

Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City: Church and Mission in the Industrial Working-Class District of Griffintown, Montreal

Rosalyn Trigger

Volume 31, Number 1, Fall 2002

Special Issue on 19th-Century Montreal

URI: <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1015879ar>

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7202/1015879ar>

[See table of contents](#)

Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (print)

1918-5138 (digital)

[Explore this journal](#)

Cite this article

Trigger, R. (2002). Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City: Church and Mission in the Industrial Working-Class District of Griffintown, Montreal. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 31(1), 5–18.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/1015879ar>

Article abstract

Increasing social and spatial segregation along class lines in nineteenth-century Montreal brought about a restructuring of the city's Protestant churches. This paper compares the strategies adopted by Anglicans and Presbyterians as they attempted to reorganize and improve their provision of church accommodation in the industrial working-class suburb of Griffintown between 1860 and the turn of the century. It demonstrates that while denominational responses to the changes taking place were strikingly similar in many respects, class differences within the working classes nevertheless resulted in a complex array of churches and missions, each catering to a slightly different niche within the community. It is argued Griffintown's places of worship not only came to reflect the transformation of class relations that emerged with industrialization but also created opportunities for the negotiation of these new relations within the religious sphere.

Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City: Church and Mission in the Industrial Working-Class District of Griffintown, Montreal

Rosalyn Trigger

Abstract:

Increasing social and spatial segregation along class lines in nineteenth-century Montreal brought about a restructuring of the city's Protestant churches. This paper compares the strategies adopted by Anglicans and Presbyterians as they attempted to reorganize and improve their provision of church accommodation in the industrial working-class suburb of Griffintown between 1860 and the turn of the century. It demonstrates that while denominational responses to the changes taking place were strikingly similar in many respects, class differences within the working classes nevertheless resulted in a complex array of churches and missions, each catering to a slightly different niche within the community. It is argued Griffintown's places of worship not only came to reflect the transformation of class relations that emerged with industrialization but also created opportunities for the negotiation of these new relations within the religious sphere.

Résumé:

La croissance de la ségrégation sociale et géographique à Montréal au XIX^e siècle a forcé les églises protestantes à se réorganiser pour mieux servir les besoins de la population. Cet article compare les stratégies adoptées par les communautés anglicanes et presbytériennes pour améliorer l'approvisionnement des églises dans la banlieue industrielle de Griffintown, entre 1860 et la fin du XIX^e siècle. Même si les stratégies adoptées par les anglicans et les presbytériens étaient semblables à bien des égards, les distinctions sociales entre différents éléments de la classe ouvrière ont néanmoins mené à la création d'une grande variété d'églises et de missions, chacune servant un groupe particulier de la population. Ainsi, les édifices consacrés au culte à Griffintown étaient non seulement un reflet des nouvelles relations entre les classes sociales produites par l'industrialisation, mais jouaient également un rôle important dans la négociation de ses nouveaux rapports sociaux.

Introduction

When she visited in 1869, Harriet Beecher Stowe described Montreal as "a mountain of churches." "Every shade and form of faith," she wrote, "is here well represented in wood or stone, and the gospel feast set forth . . . to suit the spiritual appetite of all inquirers."¹ Her comments not only emphasized the large number of places of worship in the city, but also drew attention to the visibility of denominational and class differences. While the Catholic Church represented a unified body, serving both English- and French-speaking Catholics, Protestants in Montreal, as elsewhere, found themselves divided into a variety of denominations and sects. Despite the emergence of a common evangelical culture and the creation of denominational unions and national

churches in Canada over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, differences both within and between denominations continued to influence the ways in which Protestants responded to the transformations taking place in the social geography and urban environment of Montreal.²

Of all the transformations taking place, the increasing spatial segregation of different elements of urban society created some of the most intractable problems facing the Protestant churches of Britain and North America at this time. As cities became increasingly heterogeneous, they also became "ever more fragmented into discrete, homogeneous domains differentiated by function, class, ethnicity, and religion."³ Increasing geographical segregation along class lines and the commercialization of city centres frequently resulted in the removal from downtown areas of middle-class congregation members and the Protestant churches to which they belonged to more desirable residential locations. When coupled with the parallel creation of predominantly working-class suburbs, such developments not only challenged the traditional Christian conception of a church as a place where all sorts and conditions of people could come together to worship God, but also led to more practical concerns about how to meet the moral, spiritual, and material needs of those left behind in less wealthy neighbourhoods. A better sense needs to be gained of the impact that these changes had on the provision of places of worship in working-class areas, and of how different denominations, uptown church members, and working-class church-goers responded. This paper attempts to do this by examining the reorganization that took place among Presbyterian and Anglican places of worship in the working-class district of Griffintown in the period between 1860 and the turn of the century.⁴ By privileging the detailed study of the churches and missions in a particular area, rather than focusing on a topic such as middle-class outreach in the slums,⁵ we are able to gain a better understanding of the diversity of religious institutions serving working-class neighbourhoods, and of the multiple ways in which working-class Protestants involved themselves in these institutions. This period of industrialization witnessed a fundamental reordering of class relations in Montreal, and it will be argued that the changes taking place in Griffintown not only reflected the new social divisions emerging within the industrial order but also provided an arena in which these new relations could be negotiated within the religious sphere.

By raising these questions, this paper draws on some of the themes that are central to the literature on Protestant religion in Canada. It has been emphasized that over the course of the nineteenth century the mainline denominations shifted away from an earlier era of evangelical Protestantism, where the primary division was between the converted and the unconverted, and increasingly came to adopt the progressive ethos of a materialistic age where people were defined by their social standing.⁶ In urban centres, this shift was closely associated with growing economic prosperity and rapid expansion of the middle classes, which resulted in impressive churches being built to express the aspirations of this group.⁷ The building of these churches increased their financial dependency on those who could afford to

pay for them, which, as Lynne Marks and others have argued, "could not help but bring the social and economic inequalities of the world more firmly into the churches."⁸ Even Westfall and Thurlby, who argue that the construction of Gothic churches was intended primarily as a proclamation of Christian values in an increasingly materialistic world, acknowledge that "over time . . . they came to reflect the very social divisions within an urban industrial order that they had tried so hard to monitor and control."⁹ There is a consensus, therefore, that Canada's mainline Protestant churches assumed a more middle-class character over the course of the century and were increasingly plagued by the inequalities that existed in the surrounding society.

While this side of the argument is well developed, less attention has been paid to the Protestant working-class response to these changes. In *Church and Sect in Canada*, one of the earliest works to explore the relationship between class and Canadian evangelism, S. D. Clark argued that the mainline churches' desire to increase their social respectability made it difficult for them to accommodate people who did not belong to the established social order.¹⁰ As a result, he maintained that the period between 1885 and 1914 witnessed the crowding out of the traditional churches and their city missions in the "transitional areas" of growing cities by new evangelical sects such as the Holiness Church and the Salvation Army.¹¹ Neil Semple has likewise suggested that groups like the Methodists, which had previously held a strong appeal for the working classes, found themselves becoming increasingly dependent on the business class over time, so that by the 1880s "the poor and the church had grown so far apart that only a revolution in the Methodist church could reestablish an organic relationship."¹² Others have noted that while branch churches and missions were organized by some large congregations in working-class areas, these "tended to preserve and strengthen the middle-class character of the churches in more desirable locations" and simply served to emphasize disparities between rich and poor.¹³ Thus, despite the existence of Keith Markell's work which at least presents as a topic for debate whether Protestant churches in Canada were losing ground among the urban working classes,¹⁴ emphasis is generally placed on the estrangement of less wealthy members of society from the mainline Protestant churches.

These questions are more thoroughly explored in the British literature. As in Canada, there is general agreement that the mainline churches faced challenging logistical problems in the cities.¹⁵ Likewise, there are those such as E. R. Wickham and K. S. Inglis, whose work emphasizes the "persistent alienation of the urban industrial masses [from the churches] from the time of their very emergence in the new towns."¹⁶ However, others, such as Callum Brown, have challenged this vision and questioned the extent to which the Victorian "religious boom" was in fact an overwhelmingly middle-class phenomenon.¹⁷ Brown suggests that those making this argument have depended too heavily on the writings of clerics and other "bourgeois" commentators and points out that the industrial worker is usually "the silent player whose story of alienation from religion the cleric berates, the intellectual applauds and the historian sympathetically chronicles."¹⁸ While agreeing that fragmenting social relations and extravagant churchbuilding projects had an impor-

tant influence on social relations within the churches, he nevertheless argues that we should not underestimate working-class participation in the religious life of the nineteenth-century city.¹⁹ Most of these writers do not question the fact that working-class church attendance rates were lower than those of their middle-class and wealthy counterparts, but they suggest that this is no excuse for neglecting the substantial minority of those that did attend and who were actively involved in the lives of churches, chapels, and missions.²⁰ Lynne Marks' work on religion and leisure in small towns in Ontario, which emphasizes the complex nature of working-class participation in the mainline churches, suggests that there is room for further discussion of these topics in the Canadian context. She points out, for example, that members of working-class families were more likely to make individual decisions about church membership than were middle-class family members.²¹ While studies such as Marks' have tended to focus on small towns, we must assume (as she does) that social relations operated differently in larger towns and cities where workers at least had the option of worshipping in predominantly working-class congregations.²² Much, in other words, remains to be learned about the evolution of the relationship between Protestant religion and social categories such as class and gender in response to the changing social geography of the nineteenth-century Canadian city.

