty-nine Anglican Articles of 1562 during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth." The General Conference in 1784 which organized the American Methodist body adopted them.<sup>7</sup> These were automatically adopted by the Canadian body but the Liturgy fell into disuse while the Articles became the basis for Canadian Methodist doctrinal standards.<sup>8</sup> The continuity of the lack of strict doctrinal tests for the membership applied to the



Canadian situation. Professor Shaw stated:

The absence of dogmatic tests of membership is a peculiarity of Methodism, which renders it unique in the history of all reformatory movements in the church, and one by which the great error has been avoided of demanding doctrinal unity without due regard to spiritual life. Methodism has wisely taken this position on the presumption which history confirms, that the creed of the laity is not likely to be far astray as long as the orthodoxy of the ministry is jealously and carefully secured, and the spiritual power of the church is sustained.<sup>9</sup>

Nevertheless, it is vital to understand correctly the role of doctrine in the Methodist movement in order to place revivalism in its proper perspective. If correct emphasis is not given to the doctrinal undergirding of Methodist revivalism, it will continue to be interpreted as religious enthusiasm geared to the ignorant masses. It is unlikely that any movement with the scope and vibrancy of the Methodist revival movement could survive and be so successful for more than a century without an acceptable theological or philosophical basis. Emotional outburst without a rational corollary is easily spent. This may be readily verified by human experiences.<sup>10</sup>

The Methodist revival movement was undergirded by a revolutionary theological concept buttressed by an impregnable basis of authority. This theological principle was so simple that the uneducated could grasp it easily and the unschooled could preach it

enthusiastically. Then, too, it was revolutionary because it was covertly polemical and aimed at overthrowing the theological status quo established by Calvinism and Universalism during the 18th and 19th centuries. Yet Methodism carried out a quiet theological warfare. It pretended neither to champion a theological cause nor to oppose any established systems. Canadian Methodist revivalism was informed by the Wesleyan doctrines of conversion (including guilt and conviction), assurance (witness of the Spirit), Christian perfection and eschatology.<sup>11</sup> However, it never allowed itself to be hindered by theological debates.

Was Wesley's theology fundamental to the Canadian revival movement? In the following quotation taken from the minutes of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada, the church's position was clearly stated:

To this end, let us be established and settled in the doctrines and discipline of the Church. We firmly believe our doctrines to be built upon the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief cornerstone. These doctrines are clearly and practically explained in the writings of the venerable Wesley, who has been the chosen instrument in the hand of God in raising us up his people. His invaluable works ought to be in the hands of every Methodist family. An intimate acquaintance with them will be a security against being driven to and fro with every wind of doctrine, will store the mind with clear views of Scripture truth and of the character and perfections of the Divine Being, and will inspire in the heart a godly zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of mankind. Nor should we, as a people, be less familiarly acquainted with the Discipline than with the Doctrines of our Connexion; nor less established and conscientious in the maintenance and observance of its principles and regulations.<sup>12</sup>

Two sources of authority predominated: the Bible and John Wesley's writings. Wesley was not seen as a prophet who enunciated new truths revealed by God, but as a declarer of the truths already revealed in Scripture and neglected by the other denominations. John Wesley's brilliant organizational programme and autocratic-style leadership became an unquestioned authority for the Canadian Methodists. Leaders constantly reminded the laity that they had no intentions of establishing new doctrines or discipline but to execute those which were passed on by their founder and based upon Scripture.<sup>13</sup> Even though a system of doctrine was fully worked out and documented in the manual as a guide to Methodist teachings, one theme gained prominence - salvation. This was accepted as a gift from God directly to the Methodists who would in turn share it with the world.

Egerton Ryerson, an accredited spokesman for Canadian Methodism in the mid-19th century, detailed his concept of the Canadian Methodist theological position.<sup>14</sup> Strong emphasis had been placed on the supernatural element in Methodist theology.

On no subject did the fathers and founders of the Protestant Reformation, and the greatest men who have succeeded them, more uniformly agree than on the supernatural character of the work of God in the soul of man, by which he experiences the pardon of sin, adoption into the Divine family, the witness of the Holy Spirit to his sonship with God, and his sanctification from the defilements of sin.<sup>15</sup>

Methodists were convinced that their doctrines did not only originate

in Scripture but were forged by John Wesley. These doctrines formed the foundation for the Protestant Reformation and of the Church of England. From its inception the independent Canadian Methodist Conference expressed its support of the doctrinal teachings passed down to it from its founder, John Wesley. In its first minutes was recorded the expression of its views:

In thus offering our views for the consideration of the Conference; we assure our brethren and fathers that it is not designed, nor intended, to depart in any respect, from the principles of the Gospel, as expressed in our articles of faith; nor in the General Rules of the Society; nor in the order of Church Government; nor indeed in any point of discipline, as expressed in that of the General Conference of 1824. 16

Three prominent themes - salvation with assurance, sanctification and eschatology - are examined in this chapter. The procedure employed is to present Wesley's teachings at the beginning of each section followed by a presentation of the views of Canadian preachers with specific illustrations of their application in the Canadian experience.

#### B. Salvation With Assurance

John Wesley's emphasis on assurance provided Canadian revivalists with a strong basis of appeal for the conversion of sinners and the perfection of "saints". This stress on assurance was fruitage from his own experience. Wesley's sermon on "Salvation by Faith"

preached at St. Mary, Oxford, on June 11, 1738, before the University, was not new. He recorded in his Journal that he preached on the same subject at St. Ann's Aldersgate in the morning and Savoy Chapel in the afternoon on May 14, 1738. Wesley pointed out that to his dismay he "was quickly apprised that at St. Ann's likewise I am to preach no more".<sup>17</sup> As he makes clear in his follow-up comments, he was ostracized for preaching "free salvation by faith in the blood of Christ".<sup>18</sup> The basic elements (in terms of doctrine) were present in him before his conversion experience at Aldersgate Street on May 24. The sermon preached at St. Mary's Oxford, eighteen days after Aldersgate, was the explosive externalizing of a germinating experience. Assurance produced that element of certainty which proved to be the power base for the ensuing revival.

Wesley regarded this experience of salvation with assurance as significant. He expressed his view tersely: "an assurance was given me that He had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death".<sup>19</sup> His conversion was accompanied by the assurance that his sins were forgiven. "And herein I found the difference between this and my former state chiefly consisted. I was striving, yea, fighting with all my might under the law, as well as under grace. But then I was sometimes, if not often, conquered; now, I was always conqueror."<sup>20</sup> This assurance of faith followed an unambiguous conversion experience:

... the Wesleyan definition of the doctrine, which declares it to be "an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses with my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus Christ hath loved me; that all my sins are blotted out; and I, even I, am reconciled to God".<sup>21</sup>

Conversion was the key to the Christian Life. Whereas assurance of faith was urged by revivalists, it was in order for the sinner to be converted and possess by faith the assurance of that salvation. Thereafter the quest for assurance of the attainment of sanctification would be necessary. But the beginning was conversion.

Conversion was necessary because of original sin. Wesley understood his age as exalting "the fair side of human nature".<sup>22</sup> He declared that "it is now quite unfashionable to talk otherwise, to say anything to the disparagement of human nature; which is generally allowed, notwithstanding a few infirmities to be very innocent, and wise, and virtuous".<sup>23</sup> This view he considered to be inconsistent with Scripture. Through Adam all persons died -

... spiritually died, lost the life and the image of God; that fallen, sinful Adam then 'begat a son in his own likeness' - nor was it possible he should beget him in any other; for 'who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean'.<sup>24</sup>

By nature all persons are "dead in trespasses and sins" and their existence is fully without hope, and without God" *ὅτι ἕξει ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ*

- translated as "atheists in the world"<sup>25</sup> Even though by nature people employ their reasoning to infer the existence of an eternal, powerful Being, there exists no knowledge of Him or acquaintance with Him.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, they possess no love of God or fear of Him.

People, therefore, are born into the world as idolators. They, by nature, worship themselves. They are guilty of pride and self-will. They bear the image of the devil and walk in his steps. Beyond this, individuals seek pleasure of sense in every kind - "the desire of the flesh".<sup>27</sup>

Men indeed talk magnificently of despising these low pleasures. They affect to sit loose to the gratification of those appetites wherein they stand on a level with the beasts that perish. ... Sensual appetites, even those of the lowest kind, have, more or less, the dominion over him. ... The man, with all his good breeding, and other accomplishments, has no pre-eminence over the goat; nay, it is much to be doubted, whether the beast has not the pre-eminence over him.<sup>28</sup>

One is not merely born with a proneness to vice so that good and evil may counter-balance each other in one's nature, that is the concept of heathenism; to the contrary, all persons, are "conceived in sin" and "shapen in wickedness" so that there is a carnal mind in every person which is at enmity with God and His law. In one's natural state "there dwelleth 'no good thing'; but 'every imagination of the thoughts of one's heart is evil', only evil, and that 'continually'".<sup>29</sup> This may be termed original sin. The human soul was totally corrupted

from the fall of Adam.

"Ye were born in sin", declared Wesley, "therefore, ye must be born again; 'born of God'. By nature ye are wholly corrupted: by grace ye shall be wholly renewed." <sup>30</sup>

The first step back to God is repentance.<sup>31</sup> This repentance precedes faith for it is self-knowledge or conviction. The sinner is asleep, unaware of his condition until he is confronted with the Gospel. He is then awakened to his helpless condition. Innate carnal nature had led to anger, hatred, malice, revenge, envy, jealousy, evil surmisings, vanity, pride and lust. These tend to everlasting destruction.<sup>32</sup> An awareness of the claims of the Gospel leads to guilt. The just sentence of death is accepted as the recompense for inward and outward sins. There is also an awareness that there is nothing anyone can do to appease God's wrath or avert the sentence of impending doom.

If to this lively conviction of thy inward and outward sins, of thy utter guiltiness and helplessness, there be added suitable affections - sorrow of heart, for having despised thy own mercies; remorse, and self-condemnation, having thy mouth stopped; shame to lift up thine eyes to heaven; fear of the wrath of God abiding on these, of His curse hanging over thy head, and of the fiery indignation ready to devour those who forget God, and obey not our Lord Jesus Christ; earnest desire to escape from that indignation, to cease from evil, and learn to do well - then I say unto thee, in the name of the Lord, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God." One step more and thou shalt enter in. Thou dost repent. <sup>33</sup>



Conviction or self-knowledge allows the earnest seeker to desire to escape from his present condition through Jesus Christ. But he must first have faith - justifying faith. He must accept the Gospel which is "the whole revelation made to men by Jesus Christ; and sometimes the whole account of what our Lord did and suffered while he tabernacled among men."<sup>34</sup> It is the expression of God's love in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ to save individuals from the condemnation of death and to preserve them for everlasting life.<sup>35</sup> Justifying faith is a divine supernatural  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , evidence or conviction, that God through Jesus Christ was "reconciling the world unto Himself". It is also "a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins that He loved me, and gave Himself for me".<sup>36</sup> A sinner who believes this, whether "in early childhood, in the strength of his years, or when he is old and hoary-haired" receives justification.<sup>37</sup> "Believe this, and the kingdom is thine. By faith thou attainest the promise."<sup>38</sup>

Any repentance that preceded this justification or pardon was only a deep sense of the "want of all good." Repentance is a gift and so is justification.<sup>39</sup> Since justification involved salvation from sin as well as the consequence of sin, it implies a deliverance from guilt and condemnation through the atonement of Christ.<sup>40</sup> The new convert is "born again" since he has been delivered from the body of sin and Christ is "formed in the heart". This new birth is performed by the

Holy Spirit thus resulting in a new life.<sup>41</sup> An indispensable condition of justification is a sure and constant faith in salvation which Christ has imparted to that sinner. Without his faith one reverts to the status of "a child of wrath".<sup>42</sup> Christ made the provision for man's salvation by His sacrifice despite one's complete unworthiness. This "grace" of Christ is the source of his salvation whereas faith remains the condition of salvation.<sup>43</sup>

No limitation or restriction was placed upon salvation. In contrast to Calvinism, all who desired salvation would receive it if they only had faith in the salvation which Christ made available through His grace. Christ would save all sincere seekers from original and actual, past and present sins, whether of the flesh or spirit. All who believed on Him would be saved from the guilt and power of sin.<sup>44</sup>

Although justification and the new birth occur simultaneously they are not identical. One who is born of God is at the same time justified and one who is justified receives the new birth. In terms of time, they are inseparable but they are vastly different expressions.<sup>45</sup> Justification implies a relative change whereas the new birth implies a real change. In justifying individuals, God does something for them; in "begetting" them he does a work for them. The former deals with an outward relationship to God in changing one's status from an alien to a child of God; the latter involves a

changing of the inmost soul so that a sinner becomes a saint. The former takes away the guilt; the latter removes the power of sin.<sup>46</sup>

Baptism does not constitute a rebirth since it only points to an inward change which is a separate experience. Baptism is in effect a sign. It signifies the experience of regeneration.<sup>47</sup> Wesley agreed with the Anglican Catechism that "baptism is a sacrament, wherein Christ both ordained the washing with water, to be a sign and seal of regeneration by His Spirit".<sup>48</sup> It is an outward sign of an inward spiritual grace. Regeneration does not always accompany baptism. The outward may take place without the inward experience. Upon this premise, Wesley allows for infant baptism. However, Wesley had a notion of the cleansing away of original sin in infants at baptism. This would be effective so long as no actual sins were committed. Logically, though, children usually violated that condition by either deliberately or involuntarily committing actual sins. This was amply illustrated by his own experience.<sup>49</sup> Baptism served to wash away the guilt of original sins through the atoning sacrifice of Christ. His appeal to his hearers baptized as infants would be for surrender to Christ in order to be born again.

During most of the 19th century, Canadian Methodist revivalism had its roots deeply imbedded in the Wesleyan theology of conversion, or salvation with assurance. In effect, it was far more significant to the movement than any other doctrine. Conversion became the basis

for emotional appeal to the Central Canada settlers while it provided an impelling zeal for the preachers. They campaigned constantly for the conquest of the sinful soul, rescuing it from the clutches of the devil and preserving it for ultimate salvation. The quest for immediacy of the conversion experience and the struggle of the soul that often prevailed before the dramatic experience of salvation provided intrigue and novelty both to the preachers and the people.

The guilt motif was extremely stressed, particularly before 1850.

Henry Pope stated:

Since the fatal blow of Adam's fall in Paradise, sin, like a lawless, turbulent tyrant, has held our race in the chains of a cruel, crushing despotism. Like a virulent and loathsome disease, its empoisoning influence taints the blood of every human being.<sup>50</sup>

Sin and misery are the fruits in this world and "the bitter pains of eternal death" is the final outcome.<sup>51</sup>

Sin had not only involved us in guilt, brought us under the displeasure of God, and exposed us to the penalty which divine justice has attached to the transgression of the law of God, but it had introduced disorganization and ruin into the soul itself.<sup>52</sup>

In this state of separation from God, the soul is cut off from the source of life, leaving it morally disorganized, spiritually corrupt, and completely depraved. The soul is not merely guilty nor is it

"only judicially but also spiritually dead"<sup>53</sup> The soul "is not only under condemnation and sentence of death, but, so far as the highest life is concerned - the life of God in the soul - it is actually dead".<sup>54</sup>

Since the soul is dead, it is in a state of unawareness of its destitution, its lostness. Only by the Holy Spirit can the soul be awakened in order to sense its need of salvation from its condemned and hopeless state. Comparing the death of the soul to the death of the physical body, Rev. A. Raynor explained that as the physical body dies when deprived of food, warmth, light, air and freedom of motion, so the soul dies when deprived of faith, hope, love and oppressed by a sense of impotence, guilt, self-contempt and sensual passion.<sup>55</sup>

There is no vital energy to resist unfriendly, unspiritual forces, and the higher life corrupts into all that is earthy, sensual, devilish, just as the dead body rots into living worms. Oh tell me is not such a man dead while he yet liveth - more dead than should he cease to be?<sup>56</sup>

Salvation, therefore, is not merely "the pardon of sin and the removal of its liability to punishment, but also a spiritual resurrection from the dead".<sup>57</sup>

Resurrection of the soul is accompanied by bringing the soul in contact with Christ, the life giver. There must first be an awakening of the soul from its spiritual death.

The first symptom of returning to life by the power of Jesus is a painful sense of sin and holiness. The awakened soul looks on Him who is fairer than the sons of men, holy, harmless, undefiled, and then for the first time realizes his own foul and deadly malady.<sup>58</sup>

Frequently, the experience of awakening is accompanied by a deep sense of ~~guilt and despair~~. There develops an urgent sense of danger, alarm, disquietude, sorrow for sin, "a poignant grief of the heart and the deepest oppression of spirit; and hence earnest and importunate seeking of deliverance from anguish so distressing and a burden (sic) so intolerable".<sup>59</sup> Logically, the degree of intensity or mode of expression under the conviction of sin varies with different individuals "according to constitutional temperament, diversity of circumstances, and the purposes of sovereign grace".<sup>60</sup> For some, the heart is opened gently or gradually; for others, there may be a sudden prick of the conscience under divine proclamation of the preacher, leading to a remarkable conversion of the soul. Whatever the circumstances or the conditions, there is a manifestation of the same Spirit displaying

in all the same discovery of danger, the same consciousness of guilt, the same inquiry after the way of salvation, the same fleeing for refuge to the hope set before them in the Gospel, the same exclusive reliance upon the merits of Christ as the ground of acceptance with God.<sup>61</sup>

Describing the process of awakening of the soul, Raynor explained that the soul looks upon Christ and develops a deep sense

of his guilt in contrast to the purity of Christ. He senses the purity which Christ offers him but he feels chained to his corrupt condition: in bitterness and horror he cries out to Christ for rescue. As he looks again, he sees in Christ pity, power to save and invitation. In his agony and despair he reaches out with hope to Christ: faith breaks through the despair, perhaps with loud cries, and Christ grants that penitent soul pardon.<sup>62</sup> Blackstock expressed a similar concept:

It is only to them who mourn on account of their sins, and their estrangement from God, that the promise is made that they shall be comforted. It is only to those who painfully feel their emptiness of all that is good, and who hunger and thirst after righteousness, that the promise is made that they shall be filled. It is to the meek, those whose chastened souls are brought down into the dust, and who, in humility, docility, and gentleness which result from a complete realization of their ignorance, weakness, poverty, and dependence, are prepared to submit themselves implicitly to Him, that Christ regards Himself as being specially anointed to preach good tidings, and to whom He makes that glorious promise which doubtless is taken in its most spiritual, its divine sense, that they shall inherit the earth.<sup>63</sup>

Awakening, therefore, leads to repentance. Egerton Ryerson described this experience in three aspects. There is firstly a holy sorrow for sin which is understood as dishonourable to God and defiling and destructive to the soul. Secondly, repentance involves confession of sin. The heart having become exceedingly sorrowful now gives vent to that sorrow. A deep spontaneous inward acknowledgement of sin occurs in the individual. Thirdly, there is a

turning away from sin and a turning to God. As godly sorrow originates with the Holy Spirit, so godly repentance is a turning of the soul to God. Repentance is inextricably bound up with faith - a sincere and abiding trust in the Redeemer.<sup>64</sup>

Repentance is the sorrowful consciousness of guilt, and a throbbing desire for forgiveness; faith is the trust of the soul in the sacrificial death of the Son of God for pardon and eternal life - it is the resting of the soul upon Christ alone for salvation.<sup>65</sup>

Without faith repentance would be no more than an exercise in folly or the anguish of a soul which only foreshadows future punishment. Repentance gives heart and hands to faith; faith places that heart upon Jesus Christ, and clasps those hands around the cross.<sup>66</sup>

Pardon, adoption, and regeneration are continuous with repentance and faith. Ryerson pointed out that through pardon one is delivered from punishment and guilt of sin throughout the merits of Christ. Adoption elevates him to the dignity of a member of God's family, thereby becoming a child of God. By regeneration the moral image of God is restored to the believer. This implies a moral renewal into righteousness or holiness. Often repentance, faith, pardon, regeneration and adoption occur simultaneously and sometimes nearly instantaneously.<sup>67</sup>

Throughout the 19th century, Methodist revivalists in Canada emphasized the all-inclusiveness of the Gospel they proclaimed.



There still existed the concept of predestination through the New England Calvinism and Anglicanism: Because of adherence to Wesley's teachings, Canadian Methodist revivalists were committed to the Wesleyan tradition of free grace.<sup>68</sup> The burden of guilt was placed squarely on the individual. It was his choice to avail himself of salvation provided freely by Christ.

Hunter's book, published towards the end of the 19th century, strongly emphasized the freedom of the individual thus indicating the persistence of this concept throughout the 19th century. He selected John 3:16 as expressing the essence of the Gospel.

"There is no limitation in that text - He gave His Son for the World."<sup>69</sup> Referring to "whosoever", he said it is "the largest link of the golden chain of mercy that reaches just beside hell"<sup>70</sup> In an address entitled: "Our Methodist Heritage", he stated:

Then, coming over to the human side, we have the great and solemn fact of human freedom. I am born into this world a king over a kingdom of freedom, separated from every other by the length and breadth of the moral government of the universe, by all the attributes of the great white throne. Encased behind this freedom, in spite of God's awakened wrath, and unkindled hells, and fiery tempests of hot displeasure, I can plunge on through the eternities, mocking alike the mercy that saves and the wrath that torments, able to accept the salvation of Christ, or able to reject it forever.<sup>71</sup>

Egerton Ryerson expressed the view that although natural corruption of the human heart and depravity of the human nature

resulted in his inability to turn from sin to holiness, yet through divine grace and human freedom a certain measure of grace is apportioned to the individual to provide for his own acceptance or rejection of salvation.<sup>72</sup> As Wesley sought to maintain a balance between God's sovereignty and human responsibility, so also did the Canadian Methodist preachers. Inasmuch as God's free grace was upheld, the salvation or damnation of the individual was the inevitable result of his free choice.

The element of choice and the consequence of guilt weighed heavily on the minds of aroused hearers.

And then, on the back of all this (other Methodist doctrines), we have a full salvation to preach, a salvation from the uttermost extremity of guilt, from the deepest alienation from God; a salvation to the uttermost of human need, ..<sup>73</sup>

When Anson Green was converted in 1819, he endured for a while an intense struggle between inclination and duty which ultimately developed into a crisis. Upon hearing his brother praying for him audibly, he resolved to settle this internal conflict.

Immediately I entered the barn, kneeled upon a bunch of corn stalks, and smote upon my breast crying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' The moment was an anxious one, and the interest at stake tremendous.<sup>74</sup>

He left off outwards sins and separated from his worldly companions and prayed daily for forgiveness. The guilt was still not removed. Anson Green stated that upon deciding to express his faith publicly and request public intercession by the Society "just then and there my guilt was removed and my burden taken away, and my soul comforted".<sup>75</sup>

Constant relating of dramatic conversion experiences created a chain effect. Those coming under the Methodist influence began to expect similar immediate dramatic conversion experiences. John Carroll came to expect such a conversion. In May, 1824, he decided to become a Christian. In York he attended a Methodist class meeting and a love feast and was received on trial for membership. His perception of his religious state varied - sometimes he was happy in his relationship with God; at other times he was overshadowed by "a great sense of darkness and depression"; sometimes he had some assurance of being a Christian and at other times he felt that he was still a sinner.<sup>76</sup> Although he had heard that Christians cherished pleasant thoughts of death, he was still held in bondage by the fear of death. Carroll then sought a comparison of his condition in reading the experiences of others who had seen heaven opened or Christ upon the cross. Since he had none of these experiences he concluded that he was not converted. Thinking that he should look for an outward manifestation to confirm his faith,

he looked "for signs and wonders, and portents in the sky" so that he would have a dramatic experience to relate. "To gain it", Carroll related, "I wept, and groaned, and fasted, till my countenance became haggard, and my eyes were swollen in my head, insomuch so that those around me noticed it. I became disappointed, dissatisfied, and even vexed and grieved with God, because He did not hear my cries."<sup>77</sup>

The idea of a spiritual struggle was reinforced by Rev. John Ryerson who, after listening to Carroll relate tearfully the burden on his heart, reminded him that Saul of Tarsus was in distress of soul for three days. Entering a wooded area on Yonge Street, Carroll fell on his knees and began to pray and cry and scream until his throat ached.<sup>78</sup> Still no spiritual relief came. It was not until August when Rowley Heyland, a visiting preacher to York, preached on the themes "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law" (the work done for us), and "Except ye be converted, and become as children, ye can in no case enter the kingdom of heaven" (work to be wrought in us) that relief finally came. "His description of a convert so exactly tallied with what I felt, that I said to myself, 'Sure enough, I am converted!'"<sup>79</sup>

George Ferguson's conversion experience could serve as an outstanding example of the pressure of guilt experienced by a

prospective convert. It could also be highly illustrative of the resultant tendency of preachers who passed through such an experience to expect and even encourage their hearers to follow a similar path to salvation. Although Ferguson was converted in Ireland, his experience is illustrative of the Canadian experience and, indeed, he enjoyed a full revival ministry in Central Canada.

Born in North Ireland of well-to-do parents who were nominal Church of England members, Ferguson experienced little godly upbringing, except for the influence of an aunt who was a Methodist. She prayed for him with tears and his heart became softened. Of his experience at age seven, Ferguson wrote:

I now begin to feel my sinfulness and to hate sin. When I came home from play, I feared to lie down lest I should wake up in hell. I would sob, groan, weep and pray, before going to bed; and sometimes arise out of bed awfully alarmed, and go to my knees, crying "Oh God have mercy, oh, do, for the sake of Jesus have mercy on a poor, wicked child!"<sup>80</sup>

As he attended class meetings and preaching services, he became even more distressed. "I am not washed in the blood, and I am afraid I shall be lost. May God have mercy on me. Christ save me!"<sup>81</sup> On one occasion, after listening to a Methodist preacher expound the requirements of the law, his heart opened to his sins and he was overcome with fear and trembling. "In vain did I strive to reach

the door - my knees smote and my legs refused to do their accustomed office." <sup>82</sup> Ferguson participated in such long fasting and prayers that his health became impaired. Not only did he consider giving up the hope of being forgiven - that God would not pardon his sins and that He would not have mercy on him - but he even contemplated suicide. <sup>83</sup>

While reading the Scriptures on his knees until his "strength would be exhausted" he would enjoy momentary relief as he thought the peace and joy he experienced was an evidence of pardon but this experience proved to be temporary. His doubts returned when he felt himself to be a hypocrite in professing that which was only temporary. <sup>84</sup>

My distress and misery returned and was, if possible, greater than ever - I could neither eat nor sleep, with any pleasure or satisfaction. Misery and sorrow were depicted in my countenance and everything around me were a forbidding and gloomy aspect. <sup>85</sup> ... Unbelief kept me from inheriting the blessing.

On June 11, 1805, at the age of 19 years, Ferguson was converted. "I could contain myself no longer," he explained, "and began aloud to adore and praise the God of my salvation - the family heard me, and said, 'The matter is decided now, George has become crazy! But, blessed be God, it was a happy frenzy.'" <sup>86</sup>

During the early 1830s, when revivalism reached a peak in Central Canada, several incidents of prolonged struggle with guilt were evident. The term "mourners" was commonly utilized to describe the inner struggles of candidates for conversion. A protracted meeting conducted in Hallowell in March, 1832, is representative of the common experience to be found in rural areas and townships alike:

... sinners trembled and called aloud for mercy; mourners again flocked around the altar, and were prayed for till 7 o'clock, the time for public preaching; after preaching, another exhortation, and mourners invited as before. At these sermons our congregations were large to overflowing, and it was really pleasing to see the solemn awe that rested on the people and their attention to the preaching of the word of life; these exercises continued till past 10 o'clock.

In this report Thomas Bevitt and Daniel McMullen mentioned that the meeting followed a similar pattern for several days:

... to convince and to convert; so powerful was the work of conviction that whenever an invitation was given for mourners to come to the altar, it might be said, they came in crowds and willingly offered themselves, without urging the invitation. In several instances they came forward without any invitation at all, even before the conclusion of the sermon. There were seldom less than 20, very often 35 around the altar at the same time, and it was pleasing to hear fathers praying for their children, and children praying for their parents, husbands praying for their wives, and wives for their husbands, in fact, Christians and penitents all praying with one united heart and voice at one and the same time

In June, 1832, Conrad Vandusen wrote from Cavan, a district in his charge, that his classes were praying for a revival. He held a protracted meeting in the Methodist chapel at Emily and soon found it to be too small to accommodate the crowd. The meeting was continued in the open air where "much spiritual good was realized, and many mourning souls were made the happy partakers of the pardoning mercy of God". Vandusen wrote again from Dumfries in 1834 that his circuit had received a general "awakening and several penitent souls began to plead with God for mercy".<sup>89</sup> In 1849, a revival on the Yonge Street circuit points to the continued emphasis on salvation from guilt. "The altar was crowded. The seats nearest were (sic) filled with penitents. The cry of the publican was heard. The groans of the prisoner were uttered ..."<sup>90</sup>

While the emphasis on guilt provided a strong motive to appeal directly to the individual to open his heart to the cleansing power of the blood of Jesus Christ, to be saved from its penalty, assurance would be the evidence that forgiveness had actually taken place. Assurance carried supreme self-authentication. Wesley had to defend this doctrine against charges of antinomianism and even mysticism, since the individual could consider his feelings the sole arbiter of his effected salvation, hence resulting in gross individualism.



