

**PEOPLE OF THE COVENANT:
DUTCH REFORMED IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA AFTER WORLD WAR II**

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Presented to
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of
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**by
MICHAEL DENNIS FALLON**

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ABSTRACT

People of the Covenant: Dutch Reformed Immigration into Canada After World War II

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Following the Second World War, thousands of Dutch citizens emigrated to Canada. Included within this wave of newcomers was a strong contingent of Orthodox Reformed. To the surprise of many, these immigrants did not quickly melt into mainstream Canadian culture as had been assumed. Instead, this group stubbornly held themselves separate from many aspects of Canadian society, in some instances going so far as to recreate their own sophisticated social structure.

In a nutshell, this thesis tries to answer a very simple question: why did this band of Reformed immigrants set themselves apart to the extent they did. As such, it examines a variety of stimuli: articulate expression, inarticulate assumptions, theology, philosophy and seemingly archaic, self-perceptions. This paper does not purport to be comprehensive. One of the arguments presented here is how complicated and difficult it is to grasp the worldview of any particular group. With this in mind, this paper explores those elements that bind, as well as those that cause schism. In other words, it examines unity and disunity. This thesis presents a new approach to examining the Dutch Orthodox Reformed who joined the Christian Reformed Church in North America. This approach focuses around ideas, most notably the concept of the covenant and how it manifested itself in the worldview of the Reformed immigrants.

Preface and Acknowledgements

I would like to take this time to publicly acknowledge and thank those whose assistance and support have been crucial to me in the conception and completion of this thesis. The first person I would like to recognize is Dr. Terry Crowley. During my time at the University of Guelph, I have been one of Dr. Crowley's students as well as one of his teaching assistants. During each of these endeavours Professor Crowley helped me to hone the skills needed to attempt such an undertaking. There is however more to doing a thesis than having the skills to do it. If anything, to complete such a task as a Ph.D. is as much about perseverance and character as skill. In this context, I would also like to extend my thanks to Professor Crowley. In the complicated task of trying to juggle family, work and thesis, Professor Crowley was always there, quietly giving me direction and support. I took strength from that fact that he felt my work was significant and that it was important that I see it through to the end.

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I would also like to express my thanks to the many women and men who took the time to share their immigrant story with me. Usually conducted in familial settings. They

were a pleasant experience with the telling of interesting and humorous stories over coffee and *gebak* around the kitchen table. Quite often, I found it deeply moving. In the course of my research it was not unusual to look across the kitchen table in front of me to see old eyes, red rimmed and whelmed up with tears. People who share the dreams, challenges, fears, disappointments and tragedies of a lifetime open up their hearts. I found them doing much more for me than I could have ever expected.

My final thanks I extend toward my immediate family, my wife Eileen and our two children, Sean and Simon. To have a spouse and father do a Ph.D. thesis is not easy. It is truly a case of sacrifice. As a doctoral student your life revolves around your work, and family time suffers. This affects children perhaps most of all. For most of their short lives the word 'thesis' has had a particular meaning for my boys. In short, it usually meant "dad cannot play with us today." Thank you for your patience and understanding, Sean and Simon. And finally I would like to thank Eileen. I could not have arrived at this point in my career without your love and support. You have stood by me and I would like to dedicate this thesis to you.

People of the Covenant:
Dutch Reformed Immigration into Canada After World War II

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Names and Abbreviations

A.R.P.	Anti-Revolutionary Party
Can. R.C.	Canadian Reformed Church
C.L. A.C.	Christian Labour Association of Canada
C.R.C.	Christian Reformed Church
F.R.C.	Free Reformed Church
N.I.V.	New International Version (Bible)
N.R.C.	Netherlands Reformed Congregations
O.A.C.S.	Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools
R.C. A.	Reformed Church of America (also the Reformed Church of Canada)

Chapter I

People of the Covenant: Overview

Introduction (A)

The hallowed adage that 'actions speak louder than words' is particularly germane when studying immigrant communities. For the immigrant, the physical and intellectual separation from one's home country has often functioned as a purifying crucible, a refiner's fire. Irish historian, M.A.G. O'Tuathaigh, writes that "emigrant behaviour, in addition to its intrinsic interest can tell us much about the society from which the emigrants have emigrated."¹ More accurately, emigrant behaviour punctuates the self-perceptions, beliefs and values that lie at the heart of that society. Isolation from old-world structures that had previously given meaning to one's life have customarily forced immigrants to try to come to some conclusions as to what values they would adopt from their new land as well as what they would discard or labour to maintain from their old. In the difficult transition that accompanies the establishing of a new life in a new country, many superficial concerns are burned away as immigrants struggle to retain what lies at the heart of their being. What immigrants strive to hold onto, to perpetuate and foster, best reveals the true nature of the immigrants. Thus, by their actions, immigrants stand revealed.

If erecting structures of brick and mortar is indicative of action, then the orthodox Dutch Reformed have been busy trying to reveal themselves in Ontario since the end of World War II. Before I began to write this thesis I had been aware of the Dutch Reformed community for many years, having lived in an area of rural Ontario which witnessed the influx of many post World War II Dutch immigrants. I felt I had attained an

understanding of the history of the Reformed community even if that understanding was obtained from the vantage point of an outsider tentatively peering in. Then I moved to an area close to Hamilton, Ontario, where I was struck by the public visibility of the Reformed, and the number and diversity of their social institutions.

That the orthodox Reformed would have created these institutions in the first place may come as a bit of a surprise. If any group of postwar immigrants should have settled comfortably into mainstream Canadian society, one would assume that these staunch Dutch Calvinists with their strong work ethic and frugal natures would have seemed the ideal candidates.² That however has not been the case. After being offered the opportunity to settle in Canada with the assumption that they would "readily adapt and integrate into the life of the Canadian community," a significant number of the Reformed rejected both the 'Canadian way' of doing things and the governing philosophy of their adopted country.³

This refusal of many of the orthodox Reformed to acquiesce in the values and traditions they discovered in their new land has taken many forms. On a practical level it has meant that the Reformed have abandoned many of Canada's social institutions and have opted to establish competing parallel structures of their own. The degree to which they have done this is striking. In a period of approximately forty-five years they have established four independent educational systems with over one hundred elementary and secondary schools, augmented by undergraduate and graduate institutions. They have founded health care facilities, newspapers, a farmer's association, a businessman's organization, a labour union and in recent years, a federal political party. In the jargon of

the social scientist, the 'orthodox Dutch Reformed' are to a large degree 'institutionally complete.'⁴

In using the term 'orthodox Dutch Reformed' we must be careful that we don't impose an artificial consistency upon the thoughts of these immigrants. One need only drive through any medium sized town in the farming heartland of Ontario and see three or four separate Dutch Reformed churches within a few kilometres of each other to recognise that the wave of Dutch Reformed immigrants which flowed into Canada following the Second World War was not a monolithic entity. Despite its small size, the Netherlands has nurtured a people with diverse religious and philosophical backgrounds, distinct cultures, and religious ideologies, or as they themselves might insist - world views. These groups have in the past largely separated themselves from each other. This was particularly true of the Reformed communities in the Netherlands, and although this tendency toward theological separation may not be as noticeable as the proliferation of Reformed institutions in Canada, these internal differences among the immigrants or their progeny and Canadian society is one of their most distinguishing characteristics.

Who then, am I referring to when I say 'orthodox Reformed?' Following a pattern first established by William Petersen in his seminal 1955 study Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement, I will use the label 'orthodox Reformed' as a gathering word to refer to the Protestant, Reformed immigrants who joined the Christian Reformed Church in North America. The bulk of these immigrants came from the 'Reformed Church in the Netherlands' (*De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*); with a smaller portion coming from the 'Liberated' or 'Article 31 Church'

(*De Vrijgemaakt or onderhoudende art.31 Kerken in De Nederland*); the 'Christian Reformed Church' (*De Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*); and finally the 'Re-Formed Church' (*De Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*) which is sometimes identified as the State Church.⁵

It needs to be stated at the outset, that not all the orthodox Reformed immigrants opted to joined the previously established Christian Reformed Church. Some elected to launch new daughter churches with a direct link to a mother church in the Netherlands. So, also of concern to me in the Canadian context - but to a lesser degree - are the Reformed Church of America (now known as the Reformed Church of Canada), the Canadian Reformed Churches (sometimes referred to as the Liberated or Article 31 Churches), the Protestant Reformed, the Netherlands Reformed Congregations, the Free Reformed, and the Orthodox or United Christian Reformed.

One word of warning. We must be cognizant that not all the daughter churches in Canada have a name that corresponds with the mother church in the Netherlands. Such twists and turns are confusing not only to would-be historians, but during the early immigration years to the immigrants themselves. Newspapers from the fifties told of immigrants just beginning to feel at home in a 'Reformed' church in Canada only to discover that the church they were attending was not the one compatible with their theological beliefs and they should be going to the one down the road.⁶ In an interview one woman described her family's confusion when they arrived in Canada. "We thought when we came that the Christian Reformed Church was the *Christelijk Gereformeerde* - (a literal translation is the 'Christian Reformed Church'), that is what it sounds like."⁷

However, because the Christian Reformed Church had already taken that designation, the earlier immigrants from the *Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* had christened their church 'the Free Reformed Church in Canada.'

These theological differences among the immigrants are critical to this study and need to be discussed, but we must also pay heed to the counsel of American historian Immanuel Wallerstein who has observed (and I take this to be one of the guiding principles of this exploration) that: "We can always pinpoint differences, it is the easiest of all scholarly tasks since everything is always different in some ways from everything else across time and space. What is harder and takes priority is to discover similarities."⁸

Aside from the discrepancies and divisions which exist under the Reformed umbrella, the aforementioned denominations and institutions stand as living, functioning testimonials to a formidable collective mind. Whatever their theological differences, together they share a unique understanding of how the world functions and their distinctive role in that world. In essence then, these immigrants are the physical manifestation of one set of an immigrant mind, a mind which since its arrival in Canada has often found itself in conflict with many of the prevailing views of Canadian society.

Since the 1970s multiculturalism has become delicately woven into Canada's social-political tapestry.⁹ It has been granted legal significance in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and given further legislative clout through a (1973) Act of Parliament.¹⁰ Although there continues to be debate around the concept of multiculturalism and its philosophical goals, how it has functioned pragmatically is clearer. In the belief that ethnic diversity infused Canada with a desirable exotic climate

which reflected Canada's growing cosmopolitanism, immigrants to Canada since the 70's were encouraged to recreate as much of their traditional lifestyles as possible.¹¹ This, however, was not the message the Dutch received upon their arrival.