The Problem of the City

To understand the rationale that lay behind the provision of places of worship for those living in areas like Griffintown, it is necessary to explore some of the ways in which middle-class Protestants and their clergymen conceptualized the city. As early as the 1860s, Protestant Montrealers were already expressing concern that the exodus of churches from downtown areas was leaving certain districts without sufficient church accommodation. The non-church-going classes were perceived to be growing, and middle-class Protestants felt that the moral and physical environment experienced by those living in the poorer sections of the city was making it increasingly difficult to elevate people living in such places either spiritually or materially.

The understanding that middle-class Protestant Montrealers had of the challenges posed by the city was shaped not only through observation of the situation in Montreal, but also through participation in broader discourses taking place in Britain and North America. Concern about levels of religious participation, particularly among the working classes, was fuelled by the idea that industrialization was breaking down traditional relations among different social "ranks."²³ An important component of this view was that the geographical segregation of rich and poor was increasing, which David Ward argues was influential regardless of the extent to which this phenomenon was actually taking place in any given city.²⁴ Even before the exodus of middle-class Protestants and their churches from the downtown core of the city, Protestants in Montreal were already aware of the challenges facing certain British and American cities. As one advocate of mission work in Montreal argued:

"Unless this city be well supplied with missionaries, or an efficient lay agency, we may expect to witness those scenes of

immorality and licentiousness which are the disgrace, the shame, and the terror of cities and towns in the fatherland, and in some cities in the neighboring States."²⁵

Evangelization and the provision of places of worship for those in poorer districts were therefore necessary to ensure the moral and social welfare of the city.

The Study Area: Griffintown and Surrounding District

One area identified by evangelical middle-class Montrealers as being in special need of evangelistic and philanthropic work was Griffintown and the area which surrounded it (Figure 1).²⁶ Located to the west of the increasingly commercial downtown district, the area was an important hub of industrial development in Montreal from the late 1840s onward and was home to an emerging industrial proletariat.²⁷ As presented to the Protestant Ministerial Association in 1865, the "alarming statistics of Griffintown" revealed that the area contained over 700 Roman Catholic families and 432 families of nominal Protestants, and that of the latter, nearly one-half, or 202 families, claimed that they seldom or never attended any place of worship.²⁸ In the district lying directly to the north of Griffintown, between St. Antoine and College streets, 328 Protestant families were discovered, of which 140 were classified as "habitual neglecters of church privileges."²⁹ These figures suggest that during the early stages of industrialization the Protestant working classes already contained a significant proportion of non-church-goers. Despite the large Irish-Catholic presence in Griffintown, there was a tendency for each group to focus on the religious needs of their own community.³⁰ Thus, the missionary in charge of one of the Presbyterian missions in Griffintown reported in the 1880s that his work was "almost exclusively confined to Protestants; because Roman Catholics are less accessible, and our lapsed Protestants furnish ample scope for our undivided attention."³¹

By 1861, Griffintown already formed part of a working-class suburb. As Robert Lewis has demonstrated, the spatial separation of social classes was firmly in place in Montreal by this time.³² Thus, during the period under investigation, there was little structural change in the fundamental class cleavages that divided the city into three distinct class "zones," one of which was the predominantly working-class zone to which Griffintown belonged.³³ This is not to deny the complexity that existed within the working class. Significant life-style gaps existed between the skilled trades and labourers, and spatial differentiation occurred within the working classes along occupational lines.³⁴ Writing in 1897, however, Herbert Ames noted that the families of the poor (which he defined as those whose average weekly family income did not exceed five dollars) were not, as in many other cities, concentrated into a locality with clearly defined limits.³⁵ Although the southerly sections of Griffintown contained levels of poverty as high as 26 percent of families, the remaining 74 percent were somewhat better off, while areas further north in Griffintown contained percentages of well-to-do families (those whose weekly average family income exceeded twenty dollars) as high as 15 to 19 percent.³⁶ As will be demonstrated further on, it was this

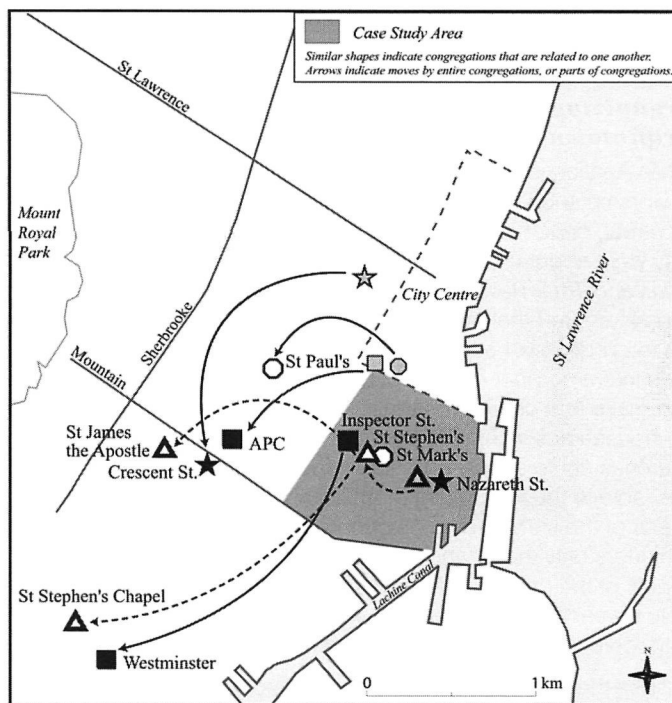


Figure 1: *Case study area: showing Anglican and Presbyterian places of worship in Griffintown and other churches mentioned in the text.*

socio-economic diversity within Griffintown that created the need for a range of different Protestant places of worship.

Changes were, however, taking place between 1861 and 1901 that had an important impact on the Protestant churches and missions in the area. The increasingly industrial character of St. Ann's ward, of which Griffintown formed a part, meant that the residential population grew slowly compared with other areas of the city, expanding from 16,200 in 1861 to only 23,003 in 1891, before dropping to 21,835 in 1901.³⁷ During this same period, the number of people living in St. Ann's ward who declared themselves to be Anglican increased from 1,725 in 1861 and peaked at 2,803 in 1891, before declining to 2,698 by 1901. Meanwhile, the Presbyterian population, at around 1,900, was virtually identical in size in 1861 and 1901, having peaked at only 2,192 in 1891.³⁸ Both Anglican and Presbyterian numbers continued to decline between 1901 and 1911. Explanation for the declining Protestant population lay in the growing number and size of manufacturing establishments, which wiped out whole rows of houses and displaced many former residents.³⁹ Severe floods in the mid-1880s also helped to accelerate the relocation to higher ground of those with the financial means to do so.⁴⁰ During the period under investigation, Griffintown can therefore be described as an area from which those who achieved upward social mobility, even within the working class, continued to depart. Others were simply squeezed out as industries replaced housing stock. Both Anglicans and Presbyterians had no choice, therefore, but to respond as best they could to the social and environmental changes taking place around them as they at-

tempted to maintain places of worship in this challenging part of the city.

Organizing Presbyterian and Anglican Worship in Griffintown

While Anglicans and Presbyterians shared the view that places of worship should be available to people living in all areas of Montreal, denominational differences affected the way in which they went about providing church accommodation. In *Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems* (1887), the Rev. Samuel Loomis argued that there were "two distinct systems on which the religious life of a town may proceed."⁴¹ One was to divide a town into a number of distinct parishes, build a church in each, and make that church responsible for the religious welfare of all the households within the boundaries of its parish. Alternatively, churches could simply be built on the sites that appeared most desirable to those building them, without taking into account the needs of the surrounding neighbourhood, and counting as parishioners only those who chose to attend. Loomis felt that the benefit of the parish system was that it made somebody responsible for each family in the city, whereas the alternative system only served the needs of select groups.

Despite the fact that Presbyterians in theory endorsed a parish system similar to that of the Anglicans, in reality their churches in Montreal often appeared to operate along the lines of the independent churches described above. The principal cause of this was the sectarian divisions within Scottish Presbyterianism that had been transported to Montreal.⁴² As a consequence, there existed a cluster of Presbyterian congregations – representing the Church of Scotland, Free Church, Secessionist, and American wings of Presbyterianism – within just a few blocks of each other in the downtown area. The Anglicans were more successful at implementing a parish system, which meant that their churches were, from the start, less concentrated geographically than those of their Presbyterian counterparts. The outcome was nevertheless somewhat different from the ideal envisaged by Loomis. The secularization of the clergy reserves in the 1850s had placed all religious denominations on an equal footing, so that Anglican churches had to raise funds exclusively from voluntary donations in the same way as other groups. While in theory every soul living within the limits of a parish was under the charge of the rector and had a claim upon his ministrations, selfish feelings nevertheless grew up that restricted the attachments of many rectory congregations "to one church building and the people who worship therein."⁴³

Thus, neither the Presbyterian nor the Anglican form of organization in Montreal placed either group in a particularly advantageous position when it came to ensuring that less wealthy districts were provided with adequate church accommodation. A key factor in this process was the way in which Presbyterian and Anglican congregations responded to the westward and northward drift of middle-class and wealthy Protestant Montrealers.⁴⁴ Presbyterian congregations in the downtown core of the city, which had previously been close enough to Griffintown to accommodate members living there, responded simply by selling their old churches and building substantial Gothic churches in the uptown district to which so many of their economically suc-

cessful congregation members were moving. Five Presbyterian congregations moved uptown between 1860 and 1880.⁴⁵ Middle-class Anglicans also relocated to the uptown district, and some of their churches such as Christ Church Cathedral and St. George's were relocated in order to be closer to this population and to escape the increasingly commercial downtown core.⁴⁶ Although Griffintown's Anglican church, St. Stephen's, remained in place, the removal of middle-class parishioners to the upper levels of the city created similar challenges for those remaining behind.

