

DEPOSITED BY THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH



- THE CHURCH IN THE CHANGING CITY -

Types of Urban Churches associated with Types of Urban Communities.

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

by

S.G.Garland,

Department of Sociology,

McGill University.

April, 1929.

-CONTENTS--

		inningendenskander (der der der der der der der der der den den den den den der der den der der der der der der V	
			Page
Introduc	ction	••••••••••	i
Chapter	I.	Historical Background of the Community	
		and its Religious Institutions	Ĵ
Chapter	II.	The Ecological Distribution	
		of Religious Institutions	22
Chapter	III.	Types of Churches in the Downtown Area.	43
Chapter	IV.	The Marginal Type of Church	86
Chapter	v.	Neighborhood Types of Churches	97
Chapter	VI.	Conclusion	124

## - INTRODUCTION -

There is a growing interest in the so-called cultural institutions of the community. The Church as a structural element in human society is coming more and more to be studied as an institution reflective of the life of the community, and further, as a unit of communal organization. That it is being modified considerably by the changes incident to city life is apparent to the most casual observer. "The general nature of these changes is indicated by the fact that the growth of cities has been accompanied by the substitution of indirect, "secondary", for direct, face-toface, "primary" relations in the associations of individuals in the community." 1

With these intimate relationships of the primary group weakened, the tendency is for the population of urban communities to be unstable and mobile, and to the conditions created thereby the Religious Institution is forced to make adaptations.

This is a study of the reactions that the Protestant Church is making to the changing conditions of city life. By the presentation of typical cases we are attempting to

£

<sup>1</sup> Park and Burgess, The City, p.23.

show that in accompanying the changed environment there has been a corresponding change of attitude and policy on the part of the Church.

That the Church, being an institution with goals and ideals, changes, and makes adaptations, renders the study all the more interesting, for neither its tradition, nor its power for good saves it from the disintegrating influence of city life.

The city of Montreal has been selected as the field of our investigations, and in order to furnish a background for the understanding of the present status of Organized Religion, we propose first of all to treat of the Historical Development of the Community and its Religious Institutions. Then having traced the growth of the city in terms of its religious groupings, we shall next deal with the process in which forces operate to locate the institution in time and space, - in brief, the distribution of Religious Instituutions.

Lastly, in view of the fact that the resultant patterns of distribution are constantly being changed, and that every moment in the life cycle of the institution is a potential crisis, we shall be concerned with the idea of getting at the behavior sequence of the Churches selected as types. These latter may be said to be peculiar to the habitat in which they are operating, and to which they are making continual readjustments.

11

Historical Background of the Community and its Religious Institutions.

No historian of Canada's metropolis has failed to make record of the fact that "Montreal was cradled in religion". Indeed, many of her streets and neighborhoods, named as they were, after the saints, bear eloquent testimony to the founding of Ville- Marie, as a religious community of missionaries and crusaders. The proceedure of Jacques Cartier, from the day of his commissioning by the king of France, to the time of his arrival on the 3rd. of October, 1535, at the village, or town, of "Hochelaga", was characterized by all the dignity of religious sanction.

It is recorded that the natives thought of him as a god, having healing qualities, and descended from heaven for the express purpose of healing them. However much the faith was justified we know not, but the religious attitude of Cartier may be readily seen in that, "He recited the Gospel of St. John, and prayed that God would open their hearts, that they 1 might receive His Holy Word and be converted".

1 Sandham, Montreal, Past and Present. p.7.

But Cartier's evangelizing and colonizing endeavors were neither extensively or intensively carried on, and it remain-

ed for one," Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve, a devout Christian, an able statesman, and a valiant soldier, to found the new colony. He had accepted the position as commander of an expedition to, and act as governor of the newly acquired isle". This expedition, of which Maisonneuve became leader,

was inaugurated by two young men,-" Jerome le Royer de la Danoursière, a collector of taxes at La Flêche, in Augon, and a young priest of Paris, Jean Jacques, Olier, by name, having met each other, formed the idea of establishing at Montreal three religious communities, one of priests, to convert the Indians, one of nuns, to nurse the sick, and one of nuns, 3<sup>to</sup> teach the children of the Indians and of the colonists."

This plan, - to the execution of which they were called by the heavenly powers, having had a vision, in which their duty and the topography of the most exact details of Montreal were revealed, was popularly supported, and in February, 1641, the Associates, with Olier at their head, assembled at the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, and before the Altar of the Virgin " solemnly consecrated Montreal to the Holy Family, and to be called " Ville- Marie de Montreal."

It was not until the following year, 1642, on the 17th. of May, that Maisonneuve reached Montreal. The arrival of that band of missionary colonists and explorers is graphically depicted by Sandham,-----

2 Sandham, op. cit., p.22. 3 Ibid. p.19. 4 Ibid.p. 22. "Maisonneuve sprang ashore and fell on his knees. His followers imitated his example; and all joined their voices in songs of thanksgiving. Tents, baggage, arms and stores, were landed. An altar was raised on a pleasant place, near at hand; and Mademoiselle Mance, with Madame de la peltrie, aided by her servant, Charlotte Barre, decorated it with a taste which was the admiration of all beholders. Now all the company gathered before the shrine. Here were ladies with their servant; Montmagny, no willing spectator; and Maisonneuve, a warlike figure, erect and tall, his men clustering around him;- soldiers, sailors, artizans and laborers,- all alike soldiers at need. They kneeled in reverent silence as the Host was raised aloft; and when the rite was over, the priest turned and adressed them, ' You are a grain of mistard seed that shall rise and grow until its branches overshadow the land. You are few, but your work is off God; His smile is on you, and your children shall fill the land,'" 5

It is not surprising then, that having been thus founded to be, as one writer describes it, -" an abode of angels " of a particular kind, the predominant type of religious institution is Catholic;

Though a sprinkling of Huguenots and French Protestants added to the population, Protestantism only became established with the British Conquest, and till that time, in part at least, the aim of the Jesuits was realized. Not only so was this true of Montreal in particular, but Canada in general.

"For the sentiment that impelled most of the distinguished sons of France, who at this early period aided in the colonization of Canada, was no doubt correctly voiced by Champlain, the bravest, most energetic and constant of them all in his faith in the future of our country, and a devout Roman Catholic, when he declared, 'that the salvation of one soul was of more value than the conquest of an empire.'" 6

5 Sandham, op. cit., p.24.

6 Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church. p.5.

The Sulpicians, to whom had been given the island in 1644, came over three years later to take possession of their estate. Abbè Quelus, with deputies from the Seminary at Paris, led the patty, and accordingly founded the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, for the conversion of the Indians. As yet, the colony was quite small, the total population in 1651, having been only 375 people. The colonial garrison, increased by 400 soldiers, gave life and confidence to the colonists, and each decade showed an augmentation in the population. Statistics for the year 1761, the year subsequent to the British Conquest, gives the total population as 5500.

It may be readily seen that with the natural increase, together with additions of population from without, Ville-Marie would expand to become a centre far beyond the anticipation of the early colonists. Situated upon the banks of a great river,- the natural outlet to the sea of large navigable waters of the interior,- Montreal would naturally and preeminently develop into a commercial city. It would become what is called a centre of dominance. Religion, then, very early came to have commerce for her handmaid, but the interests of trade superceded those of the Gospel. Religion here, notwithstanding the devotion of the early leaders, was made subordinate to commerce.

The trade of the city for a long period consisted of Peltry, and many of the missionaries working from the centre, made the office of evangelizing one with trading in fur. To what extent such union of interests was successful, we will not here discuss, beyond saying that with the establishing of British rule, in 1760, many Protestants, English and Scotch, settled in the city of Montreal, and the peltry business was soon monopolized by them. In as much as we shall treat of the growth of the city in relation to the Protestant Institutions, the afore mentioned fact is of great importance.

"The English and Scottish Churches both owed their establishment in Montreal to the British Soldiery that garrisoned the city after the conquest, and when quitting the army, took up their abode in it." 7

Undue emphasis must not be laid upon the foregoing statement, and we quote it merely for the purpose of indicating that this group constituted the nucleus of that Institutional growth as reflected in the city of the present time. It is difficult to imagine, in view of the many Protestant Institutions located in every area of the city, that according to a report made by General Murray, in 1765, there were but 500 Protestants of the whole population of Canada, and only 136 in the whole district of Montreal, and these were merchants, officers, and discharged soldiers.

7 Campbell, op. cit., p.22.

The phenomenal growth of the city since its cession to Great Britain is due to the wise policy adopted by the Home Government with regard to the conquered.

"The British commander, General Murray, decreed that all things should be done ' decently and in order '. The inhabitants must be paid honestly in 'hard cash' for whatever they brought, either to the market, or to the British Cantonments for sale. Rights were respected, the religion, language, and laws of the province were secured, and everything was done to content the people." 8

But what, it may be asked, has this to do with the rise and growth of Protestant Institutions? A great deal, for here is one racial group accomodating itself to another racial group; an act of accomodation, let it be pointed out, that is the wonder of these more recent days, because such friendliness, though not unparalleled, is of infrequent occurrence. It was due to the hospitality of the Recollet Fathers that the English and Scotch settlers had a place in which to worship, before means were available for the construction of their own Church buildings. For a period of twenty years, the Protestants of the community, known as the parish of Montreal. worshipped in the Recollet Church. The rector of the parish, during that time of religious hospitality, was the Reverend David Chartrand Delisle. It would seem that at first, due possibly to the minority of Protestants, that no subdivisions. such as Presbyterians, were made.

Borthwick, Streets of Montreal, p.19.

By the year 1791, however, the same friendly gesture was extended by the Recollet Fathers to the Presbyterian group, the number of Scotsmen evidently having increased during the twenty year period. Here then, in the old Recollet Church, on the 18th. day of September, 1791, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered to the "Society of Presbyterians" as they were called, by the Rev. J. Young, who continued to occupy the Church mentioned until their own edifice, in St. Gabriel Street, was ready for divine worship. And again, in 1809, The Presbyterian Society had further use of the 'old church', when minor repairs and "enovations were being effected upon their own church building.

Now that the religious distinctions are so clearly marked between Catholic and Protestant, one wonders at such friendliness and tolerance as characterized that early group.

With all due respect to the group that practises such charity, it must be said meanwhile, that such "altruism" forebodes ill for the solidarity and permanence of the order.

"Tolerance is a sign that once vital issues within the group are losing their significance, or that the group feels secure, or that it is slowly, even unconsciously, merging into a wider grouping. Theological liberality affords a case in point. In earlier days of sectarian struggle tolerance was a danger both to group loyalty and to the militant spirit..... Fighting groups cannot be tolerant; nor can they harbour cynics. They portend dissolution or they foreshadow new groupings for struggle over other issues on another plane." 9

9 Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology.

p.609.

In contrast to the extensive missionary endeavors of the Jesuits, the work of the Recollets was relatively temporary and local. Indeed, as early as 1813 the last of the Recollet Fathers died at Montreal, and the old church succumbed to the invasion of business, and was demolished in 1866; and all that remains now to remind us that the order ever existed in Montreal, is the street which bears their name.

But to proceed, in due course the building on St. Gabriel Street was constructed, and was opened for divine service on the 7th. day of October, 1792. The building itself had a seating accomodation for 650 people, which fact reflects either provision made for such Presbyterian people as had already domiciled in the city, or in anticipation of those who should come. It is certain that " Scotch traders constituted a very important section of the population of the city at that time. They ranked with the foremost in enterprise and wealth. They were indeed, the leaders in all public matters, as well as in the domain of social life." 10

Here then, the religious traditions of the Highlands of Scotland, found their expression in the new environment, for St. Gabriel's represents the first Protestant Church building in the city of Montreal,- if not indeed, in all of Canada.

10 Campbell, op. cit., p.69.

After the walls had been removed, in order to make more room for business, more thought was given to town planning, for hitherto no provision had been made towards securing uniformity to the streets, which were being rapidly built upon in the outskirts of the town.

As time passed, Montreal kept pushing itself out from the centre to include other environs.

Increased means of communication were established, and the first steamboat, - the "Quebec Mercury", inaugurated a service between Montreal and Quebec of some thirty- six hours duration. Previously the only mode of conveyance between Montreal and Quebec was by means of Stages or batteaux, but now a new factor had entered into the world of that day.

Mobility is the characteristic feature of modern city life, and that form of transportation; elementary in contrast with the transportation facilities of our own time, was the means of multiplying the number of contacts of the people, and of setting them on the "move".

Having referred at some length to the origin of the Presbyterian Church in Montreal, we return to discuss the rise and extension of the Church of England within the city. In point of time, the ministry of the Anglican Church pre- dated that of the Presbyterian, for reference elsewhere has been made to the Rev.D.C.Delisle, the first Protestant minister resident in Montreal.

It would seem that Mr. Delisle was sent out in accordance with a policy of the British authorities of the Church of England, who hoped by means of using clergymen speaking the language of the French Canadians, as Mr. Delisle did, to convert the French Canadians to Protestantism, and thereby secure their loyalty to England.

The pursuance of such a policy was doomed to failure, and the plan having been given a trial for fifty years, was finally abandoned. This functionary of the Church of England, with his people, shared the hospitality of the Recollet Fathers for fifteen years in the way of accomodation. But in 1789, they petitioned Lord Dorchester for the use of the Chapel belonging to the Jesuit College, which, in the changes of the years, had become government property. In view of the hardship endured by that body, namely that of being so long necessitated to be under obligation to the Roman Catholics for a place of meeting, the government granted their request. After some minor changes had been effected, the Chapel was opened for divine service on the 20th. of December, 1789. A new name was adopted by the Anglicans, and instead of being spoken of as the "Protestant Congregation of Montreal", they were henceforth to be known as "Christ Church".

Fourteen years later, however, the Chapel 'freely bestowed' burnt, and this led the Anglicans to build a church of their own.

"While this was in progress, the congregation of Christ Church worshipped for eleven years in St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, so that the Anglicans had been indebted to other denominations during the long period of forty-eight years." 11

It would seem that the adherents of Christ Church were not so financially well off as their Presbyterian neighbours, and notwithstanding a grant of £4000 voted by the Imperial Parliament, the new building, located on Notre Dame Street, was not available for service till the autumn of 1814.

The Church finally completed, served well the Anglicans of the city, and in recognition of its history and service, was created a cathedral by Royal Letters Patent in 1850. Six years later, the congregation suffered the loss of their cathedral by fire, and the authorities, anticipating the movement of the population towards the suburbs, decided to erect the new cathedral on St. Catherine Street, which was accordingly built, and opened for worship, November 27, 1860.

In studying the population expansion of Montreal one observes a remarkable increase during the nine decades subsequent to 1771.

11 Croil, J., Genesis of the Churches. p. 166.

For through the natural increase and immigration the population had increased from 6275 in 1771 to 57715 in 1851.

The following TABLE I. giving a classification of population according to religious denomination is of interest, and especially related to this study.

### TABLE I.

DENOMINATION.	POPULATION.	PERCENTAGE.	
Roman Catholic.	41464	71.9	
Church of England.	3993	6.9	
Presbyterians.	2832	4.9	
Methodists.	1213	2.1	
Baptists.	272	.47	
Jews.	181	.31	
Unclassed.	7760	13.6	
Total	57715	100 12	

Classified according to origins, the total population of the foregoing period (1851) we find, whilst the prependerance of population was French Canadian, there had been a considerable influx of Irish and scotch, - the immigration of the Irish group to Canada received its impetus through the economic stress which obtained in Ireland about this time.

Classification according to Origins.

French Canadian	2 <b>6</b> 000
English Canadian	12494
Irish and Scotch	17744
Other Nationalities-	1457

12 Federal Census for 1851.

After the war of 1812, the number of Americans increased considerably within the city, and not a few of the Presbyterians as listed in TABLE I. constituted that element which seceding from St. Gabriel's, formed the "American Presbyterian Church."

Beyond recording the fact of the rise of different offshoots from the parent church we will not go, deliberately avoiding the discussion of incidents of a controversial nature. Differences existed then, as now, in which the cultural factor played a prominent part. In the sifting process people did get directed to, and found membership in such groups or institutions, commensurate with their standard of living. Evidence of such differences, as found within the same denomination, is supported in the following comparison of two churches.