The doctrine of assurance, however, was not stressed in isolation. Assurance for the Canadian revivalists was the outcome of victory over guilt or the evidence of true conversion. The quest for forgiveness and release from the burden of guilt brought about by a sinful life culminated in the gift of faith in God for pardon and joy and rejoicing - a deep sense of freedom and a consciousness of being elevated to divine sonship. John Wesley affirmed that "there is in every believer, both the testimony of God's Spirit, and the testimony of his own, that he is a child of God".<sup>91</sup> The main test on which Wesley based this doctrine also conveyed the same emphasis: "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God" - (Roman 8:16).<sup>92</sup>

In answering the question, "How does it appear that one has received the marks of adoption?", Wesley asserts that this witness is to the individual, not to others, although others may observe the results or consequences of this adoption.<sup>93</sup> One who is alive recognizes that he is in ease not in pain. Using that analogy, Wesley explained that by the same immediate consciousness one recognizes whether his soul is alive to God, whether indeed, he is rescued from the "pain of proud wrath, and has the ease of a meek and quiet spirit".<sup>94</sup> One can also perceive if he lives, rejoices, and delights in God; "if he loves his neighbour as himself; if he is full of gentleness and longsuffering and if he is obeying the commandments."<sup>95</sup>

It is by the testimony of the conscience that one is assured that he has received the Spirit of Adoption which enables him to possess a holy heart and a holy outward life.<sup>96</sup> This experience (the testimony of the Spirit) "is an inward impression on the soul whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God".<sup>97</sup>

Significant emphasis was given to the assurance of faith by Canadian preachers for most of the 1800s, but particularly in the first half of the 19th century. A sermon delivered by Egerton Ryerson before the Wesleyan Conference in London, Central Canada, in June, 1865, mentioned assurance as an important factor in one's religious experience. Of W. L. Thornton, late President of the Canadian Methodist Conference, whom he was eulogizing, he said:

He seems never to have wavered in his profession of faith and doctrine, but, as he advanced in experience and years, to have increased in the riches of full assurance of faith and understanding to the end.<sup>98</sup>

Thornton, he further stated, did not have

... a shadow of doubt of it (conversion and regeneration) in his mind, and leaving not the slightest doubt of it in the minds of others ... having no doubt of the system of truth which he preached, and fully believing that God would bless it to the saving of the world.<sup>99</sup>

In clarifying the Methodist position on assurance, Alexander Sutherland pointed out the difference between "assurance of hope", sometimes referred to as "assurance of faith" and the "witness of the Spirit". Quoting Wesley, he pointed out that the evidence which faith supplies should not be confused with "an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses with my spirit that I am child of God ...".<sup>100</sup>

In his sermon "Power - Influence - Assurance", Hunter demonstrated the importance of assurance in the Canadian Methodist economy, not only to the individual but to the preachers who relied upon it for their strong appeal.<sup>101</sup> Assurance, he declared; brings its own evidence as it is tried - lived and practised. The commitment to Christ for salvation results in "much assurance" which brings "a restful, joyful, peaceful assurance that this Gospel is of God".<sup>102</sup> Using it as a basis of appeal, he declared:

Don't stand off arguing about the Gospel, try it on its own plans and challenge, and it will come to you in power, breaking the dominion of sin, the Holy Ghost, revealing to you God's will; and in much assurance enabling you to say: I have redemption ...<sup>103</sup>

In an attack against gnosticism, Hunter stated:

Give me St. Paul in preference to Spencer and Greg and Frederick Harrison. 'I know in whom I have believed, and

am persuaded that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him ...'. 'We know that we have passed from death into life.' We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God ... eternal in the heavens.' This is the knowledge that is abiding.<sup>104</sup>

Anchoring their appeal on the assurance of faith revival preachers aimed for certain and immediate conversion.

A partial assurance of faith is never accepted in place of the whole. Hunter explained that twilight is not quite light. One may have faith (twilight) but a true Christian conversion and regeneration demands "full assurance of faith".<sup>105</sup>

Jesse Hurlbut concluded that after his conversion, John Wesley considered "The Witness of the Spirit" (or the assurance of faith) the principal theme of his discourse.<sup>106</sup> Following upon his own experience of assurance, Wesley considered it the privilege of believers in Christ. Hurlbut further stated:

If among the doctrines of our church there is one more important than the others, one which is our peculiar inheritance from the founders of our church, one which through a century and a half our church has proclaimed with greater emphasis than any other, it is the doctrine of "the witness of the Spirit".<sup>107</sup>

Considering that this book was used for catechetical purposes in the Canadian Methodist Church, it would be reasonable to conclude that

Canadian Methodists regarded assurance very highly in their doctrinal system and revival process.

Assurance was usually sought after and achieved as evidence of one's new relationship to the church and one's separation from the 'world'. In the experience of Peter Jones, who experienced conversion on June 5, 1823, the witness of the Spirit realized for him the assurance of faith. To the appeal by William Case for those who received justification during the camp meeting to stand up, Jones responded.<sup>108</sup> But a few days later he was tempted to doubt his experience. He prayed, studied the Scriptures and waited for a clear manifestation of the Holy Spirit.

One day I retired to a grove to pray, and whilst thus engaged all my doubts and fears were dispersed, and I was enabled to receive the witness of the Spirit bearing witness with my spirit that I was a child of God, that I had passed from death into life, and that of a truth a good work was begun in my heart.<sup>109</sup>

John Carroll expressed his experience laconically: "In the morning I received the witness of God's Spirit; after the evening sermon I had the witness of my own spirit. How truly did I now go on my way rejoicing."<sup>110</sup> He explained that he was led into this conversion experience by the preaching of Rowley Heyland.

### C. Sanctification

Perhaps, Wesley's doctrine of perfection has been attacked more than any other<sup>111</sup> and for this reason and because of the high position of this doctrine in his scheme of salvation it has received ample treatment by him. Apart from his treatise on "Christian Perfection", he has dealt with this doctrine frequently in his prolific writings. Our purpose here is not to detail or even strongly emphasize Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection; rather our aim is to show its relation to the other salient themes of Wesley which directly influenced Canadian Methodist revivalism and how, in fact, Christian perfection affected the Central Canada revival movement.

At the outset, however, Wesley's thoughts on this subject should be introduced as a background.

In his sermon entitled, "The Righteousness of Faith", Wesley pointed out that the law requires constant and perfect observance. All aspects and implications of the legal requirements - inward and outward, negative and positive, should be observed.<sup>112</sup> No allowance could possibly be made, but conformity of both heart and life to God's will should be perfect. All the commandments had to be obeyed "with all strength in the highest measure, and most perfect manner".<sup>113</sup> However, the "righteousness of faith" provided by the sacrifice of

Jesus Christ provides fallen man with the provision of meeting the law's demands, which to that point man found himself utterly incapable of fulfilling.<sup>114</sup> In his thirteen sermons on the "Sermon on the Mount", Wesley placed much emphasis on how Christ had revealed the true meaning of the law and laid before mankind the importance of obeying it through the power of the Holy Spirit.<sup>115</sup>

Since holiness does not precede justification, but follows it,<sup>116</sup> obedience to the law can only be fulfilled after one has been accepted by God. The process of salvation, however, requires growth. Upon the "awakening" of the sinner and his acceptance of the sacrifice of Christ by faith, God justifies him or grants him freedom from guilt or a relative change. His new birth experience which is concurrent with it grants him a new nature.<sup>117</sup> Wesley proceeded with the principle: "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." (1 John 3:9). But he distinguishes between outward and inward sins. Of the text above, he said:

By sin I here understand outward sin, ... an active voluntary transgression of the law; of the revealed, written law of God; of any commandment of God, acknowledgement to be such at the time that it is transgressed.<sup>118</sup>

One who is justified and has received the new birth and remains in faith, love and the spirit of prayer and thanksgiving, "not only doth not, but cannot, thus commit sin".

On the other hand, there remain what Wesley terms "inward sins".

They are not condemned for inward sin, even though it does still remain, even in those who are the children of God by faith; that they have in them the seeds of pride and vanity, of anger, lust, and evil desire, yea, sin of every kind is too plain to be denied, being matter of daily experience. <sup>119</sup>

There is also the falling from grace as in the case of David, who having unquestionably been born of God, reverted to gross outward sin. <sup>120</sup> Sin of omission precedes the loss of faith or some inward sin "but the loss of faith must precede the committing of outward sin". <sup>121</sup> Faith working by love excludes both inward and outward sin from a soul which is constantly watching unto prayer. <sup>122</sup>

The foregoing formed the basis for Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection. The sinner is justified and born again but he needs to conquer not only outward sin but inward sin. "The new birth is not the same (as) sanctification." <sup>123</sup> Regeneration or the new birth is the entrance or gateway to the Christian life: sanctification is a process. <sup>124</sup> "When we are born again, then our sanctification, our inward and outward holiness begins; and thence forward we are gradually to 'grow up in Him who is our Head'." <sup>125</sup> No sinner will be permitted into heaven who is not saved from his sins - both inward and outward. <sup>126</sup> It will not suffice to be saved from outward evil actions and conversations; the sinner must also be cleansed inwardly,



"thoroughly renewed in the spirit of his mind; ~~otherwise~~ he cannot pass through the gate of life, he cannot enter into glory".<sup>127</sup>

Wesley made clear in his sermon on Christian perfection that Christian perfection or holiness is not absolute. Limitations include ignorance (imperfect knowledge), mistakes, infirmities and temptations.<sup>128</sup> Perfect knowledge is not possible in this life.<sup>129</sup> A Christian can make mistakes but not regarding matters essential to salvation for even a fool can understand the way to holiness: his errors concern things unessential to salvation.<sup>130</sup> Covering infirmities Wesley stated that this does not involve infirmities of a moral nature, rather inward or outward imperfections such as "weakness or slowness of understanding, dullness or confusedness of apprehension, incoherency of thought, irregular quickness or heaviness of imagination".<sup>131</sup> One cannot be free from temptation in this life.<sup>132</sup> Neither is there "perfection of degrees" or a level of perfection to which nothing can be added. "Irrespective of one's Christian attainment in this life, he still needs to grow in grace daily to a greater knowledge and a more comprehensive love of God".<sup>133</sup>

Wesley emphasized frequently that "one who is born of God does not commit sin" - or cannot sin, i.e., from the experience of conversion, since a change of nature has taken place in the form of the new birth. In his earlier sermons he maintained this concept.<sup>134</sup>

However, later in his experience he brought a moderate balance to this doctrine by pointing out: 'he that is born of God doth not commit sin'; yet we cannot allow that he does not feel it within: it does not reign, but it does remain".<sup>135</sup> It is "seldom long before he who imagined all sin was gone, feels there is still pride in his heart".<sup>136</sup> Such assaults as those from inordinate affection, self-will, desire of the eyes, jealousies, etc., soon attack the justified. Common to all Christians is the struggle against these constant attacks regardless of how one may mortify the body or resist and conquer outward or inward sin. He may weaken the enemy but he cannot drive him out with all the grace given at justification.<sup>137</sup>

Most sure we cannot, till it shall please our Lord to speak to our hearts again, to speak the second time, 'Be clean'; and then only the leprosy is cleansed. Then only, the evil root, the carnal mind, is destroyed; and inbred sin subsists no more.<sup>138</sup>

If only a gradual work of cleansing continues after justification "then we must be content, as well as we can, to remain full of sin till death; and, if so, we must remain guilty till death, continually deserving punishment".<sup>139</sup> In this sense Wesley called for a second repentance after justification. Canadian Methodist revivalists echoed both calls: the call to repentance for justification and the call to repentance for sanctification. Revivalism in Central Canada issued precisely from these doctrinal concepts.

Whereas the preachers appealed to sinners to turn to God, they appealed to the members to strive for the "second blessing". George Jackson claimed that the hymn of Isaac Watts reflecting "Calvinist uncertainty" was changed in the Methodist hymnal to conform to Methodist belief:

My soul looks back to see  
 the burden Thou didst bear  
 When hanging on the accursed tree,  
 And hopes her guilt was there.

was changed to:  
 And knows her guilt was there.

Jackson expressed the current spirit of 19th century Methodists in his words:

There is no part of the great tradition committed to our trust that we prize more than this, or that we guard with a more jealous care. Our people are not, as a rule, quickly sensitive to differing shades of theological thought, and on some subjects it might be possible for a preacher to teach questionable doctrine without exciting any general alarm among his hearers; but a false note in the pulpit on this subject would be detected and resented at once. The joyful assurance of the favour of God is one of the chief marks of a Methodist.<sup>140</sup>

While the dominant themes of salvation were stressed by Canadian Methodist preachers during the 19th century, three periods may be discernable. Up to the war of 1812-14 strong emphasis was placed equally on conversion and sanctification. During 1814-1840

greater emphasis was placed on conversion of the sinner and release from the burden of his guilt. From 1840, the holiness theme gained greater significance through the increasing popularity of prominent full-time evangelists, particularly through the camp meetings or large protracted meetings. While it is true that the doctrine of Christian perfection was always a prominent Methodist doctrine, it was rarely stressed during the middle period. Itinerants were absorbed with rescuing souls and placing them securely within the Methodist society. Since they were never able to complete that task to any degree of satisfaction and they never remained in one locality long enough to lead members through the stages of Christian growth they did that which was most practical. They moved constantly from place to place, raising up new classes and societies and leaving them in the care of local preachers and class leaders. Apparently local leaders had their hands full in trying to settle new converts into the society before the next revival meeting was launched by the itinerant, thus producing a new group of anxious seekers to be inducted and indoctrinated into the Methodist system. It should be noted that sanctification remained a part of the preachers' theology from the introduction of Methodism into Upper Canada. The preachers placed much emphasis upon it.

Commenting on Calvin Wooster's service from his advent into Oswegotchie Circuit in 1796, Carroll said: "He was the instrument of a revival characterized by depth and comprehensiveness; it embraced

sanctification as well as justification."<sup>141</sup> In the same context. Carroll described the feat of Wooster by the Spirit: "Under his sword the people fell like men slain in battle."<sup>142</sup> Wooster was in the conquest of soul-saving as well as sanctification of believers. He was indeed concerned with sanctification. Lorenzo Dow's account of meeting with Wooster verified this. Dow having heard from Timothy Dewey that Wooster "enjoyed the blessing of sanctification, and had a miracle wrought in his body in some sense; the course of nature turned in consequence, and he was much owned and blessed of God in his ministerial labours"<sup>143</sup> endeavoured to meet with Wooster. Meeting Wooster shortly before his death, Dow received a charge from him: "God has convicted you for the blessing of sanctification, and that blessing is to be obtained by the single act of faith, the same as the blessing of justification."<sup>144</sup> At a subsequent revival meeting shortly thereafter, where Wooster preached with a feeble voice, Lorenzo Dow and others experienced an emotional endowment of the "second blessing"<sup>145</sup>

Samuel Howe, who laboured in Upper Canada in 1803 and 1804, experienced what was then termed the "blessing of perfect love" towards the latter part of his ministry. Thereafter he emphasized that theme, particularly during the last year of his life.<sup>146</sup>

James Evans received his "re-baptism of the Holy Spirit at an

old-fashioned camp meeting" and the influence of that event remained with him for the rest of his life.<sup>147</sup> Evans was converted under the preaching of Gideon Ouseley, an Irish preacher, in England.

George Ferguson recognized a clear distinction between conversion and sanctification. He recorded in his "Journal": "I maintain from Gospel authority that a justified person does not sin. . . . As soon as he transgresses the law, he forfeits his justification and is again involved in condemnation."<sup>148</sup> His concept of sanctification followed logically upon his understanding of justification and conformed to the trend at the time of giving special emphasis to obtaining the experience of sanctification. He wrote:

As we become increasingly intimate with the divine will and government, we experience a gradual increase of love for and conformity to the divine will. But still there is a moment an instant when an entire conformity takes place, and when all the powers and faculties of the soul are first given up to God.<sup>149</sup>  
(emphasis supplied)

The momentary experience of sanctification was attended by a similar gift of assurance as that which accompanied conversion. Preachers sought for this evidence among the already converted as passionately as their quest for original conversion among unbelievers.

While in the quest for this earnestly sought for "blessing of

perfect love", Ferguson set rules to ensure the success of his objective. He rose early in the morning (as Wesley recommended) for Scripture reading and prayer; he guarded well his words, thoughts, tempers, etc.; he retired three times daily for meditation, prayer and the examination of his work for the day, and he fasted for twenty-four hours every Friday. <sup>150</sup>

Nathan Bangs, one of the early Methodist pioneers to Upper Canada, illustrates well the intense earnestness of seekers of sanctification in the pioneer period in the relating of his own experience. <sup>151</sup>

After relating Bangs' path to sanctification, Alexander Sutherland commented that the purpose of its presentation was not only for the interest it conveyed but also

... because it indicates the prominence given in those pioneer days to the doctrine and experience of entire sanctification, and explains the secret of the spiritual power wielded by men like Bangs and Wooster, and their phenomenal success in winning souls. <sup>152</sup>

Quoting John Wesley's well known 1776 declaration:

When Christian perfection is not strongly and explicitly preached, there is seldom any remarkable blessing from God; and consequently, little addition to the society, and little life in the members of it ... Till you press

the believers to expect full salvation now, you must not look for any revival.

Sutherland looked retrospectively on the pioneer period and after comparing it with the much later decades (latter 19th century), exclaimed:

The words are as true today as when first they were uttered, and it is because ministers and people give so little heed to them that a paralysis of worldliness and formality has fallen upon the church. Only let the old testimony be reviewed and the old power will return. <sup>153</sup>

In the main, however, Canadian Methodist preachers accepted Wesley's teaching on the doctrine of perfection. John Carroll testified that a few weeks after his conversion he obtained this "second blessing" in a persuasion that "God had cleansed my inmost heart" - after listening to a sermon by Father Youmens. <sup>154</sup> In a sermon Carroll made a distinction between "constructively holy" and "really holy". <sup>155</sup> Constructive or declarative holiness is the righteousness of Christ bestowed on the believer when justified. Real holiness is the continuing work of faith which justifies as it operates, through love to purify the heart. These two coincide and correspond in their proportionate advancement. The brighter the evidence of one's acceptance with God, the more purity he possesses and exemplifies. <sup>156</sup> Methodist preachers understood their ministry as rescuing souls as well as perfecting them through the aid of the Holy Spirit. <sup>157</sup>



In general, between 1814-1840, preachers laid major emphasis on rescuing sinners from their guilt. This meant even those that formerly accepted Christ, since they were prone to revert to sin, having received only occasional visits from the preacher on his trip around the circuit as opposed to constant pastoral care of much later decades. Nevertheless, sanctification was never evaded. At camp meetings in particular, attention was given to sanctification. A report from the Cobourg Circuit in 1833 mentioned that of equal importance to the conversion of sinners was "the number of faithful witnesses to the power of Jesus' blood to cleanse from all unrighteousness" which was rapidly increasing.<sup>158</sup>

A camp meeting held in the Toronto Circuit in 1831 was reported to be highly successful. Between 500 and 1000 persons attended on week days and about 2000 attended on Sunday. Much detail described the occasion. At the communion service, there were 408 white persons and 44 Indians from Port Credit. In response to the invitation, 90-100 persons came to the altar and 70 "professed to have been justified by faith".<sup>159</sup> Yet no mention was made of those receiving sanctification. The consecration of members was usually an objective of the camp meetings. It could be concluded that while the sanctification theme was naturally a part of the camp meeting, it did not receive primary emphasis. The same conclusion may be applied to the protracted meeting conducted in Grimsby Circuit (at Smithville), in

the Niagara District, which was over-rated by the reporter "to be altogether the most extraordinary religious meeting that was ever held in Canada".<sup>160</sup> Emphasis was on the number converted: "We are informed that <sup>166</sup> had professed to have experienced 'a new birth into righteousness', as fruits of the meeting."<sup>161</sup> A lengthy report on the protracted meeting held in Hallowell in 1843 revealed a strong emphasis on soul-saving. Only a passing mention was made that "saints were quickened".<sup>162</sup>

Egerton Ryerson's ministry was contemporaneous with the present period of study and he was a spokesman for much of the formative years of 19th century Canadian Methodism. His theological perspective can serve to present concepts of perfection during this period of Canadian revivalism. Ryerson wrote that: "The spirits of just men made perfect" (Heb. XII:23) may readily reveal the two aspects of salvation. The expressions "just" and "righteous" refer to "their relation and character on earth", the term "perfect" is "indicative of their state and character in the heaven".<sup>163</sup> "It is a maxim no less true than universal in Christendom, that grace is glory begun, and glory is grace perfected".<sup>164</sup> Being just or righteous implies three things: the justification of their persons, the rectitude of their natures and the purity of their lives.<sup>165</sup> Perfection on earth shall not be equated with perfection in heaven.

Perfection, adoption and regeneration immediately follow repentance and faith. By "pardon", we are delivered from the punishment and guilt of sin through the merits of Jesus Christ; by "adoption", we are taken into the family of God, are dignified by His name, and made partakers of all the privileges of His children; by "regeneration", we are restored to the moral image of God - "we are stamped with the seal of His likeness - we are renewed in righteousness and true holiness".<sup>166</sup> Not that new faculties are given

... but the qualities, the character, the tendency of our intellectual and moral powers are changed and improved thereby affecting or changing the understanding, the will, the conscience, the affection, the passions and the appetites.<sup>167</sup>

The convert would then be prompted by "an ever-increasing hunger and thirsting after righteousness, until the God of peace sanctifies us wholly ...".<sup>168</sup> Frequently repentance, faith, pardon, regeneration and adoption occur simultaneously as well as nearly instantaneously.<sup>169</sup>

#### D. Eschatology

While a casual review of Wesley's Standard Sermons which were recommended to be read by the preachers do not readily yield a dominant eschatological trend, yet all these sermons (without exception) contain Wesley's inescapable eschatological messages,

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whether implied or expressed.

To Wesley, justification meant the deliverance from temporal and eternal punishment. His eschatology may, therefore, be understood in two aspects: that which comes to the individual at death and that which involves the end of the present world order. What was constantly proclaimed in Methodist preaching was guilt. Upon stressing the guilt motif, preachers could and did avoid an elaborate eschatological scheme. In fact, they didn't need to preach frequently on the subject since it would be implied in the consequence of guilt. Emphasis on guilt would conjure up frightening possibilities of suffering, pain and rejection. Thereby hell and its concomitant maladies would be imagined to be within a tantalizing proximity of the condemned sinner. His only hope was to escape to Jesus, through conversion, regeneration and entire sanctification. Only rarely was there a need for verbally dramatizing the horrors of hell.

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In his appeal at the end of the sermon on "The Righteousness of Faith", which was delivered at Epworth,

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Wesley proclaimed:

Whosoever thou art, O man, who has the sentence of death in thyself, who feelest thyself a condemned sinner, and hast the wrath of God abiding in thee: ... "The word of faith is nigh unto thee": Now, at this instant, in the present moment, and in the present state, sinner as thou art, believe the Gospel; ...

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Covered by clouds, ignorance and error, the sinner is under the shadow of death,<sup>174</sup> and must, to some extent, groan under fear of the inevitable consequences.<sup>175</sup> Consequently, Wesley impressed his hearers with the magnitude of their sins in contrast to the mercy of God. So numerous are one's sins that it would be easier for him to number the drops of rain, the sands of the sea or the days of eternity than to give account of them.<sup>176</sup> These innumerable sins create an enormous guilt before God's face,<sup>177</sup> resulting in the recognition on the part of the "awakened" sinner that his punishment was justly deserved, not merely because of inherited universal corruption of his nature but **due** to his evil desires, thoughts, words and actions.<sup>178</sup>

"He cannot doubt for a moment, but the least of these deserves the damnation of hell ... above all, the guilt of 'not believing on the name of the only begotten Son of God' lies heavy upon him!"<sup>179</sup>

Justification implies the deliverance from punishment - temporal and eternal.<sup>180</sup> The law serves to awaken those who are asleep on the brink of hell.<sup>181</sup> All unrepentant sinners are "under the sentence of hell-fire" and are "doomed already, just dragging to execution".<sup>182</sup> Justification serves to allay all fears of such an execution or of sudden acts of judgment. Once justification takes place, adoption follows: one "cannot fear any longer the wrath of God; for he knows it is now turned away from him, and looks upon Him no more as an angry judge, but a loving Father".<sup>183</sup> He does not fear the devil for

he recognizes that he has lost his power over him,<sup>184</sup> neither does he fear hell since now he has become an heir of the kingdom of heaven.<sup>185</sup>

In Wesley's words:

It is a peace that banishes all doubt, all painful uncertainty; the Spirit of God bearing witness with the spirit of a Christian, that he is "a child of God". And it banishes fear, all such fear of the wrath of God; the fear of torment: the fear of the hell; the fear of the devil; and in particular, the fear of death: he that hath the peace of God, daring, if it were the will of God "to depart, and to be with Christ".<sup>186</sup>

Although Wesley had stressed the importance of eschatological themes, yet certain aspects were not clearly defined. This is certainly the case with his concepts of heaven, hell and the soul. Nevertheless, he has given broad outlines of his views on these topics so that certain conclusions may be formulated.

Wesley described the Kingdom of Heaven in two ways, as the kingdom of grace and the kingdom of glory. The kingdom of grace is a kind of "personal realized eschatology". An "inward kingdom of heaven" is set up in the hearts of all those who repent and believe the Gospel. It brings righteousness, peace and joy through the Holy Spirit.<sup>187</sup> The kingdom of God is a union of holiness and happiness as an "immediate fruit of God reigning in the soul".<sup>188</sup> No sooner than a believer surrenders, Christ sets up a throne in his heart and he is

immediately assured by receiving these fruits of the Spirit, "It is called 'the kingdom of heaven', because it is (in a degree) heaven opened to the soul. For whosoever they are that experience this, they can aver before angels and men,

Everlasting life is won,<sup>189</sup>  
 Glory is on earth begun.

After the visible return of Jesus Christ in a global cataclysmic event, the kingdom of glory will be established.<sup>190</sup> No time for this event should be established for "perhaps He will appear, as the day-spring from on high, before the morning light. O do not set Him a time. Expect Him every hour. Now He is Nigh! Even at the Door!"<sup>191</sup> At the appearance of Christ, the earth shall be in a convulsive upheaval, the sun shall be darkened, the moon shall be turned to blood, and the stars refuse to shine.<sup>192</sup> At the universal shout from the companies of heaven, the loud cry of the "voice of the archangel" and the sounding of the trumpet of God "all the graves shall open, and the bodies of men shall arise".<sup>193</sup> Angels shall gather all the elect and place them on his right hand while the "wicked" will be placed on his left hand in preparation for the final judgment which will be carried out by Jesus himself.<sup>194</sup>

Wesley could not decide where this judgment will take place. It could be on the earth after it is flattened by the angels or more

likely it could take place above the earth.<sup>195</sup> Those to be judged will be innumerable and the time cannot be estimated - probably several thousand years.<sup>196</sup> "Every man, every woman, every infant of days, that ever breathed the vital air, will then hear the voice of the Son of God, and start into life, and appear before Him."<sup>197</sup> Every word, thought, action and intent of the heart will be brought up before the judgment.

Wesley asserted dogmatically that either the punishment lasts forever, or the reward will come to an end, but this will never occur "unless God could come to an end, or His mercy and truth could fail".<sup>198</sup> The fate of the unrepentant sinners will be consignment to everlasting burning hell. Wesley stated:

The wicked, meantime, shall be turned unto hell, even all the people that forget God. They will be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power. They will be "cast into the lake of fire, burning with brimstone", originally "prepared for the devil and his angels", where they will gnaw their tongues for anguish and pain; they will curse God and look upward. There the dogs of hell - pride, malice, revenge, rage, horror, despair - continually devour them. There 'they have no rest, day or night but the smoke of their torment ascendeth forever and ever!' For "Their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched."<sup>199</sup>

Those who receive God's approbation, on the other hand, will be given a crown of glory,<sup>200</sup> eternal life,<sup>201</sup> and thereby will



never taste of the second death. The new earth, which they will enjoy, is not clearly described. It is a spiritual sphere as apposed to the physical sphere where the kingdom of grace exists. This kingdom of glory exists in absolute bliss where every form of sin will be eternally banished. Wesley does not affirm any specific view of exactly where heaven will be or how all this cataclysmic change - the burning up of the heavens and the earth ("every atom torn asunder from the other") - will actually occur.<sup>202</sup> He affirmed the view that a new heaven and a new earth will be created by God; the redeemed will be free from pain, sorrow or the curse of death and by a physical nearness to Christ will achieve the highest resemblance of Him.<sup>203</sup>

While the doctrine itself was vague, it produced a ring of certainty and assurance to the Methodist believers and gave additional emotional ammunition to the revival preachers. They found in death cause for rejoicing - the Christian at death had attained ultimate victory.

To Wesley, there existed a clear-cut dichotomy between spirit (soul) and body. At death a separation takes place. God has entrusted man with his soul, an immortal spirit, made in God's image.<sup>204</sup> In it are embedded powers and faculties such as understanding, imagination, memory, will and affections (love, hatred,

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joy, sorrow, hope, fear, etc.). They should be utilized in accordance with God's will. The body, formed in corruption and dishonour, will be decomposed in the earth at death while the soul returns to God.<sup>206</sup> Although the body ceases to function at death, the soul continues a somewhat nebulous existence. "Indeed, it cannot be questioned, but separate spirits have some way to communicate their sentiments to each other",<sup>207</sup> though not in the realm of the physical world and to a large extent inexplicably, for "what inhabitant of flesh and blood can explain that way?"<sup>208</sup> Like the function of dreams during sleep so the soul continues its existence without the body carrying on its functions through higher senses such as sight and hearing although bereft of others such as feeling, smell and taste, the latter category being more related to bodily functions.<sup>209</sup>

Of primary significance was the concept that one's destiny was determined at death. At death

... the time of our trial for everlasting happiness or misery is past. Our day, the day of man is over; the day of salvation is ended! Nothing now remains but 'the day of the Lord', ushering wide, unchangeable eternity!<sup>210</sup>

Being released from the body, the soul will not only retain its understanding, meaning, will and all the affections but will function more vigorously and effectively, though in the spirit world.<sup>211</sup>

Death ends the physical life, but for the Methodist it is the entrance into a life of mysterious yet fascinating bliss. Death, therefore, would become an event of glorious expectation.