Uptown congregation members nevertheless felt responsible for ensuring that places of worship were available in areas that they had deserted, and attempted to address this problem in Griffintown by building both churches and missions, or in the Anglican case, by providing financial assistance to St. Stephen's parish when needed. In this process, distinctions emerged within the working classes between those who worshipped in churches and those who worshipped in missions. While churches were responsible for their own governance and were generally able to pay for the upkeep of a minister and a place of worship, city missions were more dependent on outside bodies to provide leadership and funding and were largely geared toward the evangelization of non-church-goers and the provision of charity. The distinction between church and mission could at times become blurred, as when less wealthy churches turned to outside funds for assistance, or as missions moved toward greater independence and self-management. To understand how these distinctions emerged in Griffintown, I will first discuss the process by which interdenominational mission work was largely superseded by an array of denominational missions and churches. The identities of the churches and missions that emerged were complex, since they were expected to cater not only to those traditionally ministered to through city mission work, but also to church-goers left behind as a result of the uptown moves of congregations. Each place of worship, as we shall see, occupied a distinct "ecological niche" in Griffintown, serving the diverse and changing needs of the working classes and providing for various levels of participation and self-assertion on the part of worshippers.

Presbyterians in Griffintown

As in other cities, evangelical Protestants in Montreal initially attempted to conduct mission work along interdenominational lines. This work, which involved systematic evangelical outreach as well as the provision of relief to the needy on a personal basis, had been conducted in Montreal as early as the 1830s when David Nasmith, the evangelical founder of the Glasgow City Mission, visited Montreal and inspired the creation of a city mission, which later foundered.⁴⁷ Soon after its formation in Montreal in 1851, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) hired a city missionary – Samuel Massey, formerly of the Manchester City Mission – and revived this work among the city's unchurched and needy citizens.⁴⁸ Then, following a revival in 1863, a number of those belonging to the Montreal Ministerial Association decided to inaugurate their own Union City Mission. The Union City Mission was short-lived, and ended in 1866 when its two principal supporters, Zion Congregational and the American Presbyte-

rian Church, decided to pursue their work separately.⁴⁹ By the 1870s, most of the missions in Montreal were carried on along denominational lines, with individual uptown congregations sponsoring their own missions and specially dedicated mission buildings in the lower reaches of the city.

While the failure of the Union City Mission effort was an important factor in encouraging individual congregations to take up mission work, there was also a correspondence between the uptown relocation of individual Presbyterian congregations and their decisions to build missions or support churches in Griffintown. Although the Côté Street Free Church did not relocate and change its name to Crescent Street Presbyterian until 1878, leaders in the congregation had been planning an uptown move since the early 1870s, and this corresponded with the building of the Nazareth Street Mission around 1870.⁵⁰ Likewise, in 1864, the American Presbyterian congregation embarked on mission work just to the north of Griffintown, the same year that they decided to rebuild their church uptown on Dorchester Street. The changing distribution of American Presbyterian Church membership between 1864 and 1880, demonstrates the way in which the church ceased to serve individuals living in the Griffintown area following the uptown move that took place in 1866 (Figure 2). The distribution of Inspector Street members in 1892 indicates that the mission was clearly designed to serve the area deserted by the uptown congregation (Figure 3). St. Paul's Church also moved to Dorchester Street in 1868, and then contributed to the building of a Church of Scotland church, St. Mark's, in Griffintown the following year. *The Presbyterian* confirmed that it was the removal of St. Paul's Church from St. Helen Street that had necessitated the erection of this church for the accommodation of families living in the south-western part of the city.⁵¹ Thus, although the Presbyterian places of worship in Griffintown were not geared exclusively toward serving individuals with particular sectarian affiliations, each was initially organized by congregations belonging to a different branch of Presbyterianism, at least in part to serve members left behind by the uptown moves.⁵² I will now examine each of the Presbyterian missions and churches in Griffintown in turn, exploring the processes by which each came to cater to a particular "niche" within Griffintown's working-class community, as well as commenting on the role played by upward mobility, the desire for self-determination among working-class church members, and intra-denominational competition.

The Nazareth Street Mission appears to have devoted its attention to the evangelization of the poorer and less stable elements within the Griffintown community. Unlike both the Inspector Street Mission and St. Mark's Church, during the latter part of the nineteenth century the "floating character" of the population associated with the Nazareth Street Mission meant that it had "no membership in the strict sense of the term."⁵³ Having started life as a Sunday School, the building was, for a brief period during the 1870s, home to a Free Church congregation with its own minister, communion roll, and church register. The congregation was, however, dissolved in the late 1870s, and after a brief period when activities were once again restricted to Sunday School work, a congregational missionary was appointed by the Crescent Street congregation to hold services and conduct mis-

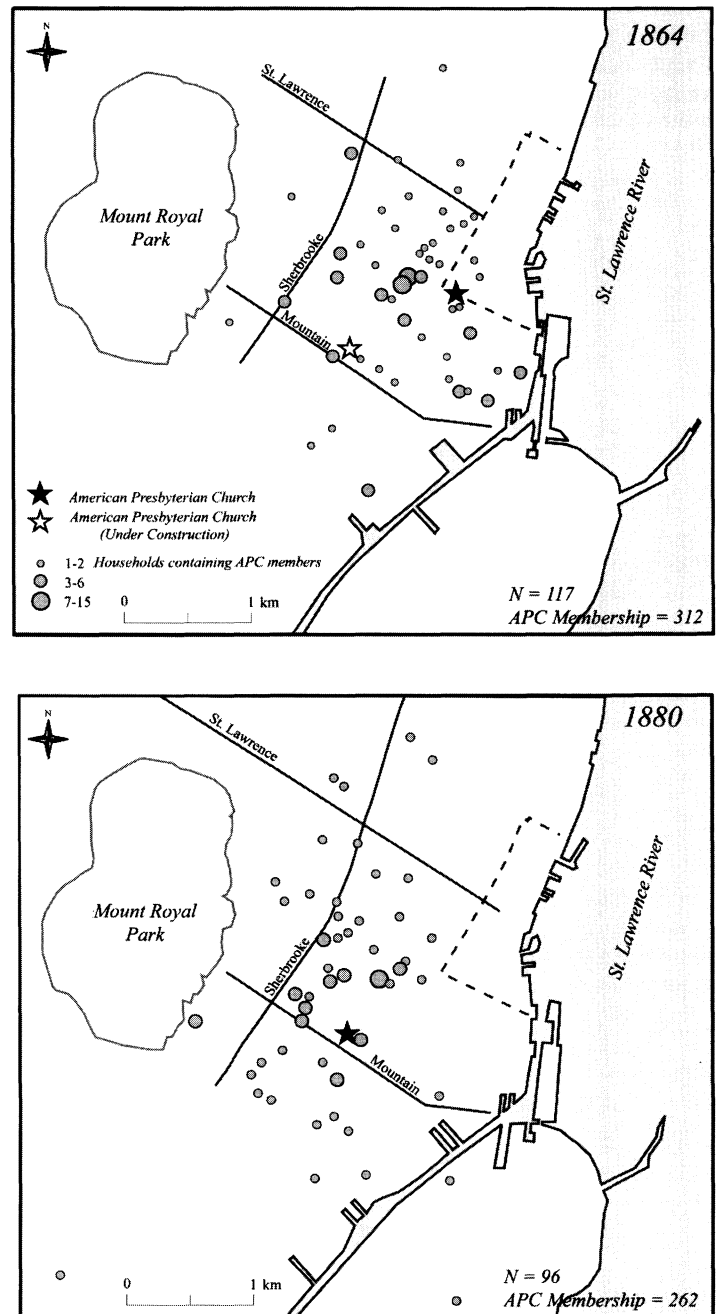


Figure 2: Distribution of households containing American Presbyterian Church members before and after the uptown move of 1866.
Source: ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 183, A394/3 *Manual of the American Presbyterian Church in the City of Montreal, July 1864 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864); also A395/3 Manual of the American Presbyterian Church in the City of Montreal, May 1880 (Montreal: Becket Bros., 1880).*

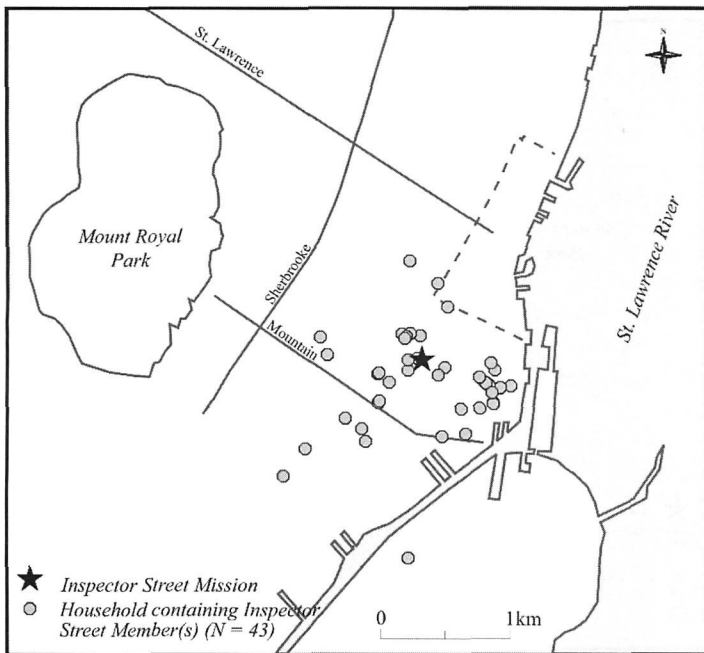


Figure 3: Distribution of households containing Inspector Street Mission members, 1892.