The early postwar Canada that the Dutch first encountered was a much different place. One of the elder deans of Canadian history, Donald Creighton, described this era as "a sober and conventional period" where "order and decorum" marked public life.¹² Change and innovation, especially that promoted by immigrants, was not especially welcome in a country where even those historic centres of agitation - the universities - have been described as "hotbeds of quietism."¹³ In hindsight, we now see that it was into this staid 'quiet before the storm' of the 60's that the Dutch came. Wary but aggressive, the Dutch were the first large post WWII immigrant group to disturb the calm waters of the established consensus. For those Dutch bent on re-creating a Reformed culture in Canada, disturbing the established consensus was not something that overly concerned them. Although it is a bit of a historical *faux pas* to place the adage of a later generation into the mouths of an earlier, it is apparent that many of the Reformed 'pioneers' could have been classified by old stock Canadians as being 'politically incorrect.' Still this statement suggests how many Canadians who witnessed this resistance to assimilation first hand concluded that many of the newcomers were both ungrateful for the opportunity to start over and more than a little arrogant. How do we correlate this critical image of the Dutch Reformed with historian Howard Palmer's 1982 description of the Dutch as a silent "'invisible' minority?"¹⁴ I would submit that the Reformed element within the Dutch community has been neither invisible, nor silent. I suggest that these immigrants and their

prodigy have sired what can accurately be described as a Dutch Reformed 'counter culture.' In its mildest guise this counter culture has purported to function as a Christian alternative to mainstream Canadian society, while in its most zealous incarnation, it sees itself as a catalyst for a radical reorganization of that same Canadian society.

Approach (B)

With the advent of the Quiet Revolution and the later recognition of Canada as a multicultural society, immigrant groups have attracted increasing attention from academics. Historical paths which were previously unexplored or unkept have become well trod and have forced - or perhaps a better term would be allowed - historians to increase the profundity of their questions and prepositions in the quest to gain new insight into immigrant communities. Unfortunately, the study of the Dutch Reformed has not yet reached that stage. In appraising the historiography that surrounds the Reformed, it would seem that some of the most rudimentary questions have yet to receive adequate attention. The main questions which still need scrutiny revolve around how this counterculture has evolved, and perhaps more significantly, why? This straight forward question 'why,' is my thesis question, my starting point for this study. Why has this segment of the supposedly 'grateful Dutch'¹⁵ responded to immigration by creating a counterculture which questions some of the fundamental principles of Canadian society?

To date there are few studies that have seriously broached these questions. Nonetheless, among the studies that have been realised, two main trends are discernable in the literature. First there are those that have sought to explain the Reformed experience as

primarily a response to ethnicity, and secondly, there are more sophisticated studies that have endeavoured to demonstrate that the Reformed experience is but the Canadian transplantation of a Neo-Calvinist, Kuyperian philosophy. These latter studies are focussed almost exclusively on the largest of the Reformed denominations, the Christian Reformed. While all of these examinations have added to the literature and have provided much needed insight into the Reformed, it would seem that despite the sophistication thus far brought to this subject, these studies fall short of revealing the inner complexities and inconsistencies that surround the Reformed. The image of high minded immigrants consistently applying Kuyperian philosophy to Canadian society is just a little too tidy, too uncomfortably filo-pietistic.

I submit that no one ingredient can be said to be the sole motivator of a people. Life is complex and multifaceted; all of its aspects exert an influence. In the case of the Reformed a multitude of elements have fuelled their creative fires, and to restrict one's historical focus to a single genre or explanation has allowed important factors in the history of the Reformed to be overlooked. A more candid criticism may be that despite its prominence, Neo-Calvinism (sometimes referred to as Kuyperianism) has been made to support much more intellectual responsibility than is historically warranted. My research shows that despite the outward appearance of simplicity, the development of Reformed culture here in Canada was not so straightforward, and that things were far more complex than it has commonly been depicted.

But what of my approach to this subject, my starting point? Canadian historian Donald Akenson has suggested that there are many ways of comprehending societies and

more than one approach is valid. Akenson states that:

given a common definition of historical accuracy and accepting the rules of logic and the laws of probability, one can construct several valid historical systems. Some will be better than others by virtue of being more elegant or more efficient, but everything else being equal, the system one prefers is frequently a matter of taste. And taste in the historical profession is largely determined by the kind of problem to which one is drawn.¹⁶

So, what kind of problems am I drawn to? To put it simply, I am attracted to historical questions that arise when immigrant cultures meet with that of the host society. I am particularly interested in how religious beliefs and philosophical systems shape immigrants' response to their new environment. In retrospect it would seem that these interests may have come from having been raised in the home of my grandfather who was both an immigrant and a man of faith. Although my grandfather was Irish, not Dutch, I believe that this background was propitious to doing such a study. Having spent a good part of my life in a position labelled by Howard Palmer as 'internal observer'¹⁷ I have witnessed first hand the importance of faith and philosophy in the life of an immigrant, themes which are in my opinion paramount to understanding the Dutch Reformed. I believe that the academic pursuit of these interests will allow us to peel back the visible trappings of ethnicity and encounter the deeper factors that have historically motivated the Reformed .

A further question that arises here is who in Canada is writing on the orthodox Dutch Reformed? For the most part it is being done - as in the United States - by people who have a link with the Reformed community which gives them an insider's sense of intuition, comprehension and sensitivity. This it appears is largely true of the much smaller

academic population which has approached this subject, and I would include myself in this second category. This academic background is of vital importance to those individuals who study ethnic groups which they have links with. Howard Palmer feels that for the 'internal observer,' academic training provides the sense of objectivity necessary for perspective and critical analysis. In studying these groups in the Canadian context, this perspective needs to be combined with an awareness of Canadian history as a whole.¹⁸

Thesis Statement (C)

Before we can begin to understand why the Dutch Reformed have acted as they have in Canada, we must have insight into how they have seen the world. As with all of us, the Reformed have adapted their behaviour to conform to a cognizant pattern which appears rational and consistent to them. We, in turn, must attempt to see the world as it appears through their eyes. Obviously, this is not easily done. Man, Northrop Frye has observed, lives not openly in nature like other creatures, but within a "mythological universe," a corpus of "assumptions and beliefs developed from his existential concerns." While we may hold these assumptions consciously, Frye and others have recognised that much of this information is held in our subconscious, but that our imaginations "may recognize elements of it when presented in art or literature, without consciously understanding what it is we recognise."¹⁹ Over the years, many scholars have lamented that we have no functional terminology in English with which to discuss this underlying vision of reality. One expression which may be helpful in our discussion of this situation is 'world view.' This term will require further clarification below, but briefly, for our

purposes here let us look at two broad definitions of a world view.

James H. Olthuis describes a worldview as a "vision of life," "a framework," and a "set of fundamental beliefs through which we view the world and our calling and future in it." Sander Griffioen depicts a worldview as a "total vision of life, implying certain key categorical distinctions about the world and giving its adherents a fundamental orientation to life."²⁰ Representative examples of different types of worldviews would be Marxism, conservatism, liberalism, socialism, rationalism, and naturalism. Within the Christian world, four examples would be Calvinism, Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism and Anabaptism.²¹

A worldview that we hold is not necessarily something we learn in the same conscious way in which we learn a topic in school, although education can be an important factor in cultivating it. It is rather something we absorb from the totality of our life's experiences, what Jacob Klapwijk calls a *vorverstandnis* or preunderstanding which all people, whatever their background or level of education, function within.²² While it may be difficult for many of the Reformed to articulate their worldview, it seems irrefutable that it exerts a tremendous influence on their perceptions and thus their actions. Philosopher J.H. Olthuis is correct to maintain that "worldviews have often been assumed to be the prime mover of the historical process, shaping, rather than being shaped by its psycho social context."²³

In light of my brief discussion on 'world view,' I believe we can return to my thesis question which I posed earlier and clarify it. What is the source of the 'world view' of the Dutch orthodox Reformed and why has this worldview motivated a significant segment of

the Reformed community to remain institutionally and socially separate from much of Canadian society?

I believe that the key idea we need to look at to understand the motivation of the Reformed and their worldview is the concept of the covenant. In regard to the Reformed this concept has sprung from three main sources: first, the Bible, specifically the Old Testament understanding of the 'covenant.' Second, Reformed covenantal doctrine embraces the belief that the Reformed are themselves a 'Covenant people of God.' And third, nineteenth-century Neo-Calvinist philosophy figures prominently. One final aspect which requires consideration is that all three of these elements need to be understood in relation to the immigrant experience. Each of these topics and the literature surrounding them deserve brief consideration here before receiving more extensive treatment in the chapters that follow.

The Covenant (D)

In 1995 at a Niagara Falls Conference entitled 'Serving Christ in the Nineties' Dr. Albert Wolters, Professor of Biblical Studies at Redeemer College, invited his Dutch Reformed audience to imagine along with him that their worst fears about their network of Dutch Calvinist organizations had taken place. Wolters envisioned a Canada wherein the complex institutional system which had been built up by Post-World War II Dutch Calvinist immigrants had become secularised or ceased to exist. Having begot this image, Wolters then posed a rhetorical question, "has the Kingdom of God suffered a serious loss?" "Is it possible," Wolters continued, "that the Kingdom of God could survive quite

nicely without the Kingdom vision of the Dutch Calvinists?"²⁴ Dr. Wolters' questions are poignant in that they reveal a connection between external, ostensibly ethnic organizations, and an inner conviction involving the Dutch Reformed belief in themselves as a people of God, 'a Covenant People' with a special destiny to fulfil in Canada.

In any study such as the one I am undertaking here, there arises the challenge of finding a synthesising principle or idea with which to unify one's focus. I have shouldered this study with the assumption that such a consolidating theorem is given us in the word 'covenant,' a term which springs directly from Old Testament scripture and describes the relationship between God and his chosen people.²⁵

Anyone doing any research on the Reformed - whether that be conducting oral interviews, reading Reformed philosophers or theologians or just sitting in the pulpit of most Reformed churches - will be confronted with the term 'covenant' repeatedly. In many cases covenantal references will be stated explicitly and forcefully as at the baptism of a baby. At other times, it is referred to in more subtle means, such as in the visual or literary imagery of a painting or novel. For the orthodox Reformed this emphasis on covenant has been the source of their resilience and unity, as well as their impotency and division. Let me explain this further. I would argue that the one thing, perhaps the most important thing, that Reformed people as a group and as separate denominations have in common is their sense of being a covenant people. Nevertheless, it is their disagreements over how they are to live out that covenant relationship that separates them.