Judgment comes only once, not at death, but at the return of Christ, when the general resurrection will take place.<sup>212</sup> At that time God will inquire of every person how he employed his soul.

Like Wesley, Canadian Methodist revivalists did not develop an explicit eschatology.<sup>213</sup> Like Wesley, they emphasized guilt and assurance of release. Preachers did not seek emotional effects merely by preaching hell-fire inasmuch as that type of preaching was fostered occasionally. Their emphasis on guilt produced the necessary effect on the mind regarding the consequences of damnation. What their preaching emphasized was salvation, not damnation. Ryerson who shared the heart of the Methodist experience during much of the 19th century, gave his interpretation:

The conversions of the day of Pentecost were sudden, and, for anything that appears to the contrary, they were real: ... Nor was it by the miracles of tongues that the effect was produced. If miracles could have converted them, they had witnessed greater than ever that glorious day exhibited. The dead had been raised in their sight; the earth had quaked beneath their feet; the sun had hid himself and made untimely night; the graves had given up their dead; and Christ Himself had risen from the tomb sealed and watched. It was not by the miracles of tongues alone, but by that supervenient gracious influence which operated with the

demonstrative sermon of Peter, after the miracle had excited the attention of his hearers, ... <sup>214</sup>

Quoting a passage from the Church of England "Homily on Fasting", Ryerson pointed to the perception Canadian Methodist preachers had of the influence of hell-fire sermons in the salvation process:

When men feel in themselves the heavy burden of sin; see damnation to be the reward of it, and behold with the eye of their mind the horror of hell, they tremble, they quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open their grief unto Almighty God and call upon Him for mercy. <sup>215</sup>

Their minds would be burdened with sorrow as a result of their guilt and they would seek deliverance from its consequences - hell and damnation. <sup>216</sup> The reaction to this fear of hell and damnation often created physical agitations in the individuals. According to Ryerson's reasoning, an insight could be gained into the understanding the preachers had of the process of salvation. Mere hell-fire preaching could not be relied upon to lead people to salvation though it provided a strong incentive. If scare tactics could have produced desirable conversion results then, he explained, the frightening, physical occurrences at the time of Christ's crucifixion would produce more results than Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost. Revivalists perceived their preaching to be an agent of the Holy Spirit to bring about conversions. Consequently, they

preached far more about guilt for sins, individual responsibility, assurance of salvation through the sacrifice of Christ and holiness of life (or perfection) than everlasting torment in hell-fire.<sup>217</sup>

Sutherland had made that clear when he said: "Every true Methodist sermon is the preaching of a Methodist doctrine, and tells directly on the conversion of sinners and the perfecting of saints." The embodiment of their preaching, Sutherland explained, was composed of free will which placed all the responsibility of sin on the sinner; the doctrine of unlimited atonement which opened free salvation for all;<sup>218</sup> the doctrine of "gracious ability" enabled the sinner to come to Christ through faith; witness of the Spirit which opened the way for communion with God and warning to the individual to possess constantly the assurance of present salvation and entire sanctification. Without referring to eternal punishment or damnation, Sutherland (following his summary of Canadian Methodist doctrines) asserted that these doctrines harmonize with Scripture and experience and provide the basis for Methodist revival success:

... because they are direct spiritual forces in the conversion and sanctification of men, therefore, do they meet the deepest needs of the human soul. Those needs are absolute. To us they are not matter of opinion - they are profound realities; it is this which, in our view, invests the doctrines of the Gospel with such supreme importance (emphasis supplied).<sup>219</sup>

Methodist preaching could be interpreted as geared to rescue

and restoration rather than fear and condemnation.<sup>220</sup> The Methodist revival did not occur out of a frustrated and deprived frontier population or from an igniting of emotional forces through a fear motif. It began after Wesley's experience of assurance of salvation was born. Canadian Methodism owes much more to that experience than to any other causes. Canadian revivalism was based completely upon a fully worked out theology<sup>221</sup> without which enthusiastic preachers would have ignited, glowed and smothered in the Canadian wilderness.

The point to be borne in mind is that although Canadian Methodist revivalists did not emphasize the preaching of hell-fire and damnation sermons in their revivals, nevertheless this aspect of their eschatological concept remained fundamental to the successful proclamation of the main Methodist revival themes. In several instances, such sermons on hell-fire and damnation themes were employed in the revival process. As well, the use of the fear of swift judgment by God upon the guilty sinner had its place in Methodist revival preaching.

During the spiritual struggle of Peter Jones which led to his conversion, he experienced a keen sense of guilt and its consequences which brought vividly to his mind the thought that he would sink into hell at any time because of his sins. He felt "offensive" to the Spirit of God and believed that if he did not obtain mercy

through Jesus Christ he would be lost forever.<sup>222</sup> On the 12th day of May, 1825, while visiting Pedwayahsenoogua in her wigwam, Jones listened to her relate a dream that "the heaven and earth passed away with a great noise" and Jesus made His appearance and called her to Him. Jones took the opportunity to explain to her the awful day of judgment.<sup>223</sup> Fear of death and the judgment was prevalent in Central Canada, especially before the mid-19th century. The mortality rate was high and the harshness of the frontier as well as the limited medical knowledge added to the prevalence of early deaths and the vulnerability to disease. John Carroll recorded the dialogue between himself and Margaret Magar, a hired girl in his home, in which she disclosed the prevalent concept of religion and death. "John," she asked, "have you any notion that you are going to die soon?" "Why?" he asked. "The boys think you must have some idea that you are going to die, or you would not be so serious, and be reading the Bible so much."<sup>224</sup> Although Carroll disclaimed any premonition of death, in an attempt to explain his quest for salvation he added that he "was resolved to try and be ready for death when it did come ..."<sup>225</sup>

Anson Green's experience on the other hand, depicts frequent inner feelings of many others regarding the motive for their quest for repentance. After receiving a sense of forgiveness, he declared: "Just then and there my guilt was removed, my burden

taken away, and my soul comforted."<sup>226</sup> Subsequently, he expressed the peace and rest which enveloped his mind upon the assurance of the removal of his guilt and his candidacy for salvation.

Instead of emphasizing hell-fire and damnation, Canadian Methodist revivalists proclaimed an eschatology of hope. Escape from guilt did not only imply flight from a certain impending eternal hell but becoming eternally a member of God's family. Far more hope may be found in their preaching than despair. The crux of their revival theology hung upon hope of eternal life as a consequence of escape from the condemnation of guilt. Major theological themes found meaning only when interpreted in the light of this hope. This concept became increasingly crucial with the passing of each decade of the 19th century.

It seems clear that in both the eschatological views of Ryerson and Hunter, judgment was significant but was not given major emphasis. God has appointed a day in which He will judge all secret thoughts, words, motives and actions.<sup>227</sup> The uncertainty of death ever remained a lingering menace: Often the most robust and healthy members of a family were cut down by death while their appearance gives the strongest promise of long life.<sup>228</sup> Because the soul without God is dead and, ostensibly, hopeless, there needs to be an awakening of the dead soul.<sup>229</sup> God's abhorrence of sin makes it



impossible for Him to overlook its consequences - suffering and death. God's protest is His swift annihilating judgment.<sup>230</sup> Even from this theology of despair emerged the concept of hope.

It is because of his despair and guilt that the sinner flees from God. But the word of the Lord teaches the impenitent sinner how ungrateful and ruinous a thing it is to reject Christ.<sup>231</sup>

Sinful man flees from God as though He were a messenger of death. He (Christ) follows him along the downward path of death crying in his ears, "Turn! Turn! For why will you die?"<sup>232</sup> It is when the sinner becomes tired of sin and disgusted with its treachery that he is impelled to turn from the path of death to the only source of life - Jesus Christ.<sup>233</sup> Salvation is not an escape from death as much as it is a flight to life.<sup>234</sup>

By the 1850s much progress had been made from the earlier concern for "escape from the wrath to come" and the "lurking fear of swift judgment"<sup>235</sup> to expressions of joy to be experienced by the sanctified Christian. Contrasting happiness (a state of exhilaration fostered by pleasant environmental influences) with joy or gladness (deep abiding sense of peace); Hunter stated:

Christianity is the only religion of gladness. Rome prescribes dreary penances. Did you ever see a really happy looking papist? Mohammedanism is sombre as the

grave. Heathenism wails out a misery. Infidelity in all its forms is but the outbreathing of despair. The Christian religion alone can sing in the midst of trouble. <sup>236</sup>

Non-Christians may express happiness; Christians experience joy.

This joy is a condition within the soul brought about by the harmony between all the human powers of the individual and the will of God. <sup>237</sup>

Joy experienced by the Christian, sings in the dark as well as the light; on a lonely island or in a comfortable palace; at the hour of death as when the eye flashes with the fire of life. <sup>238</sup> The choice of salvation grants assurance of ultimate victory regardless of the conflicts which engage one's life. <sup>239</sup> Martyrs are burned, yet the

flames only become chariots in which their exultant spirits ride to the waiting heavens. Common Christians rise to common saints, as the furnace consumes the dross and refines their graces. <sup>240</sup> By

setting up his kingdom of grace in the heart following regeneration, righteousness, peace and joy may be realized in the believer's life. <sup>241</sup>

In a dramatized contrast, Hunter portrayed the joys of the Christian in this life and the life hereafter and the "eternal wailing and gnashing of teeth" awaiting the lost in the kingdom of darkness. <sup>242</sup>

But oh, the thought that we may reject this kingdom. The throne which we should have occupied may be vacant, the crown which we might have won may be useless, the harp which we might have struck may be silent. ... <sup>243</sup> By one's choice eternal darkness, pain and suffering may result or the inheritance of an everlasting kingdom

of life, songs, glory, thrones, progressive knowledge and everlasting day.<sup>244</sup>

No aspect of Methodist eschatology was held in Central Canada with more tenacity throughout the 19th century than the Christian's resignation in the face of death. Implanted early in Central Canadian Methodism, this concept, adopted from Wesley, was employed by preachers to contrast the saved with the unsaved when the inscrutable shadow of death approached. This theme ran like a red thread throughout 19th century Methodist revivalism.

Hezekiah Calvin Wooster, who preached in Upper Canada from 1795, returned to die in his parental home in the United States in 1798. As he approached death, he said that "the nearer he drew to eternity, the brighter heaven shined upon him".<sup>245</sup>

Quoting from an obituary of Jones Aikens, an Irish-born preacher who served in Oswegotchie as well as the United States and died August 9, 1823, John Carroll said:

... he betrayed not a symptom of fear. Thus Brother Aikens finished his course with joy, and an abundant entrance, we trust, has been ministered to him into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.<sup>246</sup>

Of Peter Vannest's experience at death in October, 1851, Carroll

recorded:

On approaching his bed and inquiring after his state and prospects, he would say, "O glory; glory, glory! Hallelujah to the Lamb forever and ever!" On Sunday he was very happy and had many visitors; among these were several young men whom he exhorted most earnestly to be faithful to the service of God. To two sisters, who called to see him on that day, he said, looking up with a most heavenly smile on his face, "See me die happy! See me die happy, happy, happy."<sup>247</sup>

Concerning Martin Ruter's death on May 16, 1838, Carroll recorded:

"He suffered several weeks, enjoying great peace, and exhibiting calm resignation to the will of God, and from hope of heaven just before his death ..."<sup>248</sup>

Alexander E. Forsyth published his Reminiscences in 1907. It is replete with incidents of victory and joyful expectancy in approaching death.<sup>249</sup> Referring to the persecuted, Hunter declared:

What mattered it to them when death came, or where it found them; whether under the flashing axe of the herdsman, or the roaring of the lion? They felt the embrace of an immortal tenderness, which filled them with joy before the mortal agony had ceased its pangs.<sup>250</sup>

Death was portrayed as the other side of the resurrection, for Christ and, as a consequence of His death for mankind, for every believer. Because the spirit of every just person takes its flight

to heaven after death overtakes the body, joy fills the heart of the candidate for heaven when the spectre of death points imperturbably to the indescribably exuberant life in the domain beyond the physical world.<sup>251</sup>

The goal of perfection was not only the attainment of a holy life in order to obtain the reward of heaven but also to be exposed to the unending growth and expansion of the mental-powers. Present physical and spiritual imperfections were strongly contrasted with future glory and perfection. The body is sown in corruption but it shall be raised in incorruption and, therefore, it will not be subject to the present disadvantages of weakness, old age, incurable diseases, severe pain and indescribable suffering. Intellectual powers of the saints in heaven will experience a change proportionate to the elevation of the powers of their mortal bodies. Their understanding will be comparable to that of the angels. Their wills will be perfected and their affection, passions and propensities will be transformed and suited to the illimitable range of their pleasures and enjoyment.<sup>252</sup>

The key, then, was the uncertainty of life, the freedom of each individual to choose his own destiny and the peace that follows assurance of salvation. Calvinism had long dominated the religious thinking of North America and now it would be matched by the Arminian

view of freedom of the will as enunciated by Wesley and the Methodist revivalists. The concepts of doubt, sudden death and impending judgment would be over-ridden by conversion, assurance and perfection.

It becomes each of us then to live in a state of daily preparation either for life or for death. And let it be impressed upon our minds, that the best preparation for death is the best fitness for life ...<sup>253</sup>

The awful option is in your own hands ... which of these ends do you prefer? Defer not your choice till tomorrow. Decide now. Incur not the guilt of rejecting the Son of God; but secure the blessedness of receiving Him.<sup>254</sup>

The emphasis was not placed on hell-fire damnation but a call to salvation - now!<sup>255</sup>

Perfection in heaven will not be absolute knowledge or attainment but of immeasurable increase. "Proportionately increased, and increasing, is their 'knowledge of the person and glories of their blessed Saviour' together with the character and offices of the Holy Ghost."<sup>256</sup>

There will be one universal resurrection including the saved and the unsaved. In section eight of the Manual of Methodism is the emphatic statement:

As the law of death is universal, so is the law of life. The Scriptures speak of two resurrections; not, first, that of the righteous, and a thousand or more years later, that of the wicked; but rather of a spiritual resurrection of the soul from death in sin to a life in Christ, which transpires through faith in this life, and of the resurrection of the bodies of men before the general judgment. The resurrection bodies of the righteous will be glorious, incorruptible, and celestial. <sup>257</sup>

Revivalists challenged their hearers to accept the joys of eternity as they escape the horrors of hell. Immediate surrender would be required since there would be no hope beyond the grave.

NOTES: CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Kewley, "Mass Evangelism in Upper Canada Before 1830", (unpublished Th.D. Thesis, Victoria University, Toronto, 1960), p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Goldwin French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> John Wesley quoted by William W. Sweet, Methodism in American History (New York: Abingdon Press, 1953), pp. 41, 42, cf. John Wesley, Sermon XXXIV, I, II (Standard Sermons II, p. 136).

<sup>4</sup> W. I. Shaw, "Doctrinal Standards of the Methodist Church of Canada", Canadian Methodist Magazine, vol. XIII, Jan.-June, 1881, p. 444.

<sup>5</sup> W. W. Sweet, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> The Journal of John Wesley, vol. 8, ed. by Nehemiah Curnock, (London, The Epworth Press, 1838), p. 339.

<sup>7</sup> Abel Stevens, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States (New York: Carlton and Porter 1864), p. 197.

<sup>8</sup> W. I. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 444f.

<sup>9</sup> W. I. Shaw, "Doctrinal Standards of the Methodist Church of Canada", Canadian Methodist Magazine, vol. XIII, Jan.-June, 1881, p. 444. Referring to the General Rules in the Discipline, Dr. Hurlbut mentioned "that they do not name among the standards any doctrines to be believed". J. Hurlbut, Our Church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), p. 82.

<sup>10</sup> George Whitefield and John Wesley provide ample evidence to substantiate this claim. Both were contemporaries and led equally successful revivals. While Whitefield's success was based primarily on his eloquence and emotional appeal, Wesley's success was based on more enduring factors. "While the grandeur of Whitefield's pulpit eloquence swayed for the time, the convincing and heart-searching appeals of Wesley left a more permanent impression on the age." George Douglas, "The Providential Rise of the Wesleyan Revival", Centennial of Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), p. 19. Douglas further pointed to Wesley's "power of organization" and theology as indispensable factors. (George Douglas, Ibid, pp. 21, 22).



<sup>11</sup> Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), pp. 72, 73. Ryerson pointed out that these doctrines were not new since they were taught by Protestant denominations, except Unitarians and Pelagians. However, while they were in Protestant creeds they were not in Protestant pulpits or Protestant congregations. "But Methodism, from the beginning, in England, the United States, and Canada, gave a supreme significance and practical application to these doctrines, which have constituted the supernatural character of Methodism throughout the world. This is specially true of Canadian Methodism ... " (Ibid, p. 73).

<sup>12</sup> Minutes of Annual Conference, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, 1835, p. 100.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 101. "In all our duties, both civil and religious, personal and social, let us go to the Bible as the norm of our counsel and rule of our life. Let that blessed Book be the daily companion of our closets and firesides, and the theme of our meditations and the source of our instructions and comforts." Ibid, 1844, p. 373.

<sup>14</sup> Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), pp. 72-98. Chapter 3 deals with the doctrinal emphasis of Canadian Methodism and Chapter 4 (pp. 99-128) treats the "Phenomena and Philosophy of Early Methodist Revivals".

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 89. Ryerson summarized the doctrines preached by Canadian Methodists as follows: "the natural depravity of the human heart; the atonement made by Jesus Christ as a full and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; the offering of salvation to every individual, on the condition of repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ; justification by faith alone; but from the faith which justifies, good works proceed; the witness of the Spirit, which may be enjoyed by every believer attesting his sonship; and the pressing after 'holiness, without which no man can see the Lord,' - followed by the doctrines of future rewards and punishments, together with the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body". (pp. 73, 74). The Prayer Book and Homilies of the Church of England compiled by Latimer, Cranmer and Ridley contained the Reformation doctrines and it was a hundred years later that the Westminster Confession introduced the Calvinistic concept of election as defined in the 17th Article (Ibid, p. 74).

<sup>16</sup> Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, (Unpublished Manuscript), Aug. 25, 1824, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> John Wesley, Journal, May 14, 1738 (Standard Edition, vol. 1, p. 462).

18 Wesley wrote: "I have seen upon this occasion more than even I could have imagined, how intolerable the doctrine of faith is to the mind of man, and how peculiarly intolerable to religious men. One may say the most unchristian things, even down to Deism; the most enthusiastic things, so they proceed but upon mental raptures, lights, and unions; the most severe things, even the whole rigour of ascetic mortification; and all this will be forgiven. But if you speak of faith in such a manner as makes Christ a Saviour to the utmost, a most universal help and refuge; in such a manner as takes away glorying, but adds happiness to wretched man ... he shall be held with the same abhorrence as if he was going to rob mankind of their salvation, their Mediator or their hopes of forgiveness." (Journal, May 14, 1738, (Standard Edition, vol. 1, pp. 462, 463)).

19 John Wesley, op. cit., p. 476.

20 ibid., p. 477.

21 Alexander Sutherland, op. cit., p. 406.

22 John Wesley, Sermon XXXVIII.2 (Standard Sermons, II, p. 211).

23 ibid., p. 211.

24 ibid., p. 211.

25 ibid., p. 216.

26 ibid., p. 216.

27 ibid., p. 219.

28 ibid., p. 219.

29 ibid., p. 223. It should be observed that emphasis is on spiritual death rather than physical death. The death pronounced upon Adam did not result in immediate physical death since Adam lived above nine hundred years after this pronouncement. "So that this cannot possibly be understood of the death of the body, without impeaching the veracity of God. It must therefore be understood of spiritual death, the loss of the life and image of God." (Sermon XXXIX, 1, 3 (Standard Sermons II, 230)). The death pronounced upon Adam passed through his loins to all the children of men. "The natural consequence of this is, that every one descended from him comes into the world spiritually

dead, dead to God, wholly dead in sin; entirely void of the life of God; void of the image of God, of all righteousness and holiness wherein Adam was created. Instead of this, every man born into the world now bears the image of the devil, in pride and self-will; the image of the beast, in sensual appetites and desires." (ibid, p. 230).

30 Ibid, p. 225.

31 John Wesley, Sermon VII, II, 1 (Standard Sermons, I, p. 155).

32 Ibid, p. 156.

33 Ibid, pp. 158, 159.

34 Ibid, p. 159.

35 Ibid, p. 159.

36 John Wesley, Sermon V, IV, 2 (Standard Sermons, I, p. 125).

37 Ibid, p. 125.

38 Ibid, p. 159.

39 John Wesley, Sermon V, IV, 2 (Standard Sermons, I, p. 125).

40 John Wesley, Sermon I, II, 7 (Standard Sermons, I, p. 45).

41 Ibid, p. 45.

42 Ibid, p. 126.

43 John Wesley, Sermon I, 3 (Standard Sermons, I, p. 38). c.f. Sermon VII, II, 10, p. 150, where Wesley warred against the popular view of faith which was espoused as "a bare assent to the truth of the Bible, of the Articles of our Creed, or, of all that is contained in the Old and New Testament".

44 John Wesley, Sermon I, II, 2 (Standard Sermons, I, pp. 41, 42).

45 John Wesley, Sermon XV, I (Standard Sermons, I, p. 299).

- 46 Ibid, p. 300.
- 47 John Wesley, Sermon XXXIX, IV, 1 (Standard Sermons, II, p. 237).
- 48 Ibid, p. 237.
- 49 John Wesley, Journal, May 24, 1738, (Standard Edition, Ed. by Nehemiah Curnock (London: The Epworth Press 1909, p. 465). c.f. R. Davies & G. Rupp, History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain Vol I. (London: Epworth Press, 1978), p. 161.
- 50 Henry Pope, Jr., "Preaching Christ", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Sermon XXIII, Ed. by S. G. Phillips, Sermon XXIII (Toronto: Hunter Rose, & Co., 1875), p. 380, cf. Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Ed. by S. G. Phillips, Sermon III (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 163. Ryerson explains original sin in a strictly Wesleyan sense: "Sin is the disease of our nature as well as the crime of our race. Its corruption pervades all the powers of the soul, and taints the very imaginations of the thoughts of the heart. It envelopes our minds in darkness; it inflames our hearts with enmity; it pollutes all the streams of thought, of feeling, and of action. There is neither strength nor soundness in any part of man's moral constitution."
- 51 Henry Pope, Jr., op. cit., p. 380.
- 52 W. S. Blackstock, "Christ Our Passover", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Ed. by S. G. Phillips, Sermon IX (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 175.
- 53 Ibid, p. 175.
- 54 loc. cit., p. 175.
- 55 A. Raynor, "Knowledge of Life", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Ed. by S. G. Phillips, Sermon XIV (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 263.
- 56 Ibid, p. 264.
- 57 W. S. Blackstock, op. cit., p. 175.
- 58 A. Raynor, op. cit., p. 264.

59 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", op. cit., p. 61.

60 Ibid, p. 61.

61 Ibid, p. 62.

62 A. Raynor, op. cit., p. 264.

63 W. S. Blackstock, op. cit., pp. 180, 181.

64 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 79.

65 Ibid, p. 80.

66 Ibid, p. 80.

67 Ibid, p. 81.

68 For a time John Wesley had strained relations with Whitefield over the issue of predestination since Whitefield held tenaciously to it while Wesley saw in it a doctrine that made "God worse than the Devil". As Abel Stevens pointed out, Wesley eliminated Anglican Calvinism but did not introduce his own Arminianism in the "Twenty-five Articles" applicable to North America. Nevertheless he was a strong Arminian and emphasized consistently the doctrine of Universal redemption. Abel Stevens, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. 2. (New York: Published by Carlton & Porter, 1864), pp. 208, 209.

69 S. J. Hunter, Sermons & Addresses (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), p. 120.

70 Ibid, p. 121.

71 Ibid, p. 281.

72 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), pp. 74, 75.

73 S. J. Hunter, op. cit., p. 281.

74 Anson Green, Life and Times of The Rev. Anson Green (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. 8.

75 Ibid, p. 8.

76 John Carroll, My Boy Life (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 253.

77 Ibid, p. 254.

78 Ibid, p. 255.

79 Ibid, pp. 257, 258.

80 George Ferguson, "Journal", p. 2.

81 Ibid, p. 3.

82 Ibid, p. 4.

83 Ibid, p. 4.

84 Ibid, p. 5.

85 Ibid, p. 5.

86 Ibid, p. 6.

87 Christian Guardian, March, 1832, p. 82.

88 Christian Guardian, March, 1832, p. 82.

89 Christian Guardian, June, 1832, p. 130.

90 Christian Guardian, December, 1849, p. 236.

91 John Wesley, Sermon X, 1, 2 (Standard Sermons, 1, p. 205): Wesley did not develop assurance as a new doctrine, since it was already stated by the reformers - Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, etc., - but stressed it as the undergirding for the salvation process.

Assurance was introduced into North America with that understanding and was utilized as such. See: Abel Stevens, History of the Methodist Episcopal Church, vol. 2 (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1864), pp. 210, 211.

92 cf. John Wesley, Sermon X (Standard Sermons, I, p. 202).

93 Ibid, p. 206.

94 Ibid, p. 206.

95 Ibid, p. 207.

96 Ibid, p. 207.

97 Ibid, p. 208.

98 Egerton Ryerson, "A Good Man Full of the Holy Ghost and Faith", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, ed. by S. G. Phillips, Sermon II (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 51.

99 Ibid, pp. 51, 52.

100 Alexander Sutherland, "Some Distinctive Features of the Wesleyan Theology", op. cit., p. 406.

101 S. J. Hunter, Sermons & Addresses (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), pp. 40-44.

102 Ibid, p. 40.

103 Ibid, p. 44.

104 Ibid, pp. 67, 68.

105 Ibid, p. 196.

106 J. Hurlbut, Our Church (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), p. 66.

107 Ibid, pp. 67, 68.

- 108 Peter Jones, Journal (Toronto: Anson Green, 1860), pp. 13, 14.
- 109 Ibid, p. 14.
- 110 John Carroll, My Boy Life (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 258.
- 111 Rupert Davies & Gordon Rupp, History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain, vol. 1 (London: Epworth Press, 1978), p. 168.
- 112 John Wesley, Sermon XI, I, 2 (op. cit., p. 134).
- 113 Ibid, p. 134.
- 114 Ibid, p. 136.
- 115 Rupert Davies & Gordon Rupp, op. cit., p. 168.
- 116 John Wesley, Sermon XXX, II, 7 (op. cit., p. 68).
- 117 John Wesley, Sermon XV (op. cit., p. 300). This new birth experience is not merely being baptized or any other outward change but "a vast inward change, a change wrought in the soul, by the operation of the Holy Ghost; a change in the whole manner of our existence; for, from the moment we are born of God, we live in quite another manner than we did before; we are, as it were, in another world".
- 118 Ibid, p. 300.
- 119 Ibid, p. 69.
- 120 John Wesley, Sermon XV, II, 3FF. (op. cit., pp. 304 ff.).
- 121 John Wesley, Sermon XV, III, 1 (op. cit., p. 310).
- 122 Ibid, p. 311.
- 123 John Wesley, Sermon XXXIX, IV, 3. (op. cit., p. 239).
- 124 Ibid, p. 240.



- 125 Ibid, p. 240.
- 126 John Wesley, Sermon XXXI, 11, 2 (op. cit., pp. 536, 537).
- 127 Ibid, p. 537.
- 128 John Wesley, Sermon XXXV, 1, 9 (op. cit., p. 156).
- 129 Ibid, p. 152.
- 130 Ibid, p. 153.
- 131 Ibid, p. 155.
- 132 Ibid, pp. 155, 156.
- 133 Ibid, p. 156.
- 134 John Wesley maintained sinlessness in the believer in sermons such as "The Almost Christian" and "The Witness of Our Own Spirit". "The Repentance of Believers", published 1767, changed the emphasis markedly.
- 135 John Wesley, Sermon XLVII, 1, 3 (op. cit., vol. II, p. 381).
- 136 Ibid, p. 381.
- 137 Ibid, p. 390.
- 138 Ibid, p. 391.
- 139 Ibid, p. 391.
- 140 George Jackson, The Old Methodism and the New (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903), pp. 42, 43.
- 141 John Carroll, Case & His Contemporaries, vol. 1 (Toronto: Samuel Rose, 1867), p. 49.

- 142 Ibid, p. 49.
- 143 Ibid, p. 49.
- 144 Ibid, p. 50.
- 145 Ibid, p. 50. "Second blessing" and "blessing of perfect love" were terms used for sanctification, accompanied by an assurance of the experience.
- 146 Ibid, p. 70.
- 147 Egerton R. Young, The Apostle to the North Rev. James Evans (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), p. 21.
- 148 George Ferguson, op. cit., p. 8.
- 149 Ibid, p. 8.
- 150 Ibid, p. 8.
- 151 Nathan Bangs' concern for sanctification was aroused by Christian women, a class leader, and the reading of John Wesley's Works, in which he expressed emphatically that it was the believer's privilege to be wholly sanctified.
- 152 Alexander Sutherland, The Methodist Church & Missions (Toronto: Dept. of Missionary Literature of the Methodist Church, Canada, 1903), p. 59.
- 153 Ibid, p. 59.
- 154 John Carroll, My Boy Life, (op. cit.), p. 258.
- 155 John Carroll, "A Trinity of Indispensables to Church Integrity and Prosperity", Sermon VI, The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, (op. cit., p. 130).
- 156 Ibid, p. 130.
- 157 Henry Pope, "Preaching Christ", op. cit., p. 390.

158 John Carroll, Case & His Contemporaries, vol. 3 (Toronto: Samuel Rose, & Co., 1867-1877), pp. 387, 388.

159 Christian Guardian, July 11, 1831, p. 144.

160 Ibid, p. 166.

161 Ibid, p. 166.

162 Christian Guardian, March, 1832, p. 82.

163 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and In Heaven", op. cit., p. 59.