Source: ANQ, P603, S2, SS18, Fonds ISM, Contenant 128, ISM/2 Minute Book of the Board of Managers of the Inspector Street Chapel 1889-1896, inserted 31 October 1892.

sion work in the district.⁵⁴ The missionary focused on searching out "individuals and families and children, not attending any stated place of worship."⁵⁵ The majority of those visited claimed to be Presbyterian, but Anglicans, Methodists, and families claiming no religious connection whatsoever were also included. Most of those who attended the services, it was reported, could not be persuaded to attend services in any of the uptown congregations, illustrating the depth of the social gulf that had been created between those living in Griffintown and the uptown congregations.⁵⁶

The mission belonging to the American Presbyterian Church in Chaboillez Square, which later became the Inspector Street Mission, was initially placed under the charge of Samuel Massey, who had previously worked for the YMCA City Mission. To begin with, the work appears to have been very similar to that initially carried out by the YMCA, and later by the Nazareth Street Mission. Although organized and run by the American Presbyterian Church, the mission was considered to be practically undenominational.⁵⁷ Massey focused his attention on visiting and attempting to bring to Jesus those families "who may be said to belong to the neglected classes, many of whom never enter our city churches."⁵⁸ Despite making nearly 7,000 home visits in 1868, distributing 4,190 tracts, giving out 2,000 soup tickets, and providing 212 families with provisions and clothing, only 19 people actually joined the mission that year.⁵⁹ The erection in 1870 of a commodious and substantial stone chapel on Inspector Street to provide the mission with better accommodation appears to have had an impact on congregational life at the mission (Figure

4). By 1873 the congregation worshipping there was described as being "respectable in size and appearance."⁶⁰ The following year, it was reported that "a marked improvement" was noticeable "in the appearance and demeanour" of the Sunday congregations at Inspector Street.⁶¹ Careful records of membership were kept, and the names of new members at Inspector Street were entered in the minutes of session of the American Presbyterian Church. Pews in the mission were free, but both plate and envelope donations were collected from mission members. This boded well for the future ability of the congregation to provide for the maintenance and support of the Gospel among themselves, and by the early 1880s the congregation at Inspector Street was covering all the expenses of the chapel with the exception of the pastor's salary.⁶² As the members of the mission came up in the world, they appear to have become more involved in the management of the mission-chapel and at some point during the 1880s a Board of Management was created, which included members of both the uptown church and the mission. The chapel members also became more assertive, asking to be allowed to establish direct relations with some presbytery

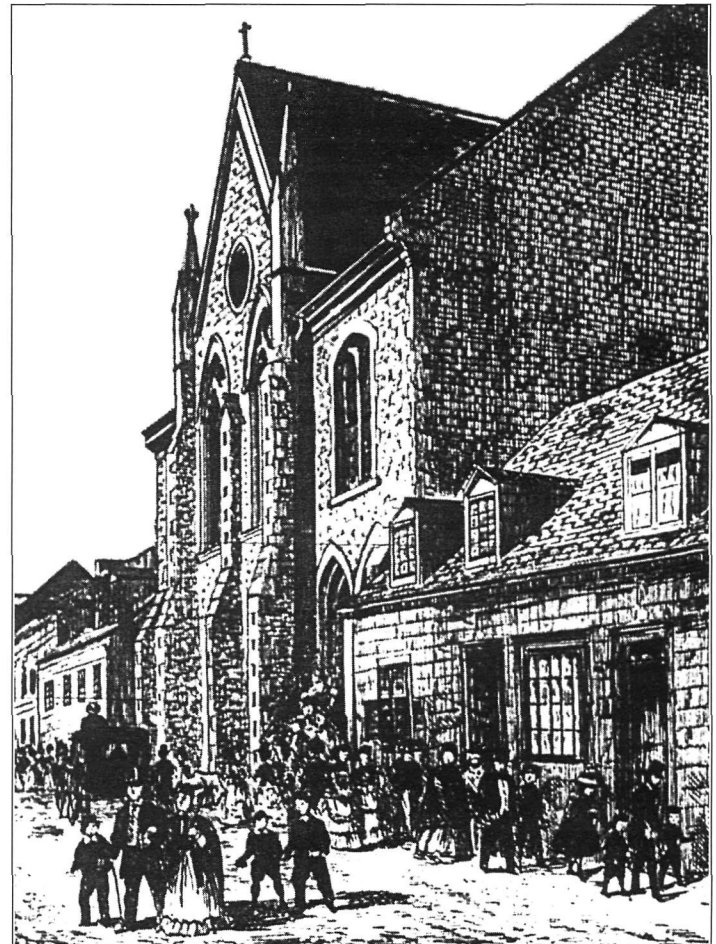


Figure 4: Inspector Street Mission (opened 1870).

Source: *Canadian Illustrated News*, 27 May 1871

(while retaining their connection with the American Presbyterian Church) and for two elders to be appointed for the chapel, preferably chosen from the Inspector Street congregation. Neither of these requests was considered to be feasible by the session of the American Presbyterian Church.⁶³

Just at the point when the congregation seemed ready to assume its independence, its future was thrown into uncertainty by the announcement that the chapel was to be demolished as part of a municipal street widening project.⁶⁴ One of the principal concerns of chapel members was whether future church work was going to continue on the same basis as before, or whether it was going to be of a "strictly mission character."⁶⁵ Dissatisfied with the replies they received, the chapel managers announced that they were ready to meet the whole expense of their worship and that they had for some time been considering becoming an independent congregation.⁶⁶ A petition containing the signatures of 75 communicants and 38 adherents was favourably received by the Presbytery of Montreal, and Westminster Church was born.⁶⁷ It was noted that the Inspector Street families were anxious to remain together, and that to do so they were willing to select a site as far west as Atwater Ave. for their new church (see Figure 1).⁶⁸ The determination of this group to disassociate itself from the work of a mission, and its willingness to build so far to the west, suggests that its members may have belonged to the better-off segment of the Griffintown community that was moving out of the district following the floods of the late 1880s to take up more desirable residential quarters west of the city. As one commentator noted:

"It is one of the glories and, in a sense, one of the heart-breaks of the down-town mission, that men and women who are led to Christ through its efforts soon find themselves able to leave their grimy surroundings and move to better districts."⁶⁹

While it is impossible to determine whether missions genuinely played a role in generating upward mobility, it is clear that under certain circumstances the social advancement of working-class individuals – like that of their middle-class counterparts – was reflected in their collective relocation to form new congregations in more prosperous neighbourhoods. In other words, not just individuals, but groups of individuals within the working class, were collectively "moving up" in the city in association with the religious institutions to which they belonged. The formation of the Westminster congregation by defectors from the Inspector Street Mission is in keeping with Callum Brown's observation in the British context that the recruitment by missions of upwardly mobile members of the working classes from the ranks of the "unchurched" was one of the principal means by which new congregations were formed in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁰

Following the formation of the Westminster congregation, only a few members remained to form the nucleus of a new congregation in Griffintown.⁷¹ The American Presbyterian Church erected a functional-looking mission building on the site of the original chapel (Figure 5), and the missionary placed in charge of the work reported that there was room for "a general evangelistic or mission work to be carried on, to much better success than a

regularly organized church."⁷² Thus, the Inspector Street Mission continued along similar lines as before, preaching the Gospel to the "needy and neglected classes" and undertaking various educational and philanthropic endeavours.⁷³ Despite the fact that better-off families continued to move out to the suburbs, the congregation managed to build itself up again over time, and in the early twentieth century successfully lobbied to have its longtime pastor, Mr John Currie, ordained so that he could serve communion and so that the chapel could keep its own registers.⁷⁴ The mission congregation continued to have representation on the Board of Managers, although at one point

"the question was brought up has [sic] to wether [sic] this Board had any power or not . . . has [sic] the Board has [sic] a whole present thought their [sic] were no need to come just to hear the amount of collection."⁷⁵

Such comments reflect the desire on the part of working-class members of mission congregations to exert influence on the places of worship to which they belonged. On the whole then, the congregations housed by the Inspector Street Mission seem to have been somewhat more prosperous, assertive, and up-