"The St. Gabriel Street Church was considered the Church which was attended by the higher classes of the Presbyterian community, and Mr. Easton's Church (St. Peter Street) by the tradesmen and mechanics of the Presbyterian faith." 13

But to return to the subject of territorial expansion of the city of Montreal. The period reaching from a few years before 1829 to a few years after, was a period of development of the city,-"for it was then that a great city planning move was first launched." 14

13 Campbell, op. cit., p.181.

<sup>14</sup> Notes of an Address, "On Montreal in 1829", by Dr.W.H.Atherton.

Reference has been made to the levelling of the city wall in order to give more space to the commercial enterprise of the time. Business was being conducted along ever increasing lines, and with the walls removed, a great era of reconstruction might be said to have been started. Notwithstanding the fact that thought and effort had been given to the directing of the growth of the city, factors over which the town planner had no control, operated in "shaping" the city, and predetermined the direction of its growth.

Natural barriers, such as mountains and rivers, and the main lines of communication operated in the development of Montreal, as to give it a shape peculiar to itself. At this period, the city consisted of that central area located within, and upon the old walls, and its suburban areas were known as St. Anne's, or Griffintown suburb, Recollet suburb, St. Anteine suburb, St. Louis suburb, and St. Lawrence suburb.

During the passing of the years, these suburbs, together with others, have been incorporated within the limits of the city, and for the most part, have undergone all the social changes as attend the growth of a city.

Prior to 1851, people of other denominations than Anglican or Presbyterian are numbered among the population of Protestants.

For as early as a century ago, there was a Wesleyan Church located on St. Sulpice Street, and from which evolved Great St. James, or Centre Church.

The Congregationalists were few in number, and from 1831 to 1835 met for worship in a room in College Street, but in the later year (1835), their number having increased considerably, was housed in a "neat and well furnished" structure on St. Maurice, near McGill Street. This building, however, was deemed inadequate and was sold. Zion Church was erected in 1846 to accomodate the increase of Congregationalists during the period afore mentioned.

The growing wants of the rapidly increasing suburban population included the Church institution, and accordingly led to the erection of a Church in the St. Anne's Suburbs (as it was then called). This building, known as Griffintown, or Ottawa Street Church, was located on Wellington Street, close to where Duke Street now intersects.

The Federal Census of 1881 and 1891 gives the population of Montreal classified according to religious denomination as follows;-

## TABLE II.

DENOLINATION.	1881	1891	INCREASE.	PERCENTAGE.
Roman Cath.	103579	134142	3 <b>0</b> 563	29.5
Anglican	14338	19684	5346	37.2
Presbyterian	11597	14853	3256	28.0
Methodist		680 <b>3</b>		27.6
Brethren	194	248	54	27.8
Lutheran	370	<b>488</b>	118	31.9
Baptists	1402	2005	603	43.0
Congreg.	1 311	1871	560	49.5
Unitarian	410	448	38	9,2
Universalists	9	18	9	<b>10</b> 0 '
Protestants	6 <b>76</b>	344		
Sal. Army		84	84	
Quakers	14	5		
Epis. Reforme	d 388			
Adv entists	68	41		
Disciples	7	7		
Jews	811	2457	<b>16</b> 46	<b>202</b>
Totals	1 55237	2 <b>1 56</b> 50	60413	<b>38</b> ,9
("Including all kinds.)				

The foregoing TABLE II. is indicative of a steady expansion of population along denominational lines in fair proportion. It must be borne in mind that the large increase of Catholic population was not altogether due to the natural increase of French, but was constantly augmented by an infiltration of Irish immigrants.

With the advent of the 20th. century, Montreal in common with Canada in general, might be said to have entered an era of great expansion. Extended means of communication, both by sea and land, gave an impetus to trade and to the making of this city to be the metropolis of Canada. It is not surprising, therefore, that the population became more cosmopolitan in character, and consequently certain sections of the city took on the "air" or cultural aspects of the racial groups domiciled within them. "Birds of a feather flock together", and we think in terms of this area as being inhabited by Jews, or that area by French, according as the selective process has directed or forced such racial groups to be located here or there.

The great increase of population experienced by the city, has been attended by a corresponding increase in territory. "Cities grow, they are not made", notwithstanding the efforts of the town planner. Montreal, in conjunction with other great cities, has grown somewhat wildly, as may be realized in the fact of its slums and shacktowns, emisting at its centre and circumference respectively. These and other characteristics are indicative of a lack of foresight and study of the natural forces, operating in the growth of the city as a whole. Before representing graphically the main tendencies in the growth and unity of Montreal as a city, the following TABLE is presented to show the relation of population expansion to territorial expansion.

# TABLE III.

YEAR.	POPULATION.	AREA IN SQUARE MILES.
1882	161278	9.8
1886	165442	12.2
1893	225884	14.0
1905	<b>30309</b> 0	15.0
1907	366915	18.0
1910	455800	44.2
<b>191</b> 3	<b>51</b> 5700	44.6
1916	575000	48.4
1 918		50,2
1921	<b>61</b> 8506	50.2

"The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric rircles, which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension, and the types of areas differentiated in the precess of expansion.

(1) The first circle is the central business district from which the city expands radially.

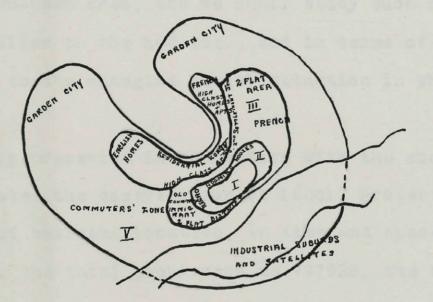
(2) The second circle is the zone of deterioration surrounding the centre. This is an area of residence that has been invaded by the central business district. This is the so-called central slum, produced by the well noted tendency of the city to die at, or near, its heart.

(3) The third circle is the zone of the working men's homes, inhabited predominently by skilled and thrifty factory and shop workers who have escaped from the second zone, and are within easy access of their work.

(4) The fourth is the area of exclusive residential districts with single family dwellings, and high class apartments.

(5) The fifth is the commuter's zone, in which lie the suburbs and satellite cities within from thirty to sixty minutes of the central business district.

There are, however, factors in every local situation, such as rivers, mountains, natural lines of communication, and the early position of industrial establishments, which tend to press these circles out of their regularity in the growth of any city. Therefore, it is necessary to represent Montreal graphically, by means of a series of concentric kidneys, as follows." 15



# 15 Dawson, "The City as an Organism,"

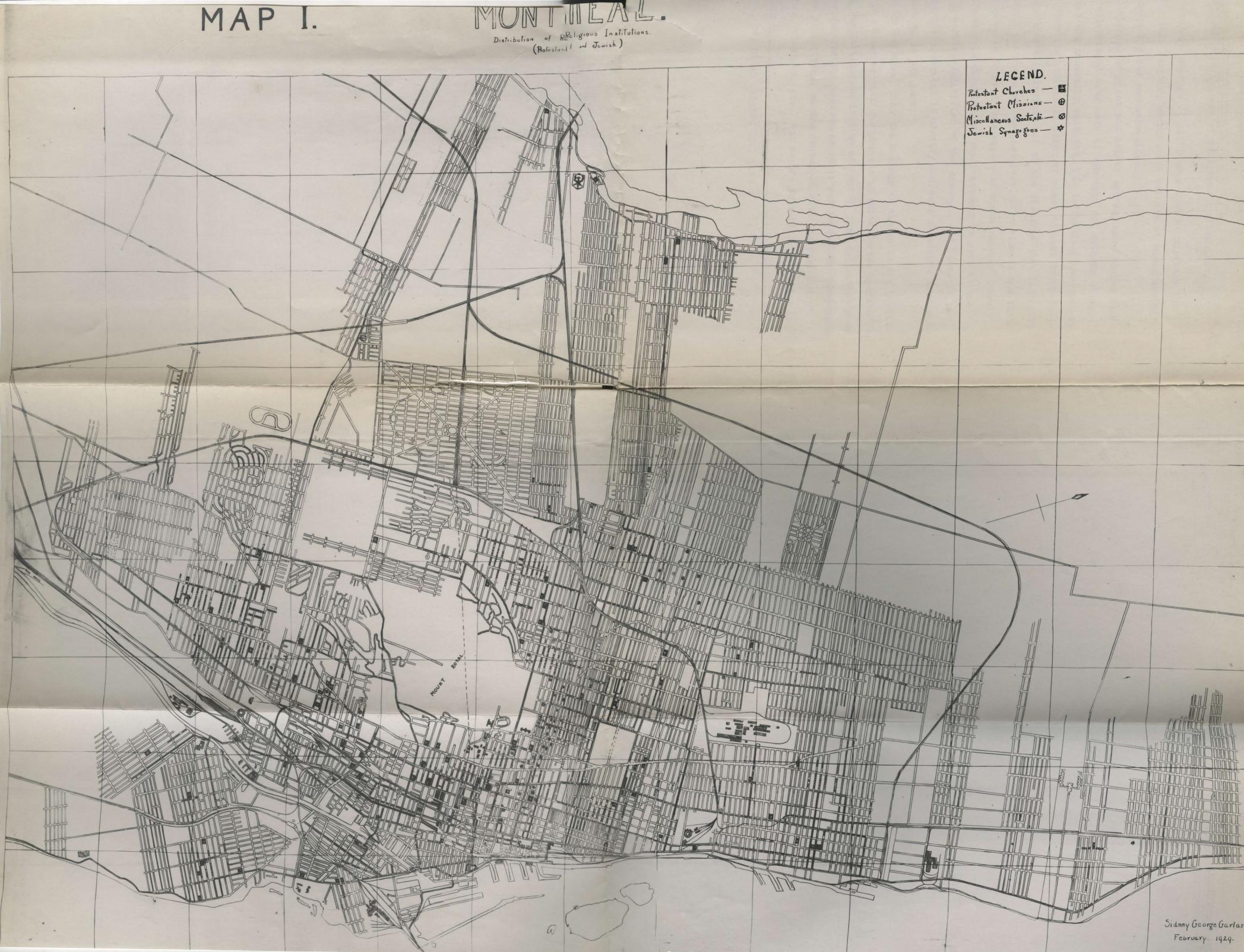
Undoubtedly a chart showing the population movements from one district to another, would represent the central zones as fairly stationary as to actual population change. But here it is that life moves at a rapid mate, and "social change" is more evident than elsewhere. All institutions, and life generally, within this central area come to be profoundly influenced, and the "struggle for existence", and to survive, is consciously carried forward. We mention this fact because some of the religious institutions to be studied are located in the down-town area, and we shall study such churches as types peculiar to the habitat, and in terms of their major reactions to the changing social situation in which they seek to live.

The map presented in connection with the succeeding chapter indicates the distribution of 160017 Protestant population in terms of building location, in time and space.

Taking the	total popula	ation as	797928, the	following are
the population	percentages	in terms	of religio	us denomination:
Cath <b>oli</b> c	70%			
P <b>ro</b> testant	20%			
Hebrew	9%			
Others	1 %			N.B.

N.B.The above statistics are not up to date, but are gleaned from the Y.M.C.A. Survey, of 1925.

While these populations have a general pattern of distribution, regardless of religious denomination, yet there is a tendency for them to be segregated into definite "natural areas", as will be shown when we come to plot the various constituencies of the institutions studied.



#### CHAPTER II.

The Mcological Distribution of Religious Institutions.

It is with a measure of diffidence that we approach the subject of this chapter, because the science of human ecology is comparatively new and undeveloped.

The sciences of plant and animal ecology have become fairly well established with sets of concepts and methods of approach that are generally accepted. The definition, however, of ecology from the biological point of view, "is not sufficiently comprehensive to include all of the elements that logically fall within the range of human ecology." I In view of the fact that we propose to study one aspect of human ecology, namely, the Religious Institution, we shall attempt to give at the outset a working definition of the concept, and leave it to the material presented to clarify and make objective the meaning embodied in the term.

Let us say then, that the ecology of the Religious Institution is concerned with the process in which forces operate to locate the Institution in time and space. That definition must be accepted for the present as it is sufficient for the purpose of this study. True, we are concerned with the position of Churches, Missions, etc., but we are primarily interested in

1 Park, The City, Chapter III, p.63.

the process by which these came to be located where they are, and the interplay of social forces which renders the position relative and subject to change, according as these forces gain or lose in significance, for or against the Institution. The distribution of Religious Institutions as seen by the map is not a matter of chance or accident, but is the resultant of competing forces. Under conditions of free competition and choice certain distributions may seem to be temporary and fortuitous, but the Religious Institution as a unit is located spatially in relation to all other units that make up the total distribution. Having then a definite relation to the city as a whole, the church shares in the ordinary processes of growth, and by it may come to change its policy, or indeed, its position. In our use of the term 'growth' we shall mean thereby all that may be involved in a changing population, for the growth and stability of the church, are to a certain extent determined by the rate and direction of the population shift. Many factors enter into the movements of population. and to isolate one, or a group of factors, without reference to the total process, is neither profitable or scientific. It would be comparatively easy to make a case for the economic or psychological factor, and yet the question of why populations move would remain unanswered. Certainly, the final ans-

wer is not found in the fact that people have to be fed, clothed and sheltered.

In part, such objects are achieved before the movement is initiated. But there is a constant shift of population which is due to the desire for "status", and which will be achieved according as the people concerned are able to pay for the "reserved seats". Economics, then, comes to play a rôle, but in relation to all other factors operative in the sifting and sorting process of population movements.

We emphasize the foregoing statement because of the tendency to over-estimate the importance of one factor to the exclusion of other factors in the process. Cognizance must be taken of the person with wishes and attitudes, interests and sentiments, which through the competitive process come in part to be realized.

It is in the nature of the city itself to provide an everincreasing number of stimuli through contacts between persons, and thus stimulate this desire for "status". As new patterns of behaviour, and higher standards of living, are presented to the individual, he becomes restless and aggressive, and seeks to climb, even though it be on the "broad backs of others", to that point of economic betterment that will permit of more social prestige and a higher social level.

Struggle for status is one of the forces that make for population movements, and intensifies the competitive process as to make it dynamic. Sooner or later the struggle will result in the "swarming of the human hive" being segregated to such natural areas' as correspond to the standards achieved. If the struggle is too great, there are areas into which the unsuccessful, the eliminated, are directed, and characteristic institutions, such as the mission, grow up to minister to the "lost souls".

For, "from the mobile competing stream of the city's population each natural area of the city tends to collect the particular individuals predestined to it. These individuals in turn, give to the area a peculiar character. And as a result of this segregation, the natural areas of the city tend to become distinct cultural areas as well, - a "black belt" or a Harlem, a Little Italy, a Chinatown, a "stem" of the "hobo", a room-house world, a "Towertown", or a"Greenwich Village", a "Gold coast", and the like, each with its characteristic complex of institutions, customs, beliefs, standards of life, traditions, attitudes, sentiments, and interests. The physical individuality of the natural areas of the city is re-emphasized by the cultural individuality of the populations segregated over them. Natural areas and natural cultural groups tend to coincide." 2

Distinction must be made between the "natural area" referred to above, and such areas as wards, whuch are arbitrarily fashioned for administrative purposes.

2 American Journal of Sociology, Vol.XXXII, pp.191-2.

These later may coincide or cut across "natural areas" without taking cognizance of their existence, or at least ignoring it. We mention this because through a study recently made, the relative change of population according to wards is shown, but leave much to be desired in giving facts with respect to the natural areas. These, as Prof. Zorbaugh points out, "are only relatively stable, either in respect to values or in respect to the cultural segregation upon them."3

As in plant communities, the process of succession obtains, and in the course of time, several cultures may have passed over, each having left somewhat of an impress upon the fabric of these natural areas. The present distribution of Religious Institutions is largely the resultant of the ecological facts,- natural areas within the city, competition for position, segregation over natural areas, succession, and all that accompanies the shifting population, both in regard to its initial stages and throughout its process.

No more than a cursory glance at the map, (No.I), is necessary to see how these principles under discussion have worked themselves out in characteristic patterns in Montreal. Few of the Churches studied have had "an abiding place." They have been forced by one type of invasion or another either to move, federate, or die. Some indicated, but not treated at

3 Zorbaugh, op. cit., p. 194.

length in this study, are in the grip of changing circumstances to which they have not the power of ajusting themselves and consequently are dying. The reasons are quite apparent,the population shift is decidedly against such institutions, and the "remnant" are not able to shoulder the financial burden of carrying on. The invading group may not be sympathetic to the type of religious institution as maintained by the displaced group, and accordingly the death of the institution is a matter of months, or at the best, a few years.