164 Ibid, p. 82.

165 Ibid, p. 59.

166 Ibid, pp. 80, 81.

167 Ibid, p. 81.

168 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, op. cit., p. 81.

169 Ibid, p. 81.

170 All Wesley's sermons contain eschatological themes. He often used them to aid in his emotional appeal for conversion.

For the purpose of illustration one citation only has been given on the subject of eschatology in each of the 53 sermons included in the Standard Sermons. I, 1, 1 (vol. 1, p. 39); II, 11, 4 (p. 63); III, 11, 5 (p. 76); IV, 1, 3 (p. 95); V, 1 (p. 115); VI, 1, 6 (p. 135); VII, 1, 10 (p. 153); VIII, 11, 6 (p. 177); IX, 1, 2 (p. 183); X, 11, 7 (p. 215); XI, 20 (p. 236); XII, 11, 11 (p. 252); XIII, 3 (p. 267); XIV, 1, 2 (p. 284); XV, 11, 4 (p. 312); XVI, 1, 5 (p. 324); XVII, 1, 9 (p. 339); XVIII, 11, 11 (p. 374); XIX, 1, 9 (p. 387); XX, 11, 4 (p. 407); XXI, 11, 8 (p. 437); XXII, 11, 2 (p. 456); XXIII, 1, 14 (p. 483); XXIV, 22 (p. 508); XXV, 4 (p. 519); XXVI, 2 (p. 533); XXVII, 1 (Vol. 11, p. 11); XXVIII, 1, 1 (p. 25); XXIX, 11, 12 (p. 51); XXX, 1, 3 (p. 61); XXXI, 11, 5 (p. 79); XXXII, 13 (p. 90); XXXIII, 11, 12 (p. 122); XXXIV, 1, 16 (p. 138); XXXV, 1, 1 (p. 152); XXXVI, IV, 8 (p. 190); XXXVII, 2 (p. 192); XXXVIII, 11, 5 (p. 225); XXXIX, 11, 4 (p. 234); XL, 1, 3 (p. 247); XLI, 1, 4 (p. 266); XLII, 1, 2 (p. 285); XLIII, 11, 5 (p. 308); XLIV, 1 (p. 312); XLV, V, 4 (p. 359); XLVI, IV, 6 (p. 374); XLVII, 1, 11 (p. 386); XLIX, 11, 9 (p. 433); L, 1, 1 (p. 445); LI, 11, 1ff (p. 467); LII, 2 (p. 483); LIII, 1ff (p. 509).

171 At times Wesley would engage in such a dramatization. See for examples: Sermon IX, II, 6 (op. cit., 1, p. 188), also Sermon XLVIII, "The Great Assize".

172 John Wesley, Journal, June 12, 1742.

173 John Wesley, Sermon VI, III, 6 (op. cit., 1, p. 146). As a result of this sermon both at Epworth and at Sheffield, where he preached it on June 17, a revival broke out. He (Wesley) described the scene at Epworth: "While I was speaking, several dropped down as dead, and among the rest such a cry was heard of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy, and broke out into thanksgiving, being assured they now had the desire of their souls - the forgiveness of their sins." (Journal, June 12, 1742).

174 John Wesley, Sermon VII, III, 6 (op. cit., vol. 1, p. 156).

175 John Wesley, Sermon XIV, II, 5 (op. cit., 1, p. 291).

176 John Wesley, Sermon XVI, I, 4 (op. cit., 1, p. 324).

177 John Wesley, Sermon XVI, I, 5 (op. cit., p. 324).

178 Ibid, p. 324.

179 Ibid, p. 324.

180 John Wesley, Sermon XXX, I, 8 (op. cit., II, pp. 63, 64, cf. Sermon VII, II, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 152).

181 John Wesley, Sermon XXX, I, 3 (op. cit., II, p. 61).

182 John Wesley, Sermon VII, II, 4 (op. cit., 1, p. 157).

183 John Wesley, Sermon IX, III, 4 (op. cit., 1, p. 193).

184 John Wesley, Sermon VII, I, 10 (op. cit., 1, p. 153).

185 John Wesley, (op. cit., p. 193).

- 186 John Wesley, Sermon VII, 1, 10 (op. cit., 1, p. 153).
- 187 John Wesley, Sermon XXXVII, 2 (op. cit., 2, p. 192).
- 188 John Wesley, Sermon VII, 1, 12 (op. cit., 1, p. 154).
- 189 John Wesley, ibid, p. 154. (See also: Sermon XVI, 1, 11 (p. 327); XX, III, 3 (p. 407); XXI, III, 8 (pp. 436, 437); XXXV, II, 8 (p. 160); XXXVII, 1 (p. 192).
- 190 John Wesley makes this plain in his sermon on "The Great Assize", Sermon XLVIII (op. cit., p. 308cf).
- 191 John Wesley, Sermon VI, III, 4 (op. cit.), p. 145.
- 192 John Wesley, Sermon XLVIII, 1 (op. cit., p. 403). Edward Sugden charged Wesley with exegetical error in the light of recent investigations into the eschatological teaching to be found in the New Testament. He claimed, without discussion, Wesley identified the Day of Jehovah of the Old Testament prophets and Jewish Apocalyptic writers with these eschatological events of the appearance of our Lord - the general resurrection and the Last Judgment - found in the New Testament documents. Using a literal interpretation Wesley quoted passages from sources indiscriminately to bring detail and picturesqueness to his descriptions of these events. (Edward Sugden is editor and annotator of Wesley's Standard Sermons published in London by the Epworth Press, 1921. These remarks may be found in his comments to Sermon XLVIII, II, p. 399). However, Wesley's tendency was to give a literal interpretation to Scripture as he sought to make it plain to his hearers. With Apocalyptic writings of Scripture he maintained that consistency. Therefore Wesley interpreted Old Testament Apocalyptic in the light of New Testament eschatology. To him they were inseparably linked.
- 193 John Wesley, Sermon XLVIII, 1 (op. cit., vol. II, p. 403).
- 194 John Wesley, ibid, p. 404.
- 195 ibid, p. 406.
- 196 ibid, p. 406.
- 197 ibid, p. 407.

- 198 Ibid, p. 411.
- 199 John Wesley, Sermon XLVIII, III, 1 (op. cit., II, p. 412) c.f. Sermons IX, II, 1; (I, p. 186); XIX, III, 7 (I, p. 395); XLIV, III, b (II, p. 326).
- 200 John Wesley, Sermon IV, I, 3 (op. cit., I, p. 95) c.f. Sermon VII, I, II (op. cit., I, p. 154).
- 201 John Wesley, Sermon XXIX, III, 12 (op. cit., II, p. 51).
- 202 Wesley is unclear regarding this aspect of his eschatological views. He approached the discussion of the judgment by admitting limited revelation from God. "We are ... to consider the judgment itself, so far as it hath pleased God to reveal it." (Sermon XLVIII, II (vol. II, p. 405)). Similar expressions prevail throughout his discussion of the subject, for instance, "So it seems most probable, the great white throne will be high exalted above the earth." (Sermon XLVIII, II, 3 (vol. II, p. 406)). In one of his "sermons on the Mount", in his attempt to elucidate "the meek shall inherit the earth", he literally ignored crucial discussions that would throw much light on his millennial views. Quoting in the twentieth chapter of John's Revelation: "and I saw an angel come down from heaven, ... and he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, ... and bound him a thousand years ..." not only did Wesley not comment on the passage but he prefaced it with the words: "the saved shall have a more eminent part in 'the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness'; in that inheritance, a general description of which (and the particulars we shall know hereafter) St. John had given ...". Sermon XVII, I, 13 (op. cit., vol. I, p. 342).
- 203 John Wesley, Sermon XLVIII, III, 5 (op. cit., II, p. 415).
- 204 John Wesley, Sermon LI, I, 2 (op. cit., II, p. 464).
- 205 Ibid, p. 464.
- 206 John Wesley, Sermon XXIII, 19 (op. cit., I, p. 486) c.f. Sermon LI, II, 3 (op. cit., II, p. 468).
- 207 John Wesley, Sermon 4, II, 5 (op. cit., II, p. 469).
- 208 Ibid, p. 469.

209 ibid, p., 469.

210 John Wesley, Sermon L1, II, 7 (op. cit. II, pp. 470, 471).

211 ibid, pp. 472, 473.

212 ibid, p. 474.

213 Most of their sermons were on the themes of awakening, conversion and victory over the sense of guilt. In listing the doctrines preached by Canadian preachers Egerton Ryerson did not even include eschatology in his main list but adding it only as an appendage to the long list including repentance, justification, witness of the Spirit, etc., (Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), pp. 73, 74). In his chapter on "Phenomena and Philosophy of Early Methodist Revivals" (ibid, pp. 99-128), Ryerson did not explain the occurrence in terms of hell-fire preaching, rather he explained it in the light of supernatural intervention and conversion. Neither did S. J. Hunter stress eschatology in reviewing Methodist key doctrines. Nevertheless, his sermons frequently included this theme. Sermons & Addresses (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), pp. 281, 282. He placed the eschatology in perspective as understood by Methodist revivalists when he mentioned it in the context of human freedom: encased behind this freedom, in spite of God's awakened wrath, and unkindled hells, fiery tempests of hot displeasure, I can plunge on through the eternities, mocking alike the mercy that saves and the wrath that torments, able to accept the salvation of Christ, or able to reject it forever (ibid, p. 281). (See Appendix to Chapter 4 for further details).

214 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (op. cit.) pp. 110, 111.

215 ibid, pp. 111, 112.

216 ibid, p. 112.

217 Alexander Sutherland in reviewing "Some Distinctive Features of Wesleyan Theology" did not even include a discussion of eschatology. "Wesleyanism", he declared, "is a survey of Christian doctrine from the standpoint of perfect love." (op. cit., p. 396 ff).

218 Alexander Sutherland, "Some Distinctive Features of Wesleyan Theology", op. cit., p. 408.

219 ibid, p. 408. Yet Sutherland intimated that the doctrine of future and eternal punishments is maintained by Methodist preachers (ibid, p. 404). While he admits, Methodism grew out of an overmastering desire implanted by God in the heart "to flee from the wrath to come" "their deepest sympathies were stirred by the spiritual destruction everywhere apparent". ... constrained by the love of Christ their desire was to be saved from sin and to go out "into the highways and hedges to compel men to come in to the gospel feasts". (ibid, p. 401).

220 George Douglas, Principal of the Wesleyan Theological College in Montreal, in his review of the rise of the Wesleyan revival remarked: "It is impossible to overestimate the influence of the theology of Wesley ... its eschatology rejects the wild and dreaming vagaries of Millenarianism and that monstrous assumption that untainted innocency and desperate villainy will be congregated forever in that state where retribution is unknown." After pointing out that Methodist theology was utilized by the evangelists to revive and extend religion, he added: "It contemplates man as utterly lost, and with the knife of the moral anatomist reveals the deep and festering depravity of the human heart." (See: Centennial of Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1891), p. 14). Douglas is pointing out that the preachers aimed for revival through introspection resulting in a desire on the part of the convicted sinner not merely to flee from wrath but to seek to honour his Creator through perfect love. "It holds out the possibilities of a victory over the apostate nature by asserting a sanctification which is entire, and a perfection in love which is not ultimate and final, but progressive in its development forever." (ibid, p. 14):

221 ibid, pp. 402-404. This does not mean systematic; rather it refers to a set of practical teachings.

222 ibid, p. 23.

223 ibid, p. 23.

224 John Carroll, My Boy Life (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), p. 248.

225 ibid, p. 248.

226 Anson Green, Life & Times of Anson Green (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. 8.



- 227 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", op. cit., pp. 56, 57.
- 228 Ibid, p. 57.
- 229 A. Raynor, "Knowledge of Life", op. cit., p. 263.
- 230 S. J. Hunter, Sermons & Addresses (Toronto: William Briggs, 1890), p. 100, also Ibid, p. 113.
- 231 Leroy Hooker, "The Mission of Jesus", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Sermon XVI (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 290.
- 232 Leroy Hooker, Ibid, p. 290.
- 233 C. S. Eby, "The Gospel View of Tribulation", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Sermon XVIII (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), pp. 314, 315.
- 234 Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 57.
- 235 See for example John Carroll, My Boy Life, op. cit., p. 248.
- 236 S. J. Hunter, op. cit., p. 229.
- 237 Ibid, p. 229.
- 238 Ibid, p. 229.
- 239 George Douglas, "The Power of the Gospel", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit, Sermon XIX (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), p. 330.
- 240 Hunter, op. cit., p. 230.
- 241 Ibid, p. 240.
- 242 Ibid, p. 240.
- 243 Ibid, p. 240.

244 Ibid, p. 241 c.f. See also the lengthy appeal made to the unrepentant to choose the benefits of salvation (Sermon: "The Swellings of the Jordan", op. cit., pp. 91-94).

245 John Carroll, Case & His Contemporaries (op. cit.), vol. 1, p. 51.

246 John Carroll, Case & His Contemporaries (op. cit.), vol. 1, pp. 65, 64.

247 John Carroll, Case & His Contemporaries (op. cit.), vol. 2, p. 82.

248 John Carroll, Ibid, p. 87 c.f., Ibid, vol. 11, pp. 94 and 100.

249 Alexander E. Forsyth, Reminiscences of the Early Formation of the Methodist Church in Eastern Ontario (Cornwall: The Standard Printing House, 1907). See for instance, pages 21 and 36.

250 S. J. Hunter, op. cit., p. 54.

251 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", op. cit., p. 60, c.f. George Douglas, "The Power of the Gospel", op. cit., pp. 327-332.

252 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", op. cit., pp. 70, 71.

253 Ibid, p. 57.

254 Ibid, p. 82.

255 When Stephens wrote his stinging criticism of the higher critics who sought to purge the Methodist Church of much of its literalism fostered mainly by traditional revivalists, he included an article on "Eternal Punishment". His "Impeachments" of "the higher critics" of the Methodist Church which was published about 1901 in response to editorial articles in the Christian Guardian challenged their condemnation of the supposed hell preaching of fifty years prior by pointing out that their proclamation of the judgments of God did not thunder any more loudly than the preaching of Christ Himself. E. Stephens, Doctrinal Innovations (Listowel, Ontario: Gea Raines, Book & Job Hunter, undated), p. 18. However, it would seem

clear that after the final Union of the Canadian Methodist bodies in 1884 major doctrinal directions began to creep into Methodist theology, so that by the end of the century different doctrinal emphases were in evidence. Material hell and future punishment as a result of punitive judgment of God were being denied by the leaders of the Methodist Organization (Ibid, pp. 18, 19).

256 Egerton Ryerson, "Christians on Earth and in Heaven", op. cit., p. 73 c.f. Leroy Hooker, "The Mission of Jesus", The Canadian Methodist Pulpit (op. cit.), p. 286.

257 B. Hawley, Manual of Methodism (New York: Carlton & Lanahan, 1869). Contains doctrines, General Rules, & Usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church with Scriptural proofs and explanations.

## CHAPTER V

### REVIVALISM'S NEW ERA:

#### THE PIETISTIC-ACTIVIST DIALECTIC, 1852 - 1860

When Egerton Ryerson responded to John Strachan's remarks about Canadian Methodists which he made in his sermon at Bishop Mountain's funeral in 1825, he was immediately catapulted into the centre of Canadian Methodists Administrative and organizational development. From those early years (both in terms of his youthfulness and lack of experience in the ministry) Ryerson was placed on several important planning committees. By the 1830s he came to symbolize the character of Canadian Methodist administration and policy formulation.

By two very significant motions in the 1852 Annual Conference (one concerning James Caughey and the other regarding church membership) Egerton Ryerson represented the demise of the era he championed and the birth of a new phase in Canadian Methodist development, at least with regard to revivalism. By the 1850s, new urbanizing trends in the general Canadian society required important adjustments within the Methodist community. When the changes occurred, they would be developed and fostered by a new team of administrators who were in the 1850s just beginning on the road to recognition.

That which was crucial to revivalism in the 1850s or indicative of changes within the Methodist organization will be discussed in three aspects: general indicators of a shift within Methodism, thereby affecting the future for revivalism; the class meeting debate, and the message of sanctification brought to Central Canada by James Caughey and Dr. Walter Palmer and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer.

From the introduction of the Methodist movement into Upper Canada, the Wesleyan tradition of a peculiar blend of pietism and activism accompanied it. The tension between these two types of religious expressions was never fully resolved before the mid-19th century.

Viewed as an evangelical movement, Methodism was, by virtue of its revivalistic origin and process of development, activist. However, the dialectical element is evident when the motif of individualism is taken into account. The concept of salvation was not only geared to the salvation of all persons (i.e. those willing to respond) but it was directed at the individual. Upon the surrender of one's soul to the Holy Spirit for forgiveness and regeneration there remained the quest for sanctification: a pietistic goal.

What was peculiar about the 1850s was that the quest for piety within Canadian Methodism renewed its zeal but would begin to

be transformed into activism during later decades. In other words, the new revival techniques introduced in the 1850s were borne on the theological wings of the pietistic theme of sanctification but would culminate in such goals as missions, local social concerns, church fellowship, Sabbath keeping, and so on. The quest for conversion and holiness would diminish and revivalism would be called upon to serve the church's ever increasing community and fellowship-oriented programmes. That is not to say that this transformation occurred in the 1850s; rather it was the decade in which the strongest tension between the two traditionally accepted Methodist elements prevailed with an indication that activism began to win out. In fact, revivalism thrived best in Central Canada when both activistic and pietistic elements were in sharp focus. That is one reason revivalism emerged strongest in the 1830s and 1840s. Although revivalism remained strong in the 1850s the writing was clearly on the wall - the church was gearing for a new era. It was this shift that the keen-witted Egerton Ryerson sensed. When he attempted to act as its mid-wife his views were declared anathema by conservative Methodist leaders and lay members. A reasonable point could be made, however, that the emerging events could have been held back or diverted in order that the revival spirit of Methodism would prevail.

Perhaps more than any other issue, the class attendance and church membership debate revealed the fundamental changes taking

place within the Methodist church. Since the exclusiveness of membership through class attendance stood in contrast to non-members, the "world", or the unsaved, then the erosion of this distinction would result in at least two major changes within Canadian Methodism. With the exception of outright violation of church rules, such as immoral conduct or blatant apostasy, members could engage in a life of worldliness and still remain in the church. Differences between their lifestyles and those of committed members would be clearly evident, thereby creating cleavage within the church body. Of even greater importance would be the demise of revivalism - the major thrust of Methodism since its inception. Conversion and sanctification were fostered through the class meetings where fellow members watched over each other and provided the necessary encouragement and incentive to steadfastness and the quest for a holier life. Those excluded from the class meetings would regard membership as an objective to attain when the spiritual commitment would be made. With the demise of class membership and attendance would likely be a concomitant lapse in revival thrust.

The church membership debate had two main aspects, as advanced by Egerton Ryerson. First, the members were beginning to ignore the practise of attending class meeting and participating in its discussions, confessions and testimonies. Since several of them maintained their Christian experience but did not seek to cooperate with the class

meeting rules out of necessity or neglect, Ryerson sought to change the Discipline to accommodate them. Second, since children of Methodist parents were baptized in infancy, Ryerson sought to establish a continuity of their membership in the church unless they, at a mature age, apostatized. The Discipline required that such children, upon attaining majority, or upon arriving at the age where they were considered responsible for their actions, should become class members and maintain their church membership by regular attendance. According to Ryerson, should the Church accept his proposals: "I shall feel myself amply compensated for the sacrifice and obloquy I have incurred, and shall be among the first to hail the ushering in of a new era, and to do what I can to diffuse its blessings and triumphs".<sup>1</sup>

For more than a decade Ryerson contemplated the issue of membership.<sup>2</sup> Due to the unsettled affairs of the church he was reluctant to press the issue.<sup>3</sup> As early as 1842, the Journal of Conference for that year recorded:

E. Ryerson gave notice of his intention to call the attention of the Conference to that clause of our Discipline in reference to the length of time preachers may remain on their circuit. Also of members attending class as a test of membership.<sup>4</sup>

Hence he had called attention to two issues that would not be fully debated until at least a decade later.



In June, 1852, Ryerson proposed to Conference the adoption of a catechism which he thought would arrest the steady drift of youth from the church. It did not meet the approval of the Conference.<sup>5</sup> At the Hamilton Conference in June, 1853, Ryerson came forward boldly with his proposal regarding church membership. After study by a committee established by the Conference and subsequent reporting on their findings, the Conference vacillated until it eventually decided to reject both the proposals and the catechism. It subsequently put in place a resolution of its own interpretation of its present position regarding the matter:<sup>6</sup>

1. Question - "What does our church hold to be the actual privileges of baptized persons?"

Answer - "They are members of the visible church of Christ and their relation to him as the Second Adam and the Mediator of the new covenant is ratified by divine appointment, thereby obtaining recognition as having a claim to all those spiritual blessings, of which they are the proper subjects."

2. Question - "What is our special duty at the present time in regard to persons baptized by our Ministry?"

Answers - (i) "At the time and under the present circumstances of our country, we should as ministers use our utmost diligence to impress upon parents the duties

enjoined upon them by the Holy Scripture towards their offspring - the obligations and engagements entered into by them when presenting their children to God in Christian baptism, and the privilege conferred upon their children by that sacrament."

(ii) Children should be instructed to take upon themselves the obligation of their baptism - "to enjoy witness of their acceptance with God and to avail themselves of the means of grace and privileges of the church by joining class, attending Love-Feasts and the Lord's Supper." But no person should be allowed to attend "those ordinances and privileges without examination and ticket or note by the Preacher, according to the Discipline and usage of our Church."

On January 2, 1854, Dr. Ryerson addressed a letter to the President of the Wesleyan Conference in which he tendered his resignation and gave a lengthy exposition of his position on the question of membership. He wrote: "But I resign, (not my connection with, but) my ministerial office in, the Wesleyan Church, because I believe a condition of membership is exacted in it which has no warrant in Scripture, nor in the practice of the Primitive Church, nor in the writings of Mr. Wesley;..."<sup>7</sup> As a result of the implementation of this discipline

"great numbers of exemplary heads of families and young people are excluded from all recognition and rights of membership in the Church."<sup>8</sup>

He added that his reference was to "attendance upon class-meetings - without attendance to which no person is acknowledged as a member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, however sincerely and cordially he may believe her doctrines, prefer her ministry, and support her institutions, and however, exemplary he may be in his life."<sup>9</sup>

Ryerson presented several reasons for his decided conclusion. Class meetings as well as Love-feasts have been means of immense good in the Wesleyan Church and that both are useful and (as he quoted Wesley) "prudential" but as the latter is not obligatory neither should the former. Concerning class meetings Ryerson stated: "I think that attendance at class-meeting should also be voluntary and ought not to be exalted into an indispensable condition of membership in the church."<sup>10</sup> Every person who believes the doctrines and observes the precepts and ordinances enjoined by Christ and the Apostles is eligible to membership in the church and cannot, "on spiritual or Wesleyan grounds", be excluded from its rights and privileges because of non-attendance at class meetings. Ryerson advanced his reason for his present involvement with the issue:

But since my more direct connection with the youth of the country at large and having met with numbers of exemplary persons who prefer the Methodist Church to

any other, but are excluded from it by the required condition of attending class-meetings, besides thousands of young people of Wesleyan parents and congregations, I have become more deeply than ever impressed with the importance of the question,...

Ryerson further pointed out that it was rather illogical that an individual may attend faithfully the Lord's Supper, the only religious communion enjoined by Christ, as well as the Love-feast and yet be excluded from membership by not attending class meetings yet those who attend class meetings and do not attend the other means of grace retain their membership. In the Discipline the minister is authorized to drop members for breach of rules of the Discipline and not only for immoral conduct. Ryerson argues that there is no basis of authority for that rule either in the Scriptures or in the writing of John Wesley. Wesley, he emphasized, brought in the ticket system to ensure that undesirable persons were kept out of the class meeting and not that the tickets would serve to sever members who did not attend regularly.<sup>12</sup> Wesley had intended that the leaders should visit the members. The Discipline has reversed the process in which the members are obligated to meet the leaders. In the Doctrines and Discipline of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, the rules required that those who neglect to meet with the class should be visited by the Chairman or Preacher and warned of possible exclusion. It stated in Chapter IV, section V:

If they do not amend, let him who has the charge of the circuit exclude them, (in the church) showing that they are laid aside for a breach of rules of Discipline, and not for immoral conduct.

It added:

Give tickets to none until they are recommended by a Leader, with whom they have met at least six months on trial.<sup>3</sup>

By 1859 a change had occurred in the Discipline indicating some relaxation of the rules. The six month trial period was reduced to three months and personal acquaintance with the leader was changed to "give notes to none but those who are recommended by one you know."<sup>14</sup> Ryerson contended that the penalty for non-attendance at class meeting was too harsh since it was equivalent to capital punishment in the legal system of the society.

Regarding the children, Ryerson was very explicit. He claimed that it was well known that meeting in class by a large portion of the Wesleyan membership was very irregular. Their absence was the rule, and their attendance the exception. If the Discipline were to be evenly enforced a large body of its membership, including ministers, would be excluded.

It is therefore, so much more objectionable, and so much the more wrong, to have a rule which ignores at one sweep the membership of all the baptized children of the body, which sends and keeps away the

conscientious and straightforward, who would not think of joining a religious community without intending habitually to observe all its rules, and yet after all, habitually disregarded by a large portion of both preachers and people, and is made, as far as my observation goes, an instrument of gratifying individual hostility, rather than a means of promoting the religious and moral ends of Christian discipline.<sup>15</sup>

Ryerson was addressing a reality. The children born to Methodist parents did not consider themselves Methodist members since their membership was conditional upon registration in class and class meeting attendance, a habit that only a select few youth would develop when attractions of city life were rapidly increasing to compete with the invitation to a spiritual life. "It is humiliating", Ryerson asserted, "and most painful fact that the great majority of Methodist youth are lost to the Church, if not lost to Christ and to heaven..."<sup>16</sup> He observed that to a large extent Methodism was not perpetuated to the second generation of the same family. It would be much better to preserve those already born in the fold of Methodism than to seek them when they are lost to the church: "prevention is better than cure - piety from childhood is better than reformation in manhood."<sup>17</sup>

Upon receiving Ryerson's letter of January 2, 1854, Enoch Wood, the Conference President, made an immediate reply. He refused to accept his resignation since he felt the matter could be settled in a more agreeable way. He even complimented Ryerson on his point

of view and expressed his confidence in Ryerson's judgment and ability to maneuver the situation to arrive at a beneficial end for the church. Wood wrote:

I shall be glad to see the enactment of any regulation which will promote the usefulness of our church to the benefit of a large and intelligent class of adherents now receiving no recognition beyond their contributions to our institutions; and also the adoption of practical measures by which the youth baptized by Wesleyan ministers may be more personally cared for, and affiliated to our ordinances. Your distinguished ability and matured experience eminently qualify you as a safe legislator and counsellor on such grave questions...<sup>18</sup>

The suggestion was that Ryerson should try again to present the matter to the Conference.

In the Belleville Conference of 1854, Dr. Ryerson's resolutions were presented and underwent considerable discussion. Ryerson's resolutions as presented to the Conference were:

Resolved -

1. That no human authority has a right to impose any condition of membership in the visible Church of Christ which is not enjoined by, or may not be concluded from the Holy Scriptures.
2. That the general rules of the United societies of the Wesleyan Methodist Church being founded upon the Holy Scriptures and requiring nothing of any member which is not necessary for admission into the kingdom of grace and glory ought to be maintained inviolable as the moral standing of

profession, conduct and character in regard to all who are admitted or continued as members of our church.

3. That the power therefore of expelling persons from the visible Church of Christ for other than a cause sufficient to exclude a person from the Kingdom of grace and glory which the fourth question and answer to it contained in the second section of the second chapter of our Discipline confer and enjoin upon our Ministers is unauthorized by the Holy Scriptures, is inconsistent with the Scriptural rights of the members of our church and ought not to be assumed or exercised by any minister of our Church.
4. That the anomalous question and answer referred to in the foregoing resolutions be, and are hereby expunged from our Discipline and are required to be omitted in printing the next edition of it.

The Conference decided against Ryerson's resolutions and adopted the following resolution:

Resolved -

That however lawful it may be for this Conference as the Pastorate of the Church to fix and change the conditions of membership in our Church subject to Scriptural and Constitutional restrictions we consider it neither necessary nor expedient to change the Discipline so as to set aside attendance in class meeting as a condition of continued membership in our Church. 20

Ryerson immediately addressed a letter to the Conference President requesting that his letter of resignation be presented to the Conference in the light of their major and apparently irreconcilable differences. He thanked him for his kindness,



friendship, and flattering expectations of his recognition by the Conference and requested that his resolutions and correspondence with him on the issue be published so that the members may be apprized of his reasons and motives for arriving at such a serious decision.<sup>21</sup> Wood was very understanding and tried to reason with Ryerson with the hope that he would revert to some tact. He even suggested that the "...purpose you aim to accomplish can be effectually secured by a different resolution to that introduced yesterday..."<sup>22</sup> He suggested that Ryerson remain in Conference to await further development before presenting the resignation. Wood remarked: "I say again, I look upon your proposed withdrawal with deep sorrow, and must say, I cannot bring myself to believe that on such grounds you can be justified in taking so serious a step."<sup>23</sup>

Ryerson took his advice and remained for the results of the findings of the large committee appointed to study the issue. But the conclusion was the same. Unhappy with the committee's differentiation between the visible and invisible church and recognizing that the conclusion was against his position, Ryerson wrote Wood two days later requesting his resignation be placed before the body. "Under such circumstances, I have no other alternative than to request you again to lay before the Conference the correspondence which has taken place between us on these subjects."<sup>24</sup>

Despite the eminence of Dr. Ryerson and his colossal stature in the Methodist Church and also in the eyes of the public because of his contribution to the development of Methodism during the previous twenty-eight years, his significant contribution to education in the province and his defense of religious liberty, even his friends sided with the tradition of the Church. They were well aware of the inevitable changes that were beginning to occur but they preferred to defend that which represented the past and present glory and success of the Church. The religious exclusiveness of class meetings provided a strong base for evangelism. It provided the training ground for preachers and the base for revivalism. It also provided the place to develop Christian piety. Ryerson knew well that pietism was giving way to activism. The individualism of the members was being counterbalanced by the societal concerns of the Church organization.