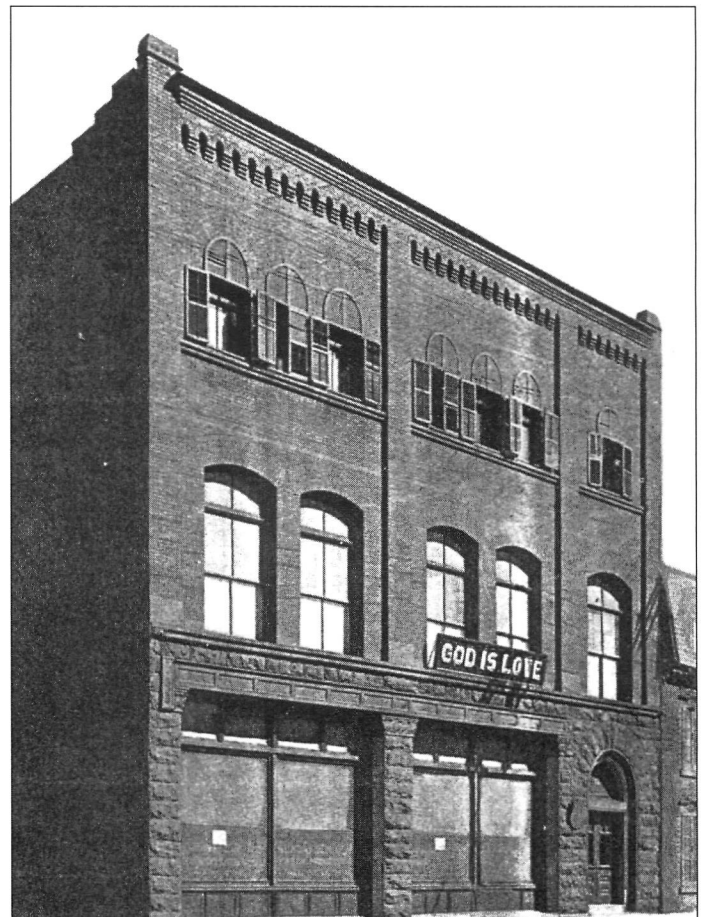


Figure 5: Inspector Street Mission (rebuilt 1893).
Source: ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC,
Contenant 183, A375.

wardly mobile than those of the Nazareth Street Mission, although the American Presbyterian Church never ceased to use the mission as a base for evangelistic and charitable work.

St. Mark's Church was initially built to replace a mission station that had been started in Griffintown in 1864. The Presbytery had wanted to erect a building in this district for a long time, feeling that the Church of Scotland families in the neighbourhood needed "the ordinances of Christianity brought closer to their doors."⁷⁶ A \$2,000 gift by Mr William Dow for the purchase of a site, as well as donations from members of various city congregations and from individuals in Scotland and Liverpool, made it possible to carry out the church building scheme.⁷⁷ St. Mark's Church appears to have catered to a somewhat better-off congregation than the missions: a list of the church's initial members included skilled workers, such as boltmakers, machinists, and fitters, as well as those who could be considered to belong to the lower-middle classes, including clerks and local shop owners.⁷⁸ It should be noted, however, that the Rev. John Nichols accepted the call to become minister of the church in 1876 because of "the many opportunities for spreading the Gospel tidings among the working classes"⁷⁹ and that his ability to secure "a fairly good and regular attendance in a district where such attendance at church services is hard to secure" was attributed to his constant visitation of parishioners.⁸⁰ Unlike the two missions, St. Mark's had an ordained minister and its own registers throughout the period under study and was opened primarily with the intention of serving the church-going population belonging to the Church of Scotland. St. Mark's also had its own session, as well as a board of management, and was therefore responsible for its own spiritual and temporal affairs. It initially raised money through pew rents, before shifting to the envelope system in the late 1870s.⁸¹ When switching to the envelope system it was estimated that eight dollars per annum would be needed from each member and adherent to keep the temporal affairs of the church in order – a sizable sum in a district where labourers lived in dwellings with assessed yearly rents in the \$30–\$40 range, and individuals with slightly better-paying jobs such as carters, tailors, and policemen lived in dwellings with assessed rents in the \$50–\$60 range.⁸² The congregation struggled to raise such sums, and for much of the period received financial assistance from Presbytery funds.⁸³

Like other congregations in the area, St. Mark's suffered from the rapid loss of members in the late 1880s. Although the congregation appears to have become self-sustaining for a brief period in the early twentieth century, assistance was accepted in 1912 from St. Paul's, one of the city's wealthiest uptown congregations. St. Paul's had recently handed over its mission in Point St. Charles to another congregation and was searching for a new outlet for its charitable activities. Under the agreement between the two congregations, St. Paul's was to assist St. Mark's financially and was to help extend mission work in the Griffintown area.⁸⁴ The need for diplomacy when engaging in this type of arrangement between two independent congregations of such unequal socio-economic status was evident in the remarks of the minister of St. Paul's, the Rev. Dr Bruce Taylor, to a joint meeting of the sessions of the two congregations. He emphasized that "there was no desire to suggest interference with the

status or independence of St. Mark's as a self-sustaining congregation." It was "simply that St. Paul's wanted an outlet for its activities, while St. Mark's might be able to extend its work with a little assistance."⁸⁵ The desire on the part of St. Mark's congregation to avoid becoming simply a mission station for an uptown congregation reflected sentiments similar to those expressed by Inspector Street members prior to their defection to form Westminster Church.

The sectarian divisions within Presbyterianism, and the desire on the part of uptown congregations to retain control of their missions, hindered efforts to amalgamate the various Presbyterian concerns in the area. This ensured the continued dependence of all three places of worship – and in particular the two missions – on uptown churches for their survival. The problems that this entailed in a working-class district that lacked a rapidly growing population were recognized from the start. It was noted in the late 1860s, for example, that attendance at the Inspector Street Mission had diminished as a result of missions being established in the vicinity by other churches.⁸⁶ The creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875, which brought St. Mark's into the same church body as the Crescent Street congregation, initially sparked discussions about the possibility of uniting the Nazareth Street Mission and St. Mark's.⁸⁷ The amalgamation did not take place, and despite numerous subsequent attempts to consolidate Presbyterian work in Griffintown, it was not until 1916 that Nazareth Street and St. Mark's were amalgamated, and even then the Inspector Street Mission continued its separate operations.⁸⁸

Class differences within the Griffintown community may provide an additional explanation of why it proved so difficult to effect amalgamations. In the case of the proposed St. Mark's-Nazareth Street merger, the defensive position taken by the trustees and session of St. Mark's suggests a group of individuals anxious to avoid the dependency experienced by those, presumably less well-off families and individuals, who worshipped in missions. Thus, the members of St. Mark's saw themselves as holding their own in an area where they were unhappily situated as a result of the "considerable overlapping of church and mission."⁸⁹ Being able to manage and finance their own church affairs differentiated them from those who worshipped in missions that also served as centres for the distribution of charity by uptown congregation members. Members of the Nazareth Street Mission may, in turn, have worried that they would not become full partners in an amalgamated church, despite assurances that they would be admitted on an "equality of position and privilege" with the members of St. Mark's.⁹⁰ It therefore appears that each Presbyterian church and mission in the area served a slightly different niche within the community, and that the level of autonomy granted to a church or mission was associated with the socio-economic status of its members. In a district like Griffintown, the lines between church and mission were easily blurred, and better-off inhabitants of the area were clearly anxious to maintain these boundaries.

The Anglican Church in Griffintown

The Anglican churches, with their better-implemented parish system and more hierarchical structure, seemed, initially, to belong

to a simpler system in which class issues and competing forces within the denomination would be less likely to play a significant role than in the Presbyterian churches. Upon closer examination, however, we discover a history of residential moves, upward mobility, and congregational reorganization in Griffintown with decided similarities to the Presbyterian case.

A chapel, later called St. Stephen's, had been built to serve Anglicans living in Griffintown in the 1840s. Thus, they had their own place of worship long before their Presbyterian counterparts. When the church was rebuilt after a fire in 1850, an appeal for outside help emphasized that the church was "emphatically the church of the poor."⁹¹ In 1864, St. Stephen's lost a considerable number of its (presumably wealthier) seat holders living in the upper part of the city as well as its minister to the newly erected Church of St. James the Apostle (see Figure 1).⁹² In timing and geography, this move was similar to that of the Presbyterian churches that moved uptown, but in the case of St. Stephen's the parish structure at least ensured that the original church, its parish registers, and its system of church governance were left for the use of communicants continuing to live in the area. In the 1880s, St. Stephen's was rebuilt not far from its original site.⁹³ The new Gothic church was much grander and architecturally up-to-date than its predecessor, and outshone any of the various Presbyterian structures in the neighbourhood (Figure 6). Despite a generous donation of land for the new church and substantial contributions by wealthy churchmen elsewhere in the city, the rector later maintained that the people for whom the new church had been built were "a thrifty class of people, people who were living in their own houses," who would have resented an appeal for assistance being made on the grounds that their church was located in a poor district.⁹⁴ At that time, there were, he argued, very few Church of England residents in the parish who were not pew holders or seat holders, although he admitted that a certain number of poor people attended less regularly, often when they wanted financial assistance.