Not all Religious Institutions, however, are prepared to face the problem of adapting themselves to changed environmental conditions, and each seeks to prolong or save its life in flight to such regions whither the favorable population is tending. Hence it comes to pass that Churches in such areas where the population shift is favorable have little difficulty of success mlong the well known traditional lines, appraised of course according to certain standards. Of such a policy, Prof.A.E.Holt has the following to say:

"The shepherding of ecclesiastical catch-basins in country towns and residential suburbs is a privilege much desired by Protestant clergy. Men in such pulpits are called successful pastors, and we elevate them into positionsof honor. They are pastors of successful churches. A successful church is achurch which gives a great deal of money to missions, but to which other churches have contributed most of its members.

Now with the same eagerness with which the clergy seek churches which have the population shift with them, they avoid the church which has the population shift against it. Here they know they will be labeled as unsuccessful pastors. In other words, our clergy develop the ethics of real estate men and ride the waves to success or are dragged down

to failure." 4

Hitherto we have discussed the subject of this chapter along general lines, and now we propose to deal with the particular characteristic features of the Distribution of Religious Institutions.

I. First to be noted is the Down-town pattern.

The Churches, as located within the area of Guy Street West to Bleury Street East, and Dorchester Street South to St. Catherine Street North, would naturally fall within the classification of down-town pattern.

It would be in the area now known as down-town, that the earliest Churches of Montreal were founded. In the early history of the city these "first churches", with their constituencies more or less around them, tended to serve the religious needs of a growing community. But in the course of time other local communities grew up, and out of reach of being efficiently served by the first church. Then branch churches of the existing denominations were established to minister to the needs of neighborhood groups.

**4** Holt, op. cit., p.74.

These neighborhood churches thus initiated began to sheepsteal, not intentionally perhaps, but just shared the benefits of moving members, and so a struggle was set up between the first churches and their offspring. In some instances the children have grown faster than the parent church, and the strugglee has resulted in the moving of the first chutch and its union with another church of its own group. Hence St. Andrew and St. Paul, now located on Dorchester Street and McGill College Ave., and Knox Crescent, on Dorchester and Crescent Streets, would be representative types of such churches as have united forces in the down-town area. These churches, while owing their origin to St. Gabriel Street Church , functioned separately for a long period of time, and it is noted that consequent upon the proposed Railway Terminal, St. Andrew and St. Paul is seriously considering a site for re-location.

With the possible exception of St. James Methodist, (now United) and St. George's, (Anglican) the churches in the down-town section have rung the changes upon themselves as units, without particular reference to the denominational unit, although the latter has derived "benefits of a kind" because of formal attachments.

For the most part, such Churches are maintained for and by a removed constituency, who through sentiment are loyal to the Institution. They pay the bills, attend the service on Sunday morning, and provide good preaching and special music for those who shall attend the evening service.

The exceptions have been representative of the denomination in the centre of the city, designated by such terms as "Cathedral of Methodism" etc. Such Churches, while making their appeal on a city-wide basis, have definite reference to the area in which they are located.

In so far as equipment and means render it possible, they attempt to do the work of the Institutional type of Church. That is, they are in the precess of being secularized or socialized. Nevertheless, the preaching of a vigorous or popular Gospel is the major feature in the program, and the Churches themselves come to be known through the Dominating Personality type of preacher. People constituting the Boards of Management, and who may be said to own the Church, are generally resident in suburban areas. At this point, the term "vigorous Gospel" is worthy of connotation, because it throws light on the policy of the respective Churches.

In brief, the Gospel must be as vigorous as the "conscience threshold" of the proprietary element is high, and sufficiently attractive to hold the attention of the passing throngs.

Located at such points, to which multitudes of people are drawn, and whose coming is rendered comparatively easy by the increased means of transportation facilities, the Churches in conjunction with the theatressmake a bid for the patronage of that vast mobile stream of population at the centre of the city.

Hence such Churches have a number of policies, some of compromise, and it may be "surrender" of such values as were once deemed fundamental. In general, these may be regarded now as fundamental, but in particular, they are ruled out as subjects that are tabooed. To be more explicit, the general evils might be attacked and deplored by the preachers, but the particularly shady transaction of a big corporation, the members of which are officials of such Churches, may not be discussed, even though it may mean a lowering of the "conscience threshold" of the Church. The adoption of such policy is an index to the reaction that the down-town Church is making to a constantly changing environment. It is the price paid instead of withdrawal or retreat.

Upon all this the ecological concept has a beering, for while the growth and development of Church methods are inwardly determined, they also reflect the population condition in which the Church is operating, and to which it is ever striving to adapt itself.

The Down-town pattern also includes several missions, either maintained by some Church in behalf of "submerged souls", or by the denomination for the "strangers within our gates." The social distance as existing between the Church and the Mission on the one hand, and the amount of "nurture", Canadian or Christian, afforded the alien group by the denomination on the other, are questions which may not lie within our immediate field of discussion.

This may be said, however, that the interests of the Mission Group are not quite the same as those of the Church Group. Methods akin to the revival technique may be employed here, and the leader may possibly describe his work in terms of "converts made." The supporting Church, however, may not have any such word as "convert" in its vocabulary, and for the process known as conversion they speak in terms of "joining the Church" etc., and indicative of their attitude towards the expression of Religious behaviour along the earlier demonstrative lines, they significantly state,-"There are no sectarian tests here."

The work carried on by the Mission for foreigners, is for the most part that of teaching children, whose parents with few exceptions, have no interest in the Protestant Religion.

As a matter of fact, for a particular foreign group of children served by a Mission, there is no Protestant Churchorganization for their own race to which they might become attached, nor is there any English Church sufficiently charitable to receive them into its membership.

There are other religious groups operating in the downtown area. These are what prof. Kincheloe calls primitive Christian Churches. Such may be further classified according as they may be doctrinally minded Primitive Churches or socially minded Primitive Churches. The first would include the Pentecostal Group, - a very vigorous group using a hall on Drummond Street, just below St. Catherine Street. They emphasize experience in conversion, ( as may be noted by the large illuminated sign bearing the words, "Jesus Saves") tongue speaking, healing, and a definite knowledge of salvation. Thisis the central organization for the city Pentecostals, and draws its'clientele' from all parts of the city. The services are exciting, and each is exhorted to "praise the Lord in his own way". The preaching is vigorous and absolute, often polemical and authoritative. Peoble tired of the luke warm Churches are attracted here by the enthusiastic singing and fine orchestra.

The services are advertized much, and recently as being held at the "Pentecostal Church". This group shows all the characteristic attitudes of the sect, young and quite certain both with regard to its rightness and task.

The Socially Primitive Christian group is represented by the Salvation Army on University Street below St. Catherine. This group ministers to the needy in the way of supplying food, clothing and shelter, and by way of these contacts "seeks to save."

II. A second pattern of Distribution may be termed as Churches of the great "inner city area."

In some respects such Churches behave in very much the same way as the Down-town Church, especially such as are marginal. By the latter we mean such as are just without the downtown area, but near enough to the focal points of transportation to attract to their services some of the transients. Indeed, Emmanuel Congregational (United) while being chiefly a "family Church", has been experiencing the success of a metropolitan Church. That success, of course, is attributable to the type of preaching, and other features carried on by the Church of an attractive nature.

Erskine, and the Church of the Messiah are such marginal

types of Churches exhibiting much of the behavior of downtown Churches, but not quite so dependent upon the fluid population for "clientelles".

Of special interest are the Churches within this pattern of Distribution whose fate depends upon and varies with the movements of racial and cultural groups. Here it is that the Religious Institution is more mobile, and its reaction to the new situation may take one of three forms.

In the first place, it may react to the situation by following the major part of its constitutions and re-locating itself. This policy of 'moving' varies with the denomination. Some denominations are more conservative of moving than others. The institution once re-located is never quite the same as before. It represents an accomodation to adverse circumstances, but an accomodation not sufficiently broad to include all the attachments, sentimental or otherwise, to the old site. Further , there will be those of the old constituency who, due to economic stress, are unable to precede or follow the institution to the new community. Such constitute the "lost souls" of the invaded area, and who become an easy prey for the sects and strange cults that seem to thrive in such areas as may be unfavorable to the historical Churches.

We have located the Jewish Institutions because of their bearing upon recent reactions made by two Churches, to what may be spoken of as group displacement. Fairmount Church, situated on Fairmount Ave. and Hutchison Street, and St. Giles Church, on St. Joseph Blvd. and Nelson Ave., have federated, and sold both Church buildings to Jewish concerns, synagogues, and will re-locate in Outremont on Bernard and Stuart Avenues.

Not all of the Jewish population however is in the area of these two Churches, but the movement of the central group is towards the North.

With the removal of Churches to a new area all problems, however, are not solved. Many occasions for disagreement, both with regard to reorganization and policy may arise, and not infrequently do the quarrels of a moving Church become so intense as to threaten its unity. Furthermore, the new position is only relatively secure from succeeding invasions, and so the whole process may have to be repeated.

A second form which the reaction may take is to retain its old position but change its methods. The Church thus maintaining its old site may modify its program so radically as to be something other than a Church. It may evolve into a community house or a mission.

The third form of the reaction to a changed situation is being made by what may be termed as the historical churches. These may not have the power to move, and so they endeavor to carry on along the traditional lines. Generally, such Churches have a marconed congregation, sadly depleted by such of its supporters as are able to escape the deteriorating area.

Mountain Street Church and Calvin Westminister (United) are Churches that may not continue to live as historical Churches.

Located in an area that is fast becoming the "black belt" of Montreal, with few or no patrons, the competitive process will speedily render such Institutions incapable of living, and the reactions now being made are those of death. Here the competitive process as operating between Religious Institutions of the same denomination is felt in its extreme form. If denominational unity were a fact instead of an ideal, such tragic instances of dying institutions would not be so nearly possible.

III. A third pattern of Distribution is that of the Suburban areas.

Reference has been made to the Churches in the suburbs, and of the comparative case with which such Churches live.

de Grace would be the Residential suburb of Montreal whereas residence in Point St. Charles or Rosemount is in part incidental to the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railway Shops.

Consequently, there are cultural factors which differentiate each area and make it distinct in itself. Because of changes incident to Industry a greater shift of population is associated with Point St. Charles than with exclusively residential sections. This mobility is bound to influence the life of the Religious Institution.

Calvary United and the Churches situated in Notre Dame de Grace are representative types of Churches in residential areas, whereas Centenary Church and First Church Rosemount, are types associated with Industrial areas, the latter, of course, not quite as much as the former. The programs of these respective Churches are reflective of the neighborhood in which they seek to live, and to which they are reacting.

This pattern includes many of the Churches that have moved, and also such as had their origin within and grew up with the neighborhood.

The moving Churches compete with the historical Churches, although the competitive process is not quite so evident as in other areas, and refers not altogether to the constituency

already there, but such prospective members as may be moving thither.

In as much as the synagogues are shown on the map, we shall treat of their distribution but briefly.

There is the central distribution which sharply defines the 'natural area' for a particular type of Jewish population. This type, emigrating from Russia and Germany, is known as the 'Ashkenazim', or lower class Jew.

The first home of the Jewish immigrant is in the south of the area, and as the population expands it tends to be in the direction of the north. Consequent upon a shifting group with lower standards of living, property and land values decrease, and the community in general deteriorates. It is not surprising, therefore, that this group, marching 'en bloc' northward, bearing their religious institution with them, or providing space for its location when the group has arrived, is displacing the English group and institutions, which are not prepared to compete with the invaders.

The synagogue on Stanley Street is representative of a high er cultural group, and ministers to the Jewish aristocracy,the type designated by the term 'Sephardim'. Those institutions located in Westmount minister, however, to a type of Jewish population not "to the manor born", but these who have

39,

achieved a high social level through financial success, they are the "captains of industry" in the Jewish group.

Although not directly concerned with the synagogue, as such, yet the city grows as a whole, and all that goes on in particular areas into which racial and cultural groups are segregated, affects every other part of the city. The shift then of Jewish population profoundly influences the Distribution of the Protestant Institutions, and its importance as a factor in the ecological process should at least be noted.

We have included under the heading of Miscellaneous sects all institutions other than Catholic or Jewish, and it should be stated that some of them atleast are Eastern European religious institutions, and are related to the particular racial groupsdomiciled in certain areas of the city, which we think of as being cohonies of Greeks, Roumanians, or Ukrainians, etc..

In general, all that may be designated as'sects' are distributed within the'great inner city' area, and particularly in communities undergoing Disorganization, in which the historical Churchees have died, or from which they have retreated. Community disorganization involves personal dis-

organization, and "Religion," it has been said, " grows up at the point of emotional strain in life." The rise of the sect then may be regarded as a natural development, for if the Church is not there to support man when life is all too insecure and uncertain, he must needs be sustained by the best afforded him, which the sect invariably provides.

" The sect is constituted not by non-religious persons, but by those who have split off from existing organizations. .... The condition of unrest and confusion loesens the bonds of union and sometimes a few kindred spirits find each other and a nucleus is formed." 5

But let it be pointed out that the nucleus is formed because some solution of the unrest is offered, or at least some support in the midst of it is assured.

"We conclude then this section by saying that the sect is the result of collective forces that surround it and to which its own life is in part a reaction." 6

The purpose of this chapter has been to show some of the apparent factors operating in the Distributive process of Religious Institutions. The succeeding Map, No. II, (Ghapter3) represents graphically some of the characteristic reactions made by Churches to environmental changes incident to population shift. In this movement not one, but many factors, cultural, emonomic, and otherwise, operate to distribute man and his institutions in time and space.

5 Faris, op. cit., Vol. XXII, p.148.

6 Ibid.

p.158.

McKenzie, an authority in the science of Human Ecology, has this to say about the population shift:

"The population of a city is distributed according to economic status into residential areas of various rental or real estate values. Family income tends to segregate the population of a city into different economic districts much the same as the price of tickets at a theatre divides the audience into several different strata of economic and social distinction." 7

To this process of sifting and sorting of population in which the competitive factor operates, the present distribution of Protestant Institutions is an adjustment, relatively temporary, as all adjustments tend to be in the ever changing order of the urban environment.

7 McKenzie, The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life, p. 152.

## CHAPTER III.

Types of Churches in the Downtown Area.

All religious Institutions in our cosmopolitan cities have to adjust themselves to changing conditions. The suburban areas experience somewhat of the stability of rural communities, but nevertheless are affected by the changing circumstances of urban life. It is at the centres of great cities, however, that change and mobility are manifested in their most acute form. To this changing order the Churches are making adaptations, and it is the purpose of this study to show by the presentation of 'cases' what these adaptations are.