Whereas the action passed by the Conference of 1854 declared the official position of the Church which it would maintain for decades to come, as the debate continued it was apparent to many that Ryerson was pointing to an inevitable reality. The psychological overtones were that the Church would be seen as capitulating to modern pressures. Albeit, several preachers and members were sincerely endeavouring to preserve the tradition that hitherto created and shaped Methodism.

In 1854, the Journal of Conference recorded that the communication received from the Revd. Egerton Ryerson D.D. resigning his standing in the Methodist body in consequence of the rejection of his resolutions laid before the Conference by him, which in the judgment of the body affected an essential aspect of the constitution of the Church which has been faithfully adhered to by all Wesleyan Methodist Conferences throughout the world:

Resolved -

1. That while fully adopting the Catholic and scriptural sentiments enunciated in the first and second sections of the said resolution, the Conference reiterates the determination already expressed of steadily and firmly adhering to the sacred economy committed to them by their Fathers in the Gospel.
1. That while gratefully acknowledging the eminent services rendered to this connexion by the talents and labours of Dr. Ryerson they have no alternative but sorrowfully to accept his resignation as a member of this Conference.<sup>25</sup>

Needless to say several of his prominent friends and leaders of the Church sought various means of reconciling the differences and implored him to return to his former status. However, it would have been unlikely that such a weighty matter could have been laid aside even if Ryerson capitulated. The fact is that the reality of the transition had dawned upon the Church and it was only foreshadowing the struggles in which it would have to be engaged as Darwinism, higher criticism, and the ills and complexities of urbanization increased in alarming intensity during the following decades. Ryerson hoped the church would deal creatively with these challenges.

At the beginning of the 1855 London Conference a letter from Ryerson was read which indicated that he wished to apply for reinstatement in the Conference. But neither he nor the Conference had changed. Anson Green, a long time colleague and supporter of Ryerson, proposed a motion, seconded by Richard Jones that although the Conference stood inviolate on its decision the previous year which occasioned Ryerson's resignation that "upon the application which the latter part of Dr. Ryerson's present communication contains, this Conference restores him to his former standing in relation to the Conference and Church."<sup>26</sup> When Ryerson entered the Conference room he was warmly applauded and welcomed by the body. The president of the Conference returned his official papers, thus reinstating him. But in the following Conference in 1856, Ryerson again brought up the subject in a resolution as to the relation of baptized children of members to the Church and the duties of their ministers and parents respecting them.<sup>27</sup> Ryerson soon realized the tradition was not so easily forgotten. He was ahead of his time. He could only be an indicator of the changes yet to come. J. Boland moved, seconded by W. Jeffers, that since Dr. Ryerson denied the authority of the verbal assurances given him at the previous Conference and repudiated the basis upon which the resolution restoring him to his former standing in the Conference was based, "...therefore all that part of said resolution which relates to his admission be, and is hereby rescinded"<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless

when Ryerson's name came up for review his character passed and he was continued in good standing but only after admission that his letter the previous year requested re-admission.

While the official debate persisted, ministers and lay persons were by no means silent. The views of two ministers and one lay person are presented to indicate possible arguments against Ryerson's position. Rumours regarding Ryerson's motives were beginning to create a reaction against him. Those who cherished the traditional Methodist system viewed him as an apostate. In the 1857 Conference, for instance, the Brantford District Meeting submitted a request that based upon certain charges preferred against Ryerson, resolved, that he be deposed from the Christian ministry.<sup>29</sup>

After Ryerson's resignation in 1854, he had hoped that in compliance with his request to the President his position as stated in his correspondence would have been published in the Christian Guardian and the printed Minutes but this was not done. Consequently, in 1854 Ryerson published his views on the issue and included relevant correspondence between himself and the Conference. While he gained the sympathy of some ministers and lay persons he incurred the opposition of others.

In August, 1854, a reply to Ryerson's publication entitled "Reflections of a Wesleyan Methodist Layman" on reading Dr. Ryerson's

"Reasons For Resigning Office in the Wesleyan Methodist Church", was written with the ink of polemical antagonism. In this publication, Ryerson's character, reasons for resigning, and conclusions regarding the Church membership issue were bitterly opposed. Instead of giving him credit for his contributions to the Church he was accused of using his success for self-gratification and pomposity. He was judged to be in a state of hallucination and unable to grapple with his extenuating sophisms or to convince others of his infallibility.<sup>30</sup> The laymen did not hesitate to discredit his stated motives, inserting in its place as the supposed genuine reason for his resignation the recognition that he had fallen from his position of power and unchallenged influence in Methodist administration. The layman stated:

Instead of being actuated by the disinterested motives, which Mr. Ryerson would lead us to infer, were the real influences that eventuated in his resignation, we can well imagine a mind constituted like that of Mr. Ryerson's, meeting, in the very Councils in which (he) had been accustomed to triumph, so severe a disappointment as that he experienced in June last, and it needs no exaggerated stretch of fancy to form an idea of Mr. Ryerson's thoughts, when, submitting his favorite resolutions to the Conference, he found that he no longer could command acquiescence to his views; how tantalizing would be such a result to his mind, long accustomed as it has been to success, and rendered confident and proud from the absence of failure.<sup>31</sup>

He then proceeded to attack Ryerson's views by the use of logic and a recourse to Wesley's writings with the purpose of showing Ryerson's erroneous interpretation of them.

The following year, even after Ryerson's attempt at reconciliation with the Conference, Henry Wilkinson, a veteran revivalist and champion of the class meeting system published "The Antidote to Dr. Ryerson's Scriptural Rights, etc." In it he dealt at length with the aspects relating to children and adults. He claimed that his purpose was to show the error of the positions on which Ryerson's assumption was founded, that attendance at class meeting was not a proper condition of membership in the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

In answer to the question, "are children members of the Church of Christ on Earth?" Wilkinson replied, "yes". Through the redemptive act of Jesus Christ, divine grace extends backward and reaching forward "...so as to place every child of the human race in a state of justification unto life, and of unavoidable consequence, members of the true church on earth."<sup>32</sup> To the question "are children members of the visible church?", Wilkinson replied, "emphatically, no." All the Christian Churches constitute the visible church in a universal sense. "This is the visible church of God upon earth; but it is not, in the highest sense, the Church of God."<sup>33</sup> Many of its members possess only a nominal connexion with the mystic body of Christ. "In its first and strictest sense, the Church of Christ is the whole company of the 'saved', of the justified, of such as are really in spiritual union with the Saviour." This body of Christ "...to

which the title 'Church' pre-eminently belongs, includes only an accepted and approved and holy membership,<sup>34</sup> Children are members of this church by virtue of their place in the covenant of universal redemption, "...as they are in a state of gracious acceptance and salvation; and of consequence, 'heirs of eternal life'": Wilkinson expressed categorically: "In no other than this highest sense are infants members of the Church. Of no other church relationship do they stand in need, as children. Of no other church relationship are they capable." - Regardless of how much discussion ensues "...the thing is simply impossible that infants can be members of the church, in any other sense." <sup>35</sup>

Baptism, therefore, cannot as Ryerson argued, admit children as members of the visible church or enfranchise them with the rights and privileges of the visible church. Baptism is a sign, as circumcision was for the Jews, or a seal of the merciful covenant which provided blessings to them as a peculiar people. They were already Jews as children are already born into the gracious state of Christ's redeeming love.<sup>36</sup> Ryerson's assumptions, then, that children of Methodists baptized by Methodist preachers were members as a citizen who is born into a political state retains his citizenship was refuted by Wilkinson:

Now all this is the merest assumption. It is not only unproven, but utterly incapable of proof. The obvious and solid truth is, that Baptism "admits" into, or



"makes" of, the Church, infants and little children, in no sense whatever. Not of the visible church, since, as incapables, infants cannot be made members of it. You could just as rationally talk of making them members of parliament. Not of the invisible church, because, of the church in this sense they are already members, as accepted in Jesus Christ. They are, apart from Baptism altogether, now righteous before God, through grace; and hence, entitled to Baptism, as a "sign" or "seal" of that "righteousness".<sup>37</sup>

Regarding adults, Wilkinson opposed the view that one should be excluded from the Church only on the grounds of immoral conduct. Therefore, as Ryerson concluded, it is unscriptural and unwesleyan to exclude members from the Church on the basis of non-attendance at class meetings. Since the Scriptures declare various other grounds for exclusion from the kingdom other than immoral conduct and since the class meetings are designed to foster spiritual growth only those who manifest intentions to enter the kingdom and develop spiritually should rightly belong to the body of Christ on earth. "And the church on earth cannot legitimately be claimed as a home by any except such as manifest a desire to be saved from their sins, as are saved from sin, or are earnestly seeking to be."<sup>38</sup> Wilkinson was very explicit in declaring:

The class meeting was very early made an essential part of Methodism, because it was considered necessary to life, and vigor, and purity, and efficiency of the church. All who joined met in class. Class meeting is not an appendage of Methodism, it is an essential part of Methodism itself.<sup>39</sup> No Methodist, therefore can be excused from meeting in class.

The observation is worthy of note that at the outset of his "Antidote" against Ryerson's views, Wilkinson expressed that he was defending Methodism. He saw Ryerson as having developed an "opposition to Methodism". This was indeed indicative of the feeling generated throughout the membership and ministry. Since Ryerson symbolized the era when Canadian Methodism was visionary and ready to adapt to the rapid changes occurring in the society by constantly changing and developing new revival techniques, the fact that he was bitterly opposed when a change was indispensable to Methodism indicated the eventual demise of the very thing they so much cherished and wished to preserve. Ryerson did not oppose Methodism, neither did he call for the abolition of class meetings; what he wanted was to call forth the enterprising spirit of the Methodism of the 1820s and 1830s to meet an obvious oncoming crisis of the Church. By holding on to dying forms, revivalism suffered a deadly wound. Had Ryerson's voice been heeded, a different or perhaps innovative use could have been made of class meetings to cope with societal demands. The only other major shift to accommodate an ongoing revivalism was introduced by Ryerson himself to the Canada Conference in its 1852 session when he proposed a motion welcoming James Caughey, a professional evangelist, to the Canadian field which indicated an official endorsement of this innovative revival technique.

To ensure that Ryerson's views did not survive despite the already constant opposition, in 1856 John Borland published

"Dialogues Between Two Methodists". By the technique of dialogue between two imaginary Methodists - Newways and Oldpaths (the very names indicating their roles) - Borland attempted to show that class meetings as a condition of Church membership were both Wesleyan and Scriptural and that the relation of children to the visible church was defensible.

From the outset Borland explained that he and Wilkinson agreed in their opposition to Ryerson. However, while he sanctioned Wilkinson's explanation regarding class meetings being Wesleyan, he had a different explanation of the children's relation to the visible church since Wilkinson's views were not, to his mind, Wesleyan.

On presenting his arguments on the subject of children's relation to the visible church, Borland started with Wilkinson's views and showed how they could be controverted by Ryerson. "You institute very properly, a distinction between those who are but nominally members of the church, and others who are so really and spiritually; but allow me to ask you, does it form a part of God's plan, so far as the Scriptures guide us on the subject, that there should be a spiritual portion of the Church of Christ upon earth, separate from, and having no connection with the Visible Church?"<sup>40</sup> While he admits that the children belong to the "Kingdom of Heaven" he inquired of Wilkinson "what authority can you plead for assuming that in that kingdom are two separate, totally and necessarily distinct

portions".<sup>41</sup> Is the Scriptural proof that there is one kingdom which is nominal and the other spiritual, or are both kingdoms of spiritual members? There is no distinction in Scripture.

Borland's "Dialogues" was in a sense supportive of Ryerson. His fairly extensive discourse on children's relation to the church was in effect a clear opposition to Wilkinson and a vindication of Ryerson's view. Since baptism was instituted for the remission of sins and the receiving of the Holy Spirit, he asserted, the intimation is the same for children: "the same act performed for our children; if it does not so unite them to Christ as to effect their safety from death were they to die in infancy..."<sup>42</sup>

His point of departure with Ryerson was not so much his theological interpretation but the alternative. Since children have this relationship with the church from baptism it is the church's responsibility to provide opportunity for spiritual growth, possibly class meetings should be adapted to their age level which would require a weekly attendance and provisions made for instruction, singing and prayer.<sup>43</sup>

Borland followed a similar line of reasoning with regard to class attendance for adults. Relaxing the requirement of class attendance would mean a dilution of the quality of membership.

Size would increase but quality of membership would decrease. His challenge to Ryerson was the alternative to class attendance. Class meetings were tried and they had withstood the test of time. No alternative was in view.

I lay it down as a principle with the utmost confidence, that a Christian truly in earnest for eternal life will gladly avail himself, or herself, of such a means as class-meetings; and any who are not this earnest, are threatened in the expulsion by the Head of the Church himself.<sup>44</sup>

It would appear that Enoch Wood was right. If Ryerson had used more creativity and tact in the presentation of his views, such as a reasonable and acceptable transitional alternative - a compromise concept - judging by the views of Borland and the willingness of several of the preachers to reinstate him in the ministry, he might have won the day and become the herald and pioneer of the new era.

During the 1850s the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada remained a strongly missionary church. Revivals were frequently held and supported and large numbers were being added to the church. The important factor to observe is that a fundamental change was occurring which would demand either serious re-adjustment in revival methods or realization of eventual obsolescence of existing ones. The programme

introduced by professional revivalists served initially as a bolster to the already existing and successful protracted meetings. While its success was significant during the present period of study, it is likely that there was too much dependence upon an imported evangelist during the later period and not enough emphasis upon development of native talents to capitalize on this technique. In other words, urbanization, industrialization or the institutionalization of the church did not determine the continuation or termination of Methodist revivalism, in as much as the frontier did not give it birth; rather it was the failure of the church to respond to the precise demands of the changes brought about by these factors that determined the outcome of revivalism. Earlier Methodist preachers transformed an urban-oriented British institution into a fully rural one to meet frontier demands. Preachers of the second half of the 19th century depended too much on their past achievement. They failed to look ahead and prepare adequately for the inevitable challenges of a modern urbanized society. Ryerson and his peers succeeded because they were visionaries and were quick to grasp new ideas and new techniques and adapt them to their needs. In the 1850s when such an approach was critical, Ryerson was overthrown and his successors merely rested on the achievements of the era he symbolized.

Before the United States-Canada war, Methodist preachers relied heavily on the place of appointment and class meetings for their revivals; from the United States-Canada War to 1830 the new team of Methodist leaders relied on camp meetings as well as class meetings and appointments for revivals; from 1831-1850s all available means were utilized to carry out revival programmes, camp meetings, appointments, prayer meetings, class meetings, quarterly and district meetings, Sunday school class meetings and most important of all, the protracted meetings. In 1852 the large public evangelistic crusade with one central preacher would likely have served to spearhead revival programmes. The ultimate success of such a programme, given the Methodist context, could achieve unquestionable success if the other programmes on the lay or grass-roots level were maintained. Any other external factor, such as an educated ministry, institutionalization of the church, disappearance of the frontier or British influence could not adequately explain the demise of revivalism since it survived into the 1850s while those factors existed. Rev. Harvard was British and educated but he championed the protracted revival concept. Egerton Ryerson was, by the 1850s, academically comparable or in advance of college trained preachers but he supported James Caughey who had met with stiff opposition in many parts of Great Britain. James Caughey and Dr. and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer met unprecedented success in soul-winning despite metropolitan influences. The fact is that after the 1850s the church gradually shifted its

theological emphasis from a motif of individual salvation to a stronger reliance on its social ethic. It became increasingly aware of its programmes and being confident and self-conscious it no more relied (despite the echoes of the traditionalists) on its power of revivalism which had its roots deeply embedded in the concepts of immediate conversion, eschatology and sanctification. The doctrines were taught but the conviction was gone. Decades later Salem Bland, who capitalized on the church's social ethic, was able to write of Methodism:

It swept in, as no other church did, great masses of outsiders. It lost, as no other church did, great numbers of its own young people, as, not in masses but individually, for high reasons or reasons not so high, they found its views of life too narrow. No church, so to speak, had such powerful pumps for filling the reservoirs, and in no church was there so great a leakage.

Dr. Ryerson was, I think, the first prominent Methodist to be concerned about this exodus of Methodist young people, and he agitated for some relaxation of the requirements of membership, but in vain...

Growing out, therefore, of this vivid religious experience, resting on it, and authenticated and established by it, was a narrow, rigid, and self-satisfied attitude very characteristic, it seems to me, of the Canadian Methodism of my early years.

No church, not even the Roman Catholic, was more sure of itself.<sup>45</sup>

Self-consciousness within the Methodist organization was certainly beginning to become evident in the 1850s. Some areas of its



self-consciousness and self-assertiveness had roots in previous decades particularly in the 1830s and 1840s. It became increasingly dependent on its trained ministry; its supportive inter-denominational temperance societies, through which they sought to bring about moral reform; its firmly established network of Sunday Schools; its programme of missions which began to project beyond local Indian missions to foreign fields, and its increasing participation in moral and spiritual issues within the Canadian society. With the secularization of the clergy reserves in 1854 the Methodist Church had gained a victory for religious democracy within the province, thereby obtaining the respect of other Protestant churches. Greatest leverage for social action would be gained as the Methodist organization joined with other religious groups which were themselves increasing in numbers and prestige. The movement toward union with other Canadian Methodist groups continued with the union of the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the Methodist Church in Lower Canada. This union increased its numbers and added to its power and prestige.

In 1851 the Conference resolved that should the Legislature during its present session fail to enact necessary measures to

secure the discontinuance of Sabbath labour in departments under its control, we recommend that the Book Committee be instructed to forward to all the circuits for signature petitions to the Legislature with a design to secure the better observance of the Sabbath.<sup>46</sup>

In its 1852 session, the Conference acknowledged receipt of communication addressed to its body from the Kingston Sabbath Reform Society. It took a resolution:

Resolved -

That this Conference is deeply convinced of the evils arising from the desecration of the Sabbath Day generally, and especially in the Postal Department of the Country, and are deeply impressed with the importance of the hearty cooperation of all the evangelical churches of Canada in the use of every moral and legitimate means to suppress the Provincial sin; and feel it their duty to urge upon all their societies, and congregations, the duty and advantage of keeping holy the Sabbath Day, and deem it expedient to preach directly on the subject of the Sabbath, and determine to take every opportunity of exhorting their people and their children to cultivate a solemn and practical regard to that Divine institution, and to employ every means in their power to aid the efforts which may be made by others to guard its religious observance and sanctity.<sup>47</sup>

The following year it recorded in its Minutes the acknowledgment of the efforts by the Government to change their regulations to harmonize with their petition.

Resolved -

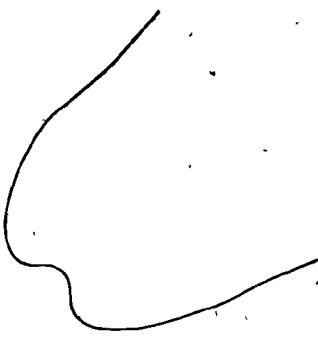
That this Conference cordially sympathizes in the efforts that are being made to secure better observance of the Holy Sabbath in the Department of the Public Service in this Province, especially in the closing of all offices, and in preventing the transmission of mails upon that day ....<sup>48</sup>

Internally, its efforts toward development continued as exemplified by its attitude to the training of its clergy. In 1852 the Conference resolved to prevent the employment of ministers whose grammar was sub-standard for the purpose of proper communication.<sup>49</sup> It further decided to request the ministers to promote on the circuits financial support for the ministers who needed the opportunity to attend Victoria College. The response at the 1854 Conference showed that one hundred and one circuits agreed and twenty-two disagreed, with seven submitting no response.<sup>50</sup> A vote was then taken to approve an annual offering in December "solely to aid in the more thorough training of candidates for our ministry."<sup>51</sup> By 1856 the Conference was able to send eight ministers to Victoria College from this fund.<sup>52</sup>

Re-emphasis should be given to the point that the 1850s was the decade of visible transition rather than a completed transition. Conservative feelings were strong among clergy and laity. Attempts to change traditional programmes could result in a negative reaction. Furthermore, the 1850s was a decade of reaping, in terms of revivalism, what former decades had sown. Hence, emphasis upon revivalism was strong. Ministers were still recruited from the ranks of the laity based on the conviction of a divine call to the Ministry and all revival programmes, including camp meetings, were still being utilized with marked emphasis.

When the Conference in 1856 attempted to change the rule of stationing ministers on circuits for five years instead of the standing three years, reaction was swift. The Committee on Petitions and Memorials reported that twenty-three stations or circuits submitted memorials relating to the extension of time for ministers to remain on their circuits or stations. Resolutions were sent from Toronto City West, Whitby, Simcoe, Brantford, Grimsby, Brock, Owen Sound, New Market, Belleville, Maitland, Nanticoke, Brighton, Paris, London, Port Hope, Napanee, Inisfel, Dunham, St. Armond, and Eton. These requested the Conference to rescind the action of the previous year (1855) to permit appointment of ministers for five successive years to a circuit if requests were made by the quarterly meetings. Elora and Huntingdon submitted their objection to the five year term unofficially and Cobourg requested the Conference to return to its original rule of stationing preachers for two years, leaving the extension of another year to the Conference itself. The Cobourg Circuit objected strongly to circuits petitioning for preachers.<sup>53</sup>

Since only twenty-three out of two hundred and twenty stations and circuits sent in resolutions, the Conference felt that there was not sufficient objection to require a change in its position. Therefore it allowed the rule to remain. In 1857 however, several more petitions were submitted and it would appear that these were from urban as well as rural circuits. Any conclusions regarding



influence of city stations requiring the Conference to station its minister was not yet a reality in the 1850s. Along with other townships, petitions came in from the Toronto circuits and Montreal Centre circuit. 54

In 1857 the Conference was obliged to rescind its action of 1855 to allow preachers to remain on their circuits for five consecutive years and replace it with the previous rule of a three year term. 55

With regard to the discipline of ministers, the scrutiny of their conduct and their demonstration of the divine call to the itinerant ministry, there was equal expectation as earlier decades had required. Edmund Sheppard was expelled in 1855. In 1856 William Harr was suspended and referred back to the District Meeting for further investigation into the charge of selling "spirituous liquors", and William McDonagh who travelled three years was dropped and expelled for immoral conduct. In 1854 Richard Jones had been tried by Conference for his interpretation of the doctrine of sanctification.

The experience of George Kennedy could serve to illustrate practices for induction into the ministry and the revival spirit of the late 1850s. Kennedy's conversion occurred on March 28, 1852 in a newly built church in Oakville. His father was a class leader,

exhorter, and a local preacher thereby exposing George to religion in his early years. In fact, he recorded in his "Journal" that he had an early experience of conversion (though he did not recognize it then) at the age of eight years when Captain Long, a soldier who had devoted himself to evangelistic work, preached in a barn about a half mile from his house. These meetings resulted in several conversions.<sup>56</sup>

At eighteen years old while attending revival services in Oakville conducted by F.W. McCallum and Charles Fish, Kennedy responded to the appeal to take a stand for God. He vacillated at first. "Then I would be alarmed for fear that God would take His Holy Spirit from me, I was afraid to (lie) down to sleep at nights, for fear I would die before morning."<sup>57</sup> At the communion rail Mr. Fish asked if he felt his sins were forgiven. That caused him to think. He developed a desire for salvation and an increasing burden of sin: "then I ventured to believe that God for Christ's sake just now forgives me my sins and accepts me as his child. Then in a moment my great burden of sin was gone and a wonderful peace took possession of my soul,"<sup>58</sup> He could then respond to the question asked by Rev. Fisk affirmatively. The preacher encouraged him to give a testimony of his experience which he did with great timidity.

Subsequent to his conversion, Kennedy sought after the experience of sanctification. With singing and prayer in private devotions he sought after this deeper experience. He would frequently sing the hymn "Oh for a heart to praise my God", especially the lines:

A heart in every thought renewed,  
and full of love divine,  
Perfect and right and pure and good;  
A copy Lord of thine.

He also sang the second stanza "Oh thou to whose all-searching sight" with much earnestness and emphasis:

Wash out its stains, refine its dross  
Nail my affections to the cross.  
Hallow each thought, let all within,  
Be clean as Thou my God art clean.

Kennedy expressed the results:

While thus waiting upon God, endeavouring to open my heart to Him, He came consciously in, and filled my soul with such a joy as I had not experienced before and of which I had no previous conception. I felt that my whole soul was filled with Him, and I seemed to dwell in a paradise of unsullied bliss. I had no desire for the world and its pleasures, but my only desire was to be wholly the Lord's; all else was trifling.<sup>59</sup>

The fear motif in early Methodist eschatology was still a prominent feature of Methodist theology in the 1850s. It still

provided strong motivation for individuals to escape the fearful consequences of dying in sin. Nevertheless, the tension between the consequence of death without salvation was held in unmistakable balance with the invitation to enjoy the pleasures offered to the redeemed in the world to come. Kennedy explained that at this time thoughts of death and his title to heaven were the greatest ingredients of his happiness. "Where in my sinful state, I would often think of heaven, and long for religion, in order that I might have title for it, when I obtained this title, it was a great source of joy to me."<sup>60</sup> He further stated:

When I thought of death I knew if I died I should go to heaven, so that death in place of being terrible to me, the thought of it was a great source of joy and supreme delight, death had no terrors for me. I could adopt the words of St. Paul, "I have a desire to depart and be with Christ which is far better."<sup>61</sup>

Since the prayer meetings were neglected in Oakville, Kennedy resolved to restore them. He had no experience but since he was responsible for calling the meeting he was obliged to lead it. "I have gone to the church when there was no one else to take part in the meeting, and quite a number of young people there. I would give out and sing a hymn, read a portion of Scripture, pray, sing another hymn and dismiss."<sup>62</sup>



George Kennedy's experience compared closely with the experience of Anson Green or any of the earlier preachers. He was encouraged to assist as an exhorter on the circuit where he taught school. While staying at a member's home after completing one of his preaching assignments he was encouraged to enter the ministry at the next Conference. He also developed his preaching ability. He explained that when he got to one of his speaking assignments which was held in a school house, he found a large assembly. He intended to hold a prayer meeting since he did not consider himself a preacher. But seeing the large gathering he realized that they would be disappointed if he did not preach a sermon. He opened the service and then turned to his Bible which he opened to the experience of the Egyptians. Although he intended only to read the passage, a sermon came to his mind. "I thought, here is my subject, I will consider Egyptian bondage as a type of the bondage of sin, the deliverance of Israel as a type of the believer's deliverance from the bondage of sin." <sup>63</sup>

When Robert Corson arrived on the Erin Mission where Kennedy was teaching he learned that he was planning to leave for the United States to study since he had only obtained the level of the Grammar School. Corson wrote him advising that he should teach with the Erin School board and then, "study theology and go out into the ministry at the next Conference; and then the Conference would send me to college during my probation." <sup>64</sup> Corson also sent him two sermon

outlines. He did not take Corson's advice. Kennedy transferred to the Guelph Circuit where Louis McWarner was the preacher in charge and the chairman of the district. Kennedy stated that he had the reputation of bringing more young men into the ministry than any other chairman. Corson recommended him as "having talents to improve." McWarner immediately started to groom Kennedy for the ministry. He questioned him on his theology, determined his reading skills, and decided to place him on the circuit plan as an exhorter. He advised him to improve himself all he could. He gave him advice as to what books to read and said he would keep his eye on him; if he proved worthy he would recommend him for the ministry. <sup>65</sup>

After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a college education in the United States, Kennedy returned to Canada. He resided on Rev. Carey's circuit. He was examined at the quarterly meeting as a candidate for the ministry. Although he was successful it is not clear what year he passed the examination at the district meeting. He wrote that Richard Jones, district chairman, met him at the succeeding district meeting and inquired why he did not attend the examination. He explained that his superintendent suggested that he postpone it since the year was far gone.

At the Conference held in Belleville in 1860 Kennedy was received on trial having been recommended to the Conference by the district meeting. <sup>66</sup>

Kennedy recorded: "after the usual theological examination (at the district meeting) the chairman asked me to relate my experience and call to the ministry."<sup>67</sup> The increasing number of college graduates and the rigorous academic examination for entrance into the ministry resulted in an up-grading of the academic level of the ministry from the 1860s. The change started much earlier, but it occurred slowly and almost imperceptibly.

When Egerton Ryerson introduced a motion in the 1852 Conference which expressed that:

...this Conference affectionately invites Bro. Caughey to spend as much of his time in labouring in Upper Canada, especially in the principal cities and towns, as he may feel it consistent with his duty and vocation in promoting the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers,...

he was (perhaps without fully recognizing it) introducing a measure that could have caused Methodism to remain a revivalistic church for many decades to come. It is true that the Conference approved the motion and further resolved "that the Secretary of the Conference forward a copy of the above resolution to Rev. Mr. Caughey".<sup>69</sup>

What is not so apparent is that professional revivalists did not receive an enthusiastic welcome within the ranks of Canadian preachers to the same extent as the other revival programmes of earlier decades.