The covenant and the idea of being specially 'chosen' or 'set apart' by God has long been recognised as a significant determinant in self identity. For three millennia, it has

set the original 'Covenant people' the Hebrews apart and it has also been the basis for the original distinctiveness of Christians, the people of the 'new covenant.'²⁶ In recent years two critically acclaimed books have highlighted the fruitfulness of this approach. The first, An Embarrassment of Riches by Simon Schama, depicts the formation of Dutch culture during the Netherlands's Golden Age. The main thrust of Schama's argument surrounds the advent of the Dutch Republic. In contrast to the conventional histories that contend that the birth of the Dutch nation was the spontaneous emergence of a hitherto submerged Dutch psyche, Schama claims that Dutch patriotism was not the harbinger of the revolt with Spain, but its outcome.²⁷ The Dutch, this author maintains, were more tightly bound together by the threat of a common foe than by any collective Dutch national spirit.²⁸ What concerns us most in this present study is Schama's commentary on the Dutch once they were emancipated from Spanish authority. According to Schama, they were placed in a 'curious' historical predicament. "Left to make [themselves] up without any of the self-evident markers of territory, tribe, language or dynasty" - the traditional standards for the creation of a national identity - they ended up with the "most extraordinary invention of a country that was to become famous for its ingenuity."²⁹

But first, how did the Dutch make themselves up? This task was accomplished by utilizing three streams of thought. The first consisted of various legends and stories from a imaginative Dutch antiquity and an equally cloudy medieval period. The second ingredient was contemporary history focussing on the war with Spain and popularized in an eclectic variety of formats such as ballads and prints. The third source, and the one that most interests us here, is association by analogy. While Schama admits that this was the most

circuitous cultural source of all, he asserts that it became the "most compelling way in which the Dutch were drawn together into a mutually recognizable community." Tradition allowed two distinct analogies to be accessible to the Dutch at this time; the Batavian and the Israelite. But as Schama concludes, it was scripture, particularly Old Testament scripture, that "shone a more radiant light on the spirit of the Dutch future as well as its past." To the question who did the Dutch think they were? Schama answers that "they were reborn Hebrews, children of the Covenant - Israelites ... A people chosen by God to reveal His light to the world through their history."³⁰

My own thinking and approach has been more heavily influenced by Canadian historian Donald Akenson's God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster. In this work, Akenson examines the Ulster Presbyterians, the Afrikaners (also known as the Boers) of South Africa, and the modern Israelis; three societies which have historically identified themselves as a 'chosen people.' Notwithstanding the deep and wide ranging differences that separate these three communities, Akenson demonstrates that these societies have all operated out of a similar "cast of mind" which is rooted in the Hebrew scriptures.³¹ "Unless," Akenson posits, "one uses the lens of the Ancient Hebrew covenant as a primary mode of viewing the Ulster Scots, the Afrikaner, and the Israelis, then the optics are all askew and neither their history nor their future will make much sense."³²

Akenson noted that the Old Testament scriptures are more potent than any other western primary literature as they furnish "a readily comprehensible explanation of most things that a preindustrial people could care about, and they give directions for living the

totality of life."³³ Central to Akenson's thesis is the definitive role of the Hebrew Covenant. Akenson submits that the covenant, which includes Yahweh, the Chosen people, and the law, constitutes a synthesized 'conceptual grid' which acts as a "decision making matrix." Much like with a computer, one can feed a problem into this grid and *voila* a resolution comes out.³⁴

Here then are two thoroughly researched books by two first- rate historians. Although the subjects and time periods of their studies vary, they each portray societies which have considered themselves to be the continuation of the children of Israel. They are in Akenson's words, "the real thing."³⁵ The Dutch Reformed Canadians which I am looking at are also 'the real thing.' In saying this I do not mean to say that the Dutch see themselves as the actual physical descendants of the ancient Israelites or that they try to live under the code which governed the lives of the Israelites. No, what I mean to say is that while the Dutch Reformed may not necessarily pattern their lives after the ancient Israelites, I would argue that they have adopted similar habits of mind and have maintained much of the ethos of the Biblical Hebrews.

In trying to stress their covenantal thinking in the Canadian setting I have more than likely overstated the uniqueness of the Reformed covenantal mind set. Other peoples in Canada such as the Doukhobors, Hutterites, Mennonites and Scots Baptists have also distanced themselves from their neighbours, seeing themselves as, 'a people set apart.'³⁶ While there are points of comparison between these groups and the Reformed, a more apt comparison in the Canadian context maybe made with another group of 'Covenanters' from the last century, the Calvinist Presbyterian Scots.³⁷

In addition, some might argue that instead of stressing the term 'covenant' I should perhaps be utilizing the general term Calvinism or other sub-themes such as the sovereignty of God, or a popular theme in the Reformed community itself - the Kingdom of God. There is considerable validity to such opinions. Certainly, Calvinism is the context in which most discussions of Reformed history is couched. However, it must also be recognized that Calvinism is a broad theological principle which has been historically rooted in an eclectic mixture of national and cultural milieus. What developed in the Netherlands and within Dutch Reformed immigrant community occurred within a particular tradition with its own distinguishing emphasis. For me, the hallmark of that distinctiveness was its focus on what Akenson calls "the all embracing arms: the covenant."³⁸

While there are similarities, there are also important differences between the Dutch Reformed in Canada and with the cultures our two authors have described. The most obvious difference is that in the covenantal societies described above, those societies all assumed some sort of political hegemony in their respective nation states. This official preeminence is reflected in the abundance of textual sources that Akenson and Schama are able to call upon. In Schama's case, he also has the luxury of calling upon an eclectic variety of aesthetic sources - paintings, poetry, architecture - from a rich artistic heritage. Obviously, in comparison with Akenson and Schama my potential sources are lacking as the Dutch in Canada have neither attained any sort of political superiority nor have they produced an abundance of self-reflecting artists. Perhaps the most significant dissimilarity is scriptural. Akenson maintains that the Afrikaner and Ulsterman both read the scriptures

as 'manuals of instruction' and in contrast to most Christian denominations, they mediated their reading of the Hebrew scriptures much less through the New Testament than did virtually all other Christian groups. They incorporated the Hebrew scriptures directly and unadulterated and did not interpret them as a lengthy introduction to the more consequential Christian period.³⁹

But where the Afrikaners are often accused of not integrating the New Testament into their Christianity, the Dutch Reformed that came to Canada had already achieved this synthesis through a intricate and tightly woven Reformed 'theology of Covenant.' As Peter Y. De Jong affirmed in his survey of Reformed doctrine, Christ is understood to be "the pledge of divine grace" in both the Old and the New Testaments. "Thus for both dispensations there is really but one Testament, one body of believers and one way of salvation."⁴⁰ Consequently, while the Reformed saw themselves as Christians, with their emphasis on the Old Testament and their tendency to comprehend the New Testament in the context of the Old, they also saw themselves as being a 'Covenant people.'

How did this synthesis come about with the Reformed? We must consider the influence of the scriptures directly, but also how they have been historically interpreted in the Reformed catechisms and subsequently ingrained in Dutch popular culture.

It is a common place among the Reformed to say that they perceive the world through 'eyes moulded by scripture.' This is true, but we must also observe that another formidable edifice stands between them and scripture: doctrine. In the Dutch Reformed tradition that doctrine is encapsulated by three old and hallowed catechisms - the 'Canon's of Dort,' the 'Belgic Confession' and the 'Heidelberg Catechism' (collectively these are

referred to as the three Forms of Unity). It is a testimonial to the importance of these forms, that some Reformed - meticulous in their quest to have their faith ground *Sola scriptura* - have baptised the 'Heidelberg Catechism,' the '*Kleine Bijbel*' (the little Bible).

Kuyperianism / Neo-Calvinism (E)

It is unfortunate that in regard to historical studies on the Christian Reformed Church in Canada the cart has edged its way in front of the horse. Most of the historiography generated thus far has been focussed on the influence of Kuyperianism (Neo-Calvinism). Currently used as a propitious catch-all phrase to describe most Reformed organizations, the term Kuyperianism has its origin in the person of Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920), minister, theologian and Dutch statesman. The one time Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Kuyper championed a Christian worldview that called for the creation of Reformed organizations to parallel the organizations that existed in the secular realm.

The focus in most of these studies has been almost exclusively upon the differences that existed between the orthodox Reformed immigrants that came to Canada and the pre-war Dutch Reformed, but they are less concerned with showing how these two groups were the same. The debate has usually veered toward the tension that existed between the 'old-timer,' the prewar immigrants to Canada and their American leaders based in Grand Rapids (Michigan), and the newly arrived orthodox Reformed. These differences are commonly put in black and white terms in reference to the two traditions out of which they spring. The orthodox immigrant newcomers, who are generally seen to come out of

the *Doleantie* (Grieving) tradition, are portrayed as solidly Neo-Calvinists under the tutelage of Kuyperian principles that saw the church as organism and wanted to unfurl the Banner of Christ in all of creation's separate spheres. In contrast the Old-timers who come out of the *Afscheiding* (Separation) tradition were pietistic, focussed more on the church as institute, were largely untouched by Neo-Calvinist principles and tended to not want Christian organizations. This distinction has been accomplished to different degrees of sophistication.⁴¹

My decision to focus on the concept of the covenant is not to be seen as a protest against these and other variations of this interpretation. It is rather a bid to reveal the means by which such diversity is bound together. While some might feel a concept such as 'covenant' is best left under a category such as 'doctrine,' I believe that in the case of the Reformed community that would be a mistake. Among the orthodox Reformed 'the covenant' transcended doctrine. It was prominent in explaining all kinds of social and cultural activity and was, at least among the original immigrants, primary in shaping their means of self identification.

The relationship between Reformed covenantalism and these other mindsets in this broader cultural context is an area which has not been adequately explored in the Canadian setting. In my brief introduction to worldviews above, I give the impression that worldviews are internally harmonious. In keeping with that assessment I would suggest, that in the main, covenantal thinking exists within Kuyperianism or Neo-Calvinism and complements and buttresses it just as it exists within pietism. To clarify this point, it might be beneficial to picture covenantalism, Kuyperianism and pietism as different strata

of thought, each having been deposited at different periods in the history of the Reformed Community. (I will argue below that covenantalism was infused into Reformed thought at the birth of the Reformed Church, a period parallel with the Netherland's 'Golden Age')

If it was possible to view these layers, they would in all likelihood resemble the geographical formations one sees at sites such as the Grand Canyon where erosion has revealed various layers of rock and earth, all tightly joined, but each distinct from the one above and below it - differing in age, colour and thickness. While for the most part these different layers harmonize amiably, displaying to all appearances one seamless edifice, this does not mean that they cannot contain apparent contradictions. In respect to the Reformed, their inconsistencies may be one of their more fascinating attributes.⁴² It is my view that it is their common covenantal heritage that serves as the mortar binding these layers together. Moreover, far from being a passive binding medium, I believe covenantalism has also been a active dynamic agent. For example, while many immigrants involved in labour may be influenced by their understanding of Kuyperianism, they may in practise administer that particular principle in a covenantal manner. Chronology is not an adequate determining factor in understanding this. Just because Kuyperianism is a more recent addendum to the Reformed heritage, this does not mean it is predominant.

Conceivably, in some Reformed individuals, Kuyperianism could be so thin as to appear nonexistent. In such a case, covenantal considerations may dominate completely. Or, as is often the case, a flip flopping may occur, with one or the other stream of thought being revealed depending upon the situation.