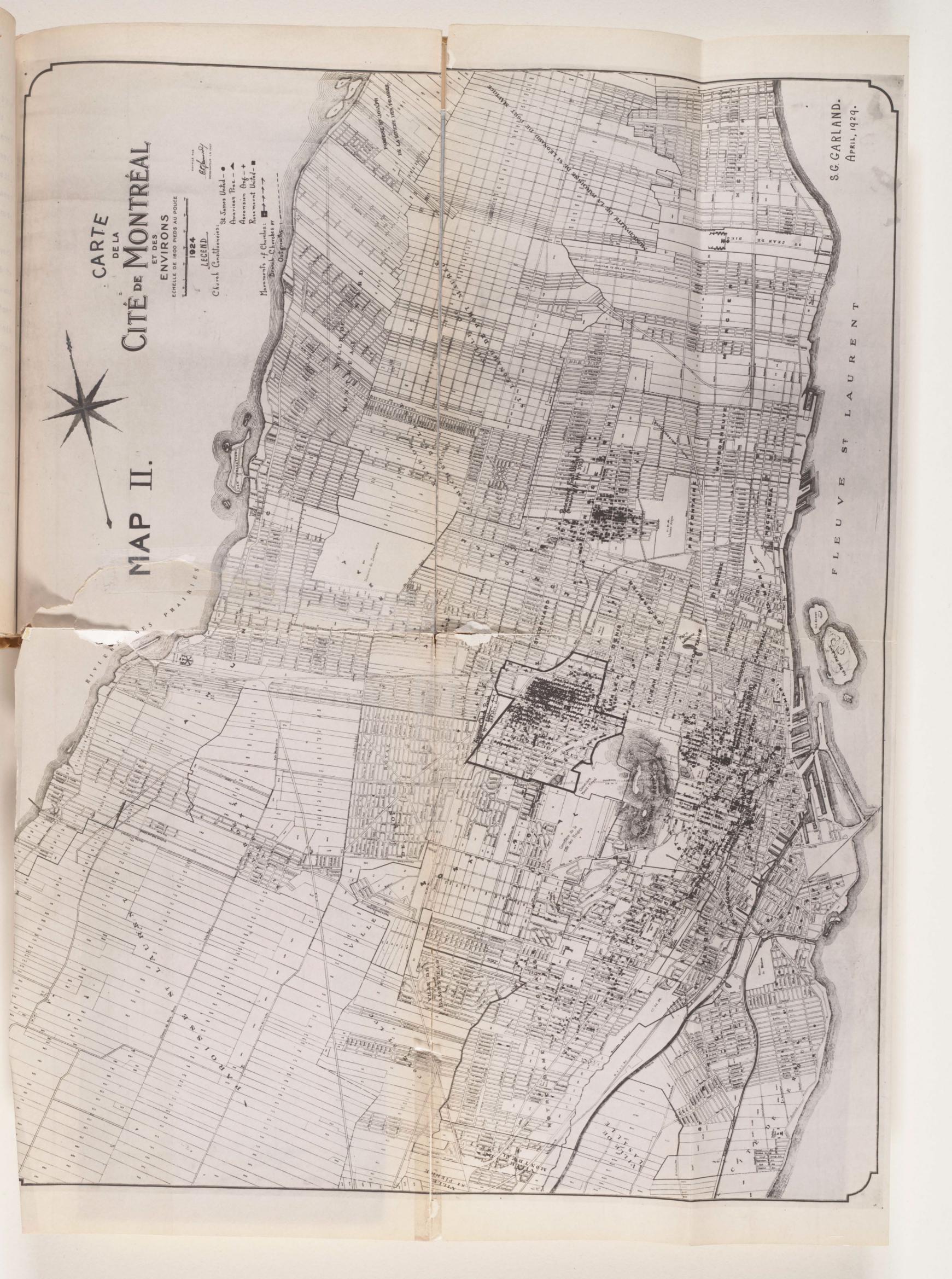
The Church as a cultural institution, being " the repository of the great spiritual traditions, values and ideals of our civilization," making these reactions, renders the study all the more interesting. Not all institutions react in the same manner toward environmental pressure and change, and the adaptations will vary according to the degree of control exercised by the environment upon the institution. For some institutions have a more direct reference to the community than others, and as such, may be expected to exhibit behaviour patterns peculiar to their type.

1 Ellwood, Christianity and Social Science, p.193.

The downtown Churches, studied as cases for the most part, are difficult of classification as types, because some of their adaptations are tentative and taking several directions at the one and same time. In as much then as the Churches thus situated are evolving, we must regard them as transitional cases, for they are retaining a selective hold on the locality, and at the same time " building up a city-wide prestige and drawing on widely scattered constituents." 2

Such types of downtown Churches must in part adopt the above method of compromise, for while they may have a sense of duty with regard to the people of their locality, they may have neither the power nor the formulated policy, equal to the need of the new situation. Having this brief statement in mind, we shall be better able to understand the behaviour sequence of the following cases.

2 Douglass, The Church in the Changing City, p.19.



## ST. JAMES UNITED CHURCH.

A ...

The study of a Church, historically great, should be both interesting and instructive. Especially so when the rôle of the Church has been defined by the denomination throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion. As the "City Road" of Montreal, in which Canadian Methodism was cradled, St. James naturally became the Methodist Cathedral', the 'representative Church' of the denomination to all groups. Visitors, whose religious traditions were Lethodist, never failed to visit this national monument to a religious movement. In the light of more recent social movements, one wonders if St. James will retain its histcrical importance.

During the course of its life cycle the Church has grown apace with the development of the metropolis, and consequent upon the expansion of the city and movements of population, it now occupies its fourth site.

Considered from the numerical standpoint, it has been for many years the largest Protestant organization. In keeping with its rôle as Cathedral of Methodism, this Church has always ministered to the multitudes, and emphasized its formal religious services.

To its services have come those relatively free from the controls of their immediate community, and who have been possessed by the Romantic Temper of city life. The attendance of such individualized streams of population has varied, of course, with the success of the Church to hold their interests.

Further, in striking contrast to other Churches, St. James has emphasized Sunday School work, being able to maintain two well attended sessions, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, for many years. Subsidiery organizations have come, in more recent years to play a large part in the total life of the Church. It is these last mentioned organizations that we may regard as attempts to meet the pressure of local needs. As time advances, the Church in making these adaptations is becoming increasingly selfconscious and deliberate. Undoubtedly, in keeping with the attitudes and wishes of its supporting constituents it would conservatively maintain its representative character, but the fact is, the Church has become conscious of its position and relation to the particular area in which it is located.

# The Social History.

Prior to the year 1803, the dominant Protestant religious groups of Montreal were the Anglican and Presbyterian, because their religious traditions and practices were deeply rooted in the past. Churches composed of such groups have been known as conservative in method, because of their emphasis upon nurture, and abomination of the new and radical.

Any other groups then, whose methods were dissimilar were regarded as marginal, and in a measure constituted suppressed groups. Into this environment where the established Churches reigned supreme, the Methodists came, and disturbed the "status quo".

By the existing attitude toward them they were forced to "glean after the reapers", and accordingly pioneered for the new religious system. It was not long before converts were made by this group making use of the 'revival technique', and a society formed. Evidently, the strength of the society increased so that the Church was built in 1807 on St. Sulpice Street. But this, in the course of time, was not sufficiently large enough to meet the needs of a growing congregation, and the first St. James Street Church was built in 1821. The emphasis upon evangelism was maintained, and the Church's periodic gain in membership was due to recurring revivals which

netted not a few to its roll. It may be fairly stated that with the latter part of the 19th. century and the beginning of the 20th., the Methodists became an established group, and passed from conflict into competition, incident upon changing methods. In proportion as it became interested in " Christian nurture", and emphasized Religious Education, it became an accomodation group,- a denomination, and entered into friendly rivalry with other denominations for the advancement of common interests of the Church universal.

Meanwhile, the growth of the city has been reflected in the mobility of the Church Institution, for, previous to 1887, the chief problem of the Church was to provide accomodation for its ever increasing constituency.

The reason for the change from the old building of 1821 to the new structure built in 1845, was on account of its numerical increase as a Church.

But in 1887, the movement from St. James Street to St. Catherine Street was the result of a shift in the population due to the invasion of business.

"For several years past the desirability of erecting a new Church for the St. James Street congregation in a more central position had been felt. The frontal portion of the city has long been given up to business purposes, while residences have been sought for in the more remote portions; a consequence of which has been, that in this, as in other churches, the distance between the church and the dwellings of its members was becoming greater year by year, and, in not a few instances, was felt to be a real inconvenience. After much prayerful consideration, a step was taken of very considerable moment, viz., the purchase of a square fronting on St. Catherine Street." 3

For some forty years St. James has been able to maintain its position, though not without difficulty. As an Institution having evolved with the community, the chief epochs of its career are clearly marked by its successive church structures.

From the simple village type of building it grew until it could minister to the world, all the more impressively through the great cathedral-like Church. Corresponding to the development of the city, it has become metropolitan, and since its last re-location has been confronted with the problems of an area undergoing transformation as the result of business invasion, and the constant re-distribution of population. The neighborhood immediately to the north and west of the Church, which was once residential territory, may be now characterized as transient and constantly changing. Constituent families, whose homes were once within this area, have moved for the most part to the suburbs, and while the population has increased, there is a difference of type, consisting in the main of dwellers of apartments and tenements. The Church so far, has not suffered to any great extent, but in as much as the character of its community is radically changing, plans for its future must be along different lines of development.

Jacques, Chronicles of the St. James Street Hethodist Church, p.47.

Typical Trends in the Life Cycle of the Church.

In this section we shall be concerned with an analysis of past and present constituencies, and the nature of the reactions made by the Church to them. Notwithstanding the fact that this Churchwas built as the representative of a denomination, there was a time in its life history when it might have been classified as a neighborhood Church. An examination of the membership lists for the year 1887 reveals a constituency fairly well located between St. James Street South to Prince Arthur North, and from St. Lawrence East to Mountain Street West.

The streets in the immediate vicinity of the Church showed a preponderance of constituents, and of such as would be the chief supporters. When we come to treat of the neighborhood type of Church specifically, the concept "neighborhood" will be given its sociological connotation. All Churches in the city of Montreal were once neighborhood Churches in that the relations between members of groups which constituted the nuclei were primary and relatively intimate.

That is, they selected their members on the basis of proximity, and the people became associated with the particularly preferred institutions within the boundaries of the neighborhood. St. James, then, for more than one hundred years,

functioned as a neighborhood Church, and each of its movements was definitely related to the policy of maintaining its neighborhood character. Indeed, for many years after its final relocation on St. Catherine Street, more than 90% of its membership lived within walking distance of the Church. With the breakdown of the stability of the neighborhood, brought about by the increased mobility of population, came many of the problems which the Church and every other local institution have found difficult of solution.

For, " stability of residence, as a rule, implies home ownership, which in turn gives rise to local sentiment and interest in neighborhood surroundings. In a region where the population is continually shifting there is little opportunity for the development of neighborhood sentiment, and as a result, local concerns are usually left to take care of themselves. It is hard to develop interest in neighborhood affairs among families who are the while conscious of the temporary nature of their domicile within the district." 4

Such aptly describes the disintegration which has been going on within the territory that some twenty years ago would properly have been spoken of as the St. James Church neighborhood. For while the present distribution of Church membership shows a large percentage within walking distance of the Church, the pattern has been radically altered. Map No.II. illustrates the membership distribution as to date, and the almost complete depletion of that section which constituted the earlier neighborhood of the Church. It would

4 McKenzie, op. cit., p.159.

be interesting to know the standard of living enjoyed by such members as are located in the line of the several movements of the Church. We may assume that for the most part, the social stratification of constituent members stands out in bold relief. The section to the east of the Church, between St. Urbain Street and the Main Street, which earlier showed a relative density of membership, has now very little reference to St. James Church. That, as suggested elsewhere, has become part of the 'natural area' for the Jewish population.

That territory which shows the greatest degree of density of constituent members lies about one half mile immediately to the northwest of the Church.

It is with this area that the fundamental problems of the Church are associated, and its major reactions must continue to be made in regard to this mobile population which logically should fall within the range of the Church's service.

The people, in general, are domiciled herein, not on the basis of personal choice, but as the result of economic compulsion. They are dwellers in apartments and flats that once were homes of people now resident in the suburbs.

It is true that one or two of the chief supporters reside here, but their residences appear to be marconed in an area

that is fast deteriorating.

A reliable index to the change going on in this section is in the type of building operations. The predominant type is for commercial purposes, and as mentioned before, homes converted into single or double room apartments.

The majority of members constituting boards of management are located in Westmount and other suburban communities.

Hence, St, James, as seen by the present distribution of members, (Map II) does not exist as a neighborhood Church, but selects its members on the basis of individual preference or interest, without respect to locality. This does not mean, of course, that its ministry to the surrounding district has ceased.

An analysis of the Religious Educational activies as carried on by the Church, chiefly the Sunday School, indicates the very direct reference the Church has to its community. Out of a total of 356 pupils, attending morning and afternoon sessions of the SundaySchool, 64% come from families who do not belong to St. James Church, 22% come from homes of adherents, and 14% come from homes of members.

Situated on St. Urbain Street, and Ontario Street West, contiguous to St. James, are respectively the Dufferin and Berthlet Schools, both operating under the Protestant School

Board. The Enrolment of these showing the religious classification of pupils should be suggestive in explaining the Sunday School statistics.

### TABLE IV.

Total Enro	1. R.Cs.	Prot.	Resident non-prot. non-Cath.	J <b>ews</b> ,	Grk.Orth.	Chinese.
Dufferin. 532 Borthlet	0	160	372	155	172	45
Berthlet. 463	1	369	93	81	11	1

It is a fair assumption that for the most part the large percentage (64%) of Sunday School pupils, whose families are unattached to St. James, come from this vicinity.

In the light of these analyses, St. James Church would appear to be an evolving type, and at thattransitional period in its life cycle when it is reacting tentatively to a heterogeneous population of varied economic standards, and representing different social strate.

The Church in Action.

Of all the Churches studied, none reveals either as many subsidiary organizations as St. James, or greater emphasis upon public services. In keeping with its representative character, it has ever tried to maintain its position as a great preaching centre. Increasingly as the Church ceased to be a

neighborhood Church and made its appeal on a city-wide basis, did it strive to maintain a "pulpit of world-wide fame."

For those whose coming in on the "basis of preference or interest", a service enteraining, inspiring, and instructive, had to be provided. Especially so in these more recent times, when there are so many institutions in the downtown area, Churches included, competing for the attention of the unattached. The Sunday morning services are well attended by the members of the Church and some adherents. In the Church with two schools on operation, one would expect a fair attendance of children, yet such is not so with St. James.

The fact that only 14% of Sunday School pupils are children of members, and the attendance at the afternoon session is four times as great as that of the morning, the relatively small attendance of children at the public services is not difficult to understand. The attendance at the evening service averages approximately 2000. Of these there is a fair proportion of both sexes, with a tendency for female to predominate. The services, both morning and evening, are perhaps as ritualistic as the tradition of the Church permits. Both have high grade and expensive music, but particularly the evening service. The choir of sixty voices is not infrequently

assisted by artists of city-wide fame, regardless of their race or creed. The total impression is that the apparent homogeneity is but superficial, and undoubtedly underlying are wide chasms of difference in the religious attitudes of the group, if these, indeed, could be studied. For some years preachers have been secured who have "matched the commanding position" by their carefully prepared messages. Sermon topics have been popularized, and sometimes they have approached the sensational.

Captions as "Protestants and the Pope's Encylical"; "What do Protestants Believe?"; "Are there any Christians?"; and the like, are so new in the field of Homiletic endeavor as to be attractive. Certainly the passing throngs responded, and although the work of preaching, consequent upon the resignation of the pastor, is now carried on by supply preachers of International repute, great congregations are still maintained, whose interest has not lagged. Having thus established a name for itself, St. James must maintain vigorous preaching, and services of an attractive nature, if it would by these means "serve the present age".

Subsidiary Organizations.

Sunday Schools and Through-the-Week Religious Education

Activities.

It is through the media of the following organizations that there is a noted tendency towards the Institutionalization of the Church.

And, "the activities characteristic of institutional churches in general may be classified as educational, social, recreational, and charitable. As the genius of the institutional church consists in adaption to its environment, the most pronounced activities of a given church depend upon the most pronounced needs of its locality." 5

The following is a summary statement of the structure and enrollment of the Sunday Schools.

TABLE V.

	Morning.	Afternoon.
No. Teachers and		
Officers.	13	32
No. Pupils.	68	288
Totals.	81	320
Grand Total.	4	01

5 Strong, Religious Movements For Social Betterment, p. 50-1.

Classified into Age groups, some idea of the structure is presented. We have not the necessary data with regard to the number in each group, and hence the statistics are not so illuminating as might be desired.

```
TABLE VI.
```

Morning.	Afternoon.		
Age. No. Classes.	Age. No. Classes.		
<pre>4-5 Beginners. I 6-8 Primary. I 9-11 Juniors. I 12-14 Interm. I         (Girls) 15-17 Senior. I         (Boys) 18- Young People. I</pre>	4-5 3 6-8 5 9-11 5 12-14 6 (3 Girls; 3 Boys!) 15-17 3 (2 Girls; 1 Boys!) 18- 4 (3 Young Women's, 1 Young Men's.)		
Total. 6			

These data show the preponderance of children composing the Sunday School constituency, which is not generally characteristic of the downtown Church. It is little wonder that the Church is in part conscious of its duty to the neighborhood.

There is also a definite plan on the part of the Director of Religious Education to link up these various age groupings with through-the-week activities. These subsidiary organizations are tabulated as follows;

#### TABLE VII.

Name of Organization.

Membership.