It should not be difficult to imagine the consequence to Methodism if the class meetings, quarterly meetings, camp meetings, preaching appointments and protracted meetings were not adopted by the Methodist preachers and fostered and, in fact, enforced by the administration itself. Professional evangelism offered a new dimension to revivalism. However, Methodism was slow to respond and had it not been for James Caughey, Dr. Walter and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, Dwight L. Moody and a few others who were invited into Canada as evangelists, revivalism in Methodism might well have been endowed with its epitaph long before it did. With the exception of a few professional revivalists such as Hugh Crossley and H.T. Hunter, professional revivalism did not defy the causes advanced for revival decline - disappearance of the frontier, urbanization, sect to church institutionalization, etc. - particularly after the 1860s. Like the United States of America, Canadian preachers could have utilized the cutting edge of Methodism, its revivalism, to catapult the Methodist movement beyond the expectations of its leaders. Instead the "dirge" of S.S. Nelles, in his introduction to Life and Times of the Rev. Anson Green, published in 1877, described the later Methodism:

...The converting power still abides with the churches, and a variety and fullness of instruction not available in the former days, but the startling conversion of daring transgressors, followed by a burning intensity of devotion, the moral revolutions putting believers in marked and courageous contrast with surrounding ungodliness, together with a certain awfulness overhanging the dispensation of God's grace, and felt both by saint and sinner, and transformed also to the preacher as the messenger of grace, these are either not known, or, if known, fail to draw attention as in the days when the rarity of Christian privileges, and the simple ways of the people, made the coming of a minister like the visit of an angel, and the conversion of a soul like a miracle from heaven. It was as if the windows of heaven were opened and the fountains of the great deep broken up.

A trend toward institutionalization of the camp meeting began in 1859. In that year the Niagara District, having held a meeting on the Smithville Circuit the year prior, formed a committee to establish a permanent camp site. The Niagara District, having formed in 1858 out of the Hamilton district, had assigned Samuel Rose its chairman. The committee to plan for the new camp ground recommended the purchase of a grove on the farm of J. B. Bowslough, near Grimsby. It was situated on the lake shore with a grove of "stately trees, chiefly oak and chestnut, interspersed with pine, casting an ample and cooling shadow; in a central position, a slight depression of the ground formed a natural amphitheatre capable of containing four or five thousand people..."<sup>71</sup> The development of the site proceeded and "since that period (1859) the Grimsby Camp-meeting has been an established institution."<sup>72</sup> Later it was formed into a company and permanent cottages were erected. Families returned annually to rent the same tent sites or cottages and often they remained for the summer. By 1874 the camp meeting had developed into a large community. Summer houses, chapel, stores and hotel were erected.

The changes which occurred led gradually to a shift from revival emphasis to social and spiritual fellowship for the membership.

Finally, a large building 100 feet by 122 feet was built to accommodate about seven thousand five hundred persons. Soon campers would come from distant locations to this camp site and the holiday spirit would introduce a counteracting influence to the original spirit of revivalism known and felt in a regular camp meeting. The effect of this shift would affect the camp meeting concept in general. Other camp meetings lost the spontaneous spiritual emphasis and developed a spirit akin to social gatherings. This was much decried by contemporary beholders of this transformation. With the lessening of emphasis on the spirituality of the camp meeting and prayer meetings would also be the lessening of the spirituality of class meetings and prayer meetings. The form remained but the spirit was absent except in a few instances. This trend was already beginning in the late 1850s. An article under "Class-Meetings" in the Christian Guardian bemoaned the decline in interest:

It is a sad fact that class-meetings though sanctioned by the Bible, the smiles of Heaven and the best wishes and attention of the most pious, are in many places becoming unfashionable, unpopular, thinly attended, and virtually are being at last "put down". Sad intelligence this, to a church professing vital godliness...<sup>73</sup>

Like the camp meeting, the church held on to this form of class meeting for decades to come. A report on the topic in the Canadian Methodist Magazine in 1878 said: "no subject discussed at the late General Conference was of greater interest to the whole church than (the class meeting)".<sup>74</sup> Needless to say the General Conference concluded that "it (is) inexpedient to alter our rules but rather to keep them."<sup>75</sup>

Regarding leading revivalist doctrines, no different fate was meted out by the Canadian Methodist Church. Throughout Methodist experience in Central Canada from its introduction until the 1850s three major themes predominated: conversion, sanctification and eschatology. All three were undergirded by one predominant emphasis - now! The preachers appealed to sinners to "escape the wrath to come" by surrendering "now". Converted members were constantly urged to seek sanctification as a present experience, although the experience could require renewal. Since death and the judgment were ever present possibilities, postponement of a decision could lead to final condemnation should death occur suddenly. The preachers' messages were charged with urgency and zeal, aimed to bring about changes immediately in the lives of their hearers.

The themes of conversion of the sinner and sanctification of the believer were emphasized differently by different preachers. There did not occur a specific period when one - either sanctification or conversion - was not preached. But there was a strong revival when either one or the other or both were preached, and they were frequently accompanied by eschatological themes. In comparing the earlier period with the 1870s S. S. Nelles declared:

The cardinal truths of the gospel were proclaimed with remarkable distinctness and simplicity, and when pressed home upon the conscience with urgent appeals, and the now old-fashioned, and well-nigh obsolete methods of exhortation, the word was with power.<sup>76</sup>

During the 1850s the sanctification theme predominated. It was in this decade that an observable transition with regard to this vital doctrine of Methodism began to emerge in Central Canada. While revival preachers up to 1852 emphasized the "now" of sanctification they intended to stress the traditional view of sanctification in a relative sense - realizing one's full spiritual potential in terms of a change of heart and life not sinless or error-free perfection. However, the influence of Dr. and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer introduced another dimension which had been long debated in the United States - that sanctification was not only a present possibility, but it involved destruction of the root of sin. They preached an immediate sinless perfection. This resulted in a conflict that would not affect Methodism until several decades later. This view formed the basis of Ralph Horner's holiness movement in the 1880s.

Converted at a Methodist camp meeting in 1876, Horner soon thereafter claimed to obtain the experience of deliverance from "inbred sin." Horner testified: "Instantly the second work of grace was wrought and God seemed to let the whole heavens upon me, and the witness of the Spirit was clearly received ... It destroyed the body of sin and purged out all carnal affections."<sup>77</sup> Horner preached this view of sanctification. While some accepted as, according to Horner, "cyclones of converting, and sanctifying power swept over the place"<sup>78</sup>, others bitterly opposed



this view. "I preached only a few nights," he wrote, "until members of the church commenced a war against the doctrine of Christian perfection as a second work of grace."<sup>79</sup>

The influence of the professional evangelists would undoubtedly result in some Canadian preachers accepting this radical view of perfection. However, during the 1850s the conservative revivalists of the earlier period did not compromise. As their conservative and traditional view of the class meeting withstood the pressure for change and this position was maintained during later decades so also with the sanctification theme. This radical view was rejected although prominent Methodist revivalists promoted it. The Canadian Church maintained its traditional view until later decades. Little wonder Ralph Horner could find no place in the main Methodist system.

At the 1854 Annual Conference the sanctification question was reviewed. A complaint was brought against Richard Jones for not believing the Wesleyan doctrine concerning "entire sanctification". A committee was appointed to confer with Richard Jones and report back to the Conference. The committee was comprised of Henry Wilkinson,<sup>80</sup> S. D. Rice, D. B. Madden, J. Douse and E. P. Harper.

The committee reported that Jones did not believe there remained any sin in a truly justified and regenerated person. Another committee

consisting of T. Bevitt, W. Case, W. Young, H. Wilkinson, J. Douse, W. Jeffers, A. Hurlbut, G. F. Playter, secretary, and W. Ryerson, chairman, was appointed to investigate the matter and make recommendations. Their report was as follows:

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1. That they understood the complaint against Richard Jones to consist in heterodoxy of belief and teaching as a Wesleyan minister with respect to the doctrine of sin in the regenerate persons. (The accusation was based upon his holding this view as a minister and not as a Methodist in a general sense since members were not tried for heterodoxy in teaching unless they were proved to be divisive).
2. That their understanding of entire sanctification was based upon Scripture, John Wesley and the founders of Methodism in British North America. There are four types of persons specified in Scripture. Consequently, inbred sin has four aspects in relationship to individuals. (1) Sin lives and reigns in the natural person. Hence, he is a slave of sin. (2) The awakened or penitent person recognizes the dominion of sin in the life and begins a struggle against this oppressor. There arises a sincere desire to serve God. (3) When the sinner becomes regenerated, sin is overcome and does not continue to have dominion, either inwardly or outwardly. (4) When the believer becomes perfect or obtains perfection, "sanctification has become complete, and sin is destroyed". Thereafter one's actions, thoughts and behaviour are pure. (In the foregoing chapter the point was already made that this perfection,

as understood by John Wesley and the Canadian preachers, was not free from error or ignorance. In other words, it was not absolute perfection. For instance, it was not perfect in knowledge since after sanctification more knowledge could be acquired).

3. That Jones' error was a confusing of the two latter aspects of one's relationship to sin. What Jones regarded as entire sanctification - i.e., a view of total eradication of inbred sin - was confused with the experience of regeneration. The view of an immediate eradication of inbred sin at the stage of regeneration was "contrary to Scripture, to the experience of behaviours, and to the commonly received doctrine of Methodism, and of the church in all ages".
4. This view of immediate eradication of inbred sin could lead some to presumption because of their supposed high state of grace while others faced with the reality of sin remaining in the life could despair and cast off religion entirely.
5. The committee did not only condemn this view of entire sanctification but recommended that:

the younger ministers of the Conference not only to be clear in their views of Methodist doctrines in general, but to express these doctrines as nearly as possible in the language used by our venerable Founder and by the first Methodist preachers, in Europe and America.

6. The committee recommended that Jones should be placed in another phase of the work under the superintendence of a judicious superintendent for the ensuing year. He was required to review the subject in his own mind and state his conclusions to his district meeting. A report from the district meeting would then be presented to the Annual Conference in 1855. During this process, Jones was charged not to teach his peculiar views. The matter was subsequently resolved amicably.

Despite the beginnings of transition within Methodism, revivalism was still strong and spontaneous in the 1850s. Several successful meetings were conducted. For instances, there were meetings in Brampton in 1855, in Brantford and Kingston districts in 1856, in Woodstock in 1858, in Gosfield, Rochester, Sidney and Yonge Street in 1859.<sup>82</sup>

A report of the 1856 Kingston District camp meeting could illustrate the continuing success of revival in the latter 1850s. This meeting was conducted at Earnestown during the summer.

A large canvas tent was erected for the purpose of holding prayer meetings and to provide accommodation in case of rain. The meetings began on Thursday and lasted eight days. Several ministers attended. After the meetings, class meetings usually closed with prayer meetings. A description of the proceedings recorded in the Christian Guardian

revealed the spontaneity which paralleled earlier revival experiences:

(The) hour of triumph came Monday when Rev. Keough was preaching - "For this is the will of God even your sanctification" - wonderful power rested on the congregation, till the restrained emotions of the intensely-instructed audience broke over the bounds of conventional propriety; the preacher's voice was lost in the commotion. All restraint gave way without waiting to get into the places prepared for the "seekers". The vast multitude fell prostrate on their knees, as the forest sometimes falls before the raging tempest; and the exclamation might be heard from many a trembling penitent, "God be merciful to me a sinner" ... while many others prostrate under the power of God could only exclaim, "Glory! Glory!"<sup>83</sup>

Indeed, the revival era in Central Canadian Methodism that began to experience a demise by 1860 enjoyed similar triumphs in revivals toward the close of the period as those with which it began in 1824.

NOTES: CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup> Egerton Ryerson, Scriptural Rights of the Members of Christ's Visible Church (Toronto: Brewer, McPhail & Co., Printers, 1854), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 14. Ryerson stated: "The views thus stated, I have entertained many years. After having revolved the subject in my mind for some time, I expressed my views on it in 1840; and in 1841, the Rev. John C. Davidson assigned my remarks on this subject as one of his reasons for leaving the Canadian Conference and uniting with another branch of the Wesleyan Church."

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Journal of Annual Conferences, 1843-1857, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, p. 214.

<sup>5</sup> E. Ryerson, op. cit., p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Journal of Annual Conferences, 1843-1857, op. cit., pp. 360, 361.

<sup>7</sup> Letter, Egerton Ryerson to Enoch Wood, Toronto, Jan. 2, 1854, included in Scriptural Rights, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 14.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 16, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Doctrines and Discipline, The Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada (Toronto: Anson Green, at the Conference Office, 1850), p. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 1859 Edition, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 8.

- 16 Ibid, p. 10.
- 17 Ibid, P. 10.
- 18 Letter, Enoch Wood to Egerton Ryerson, Toronto, Jan. 4, 1854, included in Scriptural Rights, op. cit., pp. 23, 24.
- 19 Journal of Annual Conference, 1843-1857, op. cit., p. 388.
- 20 Ibid, p. 388.
- 21 Letter, E. Ryerson to Enoch Wood, Belleville, June 10, 1854, included in Scriptural Rights, op. cit., pp. 27, 28.
- 22 Letter, Enoch Wood to Egerton Ryerson, June 10, 1854, op. cit., p. 27.
- 23 Letter, Enoch Wood to Egerton Ryerson, Ibid, p. 27.
- 24 Letter, E. Ryerson to E. Wood, Belleville, June 12, 1854, op. cit., pp. 27-32.
- 25 Journal of Annual Conference, op. cit., p. 400.
- 26 Ibid, p. 414.
- 27 Ibid, p. 483.
- 28 Ibid, p. 487.
- 29 Ibid, p. 518.
- 30 Reflections of a Wesleyan Methodist Layman (Montreal: Wilson and Nolan, Printers, 1854), p. 3.
- 31 Ibid, p. 7.
- 32 H. Wilkinson, The Antidote to Dr. Ryerson's Scriptural Rights, etc. (London, C.W.: Printed by Henry A. Newcombe, 1855), p. 5.
- 33 Ibid, p. 6.

- 34 ibid, p. 6.
- 35 ibid, p. 6.
- 36 ibid, pp. 8, 9.
- 37 ibid, p. 8.
- 38 ibid, p. 21.
- 39 ibid, p. 26.
- 40 John Borland, Dialogues Between Two Methodists (Toronto: Printed by John Donogh, 1856), p. 27.
- 41 ibid, p. 27.
- 42 ibid, p. 44.
- 43 ibid, p. 45.
- 44 ibid, p. 17.
- 45 Salem Bland, Life of James Henderson (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1926), pp. 30, 31.
- 46 Journal of Annual Conferences, 1943-1857, op. cit., p. 299.
- 47 Appendix to the Annual Conference Minutes, 1824-1854, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, pp. 218, 219.
- 48 Journal of Annual Conference, 1843-1857, op. cit., p. 366.
- 49 ibid, p. 333.
- 50 ibid, p. 387.
- 51 ibid, p. 387.
- 52 ibid, pp. 494, 5.



- 53 ibid, pp. 467, 8.
- 54 ibid, p. 520.
- 55 ibid, p. 538.
- 56 George Ferguson, "Journal", p. 5.
- 57 ibid, p. 7.
- 58 ibid, p. 8.
- 59 ibid, p. 10.
- 60 ibid, p. 11.
- 61 ibid, p. 11.
- 62 ibid, p. 17.
- 63 ibid, p. 31.
- 64 ibid, p. 37.
- 65 ibid, p. 39.
- 66 ibid, p. 120.
- 67 ibid, p. 120.
- 68 Journal of Annual Conference, 1843-1857, op. cit., p. 333.
- 69 ibid, p. 333.
- 70 Anson Green, Life and Times of the Rev. Anson Green (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877), p. viii.

71 Alexander Sutherland, "The Grimsby Camp-Ground", Canadian Methodist Magazine, July-Dec., 1878, pp. 110, 111. cf. Harriet Phelps Youmans, Grimsby Park (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), pp. 8, 9.

72 ibid, p. 111.

73 Christian Guardian, Aug. 20, 1856, p. 177.

74 Canadian Methodist Magazine, July-Dec., 1878, p. 469.

75 ibid, p. 469.

76 Anson Green, op. cit., p. vii.

77 Ralph Horner, Reminiscences (Brockville: The Standard Church Book Room, n.d.), p. 11.

78 ibid, p. 90.

79 ibid, p. 89.

80 Journal of Annual Conference, 1843-1857, op. cit., p. 386.

81 The full report is recorded in the Appendix to the Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1854, Wesleyan Methodist in Canada, p. 296.

82 Christian Guardian, Oct. 10, 1855, p. 10; Feb. 1856, p. 82; July 9, 1856, p. 158; Oct. 6, 1856, p. 210; April 13, 1859, p. 58; Nov. 2, 1859, p. 175; Dec. 21, 1859, p. 202. Several large revival meetings were conducted by James Caughey and Dr. Walter and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer. For further information on these evangelists, see appendix F.

83 Christian Guardian, July 9, 1856, p. 158.

CHAPTER VI  
REVIVAL EXPRESSION IN CENTRAL CANADA:  
AN APPRAISAL

From this study on revivalism in Central Canada at least seven significant conclusions may be drawn. First, in order to understand 19th century Canadian Methodist revivalism, it is necessary to disengage one's mind from the general 20th century conceptions of 18th and 19th century revivalism (i.e., boisterous, hell-fire preaching, accompanied by excessive emotionalism expressed by the hearers) and reinterpret this phenomenon in the light of the participants themselves and the fruits it produced. Second, the Canadian Methodists revival expression should not be confused with British Wesleyan Methodists' conservatism or the United States Episcopal Methodists' excessive emotionalism. Neither did the union between the Canadian and British Methodists (1833) stifle Canadian revivalism. Third, from 1824 to 1860, the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada experienced its most successful period of revivalism. Success, however, was only moderate. Fourth, Wesleyan Methodists were no less revivalistic than any of the other Methodist bodies. Fifth, external factors such as frontierism, metropolitanism, and the sect to church typology did not determine the nascence, development and apogee of revivalism as much as Methodist doctrine, preaching and methods. Sixth, throughout the period of this study a tension existed between evangelicalism (the stress on individual salvation from sin) and pietism (the quest for personal holiness or the attainment of perfection). Seventh, the quest for personal holiness spilled over into the striving for moral reform within the

community - an activistic endeavor. The social ethic that emerged resulted in a positive contribution to the Central Canadian society as a whole.

Revivalism is frequently misunderstood and misinterpreted. Its use and connotation often preclude transformation, adaption, innovation, social contribution and even divine intervention. It is often confined to emotional excess in religion. Unfortunately, most church historians and scholars of other disciplines give prominence to the aspect of emotionalism with reference to revivals. Hence, the scope of the revival influence is rarely measured. S.D. Clark, for instance, was passionately concerned with the sociological origins and implications of revivalism. In conformity with his theory revivalism was born, bred and brought to its ultimate demise on the frontier. The temperance movement, and even the professional evangelists, were interpreted as being less than orthodox. "Development of the temperance movement was the most obvious example of the sort of adjustment forced upon Methodism through the changing conditions within the moral order. The temperance reformer took his place at the side of the professional evangelist; both of these persons stood slightly outside the religious organization..."<sup>1</sup> Emotional preaching resulted from the temperament of the preachers. "Many of the preachers were highly unstable emotionally - such emotional instability accounted in the first place for their enlistment in the preaching ranks - and this instability led naturally to a highly emotional type of preaching."<sup>2</sup>

Methodism was not born on the frontier, unless it be a metropolitan one. From its inception it was evangelical and non-sectarian.<sup>3</sup> The system

of organization, doctrines and revival spirit were imported to the United States and British North America from the large cities of Great Britain. On the frontier, Methodism not only adapted to the present exigencies but underwent constant transformation to cope with the rapidly changing society. What occurred in Central Canada was the outworking of the 18th century revival phenomenon which had spanned the Atlantic. Since the revival phenomenon originated in a metropolitan environment and was brought up on the frontier, it would be futile to argue that either of these forces was inimical or devastating to the movement. Neither would it be correct to assume that either the metropolis or the frontier was entirely responsible for its advent or demise. Both environments contained elements that stifled and fostered revivalism. Its genesis, development or demise must take into account these environmental forces that were both negative and positive but must also look elsewhere for their causes. Pressed into an environmental theory, revivalism could yield misleading conclusions through sociologists or church historians. The sect theory supported by Richard Niebuhr requires the sect to be transformed into a church form by the second generation.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, S.D. Clark argued the decline of revivalism from the 1820s as Methodism began showing signs of organizational development.<sup>5</sup> The fact is that revivalism had its heyday in Central Canada in the 1830s to 1850s as it increased its popularity and power commensurate with the increase of the influence of the Methodist organizations. The metropolitan theory argues for the retreat of revivalism with the increase of scientific and

social progress and frontierists saw the death of revivalism coinciding with the disappearance of the frontier. Revivalism in Central Canada underwent transformation to meet the challenges of the changing society. Frontier camp meetings were transformed from spontaneous events to well-planned events and even gave way to protracted meetings. But the impact of evangelism remained. The Wesleyan Methodist church in Canada remained a missionary church until at least the 1850s. The preachers saw their mission as a constant soul-saving venture. In 1852, an editorial in the Christian Guardian stated:

It was the remark, we believe of our honoured founder, under God, "that revivals in the Methodist Church would always be necessary for the continuance of its existence." And whenever Methodists cease to offer up effectually the prayer of the prophets "O Lord, revive thy work!", they will inevitably have lost the essential elements of their distinctive character and work, and consequently cease to exist, so far as it respects the successful prosecution of the great purpose for which they have been raised up by the Great Head of the church.

Revivalism, and indeed Methodism, had a supernatural rather than a mundane orientation. Central Canadian Methodists were strict adherents to the original Methodist code. While revivalists accepted the authority of their local leaders (such as the Ryersons and Anson Green), they considered the Bible and John Wesley to be their ultimate authority in spiritual and organizational matters. Even British leaders of the Canadian church found strong resistance to any innovation that did not satisfy reasonable local needs. It should be pointed out here that the

Canadian Methodists showed extremely great resilience in response to social demands and they demonstrated brilliant awareness of the need for adaptation of its methodology on the ever changing Central Canada region.

Despite the various theories regarding the Methodist movement, Methodists of the 19th century were fully aware of their origin and purpose. They did not attribute their existence to the crying need of the frontier or the destitution of its residents. They gave credit to their supernatural origin and to their doctrines, system of government and their preaching. The cutting edge of this thesis is substantiated by an editorial in the Christian Guardian entitled, "Methodist Preaching."

Doubtless our denominational progress is attributable to a great many conditions, but our preaching has been the chief one: it has been related to and has empowered all others. Suppose we had our itinerancy, and even our wholesome doctrines, but a stereotyped lifeless, however, refined preaching - a ministry with even the culture of education, but heartlessly lispng manuscript essays from appointment to appointment - would our cause have broken out on the right and on the left, overwhelming the land, as it has through the labours of the men who have made it a glory to the world! (emphasis supplied).<sup>7</sup>

The driveshaft of the revival movement in Britain, the United States or in Canada was its impassioned revivalistic preaching.<sup>8</sup> There could have been absolutely no substitute. Environmental conditions only provided the opportunity or the moment. Elizabeth Nottingham in her book, Methodism and the Frontier, supports the concept that revivalism was not environmentally induced.

Though in America Methodism has shown itself one of the most consistently revivalistic in method of all Protestant sects, it must not be assumed that this emphasis was purely a product of the American environment. From the very beginning the stress on the necessity of conversion and the knowledge of salvation - the entire emphasis on the inner emotional religious state - lay at the very core of John Wesley's preaching and practice.<sup>9</sup>

From the introduction of Methodism in Canada until the movement developed into a mature organization the preachers shared in the revival thrust. Not all were equally gifted, not all stressed the same aspect of their ministerial responsibility but all recognized the centrality of the evangelical mission in the Methodist movement. The Methodist preachers believed that their call to service was from God and they endeavoured to execute that commission self-sacrificingly and enthusiastically. Unlike the concept that the demands of the society pressured them into social services, they considered the temperance movement, Indian missions, Sunday schools, educational institutions and even distribution of literature, as integral aspects of the overall purpose of evangelism. In other words, Methodist preachers and members understood these functions as basic to their overall purpose of soul-saving. Their involvement in transformation of the Indian societies, democratization of the political system, bringing about moral reform in the society through the temperance movement, publishing religious papers or establishing institutions for the training of the youth, conformed to their religious ethic. Methodists from the outset were not ascetics in the true sense: they promulgated a doctrine which required separation from "worldly" activities, i.e., those which ran counter to the Christian message, but they never required separation from the world.



What, then, did Canadian Methodists think about revivals of religion?

It is clear that there was never a complete consensus of opinions, nevertheless there was an overwhelming view of revivals which prevailed during the period 1824 to 1860. The central view was that of official acceptance and enthusiastic promotion of the various forms of revivals as they gained prominence throughout the period. It is also the case that there was opposition to the various measures, particularly camp meetings and protracted meetings. However, the passionate zeal of the preachers and the strong support of the members caused these revival procedures to achieve unprecedented success despite the constant challenges of the Methodist Church in Canada.

To Egerton Ryerson, the term revival signified -restoring, "quicken<sup>g</sup>, or re-animating with hopes or joys; awakening men to their spiritual interests, and rousing them to more attention and action in regard to religion".<sup>10</sup> He considered the new birth of every soul to be a phenomenon as well as a miracle. In a revival of religion, such a miracle is multiplied by scores, hundreds and thousands, as God manifested Himself in various ways through the human mind and calls; pardons and saves them. The divine "special call" was first given to the preachers who entered the Canadian wilderness. Ryerson declared:

Since the days of the apostles, I know not that the history of the church has presented a phenomenon more remarkable for self-denial and devotion than that of the first Methodist preachers ...in Canada.

There were two main aspects of revivals into which the preachers led the people - "the suddenness of conversions and the extraordinary circumstances

connected with many of them".<sup>12</sup> Accompanying the conversion experience was the assurance of adoption. The suddenness or the slowness of conversion are mere circumstances, unconnected with the reality of the conversion experience. Because of the peculiarities of the nature of different individuals and the inscrutability of God's will, there may be an intensity of action in one's experience and a flow of action in another's. The ultimate purpose is that God would "more eminently mark His finger in a work which His own glory, and the humility proper to man, require, should be known and acknowledged as the work of God alone".<sup>13</sup>

Edgar James agreed with Ryerson on the divine origin of revivals. "Psychology attributes their influence to the power of man's mind. We know better, the power that spread out the universe, that riled the heavens, is present in revivals, and nothing short of this power can save souls."<sup>14</sup> When this power is put in operation the

prison house of the sinner's soul is broken open; ... the hell-priests are expelled; ... the spirit which was gravitating to hell, with fearful velocity, is restored to its proper orbit, and attracted to God as its true centre.<sup>15</sup>

Porter understood its origin otherwise, not that he disagreed with God's divine working in revivals but he believed that "revivals are generally brought about by human instrumentality; but many of the most effective means are forbidding to our fallen nature".<sup>16</sup> Hence, camp meetings are necessary to generate the mysteries of enthusiasm which brings "vigor of thought, fervor of spirit, vivacity and strength, that elevate the soul to higher aspirations than

unimpassioned reason ever attains".<sup>17</sup> John Atkinson asserted that there must be divine and human co-operation to bring about revivals:

Revivals are the church's harvests. They are as legitimately the result of the fervent prayers, the vital faith, and the zealous work of the church, as fields of grain waving before the sickle, are the product of the sowing and culture of the husbandman.<sup>18</sup>

He claimed that the Church of Jesus Christ is by nature aggressive. In nature God accomplishes his purposes by lightning and thunder as well as by "star-beams and zephyrs". The earth is shaken with earthquake and moistened with dew. God operates with contrasts, the small and the great, the weak and the strong, the gentle and the terrible. "His gracious providence operates equally through the quiet influence that opened Lydia's heart, and the rushing mighty wind that overwhelmed the multitudes in Jerusalem."<sup>19</sup> Methodism has no other reason to exist but to spread holiness throughout the land. The class meeting, then, provides the laypersons with the instrument to help the pastor bring about a revival. In class meetings the impressions made by the preaching have often developed into conversions. He declared:

... the class meetings of Methodism from the beginning have resounded with the testimonies and the shoutings of souls there disenthralled by redeeming grace; and in them many times have been enkindled the fires that have enwrapped churches and communities in a glorious blaze. The power of the class meeting as a revival agency is demonstrated by its entire history, and cannot be adequately measured.<sup>20</sup>

No genuine Methodist, he claimed, is without the revival spirit, for Methodism

is a revival. "It is a providential medium through which is poured into the world the fire of the Holy Ghost."<sup>21</sup>

Revivalists viewed their work as a rescuing operation. Since the sin of Adam the human nature is brutalized and existing in the darkness of sin. Revivals are used by the Church to arouse the sinner to his condition and lead him to the Saviour for redemption. Since sinners are in a state of deadness, "the electric shocks and trumpet voices of revivals burst the catacombs where they are immured, under successive layers of 'trespasses and sins' and through the agency of the Holy Spirit, impart unto them 'spiritual life.'<sup>22</sup> Sinners are in a diseased condition, revival restores them to a state of health in all the functions of the soul. Sinners are enslaved, revivals "break the iron yoke, snap the fetters, dissolve the influence which enfeebles them, and set them at liberty"<sup>23</sup> Revivals snatch them from "the huge jaws of destruction ... lift them from the very margin of the smoking pit. Never were exigencies so important, never were they so fully met"<sup>24</sup>

In this context, Egerton Ryerson understood the legitimacy of the suddenness of conversions, accompanied by "physical agitations and prostrations"<sup>25</sup> When men feel the burden of their guilt and the awaiting damnation as a sure reward of it, when in their mind they peer into the horror of hell, they tremble and quake and call upon God for mercy.<sup>26</sup> Citing John Wesley for support, Ryerson wrote:

I grant that extraordinary circumstances have attended this conviction in some instances. While the Word of God was preached, some persons have dropped down as dead; some have been, as it were, in strong convulsions, some moaned aloud, though not with an articulate voice; and others spoke the anguish of their souls.<sup>27</sup>

J. Watson, in his book, Helps to the Promotion of Revivals, claimed that nearly all arguments against protracted revivals were based upon their abuse. Everything that is good in the world is subject to abuse; the better it is, the more liable to abuse.<sup>28</sup> But no one is likely to abandon something that is good because it is subject to abuse. Such objections as: it undervalues the ordinary means of grace or its tendency to long-continued excitement is followed by "a sad reaction, a season of great spiritual languor and dullness",<sup>29</sup> can be easily controverted.