Immigration (F)

Much of the literature which surrounds immigrant history focuses on concepts such as 'discontinuity' which emphasize the social disintegration which follows immigration and 'persistence' which assumes that immigrants carry much of their old world culture with them and are able to successfully transplant it in the new world. Pioneers in immigrant history such as Pulitzer prize winner, Oscar Handlin, author of The Uprooted and Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865, noted the significant social rifts and reorganization of lifestyles which accompanied immigration and stressed discontinuity.⁴³ This view has been largely supplanted in recent decades by those who have focussed on immigrant 'persistence.' Immigrants often held conflicting feelings about their cultural heritage and the immigrant situation in which they found themselves, and while their desire to make it in the new country could and did promote assimilation drives, this was not always the case. Herbert Gutman, the American labour historian, has taught that historically, immigrants respond to work and their new circumstances according to "the values and traditions" they brought with them from their homelands. More recently, John Bodnar has stated that "generations of immigrants have shown a steadfast desire to preserve their pre-migration traditions and values - even while acquiescing in a changing economic order." This theme has been successfully picked up and placed in the Canadian context by Franca Iacovetta in Such Hard Working People, her study on Italian immigrants in Toronto during the postwar period.⁴⁴

This tendency to emphasize continuity has extended into the historiography surrounding the Dutch. Unfortunately the results have been mixed. Some have focussed

on the concept of continuity to the extent that one is left with the impression that little, if anything, changed for the Dutch Reformed after coming to Canada. Immigration itself often seems to have acted as naught. It would appear that we need to establish a balance between such concepts as both theories offer insight.

From what I have thus far stated, it is obvious that I am stressing the coherence and persistence of the mind set developed in the Netherlands. I do however place significant import on the act of immigration and will argue two main points. First, while the covenant was of considerable importance in the Netherlands, the drama of immigration enhanced its significance by situating these people in a threatening new environment. And second, beyond putting the act of immigration into a spiritual context, the covenant (and indeed the whole Old Testament) also served as a very comprehensive, practical guide to immigration. With the situations it depicts and the actions and strategies it prescribed, it became for the immigrants a farmer's almanac of analogies which they could access for guidance into their own immigrant experience.

In addition, I believe we need to redirect our focus to consider what role the established Canadian and American orthodox Reformed people played in leading the Reformed immigrants. Beyond mention of the initial and helpful meetings many immigrants had with various fieldmen, most of the focus has been placed squarely on the immigrants themselves. They have often been depicted as the sole masters of their fate, a attitude summed up by one immigrant who informed me - "Nobody helped us when we came here. We did it all ourselves."⁴⁵ It makes sense that this attitude has taken hold in the literature, as most of the historiography has been written by the children and grandchildren

of the immigrants. However, prior to the movement of immigrants to Canada, intense preparations had been made to receive them. As a result of these efforts, many Dutch Reformed immigrants of various denominations were funnelled together into established North American denominations. The Christian Reformed Church of North America was the leader in this respect. The vast efforts of this denomination in proselytizing provided the newcomers with funds, churches and perhaps more importantly, a focal point. In short, the Christian Reformed Church created a critical mass of like-minded immigrants in the late forties and early 50's. What occurred afterward, particularly in the area of institutional development, can only be understood in this context. I believe a number of questions arise here. Why did these descendants of earlier Reformed immigrants put forth such an effort to help these newcomers? How did this phenomenal growth happen? Why did the C.R.C. have such amazing success in funnelling the new immigrants into their denomination? And what is perhaps the most important question, why did these newcomers stay - why did the pew fit?

Historiography (G)

It would seem to me that there are three or four distinctive themes or trends in the historiography of the Dutch Reformed in Canada.⁴⁶ First of all, among the more academic studies, the retention of Dutch ethnicity has been seen to be important. The main argument advanced is that, in contrast to Dutch Catholics, the Reformed - due to elements inherent within their religion - have been more successful in maintaining their ethnicity in the new North American environment. The most authoritative work here is

Jacob Van Hinte's Netherlanders in America (1928).⁴⁷ First published in the Dutch language in 1928 (an English translation of the work was published by Baker Book House in Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1985), Van Hinte's massive study laid the groundwork for the subsequent research of Dutch immigration into the United States and Canada. While this book is for the most part a commendable piece of scholarship, it does appear to have advanced several questionable theories that have been perpetuated by later historians. For instance, struck by the fact that Dutch Catholics did not form as many compact 'Dutch' communities as the Calvinists, the Calvinist Van Hinte concluded that Dutch Catholics, being Catholic, did not constitute tough pioneer material in contrast with the 'virile' Calvinists.⁴⁸ This view, it appears, is less based on historical fact than upon the theories of Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch. Van Hinte was very much taken with Weber's theories on the Calvinistic tradition during the age of the Reformation.

A much more objective study in this same vein is Henry Lucas' book of the same title, Netherlanders in America (1955).⁴⁹ Although Lucas (a Calvinist like Van Hinte) describes many of his predecessor's views as "hardly tenable,"⁵⁰ he does uphold several of his mentor's key convictions. One of the more obvious examples is Lucas' outlandish statement that because Dutch Catholics were readily absorbed into Catholic parishes, they "speedily, sometimes in a matter of a few months lost practically 'all' of their Dutch characteristics."⁵¹

Van Hinte and Lucas, among others, are responsible for developing what I would call the 'American school' of Dutch Calvinist historiography, a school not unlike that which Donald Akenson has written about in respect to the Irish. Although this 'school' is

American, it appears to have had an inordinate influence on Canadian scholars of Dutch immigration, who are likewise predominantly Calvinist.⁵²

A second, more academic approach looks at Dutch immigration in general and places the Reformed community within the larger movement of Dutch immigration. The most notable example of this is sociologist/anthropologist Frans Schryer's recently published academic study, The Netherlandic Presence in Ontario: Pillars, Class and Dutch Ethnicity (1998). In contrast to other studies which commonly try to focus in on one or another immigrant group, Schryer tries to place everyone under his microscope. Aside from the Dutch Protestants and Roman Catholics, Schryer also discusses secular Netherlanders and the Dutch Jews (this last group appears to be particularly elusive) and those Netherlanders who joined indigenous Canadian churches such as the United and the Presbyterian churches of Canada. In addition, Schryer looks at different professions such as business people and farmers and farm labourers. These last categories are particularly important since for the first four years after 1945 immigration was open only to farm labourers/farmers. More directly related to my study, Schryer offers the most scholarly evaluation to date on the reconstruction of the various Dutch *zuilen* (or pillars) on Canadian soil.

An earlier work which tries to encompass the post war period but whose main strength lies in the pre war period is Herman Ganzevoort's book A Bittersweet Land: The Dutch Experience in Canada, 1890-1980 (1988) Although this work is admirable on the pre-war period (the area in which Ganzevoort did his Ph.D. research), his discussion of the post-war period is not as extensive. In this later section, Ganzevoort restricts his

focus to the more visible Protestant Dutch communities, particularly the Christian Reformed community of which he was a member.⁵³ Two other works which might fit under this category but are directed more toward the immigration experience are William Petersen's seminal immigration study, Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement (1955) and Adrianus Graumans, Masters thesis, "The Role of Ethno-Religious Organizations in the Assimilation Process of Dutch Christian Reformed and Catholic Immigrants in South Western Ontario" (1973) which compared a limited number of Dutch, Christian Reformed and Roman Catholic immigrants from a Catholic perspective.⁵⁴

A third approach which is more tightly focussed on the time period under examination here are studies that attempt to explain, and in some cases justify, why the Reformed constructed their institutions in Canada. Part of the motif here has been to show the differences between the 'orthodox immigrants' and the 'old timers.' With few exceptions these works were written by Reformed individuals and deal with some aspect of the Christian Reformed community, whether it be the Christian Farmers Association or the Christian Reformed Church.⁵⁵

The most successful example of this approach is Aileen Van Ginkel's study Ethnicity In the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada, 1946-1960 (1982). Van Ginkel uses the traditional divisions between Reformed Americans and Reformed 'Dutch' Canadians. The Americans are pietistic and the Canadians are Kuiperian, the one not wanting Christian organizations and the other wanting them. "The two movements differed somewhat in emphasis: the *Afscheiding* group tended to be more

pietistic, preferring individual piety to the social involvement stressed by some of the Kuypersians. The *Afscheiding* mentality was strongest in the United States, which received the nineteenth-century immigrants, while the Kuypersian strain was strongest in Canada."⁵⁶

Van Ginkel argues that the two different mindsets were fighting to decide what type of relationship the orthodox Calvinist immigrants would have with Canadian society. On the one hand (Reformed) *Gereformeerde* ministers were promoting multiple Christian organizations with the church playing an organic role. And on the other hand, the Home Missionaries from the United States who saw the church playing more of an institutional role were not overly supportive of Christian organizations. Van Ginkel looks specifically at the role of the Reformed ministers from the Netherlands whose Neo-Calvinism she weighs as the deciding factor in the development of the Reformed community in Canada.

Schooling has also been an area that has attracted considerable attention. In his study on the creation of the Reformed Christian school system Adrian Peetoom highlights two different reasons for the orthodox immigrants to build Christian schools. In one camp were those who wanted to shield their children from secular, 'worldly' influences. And in the other those who wanted them to prepare their children to be able to critic Canadian society from a Christian perspective. Harrow Van Brummelen uses similar categories in looking at the same topic. Van Brummelen finds that Reformed pietists who emphasized the traditional doctrines and 'walking the walk' founded Christian schools to isolate and buffer their children from secular culture. Others whom he labels Kuypersians stressed God's call for his people to be actively engaged in all spheres of life including education

and the arts. This group wanted Christian schools to teach its pupils how to analyse and respond to society with a Reformed perspective.

One of the more sophisticated studies in terms of analysis of the different mindsets within the orthodox Reformed immigrant community is Harry Kits' Masters thesis. In this study Kits identifies four mind-sets which can be broken down into two groups. The first he labels Confessional Reformed. According to Kits, this group focussed on the Church, home and school. Theology tended to be primary for this group and they avoided contact with culture and society. As well Kits argues that this group objected to "the energies the Neo-Calvinists devoted to social involvement." Kits' other three groups are all lumped under the heading Neo-Calvinist, a view he describes as relating one's faith to all of one's life and activities. Kits holds that within Canadian Neo-Calvinism there are three different ways of applying the Reformed faith to social activity. These included, first, the 'Antithetical Calvinists' who see the need for separate Christian organizations in the world in order to highlight the discrepancy between those who do not serve God and those who do. Second is the 'Radical Activist Calvinist' who championed "instant reform and severely criticized slow change" This group was active in the late 1960's and early 70's and as such are outside the parameters of the present study. The third and final category is the 'Engaged Calvinist' whose ambition is to induce beneficial Christian and Calvinist changes to Canadian society.

Despite the various emphases running through these works there are parallels that can be made among them. Kits' Confessional Reformed can be identified with Van Ginkel's prewar Dutch immigrants and pietistic Home Missionaries as well as those whom

Peetoom and Van Brummelen portrayed as advocating Christian schools to protect and shelter their children. As well Kits' three mindsets - the Antithetical, the Radical and the Engaged Calvinist - can be identified with Van Ginkel's orthodox Calvinists immigrants who wanted Christian organizations and those Peetoom and Van Brummelen determined wanted Christian schools to prepare their children to be Reformed witnesses in society.