What was not foreseen at the time was that it would eventually prove difficult for the congregation to maintain this large and handsome church building in an increasingly deprived area. As with the Presbyterians, the severe floods of the late 1880s resulted in an exodus of church members to the higher levels of the city, removing them to a distance of from one to three miles from the church.⁹⁵ The rector, Archdeacon Lewis Evans, realized that he was losing individuals upon whose financial support the church depended, leaving behind only those described as needing "mission work to be done among them."⁹⁶ The Rev. James Carmichael, Dean of Montreal, acknowledged that rapid changes were taking place in the downtown portion of the city and was probably thinking of St. Stephen's when he noted that the whole aspect of at least one downtown parish had been transformed over the course of only a few years.⁹⁷ At a special vestry meeting called to discuss the church's future, the Rev. Evans stated that the church had been struggling both numerically and financially since the floods. He therefore urged the vestry to abandon the current location and move into a new chapel that was being built in "a splendid section of the city", which would provide them with a field which promised "to be one of growth and progress" (see Figure 1).⁹⁸ The proposed location

was not far from the Westminster Presbyterian Church, suggesting that this was an area to which many better-off inhabitants of Griffintown were relocating. The removal of St. Stephen's congregation from Griffintown to the new site was permissible because two years previously, with relocation in mind, the pewholders of St. Stephen's had petitioned to have the parish boundaries of St. Stephen's altered to include a non-contiguous area in the West End of the city.⁹⁹ Thus, despite the fact that the new chapel was located far from the original church, the move was technically justified on the grounds that it simply involved a relocation from one section of the parish to another.¹⁰⁰

The new chapel was opened in 1898, with eighty-seven of the approximately one hundred seat holders transferring from the old church to the new.¹⁰¹ Despite the fact that the vestry passed a motion stating that the old church would be placed in the charge of a clergyman so that religious services could continue, the issue was later raised of obtaining assets from the old church in order to help finance the new building.¹⁰² This was met with resistance on the part of those remaining in the Griffintown district.¹⁰³ They gained the support of Archbishop Bond who sympathized with the plight of poorer families who had been left behind in large churches that they could not afford to maintain, having been abandoned by those who "following the tide of fashion" had taken up residences in the west and north of the city.¹⁰⁴ In 1901, the parish was divided, with the annexed portion taking the name of St. Stephen's and the old Griffintown parish becoming St. Edward's.¹⁰⁵ Matters did not, however, rest there. Despite the fact that the congregation of St. Edward's was managing to support itself through voluntary donations, having rebuilt itself from 129 families in 1898 to 281 families in 1905, a report to the Executive Committee of Synod in 1904 suggested that St. Edward's was "a lofty and imposing structure altogether too large for the needs of the parish."¹⁰⁶ Pointing out that the three local Presbyterian places of worship were housed in small, cheap buildings, the report recommended that St. Edward's be sold and replaced by something more suited to its locality. As a result of continued threats to sell St. Edward's, a lengthy and complex dispute ensued over the ownership of the church property.¹⁰⁷ It was argued that the original benefactors of the old St. Stephen's (now St. Edward's) Church had contributed on the understanding that it would benefit "persons of very limited means and wage-earners" living in Griffintown, rather than a "comparatively well-to-do and even affluent population" such as that represented by the new St. Stephen's.¹⁰⁸ This argument was ultimately accepted by the courts and it was decided that the congregation of the new St. Stephen's Church did not have the right to sell the old church against the wishes of those who continued to worship there.¹⁰⁹

The case of St. Stephen's (later called St. Edward's) parish demonstrates that the Anglican system of organization made it more difficult for better-off congregation members who left areas like Griffintown, which already possessed established parish churches, to take their churches with them. Individuals were instead encouraged to participate in the creation of new suburban parishes such as that of St. James the Apostle, while leaving the original resources behind for the benefit of those remaining in downtown districts. Attempts were nevertheless made to subvert



Figure 6: *St. Stephen's Anglican Church, Haymarket Square, during the flood of 1887, with St. Mark's Presbyterian Church in the background.*

Source: With permission of the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives, MP-0000.236.8.

the system, as in the case of the new St. Stephen's congregation in Westmount. Having all the Anglicans in the Griffintown district gathered together into one congregation also made it easier for them to raise the resources required to sustain an independent church. This meant that Anglicans in Griffintown were less likely than their Presbyterian counterparts to end up as part of a mission congregation. While providing some with greater

scope for self-determination, this may also have had the unintended consequence of limiting the access of others to the types of charitable assistance that were available through missions. It also meant that over time, as upwardly mobile members of the working classes withdrew to better neighbourhoods, a number of poorer congregations in Montreal were left with large and imposing churches that were too expensive for those

remaining behind to maintain without assistance from Diocesan funds. Despite finding itself in this situation, St. Edward's fought to retain its old church building and found the means to carry on.

Conclusion

The emergence of both working-class suburbs and middle-class neighbourhoods in Montreal by the 1860s, and the associated transformation of class relations that accompanied the city's industrialization, triggered a major restructuring of the provision of Protestant religious accommodation. Here we have focused on the impact of these changes on Presbyterians and Anglicans living in Griffintown. An initial period of adjustment, which witnessed a flurry of mission and church building on the part of various Presbyterian groups in the late 1860s and early 1870s, completed the process of bringing into being the Presbyterian and Anglican institutions that would continue to serve the inhabitants of Griffintown for the remainder of the century and beyond. These institutions nevertheless continued to evolve as they coped with ongoing challenges and continued transformation of the urban and social environment.

There were differences, but also some striking similarities, between Presbyterian and Anglican responses to the changes taking place. Denominational structures had an important impact on the decisions that were made concerning the erection of places of worship, as well as influencing decisions about church relocation. Middle-class Presbyterians were much more likely to desert an area like Griffintown, and then send resources back into the district from the uptown churches, building and administering missions, and supporting relatively humble churches. In contrast, the Anglican parish system made it more difficult for congregation members moving to more desirable parts of town to take the "religious assets" of an area with them. Meanwhile, the deterioration of the urban environment took its toll on Anglicans and Presbyterians alike, resulting in the defection of the upwardly mobile to more desirable parts of town. This resulted in the congregations of St. Stephen's and the Inspector Street Mission making very similar "collective moves" to the west in the late nineteenth century. While Presbyterian arrangements in Griffintown provided a means of channeling resources from one part of the city to another, some felt that the practice of having luxurious uptown churches for the rich and dreary downtown missions for the poor was false to the Christian spirit.¹¹⁰ The Anglicans made a more concerted effort to prevent these divisions from becoming as visibly entrenched, but were eventually forced to confront similar issues as churches in deteriorating areas were deserted by those who had previously supported them.

While there is strong evidence that the principal denominations in Canada were increasingly dominated by middle-class influence during the second half of the nineteenth century, I have found little evidence that this resulted in any large-scale abandonment of the mainline churches and missions in Griffintown during this period, in spite of the deterioration of the urban environment that took place during the 1880s and beyond. The churches and missions lost many of those who had previously supported them financially, but this did not result in any noticeable decline in demand for church accommodation.¹¹¹ Even

when the Inspector Street Mission and St. Stephen's Church lost almost their entire congregations as a result of uptown moves, the old places of worship were rapidly recolonized either by new arrivals to the area, or by those who were previously unchurched. Clearly, levels of religious participation among the working classes were lower than those of the wealthier classes and certainly never reached the levels wished for by contemporary clergymen. The heightened concern that was voiced by clergymen and middle-class churchgoers from the 1850s and 1860s onwards, however, could as easily have been generated by the feeling that class relations were in flux, and by the moral and practical difficulties posed by the emergence of socially segregated neighbourhoods, as by dramatic changes in working-class church attendance.

While it is difficult to determine whether any significant relationship existed between industrialization, proletarianization, and long-term trends in working-class church attendance, it is clear that the churches and missions in Griffintown came to reflect the social divisions that had emerged in an urban industrial society. Districts like Griffintown challenged the straightforward way in which imagined dichotomies such as uptown-downtown, rich-poor, and moral-immoral were inscribed onto the urban landscape. Despite the broad designation of Griffintown by outsiders as one of the poorer and more irreligious sections of the city, closer investigation of the churches and missions in the area revealed that the Protestant population had a diverse range of needs when it came to the provision of church accommodation. These findings are consistent with those for cities such as London, where designation of large zones of the city as immoral and heathen by middle-class contemporaries does not appear to have done justice to the much more complex and differentiated reality.¹¹² Protestants in Griffintown experienced varying levels of involvement in the spiritual and temporal affairs of local places of worship, depending on which church or mission they attended, each of which catered to specific socio-economic niches within the working-class community.