Juniors. (Under 12 <del>)</del> )	Children's Story and Play Hour,	33
G <b>irls.</b>	C.G.I.T 3 Groups:	30
(12-17)	Victorian Girl's Club.	14
Boys.	Crusaders Club. (12-14)	14
(12-17)	Knights of Honour Club. (15-17)	22
Young People. Sewance Club. (18-24) Fidelis Society. Philadelphian Club. Wo He Lo Girls' Club. Orchestra & Dramatic Club. Young people's Federation. Mission Circle. Mother's Guild. Brotherhood.		35 45 12 48 20 85 # 39 75 6 <b>0</b>

Total.

447 N.B.

# Not included in Total; nor are the following,

1. Women's Missionary Society. 2. Ladies' Aid Society.

These different organizations represent the weekly participation of over 600 peoples in the various activities associated with them. To what extent these activities are sacred or secular in character depends upon the organization. Generally speaking, they may be said to be inclusive of both sacred and secular. Nevertheless, they represent ways and

N.B.

The participants of the above organizations by no means represent a homogeneous group in their totality, but generally speaking members of certain groups cannot hold membership in other groups. For instance, the Wo He Lo girls' club consists of nurse-maids who do not ordinarily become members of the Sewanee Business girls' club.

means devised by the Church to help people seek the "good life here and now." In proportion as these organizations are new, (as many are) do they reflect the conscious changes which the Church is making in adjusting itself to a changing order.

The Functionaries of the Institution.

Notwithstanding the large volume of business carried on by the Church, it is operated by a staff of only five paid religious workers, supplemented by the Director of music, and by a strong lay backing. It is evident that with so many subsidiary organizations, all dependent upon voluntary leadership, supervised by one Director of Religious Education, there is little chance for coordinated effort. However adequate lay workers were in the past, the range and variety of work developed by St. James to-day is quite beyond the capacity of the average church member. With a limited staff, close supervision of the various activities is well nigh impossible. "Unity in diversity" is difficult of achievement here, and sooner or later, St. James will have to study the problem of unifying its work, and provide such techincal leadership as shall result in each part functioning in relation to the Institution as a whole. The staff in its composition reveals a rather uneven division of labour. The minister has the best chance of specialization, particularly in the art of preaching.

The associate minister, whose chief duties are administrative and pastoral, falls into the class of functionary, whose onorous tasks are never done.

The Director of Religious Education is kept busy with a full program, the carrying out of which is hampered by limited trained leadership, and a traditional conservatism, not quite outgrown by those who have a voice in the affairs of the Church.

Together with the major functionaries there are a deaconess, who visits the sick, and does social work, and leads some groups; and a secretary to all departments of the Church, but chiefly functioning as assistant to the administrative functionary.

## plant.

From the point of view of a building in which to worship, the Church plant is decidedly adequate. Built in 1887, the structure embodied the conception of its primary function, namely, a place in which to worship.

In the light of its more recent subsidiary developments it is quite lacking in facilities through which the present day ideas of Religious Education might find expression. Whether or not the plant will be modernized depends upon the nature of the course planned for the future.

Finances.

In this connection, it should be stated that we are interested in the finances of the Church only as they throw light upon the reactions made by the Church to particular situations. It is apparent that greatest crises of the Church have been definitely tied up with the financing of the institution. The block of buildings recently erected fronting the Church is an index to a rather violent crisis which the Church met, and apparently solved, by going into the real estate business. For the time, sentiment had to be sacrificed, even though the secession of part of the Church's constituency threatened. The secession, however, amounted to little better than a threat, and the only practical solution of the situation was followed. Years previous, when the Church faced a similar crisis, by means of its power to present its case successfully as a "collective representation" to Dominion Methodists, it saved Its life, and carried on as an Institution. Then the life of the group, as embodied in St. James, was threatened, and it was comparatively easy to mar shal its appropriate forces for the contest.

Slogans and watchwords as, "Save St. James for Protestantism"; "No Surrender Methodists!"; were effective in invoking the "esprit de corps", and practical interests of all Protestant people from coast to coast.

It is doubtful if such a method, had it been adopted recently, would have resulted in success.

Coming to the subject of finances proper, the total amount raised for that part of the year from April 1- December 31, 1927 approximated §46000, of which over \$40000 were spent for local purposes. In view of the large expenditure for local purposes, it would be assumed that salaries constituted an important item. As a matter of fact, only \$7200 was devoted to salaries of ministers, and approximately two thirds to choir salaries and expenses incidental to music. With property valued at \$2018000, ( including Church building, contents and site, together with the manse and site,) the expenditure on the account of upkeep and operation of property must take a great proportion of the total amount for local purposes. With regard to the Church's sources of income, a considerable proportion comes from loose collections at public services.(Sunday.)

This reflects support from its great audiences of transients, as well as those of its constituent members who are not regular subscribers. St. James is not a Church of great wealth, and the few patrons, who through sentiment are attached (though long since generally resident in the suburbs) shoulder the major proportion of financing an institution for a large "suppliant clientelle".

Major Reactions to the Urban Environment.

We have seen how St. James has developed from the neighborhood type of Church to be quite as metropolitan as the city in which it lives. Consequent upon a moved constituency, it has so increased the number of its activities that it does not lack an all-around and highly differentiated organization, in keeping with its position. It does lack, however, in facilities and technically trained staff, the means of matching in service the distinctive social problems as are associated with the mobile population of the urban environment. There are many factors operating for and against the Church. The environment will certainly continue to undergo radical change.By no means has the final structure of the community evolved, and the area to the west and north, particularly west, will, in all probabilities be commercialized.

The usual attending characteristic, namely, "slumming", will likely foblow the invasive process to a marked extent. Indeed, it, the slum, seems to precede the process, as signs of decay are already in evidence.

But just now the Church has a large part of its constituency within walking distance, and through its services it has become popular, central and accessible.

Some of the reactions to the changing situation may be summarized as follows::

While the policy of the Church has changed considerably during the years, there is a marked conservatism of the older habits and atmosphere of the Church. Notwithstanding the Union, the traditional 'air' of the "Cathedral of Methodism" still lingers, and though changed in name, the historic group remains unchanged in attitude. Availing itself of its accessibility to large numbers of city people, there have been variations made in the traditional program, and a number of subsidiary organizations have grown up. Hence, it seeks to minister to the passing throngs through its attractive services, and weekday activities. The loose collections are an index to its appeal to the unattached. The larke percentage of Sunday School scholars of unattached parents, shows that in part St. James is conscious of its relation to the immediate vicinity. The extent to which it will succeed in retaining its local consciousness as well as its communal vision, will depend upon its financial ability to provide trained leadership, and the necessary facilities for the working out of a unified program, in keeping with its tradition and position.

#### Β.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

(UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.)

The Church which forms the basis of this study, in striking contrast to St. James, would appear to be a Church in which there is "little being done."

It is one of the few Churches in the downtown area which shows relatively slight departure from its historical position and practice. Its activities, apart from its public services on Sunday, are insignificant, and may have decreased with the passing years, and yet the Church lives in spite of the changed character of its community. The reactions that the Church is making are not very clearly evident, but are being made nevertheless. From the time of its founding till now, the American Church has built itself up chiefly by means of its highly selective attitude to urban dwellers.

It ministers to a relatively homogeneous group, the members of which are not contiguous to its location, but distributed generally in high class residential sections of the city. It was not ever so; in the earlier stages of its history, the Church undoubtedly was planted in the midst of its constituency.

With the growth of the city, and expansion of the business

zone, there has been an exodus of the Church's members to the more desirable residential sections, - so much so that the Church has little local reference as such, but has great attraction for certain types of population, and no doubt its repulsions for other types are just as clearly evident.

Distance, as far as the "clientelle" of the American is concerned, does not interfere with the connection of its adult members, but that, or some other factor, eliminates children for the most part, from its services as an Institution.

## History.

The present location of the American Presbyterian Church, on the corner of Dorchester Street and Drummond Street, represents part of an offshoot from St. Gabriel Street Church, which constituted itself into first, St. Andrews, and secondly, as the result of "division among them", the American Presbyterian Church. Differences as to Polity caused the first break in 1803, and after the war of 1812, "Americans in the city of Montreal increased considerably in number", so that the second division came about as the result of choosing the minister.'

The Scotch element in St. Andrews naturally preferred a man from Scotland, while the Americans looked to the United States for a minister, and in as much as the former predomin-

ated in numbers, a compromise was impossible, and each group went its own way.

Thereupon, the "American Presbyterian Society" was formed in 1822, and the Church organized in 1823, with a membership of some twenty people. Thus, having originated in "conflict", the "selective attitude" of the Church, in the light of its historical background, becomes meaningful, and not as one newly acquired.

For some time the Americans were accomodated by other groups until they were able to build a Church for themselves. The first Church was built on the corner of St. James Street and Victoria Square in 1826, and served the needs of the group for nearly forty years. But, as the city grew, a more convenient and quieter locality was desired, and the present site was selected in 1864. It was deliberately chosen so as to keep the Church in the midst of its westward tending congregation.

Then, that area was a high class residential section, and a large percentage of the Church's constituency was domiciled in the neighborhood.

Now that the membership is no longer contiguous to the location, and the whole neighborhood has undergone transformation, the fact that the Church has elected to remain in its

old place is interesting. Especially so when it is being maintained by "up-town people" for themselves in particular, and not altogether as "a phase of missionary work" demanded by the exigencies of the modern city." N.B

# Typical Trends in the Life Cycle of the Institution.

The Church's Constituency.

The present distribution of Church membership, (Map II.) shows the greater degree of density in such areas as are predominently high class residential sections. Indeed, not a few of the controlling body live in either hotel suites, or the new type of hotel apartments. It has been stated how the final movement of the Church was related to its plan of being in the midst of its constituency. That is, the policy of selecting its membership on the basis of proximity, was followed, though not exclusively so, as "another attitude" already referred to, entered into the selective process. Therefore, there was the cultural factor, which in part shaped the pattern of the Church's population distribution. Certainly, whatever neighborhood characteristics the Church had in former times, in terms of physical proximity, it lost, as the result of the changed order of its community.

Now, none of its active membership is located spatially, in

N.B.

The neighborhood of the church at the present is characterized chiefly by rooming houses, hotels, retail stores and garages, etc. with few residences occupied by people other than church members.

terms of economic compulsion, but on the basis of individual preference, which the social and economic level of each renders possible. Consequent upon the commercialization of its neighborhood, the Church was left to function not as a neighborhood institution, but as a Church that would draw to itsself members of its cultural group from all parts of the city, chiefly from the west and north, in Outremont. This policy has worked successfully because transportation facilities have overcome barriers of distance that formerly would have operated against the satisfactory working of such a plan.

An analysis of Sunday School statistics shows the marked absence of children ministered to by the Church. In fact, the total enrollment of the Sunday School, including teachers and officers, amounts to only 75.

This reflects in the first place a very low birth rate in constituent families, and secondly, the tendency to have children attend such schools as are in their neighborhoods; that is if they attend anywhere, which fact cannot be established in this study.

# The Church in Action.

Reference has been made to the absesce of week-day activities in the program of the Church. In keeping with its policy it has increasingly become a preaching centre, not as the voice of a denomination, but primarily directing its appeal to a "specialized constituency." The administering of religion through this particular type of institution copresponds to the function of the University, especially to such departments as are devoted chiefly to cultural pursuits. Not infrequently the public comes to identify the Church with a dominating personality, who has something striking to say, and knows how to say it well. On this account, then, the Church attracts to its portals a fair proportion of the transients, whose cultural interests, let it be said, differ from such as are ministered to by other Churches in the downtown area. In brief, they include University professors, and students, and such business and professional men as are unattached.

The services are attractive in character, with a measure of formality to produce an attitude of reverence.

The order of service is quite elaborate, and each worshipper is presented with a leaflet by courteous ushers as he enters the Church. This contains the order of service, and notices. The services proceed without announcement, and there

is, it would seem, the conscious attempt to make the services worshipful.

Indeed, the Church might be regarded as the High Church of the Non-Conformists of Montreal. The music rendered is classical, and undoubtedly the best that the city affords. The choir is not large, but represents a specialization, in keeping with the Church as a whole. Generally the Church has been able to secure preachers as are qualified to match the pulpit standard, - men whose reputation for brilliance and scholarship is widely known. Their messages do not approach the sensational, nor are they startling to the individual or civic conscience. Entertaining, instructive, and inspiring, may best characterize the work of the pulpit in this Church.

Sermon topics as: "Keeping the Soul of the World Alive"; "The Creed of Jesus"; "The Web of World Life"; sound challenging enough, and seemingly in keeping with the spirit of the age.

The morning and evening services are not essentially different, but in a sense, the congregations are not quite the same for both services.

In the morning constituent families attend, with relatively few transients. In the evening there is a tendency for transients to increase, and "regulars" to decrease.

### Finances.

Considering the people who may be said to own the Church, finances do not constitute any serious problems in the life cycle of the Institution.

For the most part, the people are wealthy and generous, as may be gathered from the following statement:

For the year ending December 31, 1927, the total receipts of the Church amounted to approximately \$60,000. Of that amount \$28,000 represents local expenditure, including salaries, and the maintenance of the Church in general. The sum of \$32,000 approximately represents the givings of the Church to Benevolences. The disbursements of the Benevolent Fund would support the statement made in another connection that the denomination shares in the "benefits" which a Church like the American affords.

The Benevolent Fund.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements for the year ending December 31, 1927.

Receipts. Balance on hand in bank, January 1, 1927, \$ 973.61 Contributions, 14882.81 Bank Interest, 39.23 Total. 14922.04 Special contributions for the United Church Maintenance and Extension Fund ...... 16715.00 \$ 32610.65

Disbursements. United Church of Canada. Maintenance & Extension Fund ......\$ 8685.00 Special " Ħ ti Montreal Chinese Mission 100.00 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . Montreal City Mission 200.00 100.00 Point aux Trembles School 25800.00 Total to Treasurer, Toronto, . . . . . . . . . . . . . St. Columba Home, Montreal, 150.00 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 2944.73 Inspector Street Chapel . . . . . . . . . . . . . 70.79 Inspector Street Sunday School . . . . . . . . . . . 28965.52 Finance Committee, Montreal Pres. ..... 450.00 29415.52 Amer. Board of Foreign Missions, Boston, 750.00 Home Sunday School and Relief Work, (local) ... 2050,00 Treasurer's Expenses ..... 360.32 32575.84 Balance on hand in Bank, Dec. 31, 1927, ... 34.81 32610,65 ह 6

The Functionaries of the Institution.

In view of the limited number of subsidiary organizations, the functionaries, it would seem, are sufficient in number to carry on the work of the Institution. These consist of the preacher functionary, whose office is by far the most important. The assistant, whose duties are chiefly pastoral and administrative. The secretary, who functions as an assistant to the foregoing, and attends to the duties of the Church office.

6 American Presbyterian Church Annual Beport, 1927.

These functionaries are supported by an unusually large number of laymen, who have been attached to and grown up with the Church, and who through sentiment exercise a personal interest in the affairs of the Institution.

## The Plant.

The Church building not infrequently conveys to the observer an impression of its major functions. The American Presbyterian Church, fashioned after the model of LaFayette Avenue Church, of Brooklyn, suggests that its primary function is that of worship. Upon closer examination, however, it would seem that provision had been made for more extensive activities than the public services of the Church.

Few city Churches are so well equipped in modern facilities for religious education work, and yet these plant facilities are decidedly unnecessary at the present time, and must constitute a considerable waste in the way of upkeep.

Major Reactions to Urban Environment.

There are certain factors operative in every situation, which determine the nature of institutional reaction to the changing order. In this brief study of a given Institution, namely, the American Presbyterian Church, we have been able to discover some such factors that cause its reactions to be what they are. First among the factors to be noted is the attitude of the Church with regard to its particular function. It is a Church for a given group of people whose cultural interests find satisfaction in the type of service which the Church renders. Closely related to the foregoing, and without which it would be impossible for the Church to follow its given policy, is the economic factor. The Church is supported by a comparatively wealthy group , and as such, can pay for the privilege of attending and maintaining a Church at the centre of the city.

Further, through its wealth it has been able to secure preachers of unusual ability, and thereby draw to itself such transients whose interests are similar to those of the original group. They are downtown-minded people, and the Church is accessible to them, and prepared to administer to their religious needs in terms of their individual preference.