Sources (H)

In addition to a variety of primary sources in North America and the Netherlands, in my attempt to unearth the mind set of the orthodox Reformed immigrants, I needed to tap into an eclectic variety of sources. For insight into the immigration process and the thinking that surrounded it, I examined the church papers of several Reformed denominations, Canadian newspapers and Canadian and Netherlands government documents. Many of these same sources along with a number of journals dedicated to Christian Education were also helpful in my discussion on the development of the Christian school movement. Similar journals and reports dedicated to Christian labour were also beneficial when I focussed on that topic. Moreover, when the Reformed community attempted to establish its own labour union - the Christian Labour Association of Canada - it transcended the boundaries of a loosely regulated Canadian society and entered into the legal jurisdiction of the various provincial labour relations boards where strict legal precedents held sway. Due to the fact that so much of the early history of the C.L.A.C. took place in the courts, there is a wealth of union reports and provincial government records set over against a legal backdrop. Particularly beneficial to me as a

source in almost all the areas I investigated were the Acts of Synod of the Christian Reformed Church.

While all of these sources have been helpful, I found that some of my more untraditional records may have been more beneficial in the painstaking job of revealing particular thinking patterns. These sources ranged from old sermons, immigrant memoirs, letters, poetry and song to the visual arts and literary works of fiction. Perhaps the most insightful source I was able to draw upon were the oral interviews I conducted. These can be organised under three groupings. The first group was the ninety-four people interviewed (fifty-one interviews) that were associated with Dr. Frans Schryer's project on Netherlander-Canadian farmers in Ontario. These interviews were undertaken in two geographical regions in southern Ontario and were generally conducted with people involved in some sort of agri-business, a category which encompasses anything from greenhouse operators and dairy farmers to feed mill operators.

The second group of thirty interviews which I drew upon I also conducted. While many people in the agri-business field were also interviewed in this second group - a factor which reflects the dominant role of agriculture among the early waves of Reformed immigrants - this set of interviews encompassed a wider swath of the immigrant population and included ministers, professors and various other professionals. While I generally followed the chronological and thematic patterns set out in the other interviews, the questioning here was generally more tightly focussed on topics and issues which shed light on my covenantal theme.

At the start of my field research, many of the people I interviewed were

recommended to me by contacts I had earlier acquired in the various Reformed communities in the Ancaster and Hamilton areas and at Redeemer College. However, once I was in the field, many of my interviewees would recommend further people as possible interview candidates. In order to have input from all the Reformed denominations, I also sought out the aid of local Reformed clergymen and enlisted their aid in selecting prospective interviewees.

The bulk of my interviews were conducted with immigrants between the ages of sixty and eighty who had arrived in Canada in the late forties and early fifties, a period I consider formative for the Reformed community in Canada. Furthermore, in order to trace particular patterns and developments over time it was also necessary to take an inter-generational approach and canvass the children, and where it was appropriate, the grandchildren of the original immigrants.

The interview itself followed a chronological pattern and attempted to recreate as much of a family's history as memory and assessable documentation allowed. Although I had a lengthy detailed questionnaire to guide my discussion, the questions themselves were open ended and flexibility was one of my guiding principles. For example, in the second group of interviews I conducted, depending upon the occupation of my subject, was he or she a business person, a minister, or a philosopher? My questions would delve into economics, theology or philosophy.

When I first began my field research, I would take notes throughout my interviews. Following these interviews, usually that same evening or the next day, I would reconstruct the discussion on the basis of my memory and interview notes. Later, I

began to tape my interviews. This allowed me to concentrate more on the information I was receiving and explore its nuances, while also allowing me the added benefit of being able to reconstruct the interview in detail.

The third category of approximately twelve interviews which I utilised came from the Netherlander-Canadian Heritage Collection at Redeemer College in Ancaster. This collection of interviews, compiled by Redeemer College students under the direction of Dr. Harry Van Dyke, is based on a questionnaire which was a shortened, adapted version of the questionnaire which I used for the Schryer project. The tapes and partial transcript of this collection are located in the archives at Redeemer University College. I have the tapes and transcripts of the other two collections in my own personal archives. Dr. Schryer also has the transcripts of the tapes of the interviews conducted for his Dutch-Canadian agricultural project.

In most instances the first two groups of interviews were conducted in the homes of the interviewees. The majority of the remaining interviews were conducted at my residence at Redeemer College in Ancaster. While I did on occasion find myself conducting informal interviews when a chance conversation raised an interesting topic, of the one hundred and twenty four people interviewed, eighty-six people were taped, and the majority of these interviews were transcribed in full. These interviews ranged from two to nine hours, but with the average being approximately four hours in length, they were often conducted in two or more parts. While in most instances I have used the name of the interviewees, in a few instances, upon their request, I have used pseudonyms when relating experiences or observation of an extremely sensitive or private nature.

Theoretical Framework (I)

The last discussion raises the question of how would we classify this work? Is it ethnic history, immigration history, or perhaps, intellectual history? In surveying some of the literature generated in these areas in the last twenty years, it is soon apparent that these terms are often loosely used. Perhaps the best place to start this discussion is to try to come up with a workable definition of 'ethnicity.'

This is not as easy a task as it might seem as ethnicity is being continuously redefined in sociological literature. Certainly, part of the dilemma in defining ethnicity rests with who does the defining, the academic observer who makes an objective definition, or the ethnic individual himself who tends to make a subjective definition.⁵⁷ Generally, the 'classical' academic definition of ethnicity allows for the classification of ethnic individuals according to criteria such as cultural attributes (religion, language, customs, etc ...) and 'racial' features, cultural interpretations of phenotype.⁵⁸ As well, emphasis is placed on a "long and intimate association with a geographical space, prior to emigration," "shared experiences and memories," and "a sense of autonomy and cohesion."⁵⁹

For my purposes this definition does not suit my work. In the first place, the classical notion of ethnicity is, as Roberto Perin has pointed out, related to geographical space, and this is not the experience of the Netherlanders in Canada. Widely dispersed across the country they must continually cope with the dominant host society. They do not

have in their adopted country "a space they can claim exclusively for themselves," although their shared space of the old country defines their ethnicity long after they became dispersed abroad.⁶⁰ Consequently, even though I will deal with successive generations of Dutch Canadians, my work appears to be closer to an 'immigrant history.' To my mind this term better captures both the sense of continuity which many of these people exhibit and the ongoing process of adaptation which is still taking place within these groups. In addition, as with most immigrant history, the spotlight follows the immigrant from his or her European environment, to the new world, and details the process of adaptation there.⁶¹ This methodology is much closer to what I am trying to do: explain the response of the Netherlanders in Canada by looking first at the ideology which governed their lives in the 'old world.' Thus, as with Harney's well-known Italian peasants, the Netherlander I am trying to portray was, and is, an individual of two worlds.

And yet, the shoe still does not fit comfortably. There is something more at work here. In other studies of post World War II immigrants, the focus has usually been on the struggle that arises when an agrarian peasant culture meets with that of a western capitalist system. Perhaps the best recent example of this approach has been Franca Iacovetta's study on Italian immigrants. Iacovetta interprets the immigrant experience as being "largely a matter of families - of men women and children - reorientating themselves to the new realities of an industrializing or already fully industrialized economy."⁶² This was clearly not the case with the Reformed. I concur that the early challenge for the Dutch was economic, and in those instances the family was the main way of dealing with that challenge. However, the Pre-war social and economic system that existed in the

Netherlands was if anything more complex than that which many Dutch would find in Canada. Adjusting to the rhythms of an industrialised economy was not the challenge here. No, the challenge for the Reformed and for those who attempt to understand them lies more in the realm of ideas.

If asked to describe the type of history I am writing, I would cast it as the intellectual history of an immigrant community. To many readers this may seem a contradiction in terms. To lump immigrants and intellectual history together is to make a link that is not often made. Let me explain. Such an emphasis is not new. Under the guise of 'intellectual history' historians have long studied ideas in an effort to see what men believe and say and what they literally do. In Canada, there has been some anxiety about how to pursue this goal as no broadly accepted methodology has yet been developed to nail that 'jelly to the wall.' That this methodology has not been produced is not surprising, as simply defining intellectual history in the first place has proven to be a perplexing task. It is difficult, says A.B. McKillop, to construct "principles of exclusion by which the sub-field of intellectual history can be defined. Since almost any book touches upon the domain of ideas at some point ...". Despite these difficulties, and my hesitancy to call this study an intellectual history - although an 'intellectual history of immigrants' might be a valid suggestion - the field of intellectual history, "gelatinous in its eclecticism," does provide some insight and direction helpful to this study.⁶³

Doug Owrain has called intellectual history a distinct discipline because of the unique position it takes towards ideas. "It accepts," he says "an apparent contradiction about ideas ... they 'are false but important.'" As with worldviews which we discussed

above, ideas are 'false' as they are connected to a particular historical period and condition. Yet, as Owrarn goes on to say, "they are important, because intellectual history considers ideas to be a major force in the shaping of historical events as a whole."⁶⁴

To date, two main schools or branches of intellectual history have drawn attention in Canada. The first branch, customarily referred to as the 'history of ideas,' studies 'significant ideas.' These are ideas which may have sprung from the mind of a prominent intellectual such as a George Grant or a Bernard Logerin. In addition to studying the thoughts of an individual, such a study may also focus on a notable 'ideal' which has manifested itself in a nation's collective understanding. In studies such as these, where the focus is on articulate thought, greater attention is paid to the 'internal' consequences of the idea, and less to its influence.⁶⁵ A.B. McKillop gives us an excellent example of this orientation in his article on historiography and intellectual history. In it he writes, "even if our ultimate objective is to place certain ideas or assumptions fully into the social context in which they arose, our initial task must be to examine the ideas themselves." And later, "it remains necessary to keep a tight focus on the nature and the form of the manifestation of thought itself."⁶⁶

It is now routine to trace the 'external' branch of intellectual history back to a seminal essay published in 1965 by S.F. Wise. In that article, Wise stated that:

Since no connected history of formal thought in Canada is possible, the Canadian intellectual historian must be concerned primarily with the interrelationship between ideas and actions and therefore the intellectual commonplaces of an age, its root notions, assumptions and images will be of more significance to him than the study of coherent bodies of abstract thought.⁶⁷

Wise maintained that Canadians typically drew their ideas from abroad, from European and American sources. And while he recognised that it was important to trace those ideas back to their foreign origins, he felt the critical task for the historian was to "analyze the manner in which externally derived ideas have been adapted to a variety of local and regional environments, in such a way that a body of assumptions uniquely Canadian has been built up."⁶⁸

For Wise, it was not the idea that was foremost, but its impact on society. Of course, that idea might be academic, but it might also be bizarre or trite. As one American historian has expressed it, the study of ideas "includes Little Orphan Annie as well as Adam Smith."⁶⁹

In summary, these two strategies of the 'internalist' and the 'externalist' have never been thoroughly integrated. Understandably, these differences create a tension within the discipline which Owsen believes is a healthy situation which reinforces scholarship.⁷⁰ Although he does not articulate his reasons why this is healthy, Owsen does give us several examples of externalists and internalists, each working at their own end of the spectrum refining each other's arguments. What does this say to anyone trying to make a connection between worldview and action, idea and influence? Crane Brinton perhaps says it best:

The full task of the intellectual historian, then, is to gather into an intelligible whole materials ranging from abstract philosophical concepts to concrete acts of men. At one end of his spectrum, he comes close to being a philosopher, or at least a historian of philosophy, and at the other end he comes close to being a social historian, or just a plain historian concerned with the daily lives of human beings. But his special task is to bring the two ends together.⁷¹

Brinton's suggestion applies not only to intellectual historians, but to all historians attempting to understand why people have acted as they have. "History isn't a game" Doug Owsram has declared.⁷² It is about people and the attempt to recreate their lives in the most accurate way possible. For me, the key to understanding the Reformed has been to look at their actions and their various institutions and then ask why? Why have the Reformed related to mainstream Canadian culture the way they have? Why do they isolate themselves and build these institutions? Thus, while I begin my study as a social history, it eventually reflects elements of intellectual history as I deal with the deeper theoretical underpinnings the Reformed have developed to justify their activity.