The Protestant places of worship in Griffintown not only reflected the social divisions within society, but also provided an arena for the ongoing definition and negotiation of class relations in the city – both within the working classes as well as among classes. While some members of the working classes may have joined newer religious sects such as the Salvation Army, the fact remained that in areas like Griffintown, a significant number of Anglicans and Presbyterians decided to soldier on within more traditional denominations. The missions provided a direct means by which needy individuals living in the poorer areas were brought into contact with their uptown counterparts. These exchanges were framed within a well-defined context of unequal power relations between those running the missions and those attending them, which may have reinforced feelings of dependency and inadequacy on the part of the poor. In contrast, the ability of those attending the churches to manage and finance their own places of worship served to differentiate them from their neighbours who could not afford to take on such responsibilities. The right to self-determination was zealously guarded, even when congregations were subject to financial strain as a result. These findings are in line with British evidence that has

found "considerable evidence . . . of proletarian self-management in religious organizations and activities for all periods in the nineteenth century."¹¹³ Their greater independence also provided them with opportunities for defining their own congregational identities apart from those of the middle classes. Alternately, the desire for upward mobility on the part of some working-class congregation members may have encouraged them to emulate the religious habits of the middle classes. In certain cases, large portions of congregations appear to have moved up in the world together, and to have taken their places of worship with them as they moved out of declining neighbourhoods. Such events generated considerable debate over the respective rights to church accommodation of those remaining in the old neighbourhood and those moving out. Over time, these events would have had a cumulative impact. While not undermining the religious significance that Christian worship had for many members of the working classes, this suggests that the churches and missions in working-class areas also played a more complex and ambivalent role than is generally recognized in the ongoing evolution of social relations both within and between classes.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Sherry Olson, Jason Gilliland, Robert Lewis, Brian Young, Janis Zubalik, John Zucchi, and three anonymous referees for their many helpful comments on this paper in its various stages of evolution. I am also very grateful for the assistance of Sophie Lemercier and Luc Lepage of the Montreal Diocesan Archives and of the archivists at the Archives Nationales du Québec. Financial support was provided by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Notes

1. *Evening Telegraph and Daily Commercial Advertiser*, 1 June 1869.
2. For further discussion of the emergence of a pervasive evangelical Protestant culture in Canada, see Robert K. Burkinshaw, "Aspects of Canadian Evangelical Historiography," *The Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1995): 181–95; Marguerite Van Die, "'The Marks of a Genuine Revival': Religion, Social Change, Gender, and Community in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario," *The Canadian Historical Review* 79(3) (1998): 524–63; and William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
3. Robert A. Orsi, "Introduction: Crossing the City Line," in *Gods of the City*, ed. Robert A. Orsi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 16.
4. The Anglicans and Presbyterians were the City of Montreal's largest Protestant denominations, making up approximately 40 percent and 30 percent of the Protestant population respectively (tabulated from the *Census of Canada, 1861–1901*). Anglicans are included as "Protestants," in keeping with contemporary usage of the term in Montreal.
5. For this type of approach, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement, 1812–1870* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971).
6. Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 60, 160.
7. Brian Clarke, "English-Speaking Canada from 1854," in *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, eds. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 272.
8. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 209.
9. William Westfall and Malcolm Thurlby, "Church Architecture and Urban Space: The Development of Ecclesiastical Forms in Nineteenth-Century On-

tario," in *Old Ontario: Essays in Honour of J.M.S. Careless*, eds. David Keane and Colin Read (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), 142.

10. S.D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 423.
11. S.D. Clark, "Religious Organization and the Rise of the Canadian Nation," *Report of the Canadian Historical Association* (1944), 91.
12. Neil Semple, "The Impact of Urbanization on the Methodist Church of Canada, 1854–1884," *Papers of the Canadian Society of Church History* (1976): 52–53.
13. Clarke, "English-Speaking Canada from 1854," 275.
14. H. Keith Markell, "Canadian Protestantism Against the Background of Urbanization and Industrialization in the Period from 1885 to 1914" (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1971), Vol. 3, 635–38. Markell has provided the most thorough study to date of the relationship between Protestantism and urbanization and industrialization in the Canadian context.
15. Hugh McLeod, *Piety and Poverty: Working-Class Religion in Berlin, London, and New York, 1870–1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1996), xxi.
16. E.R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), 177. For further discussion of this position see Callum G. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," *Urban History Yearbook* (1988): 3.
17. Hugh McLeod, *Religion and Society in England, 1850–1914* (London: MacMillan Press, 1996), 3–7.
18. Callum G. Brown, "The Mechanism of Religious Growth in Urban Societies: British Cities Since the Eighteenth Century," in *European Religion in the Age of Great Cities, 1830–1930*, ed. Hugh McLeod (London: Routledge, 1995), 241.
19. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," 10.
20. McLeod, *Religion and Society*, 178–79, 221.
21. Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 14.
22. *Ibid.*, 27, 216.
23. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," 2.
24. David Ward, "The Early Victorian City in England and America: On the Parallel Development of an Urban Image," in *European Settlement and Development in North America: Essays on Geographical Change in Honour and Memory of Andrew Hill Clark*, ed. James R. Gibson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 170–89.
25. *Montreal Witness*, 13 December 1854.
26. For the sake of simplicity, the study area is referred to in the text as "Griffintown" although its boundaries differ somewhat from those of the district traditionally known by this name. According to one definition, Griffintown was "bounded on the east by McGill Street, on the north by St. Maurice, Chaboillez Square, and Notre Dame, on the west by McCord, down to William, and by the latter street westward to Guy. On the south it was bounded by the Lachine Canal" ("A Lost Town," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 November 1936).
27. Robert D. Lewis, "The Development of an Early Suburban Industrial District: The Montreal Ward of Saint-Ann, 1851–71," *Urban History Review* 19(3) (1991): 166–80. Note that throughout this text, I use "north" and other cardinal points as they are colloquially used by Montrealers. Thus, one walks "north" from the St. Lawrence River to reach Mount Royal.
28. Archives Nationales du Québec (hereafter ANQ), P628, Fonds Interdenominational Committee of Montreal (hereafter IDCM), Contenant 624, 3/2/1 Minutes of the Protestant Ministerial Association of Montreal 1854–1876, 7 November 1865. Please note that all ANQ references refer to documents that form part of the United Church of Canada – Montreal and Ottawa Conference Archives, currently housed at the Montreal branch of the ANQ.
29. ANQ, P628, Fonds IDCM, Contenant 624, 3/2/1, 13 February 1866.
30. For discussion of this question from the Irish-Catholic perspective, see Rosalyn Trigger, "The Geopolitics of the Irish-Catholic Parish in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Journal of Historical Geography* 27(4) (2001): 553–72.

Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City

31. *Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal – Annual Reports 1885* (Montreal, 1886), 29.
32. Robert Lewis, "The Segregated City: Class, Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901," *Journal of Urban History* 17(2) (1991): 142.
33. Lewis, "The Segregated City," 142–43. Lewis also describes a zone dominated by the bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie, and an intermediate "mixed-class" buffer zone.
34. Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson, "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 26(2) (1998): 13.
35. Herbert B. Ames, *The City Below the Hill* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972 reprint), 69.
36. *Ibid.*, Map H, 70–71.
37. *Census of Canada, 1861, 1891, 1901*; Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993), 41.
38. *Census of Canada, 1861–1901*.
39. Montreal Diocesan Archives (hereafter MDA), Fonds St. Edward's Parish (hereafter STE), Copy of Report re. St. Stephen's and St. Edward's, Executive Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1904. Note that the MDA is in the process of changing their archival reference system. I have included the new record group numbers when available, otherwise I have simply used the fonds name.
40. For further discussion of these floods, see Christopher G. Boone, "Language Politics and Flood Control in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Environmental History* 1(3) (1996): 70–85.
41. Samuel Lane Loomis, *Modern Cities and Their Religious Problems* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company, 1887), 198.
42. The creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada officially brought the various branches of Presbyterianism together in 1875, although some congregations chose not to join including the American Presbyterian Church which continued to belong to a New York Presbytery.
43. *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1883), 519; *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1909), 36.
44. For further discussion of the uptown relocation of middle-class Protestants, see David B. Hanna, "Creation of an Early Victorian Suburb," *Urban History Review* 2 (October 1980): 38–64; Roderick MacLeod, *Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile, 1840–1895* (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1997).
45. The five congregations were Knox (previously the Free Church congregation worshipping in the old St. Gabriel's Church, 1865), American Presbyterian (1866), Erskine (1866), St. Paul's (1868), and Côté Street (which became Crescent Street, 1878).
46. These moves were presumably facilitated by the fact that the original Parish of Montreal was not officially subdivided into ten separate parishes (or rectories) until 1872, although each of the various churches within the historic parish appears to have had its own district by the early 1860s.
47. Nathan Mair, *The Story of Montreal City Mission* (Montreal: United Church of Canada, Montreal Presbytery, 1985), 1–4.
48. *Ibid.*, 4–6; *Montreal Witness*, 13 December 1854.
49. Mair, *The Story of Montreal City Mission*, 9.
50. *Report of the Deacon's Court of the Côté Street Church for Eight Months Ending 31st December, 1868* (Montreal, 1868), 7; *Report of the Deacon's Court of the Côté Street Church for the Year Ended 31st December, 1869* (Montreal, 1870), 7, 23.
51. *The Presbyterian*, May 1871, 115.
52. The congregation of the American Presbyterian Church included a large number of Americans, and its sympathies lay with the Free and Secession branches of Presbyterianism rather than with the Church of Scotland. See David C. Knowles, "The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1822–1866" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1957), 215. The Crescent Street Church had been formed following the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, when the evangelical wing of the Church had separated over the issue of secular involvement in church affairs. See D. Fraser, *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Côté Street, Montreal* (Montreal: J.C. Becket, 1855).
53. *Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal – Annual Reports for the Year Ending 31st December, 1897* (Montreal, 1898), 36.
54. *Montreal Daily Witness*, 10 September 1912.
55. *Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal – Annual Reports 1885* (Montreal, 1886), 29.
56. *Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal – Annual Reports 1889* (Montreal, 1890), 36.
57. *Canadian Illustrated News*, 27 May 1871.
58. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds American Presbyterian Church (hereafter APC), Contenant 173, A176 Minutes of the American Presbyterian Home Mission Committee 1866–1878, Newspaper clipping inserted 11 May 1870.
59. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 173, A176, 29 April 1868.
60. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 183, A380 *Semi-Centennial Celebration of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal. Historical Sermon Preached by the Pastor, Rev. George H. Wells, May 18, 1873* (Montreal: D. Bentley and Co., 1873), 43.
61. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 173, A176a Report of the Home Missionary Committee of the American Presbyterian Church, Montreal for the year ending 30th April, 1874.
62. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 178, A243 Benevolent Fund Reports 1876–1893, 7 November 1882; also Contenant 181, Correspondence and Receipts 1880s, Report of the Treasurer of the Home Mission Committee (W.S. Patterson) to the Benevolent Fund Committee of the American Presbyterian Church, 7 November 1882.
63. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 166, A31 Minutes of the American Presbyterian Church Session 1874–1893, 30 March 1887; 28 November 1887.
64. ANQ, P603, S2, SS18, Fonds Inspector Street Mission (hereafter ISM), Contenant 128, ISM/2 Minute Book of the Board of Managers of the Inspector Street Chapel 1889–1896, 2 December 1889; 1 December 1890.
65. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 182, A302 Inspector Street Chapel, Letter from E. Ardley (Secretary Inspector Street Chapel) to the Members of Session (American Presbyterian Church), 8 June 1891; P603, S2, SS18, Fonds ISM, Contenant 128, ISM/2, 4 June 1891.
66. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 166, A31, 3 November 1891.
67. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 182, A343/2 Copy of Minute from Presbytery of Montreal meeting, 10 December 1891.
68. Presbyterian College Library, Montreal (hereafter PCL), *Minutes of Meeting of the Presbytery of Montreal (of the Presbyterian Church in Canada) 1884–1900*, March 1892, 3.
69. R.G. Macbeth, *Our Task In Canada* (Toronto: The Westminster Co, 1912), 138.
70. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," 9.
71. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 183, A411/1 *Manual of the American Presbyterian Church, Montreal* (Montreal, c.1898), 43.
72. ANQ, P603, S2, SS18, Fonds ISM, Contenant 128, ISM/2, 31 October 1892.
73. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 183, A411/1, 26.
74. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 165, A33 Minutes of the American Presbyterian Church Session 1904–1913, 27 March 1908.
75. ANQ, P603, S2, SS18, Fonds ISM, Contenant 128, ISM/2, 1 April 1895.
76. *Montreal Daily Witness*, 25 October 1869; *The Presbyterian*, May 1871.