Again, through its benevolences, it has indirectly reached out to the "submerged souls". Inspector Street Mission represents the channel through which it has acted in behalf of such as live under the "shadow of the slums".

It is through the media of such organizations as Missions and Sunday School classes for foreigners, that the Church projects its local consciousness, and pays for work being done which , by virtue of the social distance between suppliant

76

groups and itself, renders it incapable of doing.

That which the Church should do is not ours to decide, but a more direct local reference should, we think, be a part of its program.

## C.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH.

# (ANGLICAN.)

It is our concern to present in this section a case which while making its appeal to a "socially desirable constituency," is at the same time assuming a local responsibility. In keeping with its tradition, and the denominational system, the Church is situated at a point accessible to its widely distributed Anglicans constituents, and contiguous to the area for which it is held responsible as a parish Church.

It has been suggested that all Churches do not exhibit similar behaviour patterns in the downtown area, and St. George's Church provides a striking contrast to the preceding cases. These more or less depend upon a pulpit ministry,- St. George's, on the other hand, functions relatively as a parish ministry with parochial responsibility.

But, St. George's functions as such, let it be said, because of that part of its constituency referred to as "socially desirable", whose support renders the parochial ministry practicable.

Case A. illustrates a type of Church which through limited means is unable to function fully on the basis of a parochial ministry. Case B. represents a type of institution ministering directly to a cultural group, and indirectly through its benevolent fund to all and sundry needy groups within the city, particularly supporting Missions as agencies which "seek to save the lost."

St. George's represents a union of "the near and the far" in that it is in duty bound to work within the boundaries of its parish, and selectively beyond, "making its appeal to the leading Anglican citizens of Montreal." The area constituting St. George's parish lies between Dorchester Street North to the C.N.R. tracks south, and from Craig Street East to Seigneurs Street West. In this area are located four hundred constituent families, or one half of the total constituency, who may be regarded as the "suppliant families", as they are not pewholders and therefore have no share in the government of the Church,- that is, they have no proprietary rights as do the second half, who hold'shares'or rights in the Institution, in very much the same manner as shares could be held or sold in the banking institution.

### Historical Background.

Prior to 1840, Christ Church parish included all that part of the city's population known as Church of England. As the City grew there was a pressing need of larger Church accomodation, especially for those influential members of the Church, resident then in the western part of Montreal.

"Proposals were made (in 1842) for the establishment of a proprietary chapel in connection with the parish Church known as Christ Church, and a code of conditions for subscriptions and donations was drawn up." 7

This chapel was accordingly built on St. Joseph Street, and opened for divine service on the 30th. of June, 1843. According to arrangement, one tenth of the pews were to be free, but the number of those voting in all proceedings was limited to such as were members, and had subscribed to a given amount at the outset.

The greater the amount subscribed, the greater was the another of votes secured to the proprietor.

"The following shall be the scale on which votes shall be cast at all meetings of proprietors, provided it shall be demanded by any proprietor:- \$50 and up to \$200, one vote; and one vote additional for every \$100 over and above \$200, but no one proprietor shall have more than twenty votes." 8

It is interesting to note that these proprietary rights have been jealously maintained, and while the Church comes within the Montreal Diocese, it is not controlled to such

7 St. George's Church: Its Constitution and History, p.14.
8 Ibid. Article IV., p.6.

great extent by the Diocesan Executive body as other Anglican Churches. Indeed, the denomination is strengthened by the connection, and might well recognize the relative independence of St. George's, the benevolence of which the entire di@c ese shares. And not only so in terms of "physical blessings", but also in the fact that the chief functionaries of the Church have been men of outstanding ability, and able representatives of the denomination.

Three of the clergy serving St. George's since its founding have occupied the Episcopal chair, and perhaps on that account the cooperation of St. George's in all diocesan affairs is all the more assured. For some twenty-seven years, the Church successfully maintained its position on St. Joseph Street, and rendered an all-around ministry through the comprehensive scheme of Christian agencies which it had elaborated. In 1870 a new Church was built on what is now known as Osborne Street, facing Dominion Square. This site was chosen for the convenience of the congregation, the bulk of which evidently had moved farther uptown and westward.

For well nigh sixty years St. George's has held to its position, in spite of the great changes its immediate neighborhood has undergone. Undoubtedly its proprietors or patrons have moved to more desirable residential areas, and yet the Church stands in a very conspicuous position, to which in the

conviction of its functionaries it should tenaciously hold.

The Church in Action.

This Church functions in keeping with the tradition of its communion.

The architectural features of the Church building convey the idea that primarily the Church task is "to minister to the spiritual needs of the people." 9 First of all, this ministry is carried on through the medium of its public services, and the Church lends itself most effectively to its primary function. Religion here may not fairly be charged with "being far removed both architecturally and liturgically from the canons 10 of taste and of beauty," for of all city Churches; there are none in style and material which embody the fundamental idea and purpose so impressively as St. George's.

Added to the attractive structure, which helps to pass on the traditions and teachings of the group, are the functionaries, whose reputation as clergy ranks high in the estimation of the public. During the course of eighty-six years the Church has been served by six men, which may be regarded as a testimony of the latters' worth. In the public services emphasis is laid on the efficacy of the sacraments, even though the Church is regarded as Low in type. Preaching constitutes a

9 Interview with Rector.
10 Von Vogt, Art and Religion, p.46.

very important item in the public services, particularly the evening, which draws a considerable number of Anglican transients. The attendance of the latter depends upon the preacher functionary who has become to them a personality type, - a voice of the denomination; and the people become attached to him rather than to the Church. This statement is supported by the fact that any evening when the "voice is not to be heard" the congregation is reduced to almost half its usual size.

## Subsidiary Organizations.

An examation of the internal organization of the Church reveals the attempt to reinforce its public services by other activities. The Sunday School is conducted in the afternoon, mainly in behalf of children within the parish, and not particularly for the proprietors' children. These attend morning services with their parents, and the first Sunday of the month, and all festivals are given over to special children's services. Moreover, such children are encouraged to attend classes in their own districts, but to what extent they do, is not known. Other stated through-the-week activities make a full program for all age-groups. The parish house, which was once used for educational purposes, is now a veritable bee-hive of activity. These activities are for the most part characteristic of the communion to which the Church belongs, but there is a noted tendency to increase the number and quality of these organizations.

#### Finances.

The total revenue of the Church for 1928 amounted to \$65000. Of that amount open collections approximated \$10000, which reflect the increasing popularity of the Church, and its attraction for the unattached. The Church's major source of income is through such of its constituents as may be proprietors, and other members who give freely.

Local expenses are borne for the most part by the very active women's organizations. Undoubtedly, the suggestion of the rector that," a reserve fund sufficient to carry the Chll urch over a year, if no revenue should be forthcoming," will be acted upon in the near future.

The Functionaries of the Institution.

In view of its extensive parish, and selective policy, the Staff would seem to be inadequate for the amount of work expected of the Church. The increasing number of subsidiary organizations calls for closer supervision than a Church with only two paid officials can possibly give.

11 Annual Vestry Meeting Report.

The Rector is assisted in the public services, administrative and pastoral work, by the Assistant minister. Both are relieved of the burden of administration in that it is in the hands of an efficient Board of Management.

Major Reactions to Urban Environment.

St. George's Church is organized characteristically along the traditional lines of its communion, and as such, may be expected to react conservatively to the changing order. Notwithstanding the large number of subsidiary organizations, that have grown up in the more recent years, the Church has not allowed its primary function to be lost sight of in the multitude of these activities.

These do not represent the conscious attempt of the Church to win people to the " good life here and now", but are secondary in importance to the more mystical service which the Church purports to render. The most radical departure from the Church's traditional program, however, is seen in the development of the preacher functionary. The priestly office has, generally speaking, been emphasized in the Anglican Communion, with relative little stress laid upon preaching.

Here, "one speaks with authority" for the denomination, and combines in one office the functions of priest and preacher.

The Church has been able to accomplish that tremendously difficult task because of its unlimited financial resources. People who were originally domiciled within the precincts of the parish, and influencial members, remained attached in sentiment long after they had removed to more desirable areas.

Thus, through its " abundant means" the Church has been able to maintain its position, accessible to outsiders, and carry on as well a definitely localized ministry.

The large amount of loose offerings, and the fact that all pews are free for the evening service, together with its subsidiary organizations, are indices, first, of the reaction that the Church is making to the city as a whole, and secondly, to its own immediate neighborhood. The Marginal Type of Church.

Some of the Churches located within the great "inner city area" are difficult of classification, especially such as are just outside the downtown area, and yet within easy reach of the focal points of transportation. To this group Erskine United Church belongs, and as it is not essentially a downtown Church, nor does it fall logically within the neighborhood classification, we must think of it as being a Marginal Type of Church. For while it exhibits some of the behaviour patterns of downtown Churches, it constitutes a distinct type of Religious Institution in itself, and as such we propose to treat of it in this chapter.

#### ERSKINE CHURCH.

(UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA.)

It would seem reasonable to assume that a Church surviving the tests and strain of well nigh a century, functions as an effecient institution. That the most ineffecient do not survive is most certain, and yet it is quite possible to conceive of an institution relatively ineffecient, and at the same time manifesting institutional vigor, and possibly real spiritual health.

Indeed, some of the Churches presented as cases would have died long ago, but they do not belong to the class "that lack in this world's goods". Moreover, they are Churches in which adults predominate, and there is a marked absence of those who should constitute "to-morrow's" leadership and clientelle.

Erskine United Church has persisted in maintaining its historical continuity, and has made few adaptations to the changing community. It has been able to do so because of its relative independence of fluctuating economic conditions. It is a wealthy Church, and as such, ministers almost exclusively to a select social group, whose liberal givings have saved the Church from decline. Other Churches, at no great distance from Erskine, that rendered a similar type of ministry but lacked the financial support, have died. In all probabilities, the fate of Erskine would have been the same, had it not the means to maintain itself, in the face of adverse conditions.

At the present time, the Church occupies its third site, and each movement that it made was related to the policy of keeping close to its people, who, it seems, were generally segregated in what was known as the western part of the city. In spite of the fact that the character of the Church's

immediate community has considerably changed, as the result of business invasion, the pattern of membership distribution is fairly definite, and covers the area included between St. Catherine Street South to Sherbrooke Street North, and from University Street East to St. Mark Street West. Of course, both Westmount and Outremont show patches of the Church's group here and there, but not to the extent of the downtown Churches.

The neighborhood in which the Church is located is characterized by high class hotels, palatial apartments, clubs, and large costly types of residences. To the south of Sherbrooke Street, there is an evident increase of business houses, less expensive apartments and rooming-houses. Farther west, between St. Catherine Street and Sherbrooke Street, the type of apartment tends to improve, especially in the vicinity of St. Mark Street.

Although the Church has maintained its traditional ministry, there have been changes of policy, some of which have been so great as to constitute crises. Not infrequently, as these adaptations have been advocated, has the unity of the group been threatened, and even yet, any measure introduced that does not correspond to the "good old way" is vigorously challenged by the supporting group.

## Historical Background.

It would be exceedingly tedious, and not altogether profitable, to study the causes of so many secessions that have characterized the Presbyterian movement in Canada. Erskine Church represents, however, an independent growth of Presbyterianism in Montreal, in that its founders were possessed with the views of one who had been the leader of the Secession Movement in Scotland.

The nucleus, consisting of five men, had formed themselves into a congregation of the Secession Church in 1831, which met for two years in Bruce's Academy on McGill Street. In the year 1833, however, a minister was called, and a Church building erected on Lagauchetiere Street. Evidently the "cause" held great attraction as the number added each year to its membership was considerable. But from the very beginning, there arose "divisions" with regard to doctrine, and polity, which resulted in the dissenting groups breaking off, to form either a Church of their own, or to join other Churches. Enough of the influential supporters remained so as to enable Erskine to continue as a"going concern."

In 1864, the Church, in order to better serve its group, re-located on the corner of St. Catherine Street and Peel Street. Undoubtedly that location was considered well out of the

business zone at the time, and the surrounding area was a first class residential section.

But the Church, consequent upon the changed character of its immediate neighborhood, did not elect to stay on St. Catherine Street, and so sought a place where there would be less noise. The corner of Sherbrooke Street and Ontario Avenue was chosen, and in 1893 the Church was moved thither.

It is apparent that the Church has been strong financially, and thus enabled to elect its course when conditions have been too adverse.

For almost forty years the Institution has maintained its position, and functioned as a family Church, though constite uent families may no longer be domiciled within the immediate neighborhood, but who find the Church accessible through the increased transportation facilities, - not necessarily the tranways, but chiefly the automobile.

Typical Trends in the Life Cycle of the Institution.

It is not necessary to state that Erskine functions partly on the basis of a neighborhood Church, although the factor of proximity as an essential to its neighborhood character is decreasing in importance. Having a membership of approximately 650, there should exist a relative degree of

intimacy between them, especially since they constitute a homogeneous social group. In this section, it would seem to be more illuminating to discuss the life history of the Church in terms of the situations through which it has passed, and to each of which it has reacted. Most of these situations have been crises, and in the meeting of them the Church has entered into conflict. Indeed, the rise of the Institution itself was the result of conflict. The group constituting the nucleus was the discontents,-they were not satisfied with the established order, and so split off from the parent organization.

The first crisis in the life cycle of the Church occurred in 1836 on the question of temperance. It led to what Zimmel speaks of as "the conflict of impersonal ideals." I The minister functionary had taken a firm though not extreme position but was unable to secure the action of his Church as a unit. The result was, the extremists of both parties chose to leave, and the Church's membership suffered accordingly.

Meanwhile, other questions of a political and doctrinal nature were being mooted, and not a few of the Church's supporters associated themselves with the Free Church Movement in 1844. Some years later, it was discovered that certain members of the Church were advocating Unitarian views, which, above

1

everything else, could not be tolerated. The Church has ever executed swift judgment upon heretics, and Erskine has been no exception to the general rule. Such as were contaminated with the dangerous views afore mentioned were dealt with by the Session, and their names removed from the roll.

But the greatest crisis faced by the Institution was in the year 1874, when seventy-nine members withdrew from Erskine, consequent upon a proposal to install an organ. That exodus, led by Sir William Dawson, organized Stanley Church, which continues as a strong, vigorous, though conservative group, to this day. It must not be supposed that the conflicting groups represented the total conservative element of the parent organization.

Indeed, if Erskine fails to live as an institution, its dissolution will be the resultant of a conservative ministry and polity. What may be regarded as a significant sign of a dying Church is seen in the age groups that comprise the total constituency. Erskine is essentially a "family Church", but the children of the families do not attend, nor are they being trained, as the men who should bear the responsibilities of future leadership. For some time, the Church has, perhaps unconsciously, been facing a situation critical in the extreme, that is, viewed in the light of its future policy. To

what extent that condition is due to the theological selfcomplacency of the Church may not be discussed, beyond stating that Erskine does present a case in which the theological factor operates to a marked degree, and seemingly against the satisfactory functioning of the Institution.

### The Church in Action.

This Church emphasizes its formal religious services, and there are few subsidiary organizations. In this regard, the Church could be classified as historical, because its program corresponds to that usually carried on by the historical type of Church. There is a difference, however, in that Erskine maintains a service akin to that given by the strictly downtewn Church. It specializes in the quality of both preaching and music.

Until recent years, the preaching reflected the group to which it was addressed. It was vigorous and polemical, and as such, was not the least important factor in eliminating youth from the Church's constituency. Especially so when the children of present day adherents and members of Erskins, are University students, who do not propose "to buy religion at the cost of intellectual suicide." 2

The great problem confronting the present minister of the

2 Gleaned from an Interview.

Church is to harmonize these conflicting age-groups,- the one representing the older conservative group,- the other the young or radical group, largely outside the Church. This he is endeavoring to do through the ministry of public service, as well as a few week-day activities, which may be thought of as secular or social in character.

The services are conducted in a dignified and formal manner, and the sermon topics are interesting, though not strikingly so. In view of the noted conservatism of the Church group, the more recent pulpit discussions suggest a consciousness of the problem, and an attempt to gradually break down the older attitudes.