One final query common to intellectual historians. In dealing with the historical development of the Dutch Reformed community in Canada, should one deal only with the convictions of an intellectual elite (which in the case of the early immigrants is just a fancy word for Pastor), or with the common people in the pew? Pulpit or pew? It is clear from examining the sources that exist it would be much easier to deal with the literary elements as those sources are more accessible, but as most current scholars would advise the strongest case would incorporate as diverse a body of sources as possible. This is the route that I follow.

Worldview (J)

Before we go any further it might be beneficial to illuminate more concisely the term worldview. Albert Wolters has noted that the phrase 'worldview' entered into the English vocabulary as a calque of the German *Weltanschauung*. Introduced by Kant in his

Kritik der Urteilskraft (1790), *weltanschauung* became an significant concept among German romanticists and idealists.⁷³ Through Fichte it was dispersed to several intellectuals, including Hegel and Goethe. By the midpoint of the century it had come to suggest "a global outlook on life and the world." While the scope of this definition seems to indicate a close correlation between *weltanschauung* and philosophy, in the original language, *weltanschauung* clearly meant something different as it lacked philosophy's "rational pretensions." By the close of the century *weltanschauung* was being utilised in most western languages, either as calque or directly as a loan word.⁷⁴ Traditionally, academics within the social sciences have not been overly rigorous in defining this term. Concerns have been raised that the term 'worldview' is referred to without being properly defined, or when it is defined, those definitions are often ambiguous. Even within its most familiar habitat, the confines of cultural anthropology, the meaning of worldview has been labelled "vague" and "imprecise."⁷⁵

One scholar who did much to clarify this term in the twentieth century is Wilhelm Dilthey. To Dilthey, who is credited for pushing the concept to the zenith of its popularity, worldviews were "interpretations of reality that attempt to express the meaning and the significance of the world." They attempt to "reach within the realm of ultimate values" and answer the "ultimate questions of life and culture." Early in the century, cultural anthropologist Robert Redfield defined 'worldview' as an expression that depicts what is "most general and persistent about a people." Whereas culture is defined as the way a community's "ideas," "institutions" and "activities" look to an academic, worldview indicates how "the world looks to a people, ... it is the insider's total

vision and conception of everything."⁷⁶ Additional synonyms that are commonly used today in place of worldview run the gauntlet from "outlook" and "ideology" to the more widely used and more nebulous "principles" and "ideals." It has been recently suggested that the most likely current parallel employed within the social sciences is "system of values."⁷⁷

Although there appears to be no complete agreement on all the characteristics which make up a worldview, there does seem to be a consensus on several key elements.⁷⁸

(1) Inasmuch as I am emphasising faith (Bible reading, doctrine, history) as the foundation of the worldview of the Reformed, it must also be recognised that many other factors sustain a worldview. Freud, Engels and Nietzsche have provided insight into the importance of character types, the unconscious, economics and reason.⁷⁹ Other important factors to consider are family, friends, teachers, schools, intellectual activities, sexuality, etc Accordingly, one's view of the world is shaped by all of the many factors which touch an individual's life.

(2) A worldview embraces all of human life. It is a matter of one's basic beliefs or more specifically, committed beliefs, "credo" beliefs to use Wolter's words. These fundamental beliefs have to do with the definitive questions human beings face, what Crane Brinton calls "the Big Questions," the "cosmological questions which ask whether the universe makes sense in terms of human capacity to comprehend."⁸⁰

Such questions ask, is there a meaning in life? Does God exist? Why am I here? "To be or not to be?" We may not ask the question as elegantly as Shakespeare, but in our own way we struggle with such questions. We might also include hard ethical questions in

such a framework. Are abortion and euthanasia morally justified? Is capital punishment a valid penalty in a civilised society? Is there such a thing as a just war?⁸¹ What we say or do in response to such questions may shine a light on our worldview. As Olthuis has observed, our response does not have to be "thematized or codified" to exhibit the rudimentary determinants which give "context, direction and meaning to our lives."

Obviously, these beliefs are not in the same category with what we generally refer to as opinions because they make a 'cognitive claim,' which Wolters describes as "a claim to some kind of knowledge."⁸² Whereas philosophy is commonly considered theoretical and is consequently regulated to the domain of the intelligentsia, philosophy is affiliated with science. As *weltanschauung* is felt to be pre-theoretical and broadly accessible, worldview is deemed non-scientific or prescientific.⁸³

(3) Furthermore, these basic beliefs make up an interlocking structure, a "framework or pattern," that reflect and complement each other in a specific way.⁸⁴ In most cases, an individual's basic beliefs have a coherence and consistency about them. Anthropologist Evans-Pritchard has described the rudimentary beliefs of a worldview as "hanging together."⁸⁵ This does not mean that worldviews are not ever contradictory internally, indeed many are. And while it has been noted that inconsistency may be one of the more fascinating aspects about a world view, the most notable characteristic about worldviews is their propensity towards "pattern and coherence."⁸⁶

(4) Although I have claimed above that a worldview refers to an individual's basic beliefs, it is also true that worldviews are collective in nature and can encourage the development of a communal mind set. A worldview provides a common framework and

structure which can "bind its adherents into a community." What this means is that a common worldview can link vast numbers of people together. For example, Klapwijk and Gurjewitsch have spoken about the worldview of the medieval man.⁸⁷ This does not mean that there is generally one common *weltanschauung*. The concept of a national character has been shown to be erroneous. *Weltanschauung* is often used in the plural to show a diversity of worldviews existing at the same time in the same place, competing for dominance. This is what Dilthey calls the *Streit der Weltanschauungen* (the conflict or battle between worldviews).⁸⁸

(5) A worldview is formed in a specific historical context. So while a worldview maybe held both personally and collectively, it cannot extract itself from the historical circumstances - epoch, state, social station - out of which it evolved. It cannot "transcend the experiences and perspectives of that particular nation, class, or period," to use Wolters' accounting.⁸⁹

(6) The final characteristic about worldviews that I would like to bring to your attention pertains to the relationship between worldviews and action. A comprehensive worldview equips its holder with a direction and impetus for activity. James Olthuis has touched upon this propensity for action in his depiction of a worldview as a "vision `of life" and a "vision `for' life." Olthuis states:

visions are descriptive models that shape themselves to our experience, defining and describing our lives: `this is the way life and the world are.' On the other hand, visions are normative models that shape our experience to themselves, forming and leading our lives forward: `this is the way life and the world ought to be.'⁹⁰

At the risk of over simplifying things let us briefly recap what has been said so far. Simply stated a worldview can accomplish three basic things. It can provide us with a foundation from which to see and interpret the world around us. It can tell us how that world ideally should be, and it can provide us with a strategy on how to make the world the way it ought to be.

The recognition that scripture can be instrumental in the formation of a worldview seems to be more common among those who study literature. Northrop Frye and a few of his immediate followers, the so called 'Small Fry,' have convincingly argued that intimacy with the scriptures so permeated the mind set of the authors of the great works of western civilization that one cannot properly understand those works unless one is familiar with the Bible. While Fry recognises that the Bible is obviously "more" than a work of literature and ultimately "evades all literary criteria," he claims that "a student of English literature who does not understand the Bible does not understand a good deal of what is going on in what he reads" as it has had a "fertilizing influence on English literature."⁹¹ The same seems to hold true in regard to the Dutch orthodox Reformed. One cannot grasp their history in Canada without understanding the influence the sacred scriptures and the effects that the Old Testament has had on them. While I would not go so far as to say that the Reformed have focussed primarily on the Old Testament and have neglected the New, I would say that in contrast to most Christian denominations, the Reformed have paid much more attention to the Hebrew scriptures, specifically the scripture that surrounds the Old Testament concept of the 'covenant.'

Summary (K)

In studying the Orthodox Dutch Reformed what topics shall we be particularly sensitive to? In the examinations of Covenantal societies mentioned above, Akenson and Schama stressed several analogous factors; the first is a mind that stresses the importance of social law; the second, intimate knowledge of, and an unforgiving attitude toward, one's enemies; the third is Yahweh's role as a war god and the fourth, covenantal people's deep attachment to sacred pieces of land. The fifth involves the motif of the Exodus and the sixth, the concept of racial and religious group purity.

Obviously, because of the different circumstances which existed and continue to exist between these studies and my immigrant community, many of these categories do not apply. Other topics, however, appear to have a universal quality to them and may well be uniform factors in any discussion of a covenantal society. For example, both Schama and Akenson point to an emphasis on social law, on the motif of the Exodus, the promised land, etc

What shall we watch for then? First of all, I believe we need to look for examples of an 'Old Testament Mind set,' a mind which could identify with the ancient Israelites and their covenant. This would be best expressed in communal or group terms of thinking of themselves as a covenant people - or covenant children. Such a covenantal mind feels at home in the scriptures and may think along similar patterns. Such patterns might include a tendency to keep 'separate' or to 'isolate' oneself from other people. In some cases the understanding that you are in covenant with God may foster a sense of religious or moral superiority. Central to this motif is the question of how did the Reformed engage the

scriptures and how have these scriptures been understood and expounded on in the Reformed churches and through their catechisms? Old Testament themes to watch for include: the Exodus, the escape from Egyptian bondage and journey to Canaan the Promised land. There is also the strong emphasis on the biblical idea of 'the seed' or progeny, the desire to maintain group homogeneity, and the relevance of the law - the Old Testament Law.

Our second area of concentration will be on Kuyperian thought. As the influence of Kuyperianism has already been established with much of the existing scholarship being focussed in this area. My focus here will be on how Kuyperian thought was applied by Reformed people. Detecting covenantal patterns within more confessional groups is one thing, but are covenantal patterns discernable within Reformed Kuyperian organizations? Finally, we will need to look at the impact of immigration. How did the understanding of the covenant, or to put it another way the 'covenantal bond,' affect the North American response to Dutch Reformed immigration.

In concluding this introduction, I would like to reflect on what grounds, if any, I have for undertaking such a study. This does not appear to be a question many historians ask themselves. In truth, I might not be asking this question of myself, save I chose to do a study on the recent past - meaning, my subjects are still very much alive, questioning my motives and peppering me with questions, the standard one being, 'why are you doing this?' Beyond the vague - knowledge for knowledge own sake type of explanation - is there any explanation for such a study?