Promoters of revivals were fully aware that extroverted expressions accompanied by an appearance of conversion did not necessarily mean that the experience was genuine. The evidence of conversion is not physical affections, but the fruits that follow.<sup>30</sup> Some persons thought that these emotional strains that result in extreme physical reaction, such as unconsciousness, caused harmful effects, physically and emotionally, or were caused by a previous illness. Ryerson stated: "They have not been identified with any diseased affections; nor have they been followed by any morbid physical effects, or even exhaustion, though they have been known to continue some days without motion, food or drink."<sup>31</sup>

Through dialogue with a Church of England clergyman, a Methodist

minister supported emotionalism in Methodist revivalism at the beginning of the 1830s. The Church of England clergyman, in a series of four letters, attempted to ascertain the Methodist perspective on their approach to evangelism. He lamented that the Church of England went the opposite direction "to starve influences of the spirit to death by too much checking every appearance of excitement."<sup>32</sup> The Methodist minister replied that there were three major periods of revivals - the Apostolic age, the Reformation era and the present - beginning from the early 1700s. Since preaching of the gospel was attended with powerful effects in the earlier periods, why not the present?<sup>33</sup>

Ryerson gave the correct interpretation of Canadian Methodist revivals from the 1820s in an article submitted to the Guardian. "It is a great mistake to identify noise with a revival of the work of God, to confound the kindling of a wild imagination, ... with the overflowing effusions of heartfelt and humble piety."<sup>34</sup> Methodists are more concerned with the faithful preaching of the doctrines of forgiveness of sins and holiness of heart and life and thereby witness to the truth as it is in Jesus Christ. Holiness of life, he explained, is a permanent topic among the brethren. Methodists ought to believe that "an empty waggon makes a much greater noise than one laden with the richest treasures."<sup>35</sup> Excessive emotionalism, therefore, was not countenanced; neither was it the norm.

Canadian Methodists believed and worked towards a co-operative revival endeavour. The members, especially the lay-leaders and the circuit preachers, worked together in these extra means of grace. One pastor asked his society: "Why have we not a revival of religion?"<sup>36</sup> He requested those present to

respond. Some responses were:

1. Christians do not believe what God said in answer to prayer. God has said in His word, He is more willing to give His Spirit than the church is willing to receive it.
2. Christians do not believe what God has said regarding the worth of an immortal soul, consequently they do not feel a need for revivals.
3. There was a want of pious and religious conversation among professors of religion.
4. Members were perpetually in the habit of breaking the Sabbath.
5. Brotherly love was lacking among the members.
6. Christians neglected secret prayer and meditation.
7. There was a great need for self-examination.
8. Unfaithfulness of ministers in their pastoral duties was evident. Ministers should visit more and hold conversation with the people regarding practical Christianity. They needed to engage more in warning and exhorting. <sup>37</sup>

Since these were views of that particular membership, it should be assumed that they observed those limitations in their community or society. It is of interest to note that the faults are similar to those of almost any age. Yet that same year, 1832, revivals were at a high peak in Central Canada. These were comments based on one community but one could generalize safely in saying that the members were willing to co-operate with the minister for revival efforts should those hindrances be remedied. That no doubt was

the case in other places where revivals occurred. Ryerson's reports could further substantiate that view. He reported from the Niagara District that there was a general co-operation between the preachers and the members of the church. This particular feature, he noted, was the basis of "these revivals and an essential instrument in their commencement and extension".<sup>38</sup> Members took up the matter of revivals in regular prayer sessions, in the family, the class meeting and prayer meeting. Ryerson explained that:

... it has been talked of by the way and the fireside, and the members of the church seem to feel as if each of them had an important labour to perform in the vineyard of the Lord, and that to hide their talent, however small, in a napkin, will expose them to outer darkness of wailing and gnashing of teeth. The church of God is no place for idle spectators - woe is pronounced against those who are at ease in Zion.<sup>39</sup>

The most outstanding apologist and defender of the protracted revivals in Central Canada was not a Canadian Methodist but a British Wesleyan Methodist, W. M. Harvard. After delivering his discourse in defense of the protracted revivals in the St. Ann Street Chapel, Quebec, he became an instant champion of the cause of special revivals. He was requested by the Quebec quarterly meeting to publish his lecture, which he did under the title: Defense Of Protracted Meetings, "Special Efforts For The Souls Of Men Justified, and Observers Of Such Efforts Admonished, In A Discourse Delivered In St. Ann Street Chapel, Quebec." Nor did Harvard desire to support revivals in a covert manner for his Defense was published in England as well. There is some uncertainty about the year but internal and external evidence would point to about 1840. Through the Book Agency, his publication was distributed to Upper and Lower Canada. Harvard's



presentation was meticulous, univocal, comprehensive and incisive.

His text, Acts, chapter 13, verses 40 and 41, declared judgment on those who despise God's mercy. At the outset, Harvard emphasized that divine origin of conversion, and the supernatural assistance, were indispensable to the accomplishment of revivals. At times, even Christians reverence the religion of Christ and the accomplishments of the church without acknowledging the source of their power. To claim that miracles or evidence of divine assistance ended in the Apostolic era would be "greatly to the dishonour of any individual, who deems himself a competent person, to make such an assertion"<sup>40</sup>

The "signs" the Apostles possessed were of two kinds: physical and moral. The former consisted mainly of miracles on the physical being; the latter were "wonders performed on their souls". The second is more significant since it has to do with time and eternity. Both differ significantly with reference to administration: the former ceased with the Apostles; the latter "will never cease to remain until the 'end of the world'"<sup>41</sup> Conversion of sinners is a "miracle" and evidence of divine action. "The conversion of a sinner to God is an effect produced as completely out of the common course of moral causes and effects, as the raising of the dead to life would be, in the physical world."<sup>42</sup>

Harvard made it clear that his text, as well as his discourse, were geared to the dissatisfaction expressed against "special services" that were "recently adopted with the view of promoting a revival of religion among us". It had in view, as well, the providing of justification to candid and

enquiring individuals.<sup>43</sup>

Harvard buttressed his argument with extensive illustrations of Old Testament and New Testament incidents parallel to modern protracted revivals. He also referred to current revival incidents in Europe and quoting from the 1838 "Pastoral Address" of the Conference of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, John Wesley, Martin Luther and John Calvin for support, he reinforced his argument with the lines of Isaac Watts:

Come, Holy Spirit, heavenly Dove!  
With all thy quickening powers;  
Come shed abroad a Saviour's love,  
And that shall kindle ours.<sup>44</sup>

Harvard proceeded to pose and address in detail all the possible objections to revivals submitted to him from various individuals and from his experience. He did so with vehemence coupled with threats of eschatological declarations.

To give added support for the thesis that the British Wesleyans did not restrict or hinder revivalism in Canadian Methodism, rather, though at first hesitatingly, they supported the local programmes, a sizeable quotation is included which will reveal Harvard's thought process as he shifted from the urbane "priestly" posture of the British clergy to the spokesman and revivalist of the mid-19th century Canadian Methodist revivalism. Harvard wrote:

Of course, we are aware that an arrangement of religious exercises such as those here described, forms no part of the usages of our Connexion in the Parent Country, and indeed, that such an observance is scarcely adopted by any other religious community

in the United Kingdom. The plan is there regarded as wholly of transatlantic origin and applicability and it very probably arose from some of the peculiar requirements of a newly settled country. Yet, so well has this species of service been known in the U.S., under the name of 'Protracted Meetings', and so effectually has it been found to contribute there to the advancement of religious revivals, that, we understand, it is adopted by various churches in that nation, and by not a few of the most unquestioned respectability. Devoutly and suitably carried into operation, we think it possesses some advantages, with respect to religious utility, and which we intend, in conclusion, to notice, which may well recommend it to a very general, if not universal, adoption.<sup>45</sup>

Even though the British Wesleyans intended to influence the Canadian Methodists towards greater conservatism in their soul-winning methods, yet their desire did not prevail. William Harvard was appointed by the British Methodist body to serve as President of the Canadian Church (1837-1838). He actively fostered Canadian-type revival programmes.

Other Canadian members from Britain followed a similar course. Benjamin Slight adopted revivalistic measures soon after his arrival from England<sup>46</sup> and John Douse was a member of the special evangelistic committee appointed by the Quarterly Board of the Toronto West District for the supervision of the James Caughey's seven-month revival crusade in 1851 to 1852.<sup>47</sup> This occurred after Caughey had been opposed by British Methodists while he was on a revival mission in Britain.

However, the revivals in Canada were never as excessive in their emotional expression, nor were the meetings subject to rowdiness as the case was in the United States of America. Peter Cartwright described the unusual occurrences in revival services in Kentucky:

Our quarterly meeting was a camp meeting ... perhaps, there never was a greater collection of rabble and rowdies. They came drunk, armed with dirks, clubs, knives, and horsewhips, and swore that they would break up the meeting. ... About the time I was half through my discourse, two very fine-dressed young men marched into the congregation with braided whips, and hats on, and rose up and stood in the midst of the ladies, and began to laugh and talk. ... One of them made a pass at my head with the whip, but I closed in with him, and jerked him off the seat. A regular scuffle ensued. ... I parried the stroke, and seized him by the collar and the hair of the head, and fetching him a sudden jerk forward, brought him to the ground, and jumped on him, ... The mob then rushed to the scene; they knocked down seven magistrates, and several preachers and others.<sup>48</sup>

Revival scenes were much different in Central Canada. Even limited disturbances were the exceptions.

Revivalism experienced only moderate success in Central Canada. A few important reasons may be cited. It did not experience a true frontier like the American mid-western states. From the settlement of the Loyalists in Upper Canada after the United States war of independence (1776-1783) both European and American influences were strong. The British government provided land and other assistance to new settlers on an organized basis. Furthermore, the British government provided experienced political oversight for the development of this new territory. Spiritual assistance was provided by the established churches in Britain and Scotland, namely, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, and the St. Lawrence waterway provided the necessary transportation and contact between Europe and the Upper Canada region. Apart from the struggle for domestic political control (as that provided by responsible

government), and the 1812-1814 war with the United States, which was an extension of American atrocities against Britain rather than against Canada itself, Upper Canada experienced a fairly normal development.

In the United States the message of revivalism was a message of liberation from sin and hell which had its counterpart in the society. Members of the society sought liberation from an oppressive British political institution, liberation from slavery and conquest of the harsh elements of the hinterland. Revivalists could also address such issues as relief of poverty and temperance reform.

These issues did not absorb the Upper Canadian mind. The society was influenced more strongly by British institutions and the British conservatism was in evidence. Instead of the wide-ranging religious freedom in the United States which encouraged new religious groups to develop and provided a seed-bed for prominent religious spokespersons to emerge, Upper Canadian Methodists had to struggle against an assertive Church of England. Although legally it was never really established as a state church, its influence remained dominant until near the mid-19th century. Methodist revivalists spent much of their energies fighting for religious freedom.

Canada did not develop any prominent revivalists around whom others could cluster. Consequently, there was no Upper Canadian revival movements with the distinction like those of Charles Grandison Finney, Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, James Caughey and Dwight L. Moody. Neither did Canadian Methodists

develop any revival techniques of their own. Revival programmes were borrowed and adapted to their local needs. They were constantly moderated by the very nature of the conservatism within the society itself. As a result, there were few "highs" and "lows" in the revival expression of this period. Only three such occasions deserve mention. In 1832, the higher than usual incidents of revivals was due to the introduction and immediate acceptance of the protracted meetings. That year alone twenty-five protracted meetings were recorded. There were no recorded protracted revivals in 1830 but there were eleven in 1831, and nine in 1833, two in 1834, and seven in 1835. In 1840 there were fifteen recorded camp meetings. This was likely due to a resurgence of interest in camp meetings in the United States. Finally, from 1852 to 1854 interest began to develop in professional revivalists and large-scale meetings. From November 1851 to June 1852 James Caughey preached in three large churches in the Toronto West District. Every afternoon except Mondays and Saturdays he preached in the Richmond Street Church at 3:00 P.M. In the evening he preached in the Adelaide Street Church. In April, 1852 he closed the meetings in the Adelaide Street Church and began meetings in the Queen Street Church. The meetings continued in the Richmond Street Church, the largest in the area. The membership in these churches doubled during Caughey's crusades.<sup>49</sup> Phoebe Palmer also attracted large crowds at her preaching in various camp meetings.<sup>50</sup> While revivals were being held with greater success in the urban areas the revivalists were carrying on their revival programmes in the rural areas as well. During this period (1824-1860) revivals were constant and successful because all the

preachers were committed to the task of soul-saving. The earlier revival programmes such as camp meetings, prayer meetings, appointments and class meetings combined with new approaches such as the use of quarterly meetings, district meetings, two-day and four-day meetings and protracted meetings. Toward the end of this period emphasis began to be placed upon a central figure, the professional or full-time evangelist, as the leader of the revival crusade.

A report of a camp meeting held in the London Township in 1857 supplied enough detail to provide an accurate comparison with earlier camp meetings. It clearly demonstrates that there were great similarities. The spontaneity and order of the services were similar to those of the 1820s and 1830s. The writer also observed that camp meetings were on the increase. "Camp meetings have been prevalent among certain religious denominations since the settlement of Canada, and their numbers seem to be rather on the increase than otherwise."<sup>51</sup> Describing the scene he wrote:

On the centre of the oblong the congregation met and were seated on narrow strips of wood placed at intervals across logs, and at a distance of about twelve inches from the ground ... The Rev. Mr. Douse, of this city, delivered a very able sermon in the afternoon, which was followed by considerable excitement, during which loud and unceasing appeals were made to the Son to come down and save them. The leaders now went round and anxiously inquired of the individuals forming the congregation if they had "got religion", a question that was replied to in various ways, and some not the most courteous. The effect of the inquiry was to send a great number, perhaps seventy, to the anxious seats, where they were engaged, seemingly, in prayer, and some were evidently in great distress of mind. Meanwhile the ministers went among them, urging them to pray; which they continued to do, accompanied with much sobbing, crying and exclamatory ejaculations.<sup>52</sup>

In an appendix<sup>53</sup> a breakdown of church membership by cities and countries as well as churches in Central Canada at the end of the period under study may supply a few basic pieces of information. First, the Methodist Churches had the largest membership of any denomination in the province with 341,572 members, the second largest being the Anglicans with 311,565 members. The three groups of Presbyterians had a total of 303,384 adherents, and the Roman Catholics had 258,141 parishoners. Second, although other branches of Methodists were not very strong in the cities, the Wesleyan Methodists had over 10% of the total church population of the cities. It was stronger than all three branches of Presbyterians. The Wesleyan Methodists had 11,321; the Established Church of Scotland had 7,933; the Free Church of Scotland had 6,598 and the United Presbyterians had 2,469. Third, apart from the main denominations, only two other churches gained significant numbers - the Baptists (61,559) and the Lutherans (24,299). The congregationalists had only 9,357 members and the Quakers 7,383.

It should be significant then to observe that apart from mainline churches which were established in Europe - Roman Catholic, Church of England and Presbyterian - only the Methodist and Baptist groups gained prominence and they were both revivalistic and had a strong theological undergirding. The others which were mainly sectarian and originated on the American frontier never gained strong footings on the Canadian soil. Among these were the Quakers, Christians, Second Adventists (Millerites), Protestants, Disciples, Mennonites, Universalists, Unitarians, and Mormons.<sup>54</sup>



Fourth, the other branches of Methodists employed similar methods for revivals as the Wesleyan Methodists but they did not exhibit any greater revival activity.<sup>55</sup> Certainly, they were far less successful in membership accessions than the Wesleyans. In the cities the Wesleyans had 11,321 members, the Episcopal Methodists had 1,860; the New Connexion Methodists had 796 and the other groups combined had 1,003. The total membership for Central Canada is also revealing: the Wesleyan Methodists had 218,427 members; the Episcopal Methodists had 71,615; the New Connexion Methodists had 28,200 and other groups combined had 23,330.

If frontierism could account for Methodist success then the many sects which arrived about the same time as Methodist preachers should have achieved a similar success. To the contrary, the Quakers, Mennonites and Brethren in Christ members which began in Central Canada about the same time as the Methodists (1780s) were fairly insignificant in comparison to Methodism. If urbanization and industrialization or the urbane influences of the metropolitan centres which became increasingly prominent in the Central Canadian society after the 1820s (for example, the printing establishments, the increasingly complex political institutions - responsible government, etc. - and the national railway determined the increase or decline of revivalism then how could the several successful revivals of the 1850s occur?<sup>56</sup> One eyewitness reported that Caughey "spoke with such a kind persuasiveness when pleading with sinners it seemed to melt every heart, but at times his denunciations of sin were terrific as he pictured the awful doom that awaited the impenitent."<sup>57</sup>

Samuel Nelles, being a prominent voice in Methodism during the decades beyond the 1850s, should be a reliable witness or interpreter, especially having lived and worked through the transition itself. He pointed to three important factors without which Methodist revivalism could not survive and with which it could have likely dealt with the era of higher criticism, urbanization, or industrialization successfully. He pointed out that the programmes such as camp meetings and quarterly meetings matched the needs of the people; that the preachers "religious conversion was generally striking and their call to preach clearly marked, and the new spiritual life breaking in upon their souls, like a divine revelation, became the source of new energies, both of thought and speech"; and the "startling conversion of daring transgressors, followed by a burning intensity of devotion."<sup>58</sup> Herein lay the secret of revivalism in the Canadian context - the preachers, the programmes and the message. The aim of this thesis is to show the vital importance of all three to revivalism in Central Canada. When the revival men who started their career in the 1820s lost their influence within the church by the 1850s and a new group of men assumed leadership, when revival programmes failed to be transformed to meet the needs of an ever changing society, and when the importance of the key messages - salvation with assurance, sanctification and eschatology - failed to be emphasized, revivalism declined rapidly.

As indicated by Samuel Nelles, the Methodist programmes were not serving the church effectively in the area of evangelism at the time of his writing, i.e.; during the 1870s. As well, several preachers were opposed

to travelling revivalists or professional evangelists and apparently this attitude did not change to allow for the proper development of the type of ministry which would likely address the new age effectively. John Carroll confessed that at the time of the visit of John Newland Maffit from the United States in 1845 that "this writer has no admiration of travelling evangelists in general..."<sup>59</sup> The protracted meeting, having passed through stages of transformation from two-day meetings to four-day meetings to extended weeks of meetings was now ready to undergo another change. The official introduction of the professional evangelist would have accomplished such a purpose. The professional revivalists did not come to Central Canada to arouse the people from spiritual deadness or to infuse life into dying revival programmes; rather they rode on the crest of spiritual buoyancy. Had this trend been followed, revivals of the 1850s would have easily merged with the era of Dwight L. Moody.

Even though this thesis has pointed out that revivalism continued uninterrupted until at least 1860, it has acknowledged that a change did occur. However, it is not within the scope of this study to determine the causes since the actual changes occurred after 1860. Chapter five dealt with a few transitional elements of that change and at this point two final points of emphasis are necessary: that the tension that existed between evangelicism and pietism was eventually resolved with the primacy of pietism and that this pietistic quest gave impetus to Methodist social concerns.

Richard Allen's view of the origin of the social gospel should be taken seriously. He has pointed out that the true origin of the social gospel

movement in Canada was revivalism and not social and political ferment, though these were parallel forces. He stated:

We do not take too seriously explanations of major economic phenomena such as depressions based upon psychological dynamics; nor should we be very happy with explanations of religious movements based primarily upon economic or social factors.<sup>60</sup>

It was the revivalist preachers who provided the impetus for this societal change.<sup>61</sup> The messages of the preachers were heeded when they called for a response to the gospel of personal salvation. Now they turned their attention to the salvation of society. Henry Flesher Bland, Salem Bland and others sought to change society by first re-interpreting the gospel. For instance, children were not born in sin and could be rescued only by the saving gospel of Jesus Christ through repentance when they attained the age of reason; rather they were born in original goodness and could retain that condition if society provided the right environment. Preachers set about passionately to change society rather than the individual. The quest for personal holiness became a quest for holiness within the society.

This transition was not difficult for Methodists since other-worldliness was never ingrained in the Canadian Methodist spiritual fibre. In the early frontier-like conditions Central Canadians opted for an economic orientation - a quest for survival and economic success rather than the desire to escape from the harsh realities into other-worldly hopes. Therefore, Canadian revivalism was different from the United States revivalism

which tended to blend millennial hopes with their democratic ideals and nationalistic goals. Canadians tended to separate these goals. Nevertheless, their social ethic called for social reform. The call for salvation from sin implied separation from the evil practises of society - drinking, dancing, Sabbath breaking, etc. After 1860, therefore, less emphasis was placed on reforming individuals and more on reforming society.

Obviously, conflict would arise since the Methodist conservatives and biblical fundamentalists would take issue with the social reformers. By then revivalism would be at its breaking point.

By 1860, Wesleyan Methodist revivalism had accomplished the significant tasks of developing a mature, confident, optimistic and successful church organization and had contributed immensely to the development of the Canadian society.

NOTES: CHAPTER VI

- <sup>1</sup> S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University Press, 1948), p. 266.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 152.
- <sup>3</sup> Thomas E. Champion, The Methodist Churches of Toronto (Toronto: The C. M. Rose & Sons Co., Ltd., 1899), p. 11.
- <sup>4</sup> H. R. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Meridian Books, 1957), p. 19.
- <sup>5</sup> S. D. Clark, op. cit., p. 270.
- <sup>6</sup> Christian Guardian, Feb. 11, 1852, p. 78.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid, Feb. 11, 1852, p. 69; cf. p. 169.
- <sup>8</sup> The content of their preaching is implied in this statement.
- <sup>9</sup> E. Nottingham, Methodism and the Frontier (New York: AMS. Press Inc., 1966), p. 188.
- <sup>10</sup> Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism (Toronto: William Briggs, 1882), pp. 99, 100.
- <sup>11</sup> Ibid, p. 102.
- <sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 104.
- <sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 110.
- <sup>14</sup> Edgar James, "Revivals of Religion", Sermons (Toronto: Thomas Cuttell and Sons, 1856), p. 8.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 8.
- <sup>16</sup> James Porter, Compendium of Methodism (Boston: George C. Rand, publisher, 1854), p. 473.
- <sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 477.
- <sup>18</sup> John Atkinson, The Class Leader: His Work and How To Do It (Toronto: Samuel Rose, 1875), p. 130.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, p. 131.
- <sup>20</sup> Ibid, p. 133.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid, p. 132.

- <sup>22</sup> Edgar James, "Revivals of Religion", Sermons (Toronto: Thomas Cuttell and Sons, 1856), p. 5.
- <sup>23</sup> ibid, p. 6.
- <sup>24</sup> ibid, p. 6.
- <sup>25</sup> Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 111.
- <sup>26</sup> ibid, pp. 11, 112.
- <sup>27</sup> ibid, p. 113.
- <sup>28</sup> J. Watson, Helps to the Promotion of Revivals (New York: Carlton & Porter, 1856), p. 89.
- <sup>29</sup> ibid, p. 90.
- <sup>30</sup> Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 124.
- <sup>31</sup> ibid, p. 125.
- <sup>32</sup> "Letter" published in the Christian Guardian, May 4, 1831, p. 153.
- <sup>33</sup> ibid, p. 153.
- <sup>34</sup> Christian Guardian, April 4, 1832, p. 83.
- <sup>35</sup> ibid, p. 83.
- <sup>36</sup> Christian Guardian, May 4, 1831, p. 193.
- <sup>37</sup> ibid, p. 193.
- <sup>38</sup> Christian Guardian, April 4, 1832, p. 83.
- <sup>39</sup> ibid, p. 83.
- <sup>40</sup> W. M. Harvard, Defense of Protracted Meetings (Quebec: Sold by William Neilson, Gazette Office, ca. 1840), p. 5.
- <sup>41</sup> ibid, p. 6.
- <sup>42</sup> ibid, p. 6.
- <sup>43</sup> ibid, p. 7.
- <sup>44</sup> ibid, p. 46. ff.
- <sup>45</sup> ibid, p. 15.

- <sup>46</sup> See Chapter II of Slight's "Journal", vols. I and II.
- <sup>47</sup> See letter drafted to James Caughey, Toronto May, 25, 1852, 1852 recorded in the Christian Guardian, May 26, 1852, p. 130.
- <sup>48</sup> Peter Cartwright, Autobiography of Peter Cartwright (New York: Abingdon Press, 1956), pp. 70, 71. (First Publication 1856).
- <sup>49</sup> Christian Guardian, March 24, 1852, p. 94; May 26, 1852, p. 130.
- <sup>50</sup> The Bradford camp meeting is an example. Thousands of people attended the meetings. Christian Guardian. Aug. 23, 1854, p. 180.
- <sup>51</sup> Christian Guardian, Oct. 14, 1857, p. 7.
- <sup>52</sup> Ibid, p. 7.
- <sup>53</sup> See appendix G.
- <sup>54</sup> Apart from the Millerites and Ebenezers which arrived in the 1840s all the other groups arrived in Central Canada much earlier, some as soon as the 1770s and 1780s. For instance, the Mennonites arrived in 1786, the Quakers in 1783, and the Congregational Church arrived in 1819.
- <sup>55</sup> See appendix H for information regarding other Methodist connexions.
- <sup>56</sup> See for instances the Mono and Peel camp meetings. Christian Guardian, Aug. 9, 1854, p. 172; the Bradford camp meeting. Christian Guardian, Aug. 23, 1854, p. 180; the London Township Camp Meeting. Christian Guardian, Sept. 15, 1858, p. 198.
- <sup>57</sup> W. H. Pierson Recollections and Records of Toronto of Old (Toronto: William Briggs, 1914), p. 323.
- <sup>58</sup> Anson Green, Life and Times of the Reverend Anson Green (Toronto: The Methodist Book Room, 1877); p. vii.
- <sup>59</sup> John Carroll, Case and His Contemporaries, vol. IV (Toronto: Published at the Wesleyan Conference Office, 1874), p. 457.
- <sup>60</sup> Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada", The Social Gospel In Canada, National Museum of Canada, Ottawa, 1975, p. 11.
- <sup>61</sup> Egerton Ryerson proposed a motion to the conference to endorse temperance reform in order for the Wesleyan Methodist Church to assume a leading role in reforming society. He stated that "viewing the evils of intemperance... this conference feels it to be an imperious duty to use their best endeavours... to deliver the country from the fatal scourging of so dreadful a plague." See appendix I for further details.



## A. APPENDIX: CHAPTER I

William Warren Sweet has been accepted as an expert on church historical studies in the United States, including Methodism and revivals. Sweet had endorsed the "ebb-tide" theory which is related to the frontier theory based upon Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. Not only did his frontier theory become the standard approach for the interpretation of revivalism both by United States and Canadian church historians but his ebb-tide concept has influenced church historians as well. Sweet mentioned that religion was at a low ebb during the last quarter of the 18th century.

It was during these post-revolutionary years, when the general moral and religious conditions in the nation were especially deplorable, that population began to push westward in ever increasing streams.

He further stated: "If morals and religion were at a low ebb in the older settled seaboard regions, what could be expected in the newer, ruder sections?" (W. W. Sweet, "The Churches as Moral Courts of the Frontier", Church History, vol. 2, 1933, p. 8). Writers such as Cleveland and Johnson were absorbed with the frontier thesis as a tool for interpreting American revivals. (See: Charles Johnson, The Frontier Camp Meeting (Dallas: Southern Meth. U. Press, 1955); Catherine Cleveland, The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805 (Gloucester, Mass.: P. Smith, 1959)). Martin Marty joined Sweet

with the idea that what flows ebbs and waxes wanes. (See: Martin Marty, Religion, Awakening and Revolution (U.S.A.: McGrath Pub. Co., 1977), p. 76). This thesis was applied to the post-revolutionary period. It held that the religious deadness, moral laxity, etc., spurred the Second Great Awakening. Reliance upon spokesmen such as Lyman Beecher or James McGready was indispensable to the revival movement.

In recent decades these views are being seriously challenged. John Opie, Jr., disagreed with the frontier revivalism of Sweet, Cleveland and Davenport and pointed to the theological undergirding of James McGready. (John Opie, Jr., "James McGready: Theologian of Frontier Revivalism", Church History, vol. 34, 1965, p. 445).

Douglas H. Sweet challenged the ebb-tide thesis. He claimed there are no facts to support revival retreat after the Revolution. He stated:

Religious vitality may be better measured in the pew than in the pulpit. We may find that the evangelism and revivalistic essence of 19th century Protestantism was the resurgence of a continuing process begun in the Great Awakening, rather than a reaction to some supposed 'ebb-tide' of religious vitality in the era of the American Revolution.

(D. H. Sweet, "Church Vitality and the American Revolution: Historiographical Consensus and Thoughts Towards a New Perspective",

Church History, vol. 45, 1976, p. 357). Timothy L. Smith's thesis has perhaps been most effective in reviewing frontierism in pointing out the continuity of revivals between the Second Great Awakening including Charles Grandison Finney and the later revival activities of 1858 and Dwight L. Moody. (T. L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957)). Richard Birdsell was the first historian to overlook the ebb-tide thesis with its post-revolutionary influence of agents such as L. Beecher and T. Dwight. He considered the Second Great Awakening as a "genuine folk movement" tied to the social order. It was the people rather than the clergy that brought about the revival. It was not merely because of introduction of prayer circles since those existed from the First Awakening. It was due to a revitalization movement. (R. Birdsell, "The Second Great Awakening", Church History, vol. 39, 1970, pp. 345-364). Richard Shields challenged Lyman Beecher's views which, in fact, perpetuated the concept of spiritual deadness of the revolution resulting in the revival or Second Great Awakening. The Great Awakening in Connecticut cannot be explained by a change in the preaching of the clergymen nor can the movement be attributed to Timothy Dwight (President of Yale University) and his students. Dry doctrinal sermons did not give way to lively, evangelical exhortations and there were strong revivalistic preachings even involving hell-fire themes preceding the Second Great Awakening. (Richard D. Shields, "The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut: Critique of the Traditional Interpretation", Church History, vol. 49, 1980, p. 401).