# Subsidiary Organizations.

These, as suggested, are few in number, and represent the recent attempt of the Church to reach a group that should logically come within the range of its service. The following TABLE gives the nature of these subsidiary activities, and indicates a very evident reaction that the Church is making to the changing order:-

## TABLE VIII.

Carpet Bowling Association (For Men.)
Erskine Badminton Club. (Hixed Young Deoplets Organ)
Young People's Society. (Young Ments Organization )
Young People's Society
Hour on Sunday Evenings.)
Women's Missionary Society(Women's Organization.)
Dorcas Guild
Leslie Missionary Society (Young Women's Organization.)
Bulldog Club
"Swastika" C.G.I.T

### Finances.

During the year 1928, the subscriptions of this Church totalled \$69210. Of this amount \$27768 was applied to the Church's current expenses. Some \$40000 would constitute the missionary budget od Erskine, which according to its tradition, was met in full.

Appraised by certain standards, this Church would be regarded as successful, and yet there are individual members of the Church who might easily have subscribed the total amount, and not be greatly embarrassed.

The Church thus endowed by the nature of its constituents is insured with regard to the future.

Major Reactions to the Urban Environment. It has been shown how the Church has conservatively held to its historic position, and its greatest crises have arisen as the result of proposed change. That the Church has made adaptations, in spite of its tradition, is evident, in the nature of its public services, and some subsidiary organizations that have been added to its total program. Because of the relative independence of its members, the Church has been able to escape the more drastic consequences of urban change. That is, by reason of its wealth, it has been able to function as an institution ministering to a socially exclusive group, and it is with this group that its chief problems are associated. The failure of the Church to attract to its services many transients is due to the rôle which is accorded the Church by its constituent members, and again by the Protestant community as a whole.

The feeling the "we do not belong" renders the Church inaccessible to many who otherwise would find it convenient to attend. Physical distance is not such as to prevent the Church from functioning on a more comprehensive basis, but the underlying attitudes constitute a real barrier to a wider ministry which the Church should, it seems, render.

#### CHAPTER V.

Neighborhood Types of Churches.

In a former chapter it was shown that the sifting and sorting process of population tends to segregate people into "natural areas". These areas we think of as being localities, colonies or neighborhoods.

It is with the concept "neighborhood" that we are concerned in this chapter, for the term is used so loosely, and with such changing content, that it is perhaps necessary that we discuss the concept at some length. Many and varied have been the definitions given, and we do not propose to add to the number, but will use what we conceive as the most practical for the purpose of this study. Taylor states that "the neighborhood is to be regarded as an extension of the home and the Church, and is identified closely with both." 1

That definition undoubtedly conveys the idea of the traditional type of neighborhood, as may be found in small villages, but is not sufficiently illuminating with regard to the city neighborhood. That, as Dr. McKenzie points out, "represents a much more selected social group. Economic, racial, and cultural forces, by distributing the population into different residential sections, give to the city neighborhood an external appearance of homogeneity that is not frequently found in small villages or rural neighborhoods-a homogeneity, however, which is more apparent than real. Racial prejudice, national clanishness, and class conflict, all function as social forces to give the city neighborhood what self-consciousness or solidarity it may possess." 2

1 Taylor, Religion in Social Action, p.166. 2 McKenzie, op.cit., p.353. It is in the light of the foregoing statement that we must conceive of the neighborhood as a well defined area in the city, which may be much too large for primary contacts, but nevertheless possessing characteristics which differentiate it from other parts of the city. Neighborhood Churches tend to select their members on the basis of proximity, which in turn lends itself to the development of these more intimate relations that we speak of as primary.

Indeed, the Church may be composed of one of the many groups into which the neighborhood area may be subdivided. The group belonging to a given Church may come to be so as the result of individual members sharing a common belief or interest, which is embodied in that particular Church.

That common belief "may draw and hold them together in bonds of acquaintance, of association, even of cooperation."3 Hence it may be fairly stated that the Church functions as a Neighborhood type of Institution in a somewhat limited sense, and especially so when the area is in process of being disintegrated as the result of mobility of population. The cases presented illustrate objectively the most that can be made of the "neighborhood" concept, and we leave it to what follows to support the principles under discussion in this introductory statement.

3 American Journal of Sociology, Vol.XIII. p.784.

# ROSEMOUNT FIRST UNITED CHURCH.

99.

This Church presented as a case, might be regarded as having grown up with the neighborhood. Rosemount, formerly known as Petit Cote, fifty years ago was rural in character, and even yet is not thoroughly urbanized, though comprising a part of the city of Montreal. The Church in its origin is a projection of Erskine, which in 1869, through its abundant "means" undertook to organize a mission in behalf of the Presbyterians domiciled in the district of Petit Cote.

Four miles, which is the approximate distance from Rosemount to the centre of the city, constituted then a real barrier to the movements of people. Transportation facilities were undeveloped, and people elected to stay at home rather than walk.

Located in an area out of the reach of being efficiently served by the parent Church, Erskine followed the course of other downtown Churches in making provision for ministering to the needs of outlying neighborhood groups. This Church group, thus initiated in Petit Cote, progressed favorably until people of other denominations entered the district, and forced the Mission people to move to the outskirts. For a quarter of a century, the mission was able to exploit the field, but in 1910, consequent upon a movement of population.

Α.

to Rosemount, the Church re-located farther north. While the • Church was being built on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Rosemount Boulevard, the congregation had the use of the school, which im view of the increased constituency, provided inadequate accomodations.

The purpose of those who built the Church, (opened in 1914) was that it should serve not only as a place of worship, but as a community house, ministering to the social needs of the people. To a large extent their purpose has been realized.

The most serious crisis in the life history of the institution occurred in connection with the Church Union question of 1925. A considerable minority voted against Union, and elected to leave the parent Church, thus depleting the latter's membership to the extent of one hundred. Since then, the Church has benefited by the movement of population favorable to its type, and ministers, to a greater constituency than before the crisis.

## The Church Constituency.

The constituency is composed largely of the artizan and laboring classes. Not far from the Church, the workshops of the C.P.R. are located, which afford employment to thousands of men. Rosemount is largely made up of C.P.R. workshop employees, but smaller manufacturing plants give employment to many of its residents. The area is characterized by flats of cheap rent, which induce men who labor in other parts of the city to reside therein. Within the last fourteen years Rosemount has experienced a phenomenal development which perhaps is most graphically portrayed in the growth of the school.

In 1914, it was a building of four rooms, but it is now the largest in the province of Quebec, with 42 rooms, and an enrollment of 1821. During the same period, the total population for the ward has increased from a few thousand to approximately 35000.

The Church's constituency consists of the better and older residents of Rosemount, chiefly those who reside on the Boulevard, and who are considered to be the more select part of the neighborhood. In brief, the supporting and active members of the Church are artizans of the skilled type, laboring class men, and a relatively small number of professional men.

The Church's constitueny then, may be regarded as a homogeneous group, and as may be seen by the Map (II), distributed quite near and around the Church, so that it should function as a distinct type of neighborhood institution.

The 370 members located on the Map by no means represent all of the Church's constituency. These are communicant members, and do not include a large number of adherents who make Rosemount First United Church their Church home.

# The Church in Action.

In keeping with its tradition, this Church functions both as a community house' and as a place of worship. The public services are emphasized, but a full program of through-theweek activities is maintained.

The Sunday morning service is moderately attended by adults, which is characteristic of a Church, the constituents of which are laborers. There is a preponderance of children at this service, for whom special provision is made.

In the evening the Church is filled to capacity. This service is characterized by hearty singing and practical preaching. The latter, of course, while not vigorous, tends to be evangelical and comforting.

At both services a sense of fellowship prevails, as everybody seems to know and greet everybody else. Indeed, the Church as a type, approaches the nearest to the common sense notion of neighborhood institution of any studied.

Subsidiary Organizations, and Through-the-Week Activities.

An analysis of Sunday School statistics indicates the direct reference the Church has to the children of the neighborhood.

103.

# TABLE IX.

Department.	Age,	On Roll.	Aver. Attend.	No. Teachers
Cradle Roll- Beginners- Primary- Junior-	<b>1-4</b> 4-6 6-8 9-11	102 45 145 110	8 35 126 78	1 8 19 17
Intermediate and Senior- Young People-	12-17 18& over	1 42 1 9	<b>90</b> 6	14 1
Total s-		563	343	60

The very small enrollment of young people over 18 years, is significant. There would seem to be a correlation between the tendency for young people to leave Sunday School, and the type of service rendered by the average Sunday School teacher. Like most Sunday Schools, the staff of Rosemount First United are enthusiastic and devoted, but lacking in modern methods of pedagogy. The contrast between day-school methods and the unscientific way in which religion is taught, suggests the reason for so great a falling-off of youth.

The Sunday School serves as a connecting link between the Church and the neighborhood. Frequently it is through the children that the families become associated with the Church, and about 70% of the childrens' parents attend the Church's services. The stated activities run all through the week, with the exception of Saturday. These are tabulated as follows:-

# TABLE X.

Organization.

Enrollment.

Young People's Society (Including later teen age girls and boys	2,5
all of whom are connected with the Church.) Wolf Cubs	60
Boy Scouts	30

(Membership in these troops is not confined to boys attending Church or Sunday School, hence 70% only of the troops is definitely associated with the Church.)

Bowling Club.(Men.) Junior Basketball Club	32 15		
C.G.I.T. Women's Missionary Society.			
Ladies' Aid	17 18		
Total	267		

With reference to these activities, the Church officials maintain that a larger group of boys could be ministered to, had the Church more adequate accomodation, and trained leadership. It is apparent that Rosemount needs the service of some organization like the Y.M.C.A., thatwould guide the activity of hundreds of boys, whose leisure time is not in the least directed. The record of Juven lie delinquency for this district is deplorable. In 1925, there were 19 Juvenile Court offenders, and last year, 1928, some 54 Juveniles were arrested, all belonging to the neighborhood. It is interesting to note that no boys associated with the Church of this study have come under the supervision of the probation officer.

### The Plant.

As already pointed out, the purpose of the founders of the Church was that it should be a "community centre." The building was therefore constructed with this in view. It was not built directly on the corner of its site, but to one side, leaving room for the erection of a building of a more ecclesiastical type, which should be used for Church services only. As yet, the congregation has not been able to carry out this plan, and the building used is more utilitarian than beautiful.

Recently, a special effort has been made to give the interior of the building a more ecclesiastical appearance, especially the auditorium. The plant also includes a Sunday School room, not sufficiently large to accomodate all pupils at once, so that two sessions are provided for on Sunday afternoon. A gymnasium, well equipped, is the scene of great activity during the week. The vacant lot is used for tennis courts during the summer, and an ice rink during the winter. The Church property is valued at \$40,000. The Church is supported by voluntary giving, and the Duplex Entelope System is used.

The minister and janitor are the only salaried people, and hence the leadership is recruited from the ranks of the laity. There is at present a mortgage of \$9000 on the property, which is gradually being reduced.

The total receipts for a nine month period, ending December 31st., 1927, amounted to \$6796.

Major Reactions to Urban Environment.

Not infrequently does one find that the functionaries of Churches have no clear-cut and definite conception of the Church's mission.

To the minister functionary and laity of Rosemount Church the following questions were addressed, and the answers received indicate that, in part, they know just what the Church should do.

"For what does this Church, with all of its manifold activity, function?"

"Has it a special mission to render to its neighborhood? If so, how far is it being accomplished?"

The minister stated that, "the Church's business is the creating of that relationship of the individual to God, illustrated by the life of Christ, out of which alone flows the all-arcund fullness of real living."

The answers given by members of the Church may be summarily stated as follows:-

"The Church has a very necessary place in the community. It provides leadership and training for the children whose time would be otherwise spent in pursuit of things not conducive to their moral well-being. It gives stability to the life of the community. It gives people some objective for which to work, and provides fellowship. It should endeavor, by the preaching of the Gospel, to bring men and women into a better relationship with God and their fellow-men."

"This is being achieved, but gradually. Undoubtedly the lives of those who have been touched by the Church are better for its influence. Until the Church can fully change this present social order, its mission cannot be fully realized."

It is evident from these statements that this Church is reacting to urban change by seeking to help people find "the good life, here and now." That it is handicapped in facilities and means' has been stated in another connection. Its socialization, then, is not complete, and the work of administering religion in the "assembly of the people" is maintained. There is a definite attempt to link up participants of subsidiary activities with the Church itself, and for the most part, the plan succeeds, as more than 75% of the members of subsidiary organizations are at the same time active members of the Church.

# CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION.

(ANGLICAN.)

While this Church selects its members on the basis of proximity, its greatness in extent and numbers renders the development of primary relations comparatively difficult. The Church, then, functions to a limited degree, as a neighborhood type. The parochial boundaries, though arbitrarily fashioned, tend to draw together people of common belief into an association group at least, which may develop in the course of time, relations relatively intimate, but not to the extent of the smaller group, as represented by Case A.

The Church of the Ascension is the representative of the Anglican communion to such people as are Anglicans, resident in Outremont, and that part of Montreal bounded by Hutchison Street West to St. Denis Street East, and Atlantic Avenue North, and part of Mount Royal Avenue South. Map (II) shows the parochial boundaries together with a great part of the Church's constituency, which numbers over 800 families, representing 3500 people, and fully 99% of whom are domiciled within the parish.

In view of the movement of Jewish population northward, it is interesting to note that the Church of this study is determined to hold to its position.

Β.

At the present time, a financial campaign is being conducted for the purpose of meeting a mortgage, and to make repairs to the building.

Historical Background.

The history of the Church of the Ascension, now located on Park Avenue and St. Viateur Street, dates back to 1898, when a mission Church was started on Outremont Avenue, to minister to the farmers of the sections now known as the City of Outremont, and Montreal Annex. It is difficult to realize that thirty years ago "Outremont was little more than a village with narrow wooden sidewalks on the main thoroughfare. Cote St. Catherine Road, flanked by market gardens and farm lands, with a population of about eight hundred." 4 The Annex, then known as Ville Saint Louis, was also rural in character. The phenomenal development of both areas is reflected in the growth of the Church, for during the earlier stages of its history it functioned as a branch of St. Andrew's Church, Ahuntsic, but gradually exceeded the latter in importance according as the Annex became more densely populated. It would seem that the influx of Anglican population tended to be segregated in the Annex part of the parish, and in 1904 the Church was moved to its present site, which was

<sup>4</sup> Excerpt from Historical Sketch of the Church of the Ascension.

considered more central, and easier of access to the congregation than was Outremont Avenue.

The Church erected on Park Avenue and St. Viateur Street had a seating capacity for 350, and it was soon realized that accomodation should have been provided for a congregation of six or seven hundred. It was therefore necessary to enlarge the Church building, but because of financial stress, this was deferred until the autumn of 1910. The history of the parish since the completion of the Church reveals a development that has kept pace with the increase of population.

The area comprising the Church's parish consists chiefly of second class flats, with a tendency for better flats and up-to-date apartments towards the northwest.

# The Church in Action.

The entire organization of this Church and its functioning reflect the typical attitude and traditional methods of the Church of England Communion.

There is a decided localization of its ministries which results from a strong sense of parish responsibility. This local ministry is being continued although the Church's neighborhood is changing in character. In this respect it differs from other religious bodies in that they show a tendency to avoid or withdraw from deteriorating districts. Consequent upon the invasion of Jewish population, rental values have decreased, and people of low economic standards are thereby enabled to move into this area. The majority of these newcomers, while representing a change of type, are not essentially different in their religious attitudes from those of the former constituents, that is, they belong to the Church of England.

The Church has a keen sense of duty towards all and sundry Anglicans that come within its parochial boundaries, even though these may show many social stratifications, which undoubtedly will be still more accentuated by the moving population.

In keeping with its communion, the Church emphasizes its public services. Whatever degree of spiritual values subsidiary activities exhibit, they are in no way allowed to become substitutes for the ministry of public worship. Some Churches employ these secular or social means to save souls; this Church purports to save the souls of its constituency first and for emost, through the medium of its public services, with emphasis upon the spiritual value of the sacraments. These other activities represent social values that are by-products, which

incidentally minister to the nurture of the Church's constituents.

The clergy do not pretend to belong to the class of prophets, - they are just representatives of the type that administer religion as "it has been handed down", and abominate the new, or "the fad" in religious practice.

# Subsidiary Organizations.

The Sunday School report for the year 1928 gives a total enrollment of 600 pupils, with an average attendance of 400. The Sunday School meets in the afternoon, and is well graded into departments. The majority of the Sunday School constituents consists of children of communicant families, but a considerable number come from suppliant families, that are attached only on the basis of "physical blessings" that might be received. The parents of such children are not regular in their attendance upon Church services.