First of all, it seems evident that what we have with the Reformed is a dynamic,

thriving community that has retained a unique cohesiveness. They have successfully transferred the more politically acceptable elements of their vision and mission onto their second and third generation descendants and are in some cases a matrix for a articulate criticism of Canadian socio-cultural life. In reflecting on these factors, I would assert that the Dutch Reformed are significant enough in both numbers, and more importantly in intellectual vigour, to merit close academic attention. If we concede that immigrants do have ideas, it makes sense to try to understand what those ideas are and to understand the mode in which they are fostered and relayed from generation to generation.

Another factor to consider is opportunity. Although I will argue in my text that the covenantal mind set has not been restricted to the immigrant generation, that subsequent generations have adopted a similar vein of thinking, it is clear that much of that mind set is passing away as more of the immigrant generation depart. Am I building castles in the air? At this time, I still have the opportunity, the challenge, of having my understanding of the Reformed subjected to the critique of my subjects.

Notes to Chapter One

1. People of the Covenant: Overview

1. M.A.G. O'Tuathaigh, "Ireland, 1800-1921," in Irish Historiography 1970-79 Joseph Lee ed., (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 1981), 106. Quoted in Donald Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), 3.
2. William Petersen has argued that one of the factors behind the preferred status of the Dutch immigrants was that they were considered to be of Nordic stock rather than Latin or Slav. William Petersen, Planned Migration: The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955), 180-186; See also, William Petersen, "The 'Scientific Basis' of Our Immigration Policy," Commentary July 1955, 77-86.
3. Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, Public Policy and Public Concerns (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), 99.
4. Institutional Completeness refers to the degree to which the ethnic community controlled its own institutions: churches, voluntary associations, schools, media, etc, Institutional completeness would be most extensive when the community involved had the means to perform all the services its members required. Raymond Breton, "Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," American Journal of Sociology 70:2 (September 1964):193-205.
5. William Petersen, Planned Migration, 37.
6. Synod Reporter, "Attention, Reformed Churches of the Netherlands!" The Banner (July 25, 1952), 947.
7. Interview with Symen and Ytje Kloosterman, Minesing, Ontario, January 3, 1997.
8. Immanuel Wallerstein, "AHR Forum," American Historical Review 93 (October 1988):881; Quoted in Donald Akenson, God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel, and Ulster (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens's University Press), 5.
9. It has been suggested to me that "rudely thrust," would be a more apt description of this process.
10. Jean Burnet, "The Policy of Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework: A Stock-taking," Canadian Ethnic Studies 10:1 (1978):107-113.
11. *Ibid.*, 107-113.

12. Donald Creighton, The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 245.
13. William Kilbourn, "The 1950s," in The Canadians 1867-1967 J.M. Careless and R. Craig Brown eds., (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited and The Maclean-Hunter Publishing Company Limited, 1967). 309.
14. Palmer included the Scandinavians in this description. Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History in the 1970s and 1980s," Journal of Canadian Studies 17 (Spring 1982):46.
15. The description 'grateful Dutch' refers to the feelings of gratitude which stem from the hard fought Canadian liberation of large parts of the Netherlands in WWII. One had only to witness a portion of the reception that the Canadian veterans received in the Netherlands upon the 50th anniversary of the Liberation to see the genuine affection that the Dutch hold for the Canadian veterans. However, this author recognises that human nature being what it is, it is often easier to love at a distance and those veterans that were greeted with such enthusiasm in Nijmegen and Wageningen are the same veterans that some Dutch in Canada criticised for frequenting the legions.
16. Akenson, God's Peoples, 6.
17. Howard Palmer, "Canadian Immigration and Ethnic History," 38.
18. Ibid., 38.
19. Northrop Frye, The Great Code: The Bible and Literature (Toronto: Academic Press, 1982, 1981), xviii.
20. James H. Olthuis, "On Worldviews," Christian Scholar's Review 14 (1985):155; Sander Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach to Social Theory: Hazards and Benefits," in Stained Glass: Worldviews and Social Science Paul A. Marshall, Sander Griffioen and Richard J. Mouw, eds., (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1989), 84-85.
21. In his classic, Christ and Culture, Richard Niebuhr has described five types of worldviews which give form to the Christian faith. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper and Row, 1951); A more recent analysis of secular and religious worldview is to be found in, Ninian Smart, Worldviews: Cross-cultural Explorations of Human Beliefs (New York: Scribners, 1983).
22. Jacob Klapwijk, "On Worldviews and Philosophy," in Stained Glass: Worldviews and Social Science Paul A. Marshall, Sander Griffioen and Richard J. Mouw, eds., (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1989), 42.
23. Olthuis, "On Worldviews," 154.

24. Bert Witvoet, "Niagara Falls Conference Gains new Momentum for Reformed Vision," Christian Courier 2434 (March 3, 1995) 1-2; I would also like to thank Dr. Albert Wolters for allowing me to look at his lecture notes for the conference.
25. Beyond the sources I cite in respect to my discussion on the covenant, I am also beholden to several professors from Redeemer College for shared insight. First of all, Dr. Albert Wolters my professor of Old and New Testament. Dr. John Bolt who taught 'Calvin's Institutes,' a course more interesting than it's name would seem to indicate and Dr. James Payton who taught the seminary Church History courses.
26. Along with Akenson, both Will Herberg and Gerhard Lanski concluded that the type of religious commitment individuals made did indeed made a difference in their daily activities. Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1960); Gerhard Lanski, The Religious Factor (Garden City: Double Day, 1961).
27. Simon Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 69.
28. Ibid., 62.
29. Ibid., 67.
30. Ibid., 66-67.
31. Akenson, God's Peoples, 3- 4.
32. Ibid., 6.
33. Ibid., 39.
34. Ibid., 40-41.
35. Ibid., 5.
36. Frank H. Epp, Mennonites in Canada 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada); E.K. Francis In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba ((Altona, Manitoba: D.W. Friesan and Sons, 1955); Harry B. Hawthorn, ed. The Doukhobors of British Columbia (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1955); George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968); John A. Hostetler, Hutterite Society (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1974); Karl A. Peter, The Dynamics of Hutterite Society: An Analytical Approach (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1987); Ben Smillie, Visions of the New Jerusalem: the Story of Religious Settlement on the Prairies (Edmonton: Ne West, 1983).

37. Stanford W. Reid, ed. The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976).
38. Donald Akenson, Surpassing Wonder: The Invention of the Bible and the Talmuds, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press, 1998), 91.
39. Akenson, God's Peoples, 9-10.
40. Peter De Jong, Torch and Trumpet April-May, 1951.
41. There are several examples of such studies. In his Master's Thesis Harry Kits writes: "The American pastors, like much of the CRC in the United States, tended to be Confessional Reformed in their world view. The Dutch pastors, like many of the new immigrants, tended to be neo-Calvinists. The newcomers had experienced the neo-Calvinist social and theological revival in Holland, particularly in the schools and universities. They had experienced Christian media, and had read books written from a Christian perspective on every sphere of life. They had experienced Christian organizations and Calvinist rallies. They sought challenging sermons and perceived American Calvinism to be weak; they preferred their Dutch ministers. They also moved toward the formation of many different societal organizations. Both the American ministers and the "oldtimers" resisted these moves because they believed that Christian life was subsumed under the church (institute) and any other Christian activity was to be done by Christians individually." Harry J. Kits, "World Views and Social Involvement: A Proposal for Classification of Canadian Neo-Calvinist Social Involvement 1945-1980." (Master of Philosophy, Institute for Christian Studies, 1988). 37-38.
42. Albert M. Wolters, Creation Regained: Biblical Basics for a Reformational Worldview (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1985), 3.
43. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants 1790-1865: A Study of Acculturation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941); The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that made the American People (New York: Grosset and Dunlop., 1951). Handlin and other social historians borrowed this concept from William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America 5 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1918-1922); For a good discussion on these concepts see Roberto Perin, "Writing About Ethnicity," in Writing About Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History, John Schultz, ed., (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada, 1990), 201-230.
44. Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America," American Historical Review 72 (1973); John Bodnar, The Transplanted: A History of Urban Immigrants in America, (Bloomington, Ind. 1985); Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People: Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); For a good discussion on these themes see David J. Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-Class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," Labour/Le Travailleur 7 (Spring 1981):101.

45. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, June 7, 1996.

46. Whereas the realm of immigration or ethnic history in Canada has often been the preserve of amateur historians who come out of the ethnic group they are studying, the Dutch have not even attracted many of these. Two of the better examples (only one of the authors is Dutch) are: Albert Vander Mey, To All Our Children: the Story of Postwar Dutch Immigration to Canada (Jordan Station: Paideia Press, 1983); Joan Magee, A Dutch Heritage: 200 Years of Dutch Presence in the Windsor Detroit Border Region (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1983). Vander Meys' book, which is full of detail, is focussed almost exclusively on the act of immigration itself. And while Magee's book does deal with the postwar immigrants in the Windsor area, she focuses most of her attention on their earlier prewar history. Both of these books were written for a popular audience and are largely descriptive in character.

47. Jacob Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America: A Study of Emigration and Settlement in the 19th and 20th Centuries in the United States of America Volumes 1 and 2. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1985). Originally published under the title, Jacob Van Hinte, Nederlanders in Amerika: Een Studie over Landverhuizers en Volkplanters in de 19 en 20 Eeuw in de Vereenigde Staten van Amerika, Eerste en Tweede Deel (Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1928).

48. Van Hinte, Netherlanders in America, 555-557.

49. Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America: Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1955).

50. Ibid., 459.

51. Ibid., 467.

52. This is a troublesome situation, and I recommend we do as Akenson advised in the case of the American school on Irish immigration, which is to, "discard all the analogies so easily drawn from the American literature and the case studies which were based, either directly or indirectly, on it." In the case of the Dutch, this might be easier than it would at first seem, for as I mentioned in my introduction, the Dutch have attracted little attention from Canadian historians, either professional or amateur.

53. Herman Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land: The Dutch Experience in Canada 1890-1980 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988). Ganzevoort had earlier worked on a joint project with Mark Boekleman. This project dealt mainly with the Dutch in a period earlier than that which I am concerned with. See Herman Ganzevoort and Mark Boekleman, Dutch Immigration to North America (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983).

54. Adrianus Graumans, "The Role of Ethno-Religious Organizations in the Assimilation Process of Dutch Christian Reformed and Catholic Immigrants in South Western Ontario" (Master's Thesis University of Windsor, 1973); An excellent work is Adrianus Groenenberg's unpublished Masters Thesis, "The Social Geography of the Netherlanders in South Western Ontario With Special Reference to the Role of the Churches in the Integration of the Immigrants" (University of Western Ontario, London Ontario, 1966).

55. Alida De Peuter, "The Dutch Canadian Experience: A Study of Perspectives" (Master's Thesis, Lakehead University, 1991); Gijsbert G. Jacob den Boggende, "Dutch Calvinist immigrants in Hamilton and the Hamilton Christian School: 1937-1960" (Master's Thesis., University of Toronto, 1991); Lloyd W. Rang, "The Christian Farmers Federation of Ontario: Theology, Ethnicity and the Emergence of an Interest Group" (Master's Thesis, Queen's University, 1991); Joanne G. van Dijk, "Ethnic Identity Retention and Social Support: A Comparative Analysis of First Generation Elderly Dutch-Canadian Catholics and Calvinists" (Master's Thesis, University of Guelph, 1990); Aileen Van Ginkel, Ethnicity and the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada, 1946-1960" (Master's Thesis University of Toronto, 1982).