This brief historiographical sketch is intended to point out the need for continued study of the historical data. Much of the studies done on revivalism in Canada has been influenced by the leading theories. Revivalism in Central Canada needs a re-investigation and re-interpretation. When taken seriously, the frontier theory could discourage investigation of revivals in the period when frontier conditions decreased, especially if the facts are not readily evident. The assumption, of course, is that revivals disappeared with the disappearing frontier.

## B. APPENDIX: CHAPTER II

Six resolutions were adopted in response to the London Committee.

## 1st Resolution.

We cannot recognize any right on the part of the Committee to interfere with the Canada Conference in the management of our internal affairs, except as provided for by the articles of union, and especially with our views and proceedings on the question of the Clergy Reserves ...

## 2nd Resolution.

That as the articles of union between the English and Canada Conferences expressly secure to the Canadian preachers all their rights and privileges inviolate; we consider it at variance with the letter and spirit of these articles, and an anomalous and alarming precedent for the Committee in London to accuse and condemn a member of this Conference, and then, to enjoin upon us to carry their sentence into execution on pain of a dissolution of the union.

## 3rd Resolution.

They wished to maintain respect for the president but could not accept the claim of the London Committee that the president by virtue of his office was to be the "organ and representative of the Wesleyan Body in Upper Canada in the transaction of affairs with Government in which the interests of our church are involved, as we have always in anticipation of such transactions, appointed a committee or representative to guard and represent the views and interests of our church: especially as this Conference, at its last session, appointed the Rev. Egerton Ryerson as its special Representative to confer with the Government on matters affecting our civil and religious rights and interests, and we can discover no good reason to detract from an established and proper usage".

**4th Resolution.**

They concurred with E. Ryerson on financial negotiations with His Excellency the Governor General of Canada in a letter dated Toronto, January 17, 1840. They expressed no desire to interfere with the legitimate claim of the Wesleyan Miss. Society.

**5th Resolution.**

They would not relinquish rights to Indian Missions since they were started before the Union of 1833.

**6th Resolution.**

That representatives be sent. By ballot Egerton and William Ryerson were elected to represent the Canada Conference before the British body. Joseph Stinson was also included.

Resolutions passed: 42-11.

(Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, pp. 159-163).

## C. APPENDIX: CHAPTER IV

In his inaugural address as president of the newly chartered Victoria College in 1842, Egerton Ryerson outlined the philosophy and principles that would undergird the institution. Principal Ryerson's concept of education was clearly enunciated:

Man is made of physical, mental, and moral action; and the grand object of education is to develop, improve, and perfect, as far as possible, his physical, mental and moral faculties. E. Ryerson, "Inaugural Address" (Toronto: Christian Guardian Office, 1842), p. 9.

Ryerson further stated:

The fundamental principles of the Christian faith and of Christian morality belong, indeed, to all who are educated in a Christian land. ... every student, whether classical or merely English, should be acquainted. The Bible is the common inheritance of Christendom; and its principles - unconnected with the dogmas or bias or sectarianism - should form a part of the education of all Christians. (Ibid, p. 19).

He believed that "Theology, as a science, belongs to those dedicated to the Christian Ministry." Conversion was paramount.

### Programme of Education - Curriculum

The first general division embraces The English Language and English Literature; including the elementary

principles of the natural and exact sciences, and the application of them to the useful arts, together with the outlines of mental and moral philosophy.

The second general division, or Collegiate Course, may be reduced to the following heads: 1. Ancient Languages - especially Latin and Greek - with the cognate subjects, Grecian and Roman Antiquities. 2. Mathematics - embracing the various departments of what is termed pure Mathematics, and the diversified and unmeasured field of mixed Mathematics, in the physical sciences - such as Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Astronomy, etc. 3. Moral Science - including intellectual and Ethical Philosophy, the training of the mind to principles and practice of Logic, and an extended application of those principles to the Evidences of Christianity. 4. Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres - the art of speaking and writing with clearness, strength and elegance. 5. In addition to these, for one class of students, may be added Theology, embracing the Hebrew and Greek Languages, and the various subjects included in Biblical Criticism, Sacred History, Theological Doctrines, and the Pastoral Charge. (Ibid, pp. 9, 10).



B. APPENDIX: CHAPTER III

The Course of Study for Candidates for the Ministry

1844

Brockville Conference of June, 1844, resolved that the following committee should revise the course of study for candidates entering the ministry: Chairman of the Toronto District, Superintendent of the Toronto Station, Editor of the Christian Guardian, Anson Green, Henry Wilkinson, George F. Playter. They did more re-organization and refining than significant changes.

FIRST YEAR

Theology, and the Philosophy of Language

I Theology

Wesley's Sermons, Treatise on Original Sin, Plain Account of Christian Perfection, and Treatise on Baptism. His Notes on the New Testament should also be consulted.

Fletcher's Five Checks to Antinomianism, and his Appeal.

Watson's Theological Institutes.

Isaac and Merritt on Baptism.

Paley's Evidences of Christianity, with his "Horae Paulinae".

II Philosophy of Language

In this subject, Blair's Lectures on Rhetoric, and Murray's English Grammar, are to be used (or any other reputable grammar).

## SECOND YEAR

## Ecclesiastical History and Geography

## I Ecclesiastical History

Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation.

Neal's History of the Puritans.

Moore's Life of Wesley.

Drew's Life of Dr. Coke.

Bang's History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Powell on Apostolical Succession. Other specific collateral reading recommended for broader understanding of Church History and Theology.

## II Geography

The questions are not founded on any particular geography, or books of Travels and Voyages; and therefore the Student may make his own selection.

## THIRD YEAR

## History, Ancient and Modern and Logic

## I History

Josephus's Antiquities and Wars of the Jews.

Prideaux's Connexion of the Old and New Testaments.

Rollin's Ancient History.

Plutarch's Lives.

Goldsmith's History of Rome.

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Hume and Smollett's History of England, with the continuation by Miller.

Robertson's Charles V, Scotland, and America.

II Logic

Watt's, Duncan's, or Hedge's.

FOURTH YEAR

Natural and Moral Philosophy and Rhetoric

I Natural Philosophy

Wesley's Natural Philosophy, revised American edition.

Paley's Natural Theology.

II Moral Philosophy

Reid's Essays on the Intellectual and Active Powers.

Brown's Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind.

Locke on the Human Understanding.

Paley's Moral Philosophy.

III Rhetoric

Blair's Lectures.

Campbell's Philosophy of Rhetoric.

Kaime's Elements of Criticism.

A written Sermon or Essay is now required, as in the Second Year. In addition to the Fourth Year's subjects, the Examiner is recommended to ask promiscuous questions on each of the subjects of the first three years.

Besides the particular Methodist works specified in the course, the young Methodist Preacher is recommended to make himself familiar with the Methodist writers both of England and the United States.

(The Course of Study for Candidates for the Ministry in the Wesleyan - Methodist Church in Canada (Toronto: Published by Anson Green, 1844).

#### E. APPENDIX: CHAPTER IV

A general assumption by Canadian church historians has been that early 19th century Canadian Methodist preaching was characterized by "hell-fire and damnation". For instance see: A. R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longman, Green & Co., 1948), p. 163. Understandably, some of the early preachers (i.e., before 1820) employed that method but it was by no means the norm. Emphasis in this thesis however is from 1824. After studying several sermons by various preachers during the period under investigation, the writer has arrived at a different conclusion. From 1824 to the 1850s revival preaching was basically consistent.

The basic thrust of revivalists was for present repentance or sanctification (second blessing).

This knowledge of salvation by faith saves the expense and time of study, for it is instantaneous, and not successive. The soul now sees more at one view in a moment than before in a lifetime. (John Carroll, "The Flesh, etc.", Personal Papers, "Sermon", p. 25, U.C.A.).

Very little "hell-fire" preaching occurred. Preaching was more with pathos. While strong emphasis was placed on escape from damnation, even stronger emphasis was placed on the joys of salvation - freedom from guilt, a fulfilled life within a church community and victorious dying. Therefore while their preaching style may conjure up images

of the horror that faces one at death (which could be sudden) there was a consistent balance maintained in their preaching.

As early as 1809, William Case recorded in his "Journal" a sermon characteristic of his preaching. Title: "Is there no balm in Gilead, etc.?" He pointed out:

1. Nature and danger of their diseases.
2. Remedy - atonement of Christ - Great Physician.
3. Asked why they were not healed:

His responses -

- a. not aware of their danger
- b. did not apply for remedy when made aware
- c. waiting for what many call "God's time".

Case proceeded to make his appeal by showing them the absurdity of waiting. God was always waiting graciously. (W. Case, Personal Papers, "Journal", pp. 43, 44). Yet Case preached about hell. One person told him that he preached him in hell and left him there. (W. Case, "Diary", p. 19).

Egerton Ryerson preached about the "hereafter" before prominent citizens of York. (C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1937, p. 20). But Ryerson's sermon, requested by the ministers to be printed, was logical and doctrinal. E. Ryerson, "Wesleyan Methodism in Upper Canada: A Sermon" (Toronto: Printed at the Conference Office, 1837). William Harvard, a

British Wesleyan who served as President of the Canadian body, despite his supposed British conservatism was moved to declare: "... the motion of millions has been accelerated in the downward road of endless destruction! What multitudes of once-infatuated victims are now lifting up their despairing eyes in the tormenting 'flame'!" (W. M. Harvard, Defense of Protracted Meetings (Quebec: Sold by William Neilson, Gazette Office, c. 1840), p. 19).

In a sermon entitled "The Mystery of Godliness, The Pillar and the Ground of the Truth", Benjamin Slight concluded:

1. "Christ's sacrifice was great therefore seek it, rest not without it ... ."
2. "It is our duty to spread the knowledge of this salvation over the world." (Found in A Selection of English and American Sermons, No. 18, 1840. (Each sermon published seperately), U.C.A.). Slight, like most of the preachers during this period of study, included victorious death in his appeal for present conversion and perfection. (See: Indian Researches (Montreal: J. E. Miller, 1844, p. 170).

Evidence is strong to suggest that there was limited excessive emotionalism or fear generated by preaching during this period; rather the preachers were doctrinal, logical. Their sermons had emotional appeal for instant change. Of the 59 sermons in a John Ryerson collection, only two dealt with the judgment. (Personal Papers, "Sermons" (unpublished manuscript)).

To illustrate the type of appeal the preachers made, a summary of six sermons (not edited) by Henry Wilkinson has been included. It should be observed that although there was strong appeal in his sermons yet they were not the "hell-fire" type. The whole series was based upon the "Love of God".

#### Sermon Titles

- No. 1. "The Love of God to Man" 1 John 4:8
- No. 2. "The Care of Jehovah for His People" 1 Peter 5:7
- No. 3. "The Future and Final Home of Ruined Sinners" Isa. 33:14
- No. 4. "Sanctified Affliction" 2 Chron. 33:9-13
- No. 5. "The Longsuffering of God to Sinners" 2 Peter 3:9
- No. 6. "God Praised in Zion" Psa. 65:1

The following are subtitles and portions of the sermons.

- No. 1. "The Love of God is manifested in the creation of the universe and in the sustenance afforded to its inhabitants."
- No. 2. "The Love of God is manifested in the patience which He exercises towards the ungodly."

After describing the sacrifice of Christ he proceeded to show how God in His love has used various providential incidents to lead sinners to Him. He may even remove loved ones into the world of the spirits in order to bring their thoughts to Him. What has all His gracious providence done for you?



One word alas answers every question - you are still unsaved. And after all you are spared, and perhaps may yet be saved forever. Why is this? Because He is not fully aware of your guilt? No; ... Because He is indifferent with respect to your evil conduct? No; ... Because He lacks power to inflict deserved punishment? No; for He holds the thunder in His hand. He can in one instant 'destroy both soul and body in hell'. Why then such forbearance? God is love. He is therefore not willing that any should perish but is anxious all should be saved.

- No. 3. "The love of God is manifested in an eminent manner in the dignified victim substituted in our stead as sinners."
- No. 4. "The love of God is manifested very conspicuously in His willingness to pardon the penitent sinner."
- No. 5. "The love of God is manifested further in the comfort and support which He affords His people."

To speak about comfort as enjoyed by the Christian is to talk about what is not. This is an error. "It is a well attested truth that holiness and happiness are inseparable companions." Reason would conclude the Christian must know happiness.

And the word of God unites with all Christian experience in certifying that the Spirit of God is not only a Spirit of holiness converting men from sin, but also a Spirit of consolation infusing into the believer's mind these joys to which the sons of folly and the votaries of the world are utter strangers.

... with purest satisfaction he unites with his fellow worshippers in supplicating the throne of grace for pardon, for holiness and for heaven on their own behalf and for the conversion and salvation of the whole world.

The Christian is not ordinarily exempted from any of the troubles and afflictions of the present life, but he is always supported under them. He can say, 'The Lord of hosts is with me, the God of Jacob is my refuge'.

Follow the Christian to the close of life. He is lying on a bed of death, his race is run, his warfare is accomplished, and the dawn of final deliverance is in view. Now it is that he especially triumphs over all his spiritual foes, over death, the grave and all the powers of hell. And now it is that with the sweetest assurance that all will be well beyond the tomb, or are in the (ecstasy) of triumphant joy shouting victory, victory through the blood of the Lamb, he quits this low vale of care and woe, and soars to worlds on high. Now the rough voyage of life's at an end and the day of temptation and affliction is forever past, and endless life and joy begun. Then there is fulness of joy and blessedness forevermore. This is why Paul could declare, 'To die is gain'. Surely, God is Love.

No. 6. "The portion the people of God inherit beyond the grave proves that God is love."

Though we are sure there is a place of unspeakable felicity where Christians dwell after this life, we at present know but little about it. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be', but it is plain that we shall be freed from all evil and put in possession of all good. Heaven is a state of freedom from sin, from temptation, from all inclinations to evil from risk, loss, want, disappointment and all afflictions - no pain, or curse, or tears in our heavenly mansions, but positive fruition of bliss, the highest degrees of purest knowledge, the deepest draughts of sacred love, and the heart felt boundings of (ecstatic) joy will distinguish the favoured inmates of the prepared Home of the Blest. How does faith prompt us to say,

O' were we entered there  
 To perfect Heaven restored  
 O' were we all caught up to share  
 The presence of our Lord.

All this because God is love.

Appeal: 1. "To Brethren (members). Return love to Him,  
 the church which is this family - and one  
 another."

If love to God and love to man  
 Be absent all our hopes are vain:  
 No tongue, nor gifts, nor fiery zeal  
 The work of love can (ere) fulfill.

2. "Penitent souls. If God is love you ought to  
 feel encouraged. He can save penitents  
 consistently ...

To your prayers He is ever an anxious witness.  
 He will heal all your wounds, He will set you  
 upon a rock and teach you a new song - unto Him,  
 etc. Believe then -

Christ is ready to receive you  
 See His bloody cross appear  
 From your sins He will relieve you  
 And dissolve your doubts and fears.

He will shortly, He will shortly, wipe  
 away your flowing tears.

3. "Fellow sinners. God is love, or you would not  
 be here this day. Sinners as you are and still  
 out of Christ, it is infinite goodness alone  
 that prevents you from uniting this very hour in  
 the sorrows and uproar of the lost in endless  
 perdition. What is the fair inference in your  
 case? Ought you not to forsake the foolish and  
 live? Break off your sins and turn unto God?  
 For what other end think you does God spare and  
 bless you? For what other end did Jesus leave  
 His former glory? For what other end is the  
 Bible given or does the Spirit strive? Why else  
 ye long sought sinners do we preach the gospel?  
 Then O' then, 'Harden not your hearts' - does  
 God say, 'seek ye my face'. Let your souls

reply, "Thy face O God will we seek?  
You can find Him. He is now in the way  
with you. Haste poor sinners haste to  
present your penitence - to be blessed.  
He now is pleading to those who seek  
Him - their Hearts shall live forever.  
Echo, then, the prayer

Thee may I know, for God thou art!  
Thee may I feel, for God is Love!

(Henry Wilkinson, Personal Papers, "Manuscript Sermons", vol. 1,  
U.C.A.).

F. APPENDIX: CHAPTER V

Both James Caughey and Dr. and Mrs. Phoebe Palmer, Methodist itinerant evangelists from the United States, were perfectionist preachers. Their influence in Central Canada was strong during the 1850s since they were the precursors of the new revivalism led by professional revivalists.

Mrs. Phoebe Palmer began wielding significant influence in New York city from 1835 through the Women's Tuesday meetings. Later men joined her holiness revival and with added support from her husband her influence became international. The monthly journal, The Guide to Holiness, was used to spread the message of sanctification. James Caughey's success was similar but he gained prominence through his tour of Great Britain which began in July, 1841, when he landed in Liverpool.

James Caughey and the Palmers emphasized entire sanctification as the central theme of their crusades. They retained the support of the Methodist leaders since their emphasis was entire sanctification of the heart (the work of the Holy Spirit) rather than of the character (spiritual growth).

For References: (with one exception, these are available at the United Church Archives, Toronto).

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G. Appendix: Chapter VI

(Census Report of the Canadas, 1861, pp. 158, 159).

GENERAL ABSTRACT OF RELIGIONS—UPPER CANADA, 1861.

CITIES, COUNTIES, &c.	Total Population.	Church of England.	Church of Rome.	PRESBYTERIANS.			METHODISTS.					Baptists.
				Established Church of Scotland.	Free Church of Scotland.	United Presbyterians.	Wesleyan Methodists.	Episcopal Methodists.	New Connection Methodists.	Other Methodists.		
A. Hamilton, City	19006	6814	4872	1872	1651	984	2548	162	117	173	559	
B. Kingston, City	13743	4129	4633	1440	1215	21	1550	103	4	76	174	
C. London, City	11555	3452	2071	736	634	232	1453	209	395	211	515	
D. Ottawa, City	14689	3351	8267	1192	568	1	718	222	18	70	10	
E. Toronto, City	14121	12135	2893	2480	1231	6022	1449	280	523	1288		
1. Brant	30338	6393	3110	985	1491	2540	6467	348	1537	427	3340	
2. Bruce	27490	6029	3199	2636	7446	1898	2962	437	708	384	1094	
3. Carleton	29620	9169	10041	2511	3042	363	3405	191	189	82	475	
4. Dundas	18777	2856	2878	2124	1551	29	4489	2481	24	136	447	
5. Durham	39115	11174	1621	1920	3752	3389	7449	903	2392	1545	992	
6. Elgin	32050	6140	1589	960	5202	399	6783	1128	2051	199	6909	
7. Essex	25211	4240	10420	602	669	211	4028	138	1025	60	2393	
8. Frontenac	27347	6759	7177	1951	1515	509	4535	3340	58	949	114	
9. Glengary	21187	334	10919	5744	3440	25	45	16	8	452		
10. Grenville	24191	5813	6230	2262	2610	151	5220	1320	573	135	515	
11. Grey	37750	8445	4276	5044	5513	2454	5049	1627	1051	487	893	
12. Haldimand	23798	6954	2468	854	2020	757	2847	1736	762	1329	1823	
13. Halton	22794	5677	2184	1509	3851	510	4487	945	1942	121	588	
14. Hastings	44970	10269	11141	2164	2403	136	9131	6933	39	360	1034	
15. Huron	31954	13440	7422	4741	6773	5451	6775	981	938	981	728	
16. Kent	31183	5670	4655	1709	2655	819	5716	3924	519	465	3180	
17. Lambton	24916	6916	2983	1303	3717	537	4373	2018	77	317	1654	
18. Lanark	31639	7902	7011	6077	3814	393	3694	227	201		880	
19. Leeds	33750	11182	6985	2136	2607	171	4390	3359	1516	37	1241	
20. Lennox and Addington	28002	4686	4351	974	932	1120	9077	5669	30	273	85	
21. Lincoln	27625	6141	4409	1503	1891	458	4675	2626	491	277	1665	
22. Middlesex	48730	11909	4045	3887	6074	3131	7819	3522	1201	654	8851	
23. Norfolk	28590	3938	1574	1201	1348	353	5916	1540	2342	371	6965	
24. Northumberland	40592	8080	6004	1531	5961	229	8622	5200	320	222	1535	
25. Ontario	41604	8582	4794	3852	2657	2287	7435	2127	449	1665	1571	
26. Oxford	46226	7392	3091	1058	8886	1926	7548	4297	648	723	5850	
27. Peel	27240	8226	2864	1722	2349	1874	5443	1066	199	195	842	
28. Perth	38683	8189	6292	2021	5368	3719	6066	355	357	696	590	
29. Peterborough	24651	4031	7902	1028	3972	329	4509	230	30	169	721	
30. Prescott	15499	1583	9021	1880	941	64	715	253	7	18	224	
31. Prince Edward	20869	4486	1751	402	852	184	7369	1990	1140	20	137	
32. Renfrew	20325	3880	8569	3500	1779	212	1217	688	6	24	75	
33. Russell	6824	953	3518	802	646		547	9	4		311	
34. Simcoe	44720	14078	8037	6294	4437	1634	7072	484	417	360	536	
35. Stormont	18129	3830	5357	3800	2069	27	1822	510	4	56	316	
36. Victoria	23039	4956	5433	3077	1702	998	3087	781	350	289	568	
37. Waterloo	38750	2721	6348	1252	3735	2146	2117	220	349	1303	787	
38. Welland	24988	5178	3690	784	768	1213	3446	1579	235	330	721	
39. Wellington	49200	10596	7814	4900	9183	2384	6331	1220	662	1420	1276	
40. Wentworth	31832	7309	4294	2255	2926	2263	5415	2401	1849	362	1510	
41. York	69744	17269	7050	5131	3700	1695	10617	1584	510	3215	1357	
42. Algoma District	4916	623	2441	150	89	10	156	14	4			
43. Nipissing District	2094	226	1561	252	106	2	60					
TOTAL	196091	61565	25811	10890	11302	51178	218127	71615	28200	21370	67559	

Lutherans.	Congregationalists.	Quakers.	Bible Christians.	Christians.	Second Adventists.	Protestants.	Disciples.	Jews.	Menonists and Tunkers.	Universalists.	Unitarians.	Mormons.	No Religion.	No Creed given.	Other Creeds not classed.	
29	209	8			6	18	10	77		24	26		24	33	81	
1	177	49	3	2	1	78		5		15	7		10	5	35	
19	145	5	40	13	147	1057		3	1	39	5		38	42	44	
46	64	9	10	15	7	41		2		14	10		10		10	
167	826	17	23	79	47	1869	117	163	6	41	165			148	236	
144	1181	81	19	112		17	11	7		15	12		1572	200	320	
610	163	25	7	2	2	80	34		108		2	8	135	289	249	
10	8	1		6		17				3	4		37	10	56	
1536	8			9		18				31	2	1	123	1	23	
24	266	25	2772	171	38	19	255	2	16	62	9	2	158	88	74	
216	201	684	23	25	25	205	326	12	82	138	5		1378		382	
51	122	8		1		592				75	10	31	317	271	49	
16	23	80	9	13	43	80		10		2	1	1	100	10	43	
	123					1		10					2	20	48	
891	198	206	31	88		162	378			34	5	1	136	15	21	
724	22	47	18	77		18	141	6	587	42	21	1	103	433	157	
25	406	50	9	14	11	21	208	1	14	9	2		63	6	141	
118	143	237	340		19	20	13		1	121	14	3	169	119	153	
896	52	24	1174			320		2	198	9	31		116	42	864	
65	131	44	5	1	8	94	98	6	6	77	70	2	486	410	372	
70	584	74	2	15		71	14	7	65	16	2	1	419	227	650	
	325	11	55		3					101	4	1	46	8	286	
2	21	160		14		103		2		79	6	3	1692	6	662	
73	12	188	56			71	4	17		113	7	2	54	62	146	
142	11	33		10		47	347		521	161	4		832	133	1848	
70	90	165	135	43	37	107	191		24	95	5		517	693	571	
264	264			46	22	293	22	5	19	108	42		600	639	715	
11	339	379	761	875	38	19	119		11	56	21	6	142	28	29	
301	385	648	887	1032	204	79	206		201	48	8		1760	247	395	
908	154	676	132	83	79		14	235	66	48	10	1	1306	121	1074	
8	345	7		12		137	21		19	6	1		178	74	151	
3091	266	71	668	27	27	339		27	174	28	2	1	47	130	632	
41		16	674			2	28		13				56	95	205	
	112					7			1				39	34		
1	9	1162		12	75		343		338				129	362	49	
189	8	6	12		6		67		1				11	36	35	
1							16		4				2		1	
144	254	230	19	156	9	209	84	3	34	41	38		28	82	145	
165	168		2			2			19	2			67	30	74	
6	103	224	1003	256	28	30	6		1	3	2		39	23	74	
10290	20	61	10	109		350	8	4	4334	26	2		776	237	1555	
1548	7	34	2	34	79	356	213	5	1134	34	20		1632	1239	390	
464	695	142	1	195	6	333	811	8	84	3	2		239	46	427	
238	122	14	2	3	10	18	12		25				69	155	566	
877	565	1251	7	1480	7	349	111	4	1316	3	29	10	1	710	189	616
4						14							993	15		
2	1															
24299	9777	7383	8901	5016	1050	7514	4147	614	8965	2234	834	74	17373	9121	34284	



## H. Appendix: Chapter VI

By 1860 (with the exception of the Wesleyan Methodists) only the Episcopal Methodists and New Connexion Methodists had attained numerical significance among the Methodist connexions. The former group had 71,615 members and the latter group had 28,200 members. All the other Methodist groups combined had 23,330 members. Although the Primitive Methodist Church began as a strongly revivalistic branch of Methodism it did not thrive well numerically in Central Canada. As well, the Primitive Methodists had most of their members in the townships rather than in the rural areas. In 1848, a report in the Primitive Methodist Magazine stated that from Montreal to Toronto "all along this portion of the frontier line we have only Kingston and Darlington stations" (pp. 248, 249). Their membership at that time was 1,246.

While the Wesleyan Methodists were shifting to protracted meetings as their revival strategy, the other Methodist bodies were doing the same. Thomas Compton reported in 1848 that the "principal means employed by the Primitive Methodists by which this revival has been effected, have been protracted meetings, spiritually and perseveringly carried on, mainly in places where we had no societies,..." Compton's report certainly showed the trend at the time for the Primitive Methodists as well as the other Methodist connexions.

Protracted meetings are very common in this country among the various bodies of Methodists, and are held for a month, six weeks, or longer, as the case may require - it being considered proper to continue them so long as souls are being awakened and converted. They are frequently of great use in producing religious

awakenings, in places where the majority of the people are worldly and irreligious, and where the means of grace have seldom been held, as well in congregations which have been favoured with a regular gospel ministry. But while I admit the great utility of such services, I must lament that, in this part, at least, there is little expectation entertained of revivals but in connexion with protracted meetings. Little calculation is made of forming new societies, or having much accession to those already formed, but by protracted meetings. And many awakened persons, despite their convictions, deliberately postpone religious decision till the next protracted meeting is held. (Thomas Compton, Primitive Methodist Magazine, 1848, pp. 245-249).

The experience of the Episcopal Methodists was quite similar. See for instances: The Canada Christian Advocate, Jan. 23, 1845); ibid, Feb. 6, 1845.

The other Methodist connexions experienced the same transition in revivalism simultaneously with the Wesleyan Methodists. The concern for building chapels and parsonages and fostering evangelism through the protracted meetings was equally shared among the various Methodist groups.

I. APPENDIX: CHAPTER VI

The following resolutions presented by E. Ryerson were adopted by the Conference:

Resolved - That viewing the evils of intemperance its ravages upon the healthful constitution of the body its destruction of the religious feeling and moral principle of the mind - its blighting effects upon the domestic comforts and opening prospects of life - and its fearful prevalence in many parts of this province, this Conference feels it to be an imperious duty to use their best endeavours, both by precept and example, to check its progress, and finally to deliver the country from the fatal scourging of so dreadful a plague.

Resolved - That this Conference view what are called Temperance Societies to be one of the most judicious and effective instruments which can be used for the suppression of intemperance.

Resolved - That the members of the Conference do now form themselves into a Temperance Society and they hereby agree to abstain entirely from the use of arduous spirits - to enforce upon the members of our church and also upon our congregations the important caution and duty of entire abstinence and to use every lawful means in our power to establish temperance societies in their respective circuits and stations.

Resolved - That this Conference believe ... the "moderate" or temperate use of arduous spirits is the fruitful source of all the intemperance which spreads its prostitutive influence over this country, both as it regards the effects of such an example upon others and the effect of the practice upon the individual who indulges in it.

Resolved - That this Conference do decidedly disapprove of any members of our church distilling or retailing arduous spirit.

(Journal of Annual Conference, 1824-1842, Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, pp. 35, 36).

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

1. Most of the primary source materials, particularly the manuscripts ("Journal of Annual Conference", "Personal Papers", etc.), are in the United Church Archives, Victoria University Campus, Toronto, Ontario. The Christian Guardian and other journals are in several Canadian University libraries on microfilm.
2. Some of the materials classified as primary sources were published later than the 1860 termination date of this thesis. They were included because the authors had first-hand knowledge of the period of study and in most cases their writings directly related to this period.
3. Abbreviation: United Church Archives - U.C.A.

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