Other Stated Through-the-Week Activities.

#### TABLE XI.

Anglican Young People's Association. Girls' Friendly Society. 20th. Montreal (Ascension) Troop Canadian Boy Scouts. Women's Church Guild. Women's Auxiliary. Girls' Branch ". St.Agatha's (Chancel Guild.) Members of the foregoing organizations are, for the most part, communicant members of the Church. These organizations are planned for the specific purpose of ministering "to the spiritual, mental, and physical well-being of the constituents." 5 Each meeting is opened with devotional exercises, notwithstanding the nature of the organization.

#### Finances.

The finances of an institution often indicate the reactions that it is able to make to environmental conditions.

To what extent the Church of the Ascension fails to function as an efficient neighborhood institution, because of financial inability is not definitely known. We may assume upon examination of reports that its work is decidedly hampered by the lack of proper facilities, and financial backing. The problem of financing has ever been with the Church, and it is not supported by wealthy patrons. Its source of income is wholly that of voluntary giving by the parishioners, who use the envelope system.

The total receipts for the year 1928 amounted to \$12679, which represents approximately \$15 per constituent family. More than \$11000 was spent for local purposes, which fact indicates the willingness of the functionaries to make the

- - -

5 Interview with Rector.

Church: Minister to the need of its own locality. The masses of the Church's membership are clerical and high-grade industrial workers, not a few of whom are moving out of the neighborhood, which further aggravates the Church's greatest problem.

Major Reactions to Urban Environment.

It has been shown that the expansion of certain areas, mamely, the Annex and Outremont, has been registered in the progress of the Church. "Originated in denominational initiative, it has always tended to be standardized." 6

Indeed, had the character of the Church's constituency remained rural, and at the same time increased in similar proportions, the same type of program would undoubtedly have been given, as it gives to-day. While admittedly conservative in tradition and method there is a tendency for the development of a slightly more elaborate program, but neither its resources, equipment, nor the character of its membership permits of much bold venturing. It is distinctly a very ordinary type of Church, whose reactions to urban change are not clearly evident. It is to a large extent dependent upon preexisting attitudes favorable to its type, especially in regard to newcomers, and all the while "growing " the children of its parishioners for future constituents.

6 Douglass, The Springfield Church Survey, p.170.

There are one or two subsidiary organizations such as the 'Girls' Friendly Society,' through which it acts in soliciting the attention of the transients. It does this not in any proselytizing manner, but seeks to tie up any unattached Anglicans in the neighborhood with the institution.

In view of the imminent change of its environment, the Church is becoming more attentive and alert, as may be seen in the recent campaign launched. To what extent it will be urbanized by the impending critical situation, and develop methods adequate for service in the changing order, is difficult to say, but the Church deserves respect and support in deciding to stay on in the face of adverse conditions.

Failes the Church's trong has excepted the work distance.

# CALVARY UNITED CHURCH.

# WESTMOUNT.

This Church provides a case which by virtue of its endeavour to render a fairly elaborate, and well-developed program of service, assumes the right of neighborhood allegiance.

To a large extent, the assumption has been justified, and the Church functions as a relatively efficient type of neighborhood institution. While the success of some Churches has seemed to be the resultant of favorable circumstances, more in the nature of accident, this Church has been blessed in the quality of its leadership, whose rare insight into community problems has led to the development of a program demanded by the situation. Located at no great distance from the downtown area, had it not matched the needs of its community, it would have suffered, even as most suburban Churches tend to suffer, from the attraction that the more central Churches exercise upon urban dwellers.

That the Church's group has escaped the more disintegrating influence of urban life, and that it consciously sets itself to function on a neighborhood basis, are facts worthy of notice.

С.

# Historical Background.

Calvary Church, now located on the corner of Dorchester Street and Greene Avenue, developed in keeping with the historic tradition of Montreal, which is, that new Churches start as missions, established by denominations in school-houses or homes. These later may develop into independent Churches. It was so with Calvary. Initiated in 1845 as a branch Sunday School, of Zion Church, to minister to the children resident in the western district of the city, it soon developed another phase of service that was not strictly in accord with the original plan.

Evangelistic services were conducted in the evening, and these led to the organization of what was known as the "Western Congregational Church" of Montreal. The formal organization of the branch Church into an independent Congregational Church, to be known as Calvary Church, took place in the year 1877. It is significant to note that the parent Church, which approved and supported the youthful organization, has long since died.

Calvary's first Church building was located on Guy Street, on a lot adjacent to the Canadian Pacific Railway. That company, in 1896, purchased part of the property, and of the proceeds, \$10000 was given to a number of the Church's group, who

were moving into Westmount. These, with others, formed Bethlehem Congregational Church, the Church edifice being erected on the corner of Western and Clarke Avenues, Westmount.

Calvary continued to operate as a vigorous Church, notwithstanding the loss it suffered occasioned by the exodus to Westmount. Indicative of its strength, it was able to initiate two branch Churches, one in Point St. Charles, and the other in the Amherst Park district of the city.

In 1911, the Canadian Pacific Railway purchased the property upon which the Church building stood, and Bethlehem and Calvary then decided to unite, and the site on which the Church now stands was selected, as being the most central to both communities. The Church, then, represents a union not only of two Churches, but of two communities, - the one rich, the other middle class. Since its erection, the Church, in view of its compact parish, has naturally maintained a definitely localized ministry, but few Churches in Montreal have equipped themselves so completely in response to a definite purpose, as has Calvary. Undoubtedly it has been able to do so because of the social quality of its constituents, who by their "means", though not abundant, have been able to support moderately any well formulated policy. The area in which it operates is characterized by semi-detached residences with a tendency for in-

dividually owned homes to predominate farther west and north. To the southeast of the Church is the section in which live the middle and laboring classes attached to the Church. According as their economic status improves, they move north and westward.

The building of a few apartment houses within the neighborhood of the Church, and life incident thereto, is creating "new problems which the Church is studying in order that it might render the maximum communal service." 7

The Church in Action.

That this Church is organized for "Worship" and "Work" is evident both in the nature of its plant, and the development of subsidiary organizations. Notwithstanding the "Gesture" of the Church in the direction of multiplying the number and kind of its activities, there is a noted conservation of earlier associations, such as prayer meetings and Sunday School work, these both representing traditional activities as old as the Church itself. The Sunday School represents a type of specialization upon which the Church has particularly concentrated.

The Church building, of the Byzantine type of architecture, "stately and beautiful, well equipped for service, with seating capacity for 800 people," 8 shows that people who are

<sup>7</sup> Excerpt from Annual Report.

<sup>8</sup> History of Calvary Church, p.13.

"downtown minded" in the way of "Church service", may have religion administered to them in their own neighborhood, and in terms of their own wishes. That is to say, the public services are made to be as attractive as possible, so as "to encourage men to seek God.....in their own neighborhood." 9

Further, the large vestibule, purposively planned as a place in which the people might intermingle after the service and exchange greetings with one another, helps to develop neighborhood consciousness.

Subsidiary Organizations.

Calvary Church has ever sought to perpetuate itself by the training of its youth. It has taken for granted that religious education should secure for the Church appreciation and loyalty on the part of the on-coming generation.

Whether these statements fully express the total objective of the Church school we do not know, but that it should serve as "feeder" to the Church, as being the major part of the objective is clearly evident. Of the 57 new members received during the past year, not a few came up from the Sunday School.

The Annual Report for 1927 gave the total enrollment of the Sunday School as 506, including teachers, officers, and scholars. Consequent upon the amalgamation of Douglas Methodist

Church, and Dominion Methodist Church, some distance away, in 1926, one hundred scholars from the former united with Calvary. This influx seriously overtaxed the Sunday School quarters, and in order to provide sufficient accomodation, a new hall to the rear of the Church was erected.

The School is well graded, and manned by an efficient staff of fifty-five officers and teachers.

While the Sunday School, with a membership equal to, if not greater than that of the Church, is the most outstanding feature of its program, other activities are coming more and more to be emphasized. Indeed, gymnasium facilities seem to be taken for granted as constituting a very important part of the City Church's equipment. Therefore, in keeping with the tempo of the age, Calvary has made prevision for recreational development, and every evening of the week, with the exception of Saturday, is taken up with some form of activity or another.

The Young People's Society, formerly known as the Christian Endeavor, appears to be the most enterprising of the Church's through-the-week organizations. There is also the usual number of boys' and girls' organizations, maintained in keeping with the denominational program, as well as the latest recreational activities adopted by the Churches, namely, Badminton Clubs and Bowling Leagues.

Whether Calvary developed these with the consciousness of having departed from the "early way" we know not, but it is significant that these more recent growths meet immediately after the Wednesday evening prayer service.

#### Finances.

The total receipts for the period April 1st. to December 31st.,1927, amounted to \$30715. Over 80% of the total income is contributed by members using the duplex envelope system. As afore mentioned, the Church is supported by not a few who may be thought of as patrons. They manifest a very personal, and almost paternal interest, in the institution, and at the same time work as though there were no social or enconomic distinctions existing between members of the Church's group.

Major Reactions to Urban Environment.

This Church, having had a provincial charter of its own, has been free to adapt its policy to the situation. While endeavoring to function on a neighborhood basis, it has not ignored the relation of the neighborhood to the entire city. In the light of that relationship, the Church, as a cultural institution, has developed a program commensurate with the need of its area, and in terms of the larger community. It has been able to do so because of its'means' and the quality of its constituent members. These later are men modern in spitit and outlook, who know the fallacy of attempting to apply rural methods to an urban situation, and have developed a technique, not final, but such as when applied, enables the Church to function successfully.

In brief, this case indicates that the Church can function on a neighborhood basis, and in an area compact, but relatively extensive.

Now that it has united with the larger denomination, one wonders if the freedom with which it has functioned will not be somewhat limited by the denominational supervision. It is to be hoped that Calvary will continue to function as a progressive and socially adapted Church.

### Conclusion.

In the preceding chapters we have discussed at some length the rise and development of Protestant institutions. We have seen how the "religious attitudes" of peoples tended to become built up in the structure of the city to which they moved. As one of the constellation of institutions which are the "working out of permanent needs of human nature", the Church has been greatly modified under the disintegrating influences of city life.

The growth of the city creates conditions to which the Church must ever be in process of readjustment. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a great differentiation of religious institutions, each competing with the other for place and patronage, and thereby adding to the total number of forces that operate in the individualizing process of urban life. By the ever-increasing differentiation we do not mean thereby doctrinal divisions that separate one denomination from another, but out of the process of population movement there does seem to emerge distinct types of Churches characteristic of the cultural groups to which they minister. Thus, within the denomination there are many dissimilar types,

1 Cooley, Social Organization, p.319.

124.

anger - genergene genergene genergen in der sollte in d

each of which has developed its own peculiar ways and means of meeting urban situations, quite independent of the denomination to which it belongs.

That is to say, the Churches studied represent specialized types of institutions, with programs supposedly adapted to environmental conditions.

By the very nature of organized religion, (Protestant) it is bound to operate as a divisive factor in the total communal life. Especially is it true of downtown Churches that select their clientelles on the basis of individual preference. For here the mobility of the individual is taken into account, and the Church bids for its share of the individual's time and attention. Not only so, but it competes with other institutions, religious and secular, and the competition becomes so keen that it devises ways and means of maintaining itself in the struggle.

That would seem to constitute the paradox of organized religion. It presumes to consist of the giving of one's self to the group, and as it appears to the observer, the institution busies itself with the saving of its own life.

It is through these specific "ways and means" that we think of institutionalized religion as being divisive, and as exercising a profound influence upon other institutions.

Family life, for instance, tends to be atomized in the religious affiliations of its members. Children do not

automatically become members of the Church of their parents, but get attached to such institutions as may be accessible, and attractive in the nature of the program offered. Hence the loyalty of the individual is superficial and temporary, as may be deduced from the annual turnover of membership of downtown Churches. These superficial and shifting relations of individuals to the Churches may mean something more vastly important than complicated statistical recording,- they may involve personal disorganization, and unsatisfactory individual adjustment to the group.

Further, the competitive process through which the downtown Churches come to be distinct specialized types of institutions, extends beyond the immediate central area to the residential neighborhoods, and there disturbs the work of such Churches as seek to minister to contiguous populations. Theoretically, some neighborhood areas are under the care of particular Churches, but actually what happens is that people who should assume the neighborhood reponsibility embodied in nearby institutions are drawn, through personal whims, or the nature of the program presented, which may be more adapted to their tastes, to the central Churches. Consequently few Churches are permitted to develop exclusively the areas in which they are located, even though they may wish to do so.

We have in this study been primarily concerned with the behavior patterns exhibited by types of urban Churches. In a limited sense, our investigation of Religious Institutions has been somewhat in the nature of a Survey. By studying characteristic types of Churches, we have come more or less to discover trends common to organized Protestantism as a whole. What our findings are should be of more practical value than any theory that we might postulate. In a general way these findings have been stated, and in some instances suggestions made. That which remains for us to do is to summarize our findings, and make such suggestions as the data presented would seem to warrant.

I. It is quite evident from our study of Churches that, generally speaking, there is a decided lack of <u>definite policy</u>, Few contemporary institutions are so vague in definition of purpose as is the Church.

While some Churches are noted for tremendous activity, there is at the same time little definite conception of the purpose in the multitude of things that they are doing. Consequently, the great variety of organizations developed by the Churches are incoherent in their relations with one another, and frankly stated, represent devices taken over from

other institutions by which the Churches seek to keep themselves alive under strong competitive pressure.

The logical suggestion following upon the foregoing statement is that the Church be honest enough to re-state its primary function, and rule out as irrelevant any activities that cannot be incorporated into the body of the institution.

II. A second finding of our investigation is that the Churches are not satisfactorily related to the geographical areas in which they are located.

In as much as subsidiary organizations represent relatively weak overtures that the Church is making to its immediate neighborhood, and the fact that it operates selectively, it naturally follows that the parochial system is not very much developed. The tendency is, then, for Churches, especially those of the downtown area and marginal types, to neglect their immediate neighborhoods, and by their selective policies render it difficult for residential neighborhood Churches to cultivate the parochial plan to its fullest extent. This does not mean that each has not a ministry to perform, but that each has its specific ministry which should be carried on, not in conflict with the other, but in adjustment therewith.

Our contention is that the Church operates competitively without regard to the larger unit of which it is a part. It is quite possible to conceive of the competitive process as operating favorably to certain institutions, but disastrously in terms of city-wide Protestantism.

III. A third finding remains to be stated, and the nature of it is very much related to the foregoing. If the denomination fails to function as a unit, and the Churches included therein operate competitively, then happy adjustments between denominations can scarcely be expected. As a result, Protestant Churches present the spectacle of a vast expenditure of energy and money, but yielding comparatively small returns. To some extent, institutional inefficiency is due to the principle of freedom inherent in Protestantism, yet we are more inclined to look for the cause in the failure of Protestant bodies to get together and study the facts of the situation.

That such a careful investigation should lead to a policy of concerted action, and the substitution of <u>cooperative ser-</u> <u>viee for competitive effort</u>, is suggested as an ideal, difficult of achievement, no doubt, but less than which cannot be accepted by the leadership of the Church in the Changing City.

#### - BIBLIOGRAPHY -

# -0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-0-

-Historical and Statistical-

Atherton, History of Montreal.

Borthwick, Streets of Montreal.

Campbell, History of the St. Gabriel Street Church.

Croil, Genesis of the Churches.

History of Calvary Church.

Federal Census for 1851, etc.

Jaques, Chronicles of St. James Methodist Church.

Lighthall, History of the American Presbyterian Church.

Sandham, Montreal, Past and Present.

St. George's Church:: Its Constitution and History.

Year Books of the Churches.

#### -General-

American Journal of Sociology, Volumes XIII, XXII, XXXII.

Cooley, Social Organization.

Dawson, The City as an Organism.

Douglass, The Church in the Changing City.

Douglass, The Springfield Church Survey.

Ellwood, Christianity and Social Science.

McKenzie, The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus.

Park and Burgess, Introduction to the Science of Sociology. Park and Burgess, The City.

Strong, Religious Movements for Social Betterment.

Taylor, Religion in Social Action.

Vogt, Art and Religion.

World Survey, The American Volume.