Protestant Restructuring in the Canadian City

77. *The Presbyterian*, December 1869; ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds St. Mark's Church (hereafter STM), Contenant 336, STM/5 St. Mark's Miscellaneous, List of Contributors to St. Mark's Church to 23rd October 1869.
78. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/2a Minutes of St. Mark's Church Session 1870–1885, 26 May 1871. Occupations are from Lovell's City Directory for Montreal, 1870–71, 1871–72.
79. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/1a Minutes of the Board of Management of St. Mark's Church 1873–1878, Newspaper clipping inserted c. September 1876.
80. PCL, *Minutes of Meeting of the Presbytery of Montreal (of the Presbyterian Church in Canada) 1884–1900*, June 1898, 5.
81. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/1a, 6 June 1877; 8 November 1877; 21 November 1877; 29 December 1877.
82. Dorothy Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867–1896" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1969), 204–5, 304–5. The figures quoted are based on Cross's values for 1881. For more detailed information on rent scales in Montreal, see Sherry Olson and David Hanna, "Social Change in Montreal, 1842–1901," in *Historical Atlas of Canada: The Land Transformed 1800–1891*, ed. R. Louis Gentilcore (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), Vol. 2, Plate 49.
83. See, for example, PCL, *Minutes of Meeting of the Presbytery of Montreal (of the Presbyterian Church in Canada) 1884–1900*, January 1885, March 1895.
84. *St. Paul's Church, Montreal – Reports for the Year Ended 31st December, 1912* (Montreal: Mitchell and Wilson, 1913), 11.
85. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/1e Minutes of the Board of Management of St. Mark's Church 1909–1915, 10 November 1912.
86. ANQ, P603, S2, SS14, Fonds APC, Contenant 173, A176, 3 November 1869.
87. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/2a, 7 February 1876; also STM/1a, 26 March 1876.
88. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 335, STM/1f Minutes of the Board of Management of St. Mark's Church 1915–1924, 3 January 1916 (written as 1915 by mistake).
89. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 336, STM/3-1905 Annual Reports for 1905, St. Mark's Session Report.
90. ANQ, P603, S2, SS101, Fonds STM, Contenant 336, STM/3-1911 Annual Reports for 1911, Minutes of St. Mark's Congregational Meeting, 25 March 1911.
91. *Montreal Gazette*, 24 September 1850.
92. *Montreal Herald and Daily Gazette*, 27 January 1864; 30 January 1864.
93. MDA, Fonds St. Stephen's Parish, Westmount (hereafter STS), *Historical Sketch of St. Stephen's Parish* (c.1907).
94. MDA, Fonds STE, Documents relating to the case of St. Stephen's vs. St. Edward's as published and prepared for transmission to the Supreme Court of Canada (c.1910), Cross-examination of the Very Rev. T.F.L. Evans, 28 February 1908, 58–65. Quote is from p. 59.
95. MDA, Fonds STS, St. Stephen's Church Vestry Minute Book 1875–1898, 7 February 1898.
96. MDA, Fonds Synod of the Diocese of Montreal Parish Boundary Records (hereafter PBR), Parish Dossiers, Folder for St. Stephen's, "Replies to His Lordship's Questions," Presumably written by Archdeacon Lewis Evans, Recorder of St. Stephen's, to Bishop Bond, n.d. but probably c.1896; Fonds STS, St. Stephen's Church Vestry Minute Book, 1875–1898, 7 February 1898.
97. *Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1893), 113.
98. MDA, Fonds STS, St. Stephen's Church Vestry Minute Book 1875–1898, 7 February 1898.
99. MDA, Fonds PBR, Parish Dossiers, Folder for St. Stephen's, Petition by (14) pewholders of St. Stephen's to the Bishop of Montreal to alter the boundaries of their parish, 16 March 1896; also Letter from Strachan Bethune to the Bishop of Montreal, 17 March 1896; Fonds STS, St. Stephen's Church Vestry Minute Book 1875–1898, 28 January 1895; 7 February 1898.
100. MDA, Fonds PBR, Parish Dossiers, Folder for St. Stephen's, Letter from Strachan Bethune to the Bishop of Montreal, 17 March 1896.
101. MDA, Fonds STE, Documents relating to the case of St. Stephen's vs. St. Edward's as published and prepared for transmission to the Supreme Court of Canada (c.1910), Examination in Chief of the Very Rev. T.F.L. Evans, 28 February 1908, 55; *Montreal Daily Star*, 16 April 1898.
102. MDA, Fonds STS, St. Stephen's Church Vestry Minute Book 1875–1898, 7 February 1898; St. Stephen's (Westmount) Vestry Minute Book 1899–1926, 12 June 1900; 26 November 1900.
103. MDA, RG 204 c.2, Fonds Diocesan Council (hereafter DC), Minute Book of the Executive Committee 1904–1911, Letter from W.B. Bond, Archbishop of Montreal, to the Rev. Canon Baylis, Secretary of Synod, dated 3 April 1905 (inserted 9 May 1905).
104. *Proceedings of the Forty-First Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1900), 19.
105. MDA, Fonds PBR, Parish Dossiers, Folder for St. Edward's, Decree for detaching a portion of the parish of St. Stephen and creating a new parish, 12 January 1901.
106. MDA, Fonds STE, Copy of Report re. St. Stephen's and St. Edward's, Executive Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1904; RG 204 c.2, Fonds DC, Letter from W.B. Bond, Archbishop of Montreal, to the Rev. Canon Baylis, Secretary of Synod, dated 3 April 1905 (inserted 9 May 1905).
107. See MDA, Fonds STE, Documents relating to the case of St. Stephen's vs. St. Edward's as published and prepared for transmission to the Supreme Court of Canada (c.1910).
108. MDA, Fonds STE, Documents relating to the case of St. Stephen's vs. St. Edward's as published and prepared for transmission to the Supreme Court of Canada (c.1910), Answer to Intervention, 10 May 1907, 19.
109. *Dominion Law Reports* (Toronto: Canada Law Book Co., 1912), Vol. 2, 594–609. See also "The Church in Weredale Park," *Montreal Gazette*, 16 November 1974.
110. Markell, "Canadian Protestantism," 617–18.
111. This is based on an examination of the official denominational statistics published for St. Stephen's/St. Edward's and St. Mark's.
112. McLeod, *Piety and Poverty*, 38.
113. Brown, "Did Urbanization Secularize Britain?," 10.