56. In her research Aileen Van Ginkel registers several things. First of all, Van Ginkel lumps all the Post World War Two immigrants together under the title neo-Calvinist or Kuyperians and second that it was the Dutch ministers (the Kuyperians) that pushed for the establishment of Christian organizations, often over against the opposition of the American 'pietist' ministers. She does however concur that "A minority of American ministers was as Kuyperian and as devoted to the establishment of Christian organizations as the majority of Dutch pastors." In short, Van Ginkel infers that the majority of the immigrants were neo-Calvinist and that these organizations were formed for neo-Calvinist reasons. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition," 77.

57. Those who hold the subjective viewpoint argue that the objective classifications ignore the simple fact that a particular individual may not feel 'ethnic,' that ethnicity is a subjective occurrence, and that individuals are ethnic because "they identify themselves as such, irrespective of whether they exhibit any of the tangible markers defining ethnicity." Roberto Perin, "Writing about Ethnicity," 202-204.

58. Alan B. Anderson, "Canadian Ethnic Studies: Traditional Preoccupations and New Directions," Journal of Canadian Studies 17 (Spring 1982): 6; See also, Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University press, 1964); R.A. Schermerhorn, Comparative Ethnic Relations (New York: Random House, 1970); And, Jean R. Burnet and Howard Palmer, Coming Canadians: An Introduction to a History of Canada's Peoples McClelland and Stewart Inc., 1988).

59. Perin, "Writing About Ethnicity," 205.

60. Ibid., 204.

61. This is a definition used by John E. Zucchi in Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875-1935 (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 4.
62. Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People, xvii.
63. A.B. McKillop, "Historiography and Intellectual History," in Clio's Craft: A Primer of Historical Methods Terry Crowley, ed., (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), 84-85.
64. Doug Owram, "Writing About Ideas," Writing About Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History John Schultz, ed., (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall Canada inc., 1990), 48.
65. For added insight into the 'internalist,' 'externalist' approaches to intellectual history, see McKillop, "Historiography and Intellectual History," 80-81; And Owram, "Writing About Ideas," 48-50.
66. McKillop, "Historiography and Intellectual History," 85.
67. S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," An Introduction to Canadian History (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press Inc., 1991), 160-175; Originally published in the Bulletin of the Committee of Archives of the United Church of Canada, 1965.
68. Ibid., 160.
69. John Higham quoted in Owram, "Writing About Ideas," 48.
70. Owram, "Writing About Ideas," 50.
71. Crane Brinton, The Shaping of Modern Thought (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), 6.
72. Owram, "Writing About Ideas," 65.
73. Two excellent introductions to what the Germans call the *begriffsgeschichte* the 'history of a concept' are to be found in Albert M. Wolters, "On the idea of Worldview and its Relation to Philosophy," and Sander Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach to Social Theory: Hazards and Benefits." in Stained Glass: Worldviews and Social Science Paul A. Marshall, Sander Griffioen and Richard J. Mouw, eds., (New York: University Press of America, Inc., 1989).
74. Wolters, "On the idea of Worldview," 15.
75. Cultural anthropologist Robert Redfield has felt the need to apologise for the blurriness surrounding this concept. Clifford Geertz has expressed similar misgivings noting that the term is vague and imprecise. Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach to Social Theory," 83.
76. Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), 84-86; Robert Redfield, "The Primitive Worldview," in Human Nature and the

Study of Society: The Papers of Robert Redfield Margaret Park Redfield, ed., (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 269; Griffioen doubts if much headway has been made on worldviews since Redfield. He records that in general studies, it is customary to find reference to Clifford Geertz's The Interpretation of Cultures, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), but concludes, "it contains hardly anything not already said in Redfield's essays on the same topic. Even its main thesis about the characteristic fusion of ethos and worldview in traditional cultures is strongly reminiscent of Redfield." Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach." 92-93.

77. Wolters, Creation Regained, 1-3.

78. For a short synopsis of Dilthey's *Weltanschauungslehre*, see Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach to Social Theory," 87; For a contemporary list see Wolters. "On The Idea of Worldview," 18-19.

79. Olthuis, "On Worldviews," 156-157.

80. Brinton, The Shaping of Modern Thought, 1.

81. Wolters, Creation Regained, 2-3; Olthuis, "On Worldviews," 26-27.

82. Wolters, Creation Regained, 2.

83. Wolters, "On the Idea of Worldview," 19.

84. Wolters, Creation Regained, 3.

85. In his study of the Azande, Evans-Pritchard's reports that 'All their beliefs hang together ... In this web of belief every strand depends on every other strand, and a Zande cannot get out of its meshes because it is the only world he knows.' E. Evans-Pritchard's study Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic Among the Azande (1934).

86. Wolters, Creation Regained. 2-3.

87. Klapwijk, "On Worldviews and Philosophy," 43. Gurjewitsch argues that the *Weltbild* of the Middle Ages was communally held, irrespective of status and rank, whereas the *Weltanschauungen* of the same era varied in accordance with rank and status, and hence were contaminated by the peculiar 'ideologies' of different social groups. Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach," 86.

88. Griffioen, "The Worldview Approach," 85.

89. Wolters, "The Idea of Worldview," 19.

90. Olthuis, "On Worldviews," 29.

91. Northrop Frye has approached the Bible from the point of view of a literary critic. He has been concerned with Biblically imagery and narrative and how these elements have created what he describes as a 'mythological universe.' (xvi)

Chapter II

The Covenant (A)

Let us now consider a young woman of Dutch Reformed background who was born in Canada sometime after the Second World War. This young woman whom we will christen Hennie Dykstra is the daughter and granddaughter of immigrants - her father and mother having both immigrated with their parents when they were young. Often painfully aware that her family still feel like aliens in their new environment, Hennie, bright and curious, is eager to know her place in her parent's adoptive country.

One of the most significant influences on Hennie is religion. On Sunday mornings after the reading of the Old Testament Law of Moses, Hennie is told that she, along with her family and the members of her church, are "God's children," that they are a "covenant people," "a chosen people, a new Israel." Perhaps picking up on a theme common in the Old Testament scripture her father reads after their meals and in the sermons she hears from the pulpit, Hennie considers herself part of the 'faithful remnant' which Yahweh habitually preserved for himself. As such, she recognises that she along with her fellow church members have been preserved -set apart from other people.

Hennie experiences this separation in her daily life. Like the other children of immigrants, her life revolves around her church and school. In school she is told she is a Canadian, but outside of school the term Canadian is generally used (some times in a derogatory fashion) to describe those who are not Dutch Reformed. Canadian is frequently equated with secular and Hennie is cautioned not to join Canadian organizations and clubs. Unlike her 'Canadian' neighbours she goes to a private Christian

school that was founded after great sacrifice by her immigrant grandparent's generation. That it is sometimes called a Dutch school by her Canadian neighbours is a source of irritation to her parents who insist that it is a interdenominational school even though in the early years one had to subscribe to 'the three forms of unity' to be a member of the school. Even at this late date over 90% of the members are from Dutch Reformed denominations.

After graduating from this local Christian elementary school Hennie has the option of attending a distant Christian High School also founded by Dutch immigrants, this time of her parent's generation. And afterward, if she shows an aptitude for learning and wants to pursue post secondary studies, she could travel to the United States to attend a Reformed institution such as Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Like the other young women and men in her church, her parents send her to Sunday school and other Church societies such as Calvinets and Cadets. As she matures, she will move ever upward in Church school which in most case culminates with her doing her profession of faith in her late teens. Following this 'graduation' other church groups await her. Along with the other young people in the church she is expected to marry within the Reformed community and join the groups designated for married couples.¹ And in all likelihood this will happen as her social circle is tightly controlled and not likely to extend far beyond the parameters of home, church and school.

The question that arises out of the portrait above and the preceding chapter's discussion on worldviews is: what was the worldview of the Dutch Reformed on the eve of their post-war migration to Canada and how did it come about? In my earlier

introduction, I stated that the Dutch Reformed saw themselves as a people of God, or more accurately, a 'covenant people.' However, before we look at these immigrants directly we need to look at the Bible, specifically the scripture that surrounds the Old Testament concept of the 'covenant.' Although the importance of the scriptures has declined with the advent of secularism and rational thinking, historically the Reformed have viewed the world through the spectacles of scripture. Scripture that was read earnestly, read repeatedly and understood literally. How the scriptures have been historically explained in the catechisms and expounded from the pulpit is important, but first we need to experience the scriptures directly. To what extent these scriptures are factual and accurate from a historical point of view is not at issue here. What is important is that the stories as well as the ideas and concepts that surround them are believed to be historically reliable.

Today we do not often come across the word covenant. In its most common modern usage, 'covenant' is a term used to bind two parties together in a legal agreement. For example, according to the legal wording of my son's newspaper contract, when he pledged to deliver the local newspaper in "a diligent fashion, and with a high degree of competence," the newspaper and my son entered into "covenant."² This custom of forming a covenant on the basis of an agreement or pledge is not new. The basic structure outlined in my son's contract can be seen in some of the oldest surviving documents in the Near East. "In antiquity," Max Weber has explained, "every political alliance, in fact almost every private contract was normally confirmed by an oath [covenant] ...", which held religious implications.³

In its fully evolved form, the Hebrew covenant bound the nation of Israel, the 'Chosen people,' to Yahweh. They became his "treasured possession" (Exodus, 19:3). This bond between God and his people Israel is central to the scriptures, and eclipses all other biblical motifs. So dominant is this covenant theme, Bible scholar Jakob Jocz has concluded that the Bible itself "is best viewed as the history of the covenant."⁴

The Noahic Covenant (B)

In the aftermath of the devastating flood of Genesis. God spoke to Noah and his sons: "I now establish my covenant with you and with your descendants after you." Not only are Noah and his children included in this bond, but God also includes "every living creature ... the birds, the livestock and all the wild animals, all that came out of the ark with you [Noah] - every living creature on earth" (Genesis 7:11-24).⁵

This universal, Noahic covenant is considered unconditional.⁶ God makes a vow. "Never again will all life be cut off by the waters of a flood; never again will there be a flood to destroy the earth." He creates the rainbow as a sign of the covenant, "I have set my rainbow in the clouds and it will be the sign of the covenant I have established between me and the earth" (Gen. 9:8-17), but makes no demands upon Noah.

Abrahamic Covenant (C)

This universal, unconditional covenant is later superseded when the Lord calls Abram, a man living in the vicinity of ancient Ur, and asks him to leave his country, his people and his father's household and go to a land He would show him.⁷ If Abram would

do what God asked of him, the Lord promised to make him into a great nation. "I will bless you. I will make your name great and you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you and whoever curses you I will curse; and all peoples on earth will be blessed through you" (Gen. 12:1-3).

Historian Donald Akenson has recognised that no reason is given why God chose Abram, and he states that this is a "signal point." God, he says, "chooses whom he will and when people individually, or as a group, are chosen, they have two alternatives: to accept God's choice or not."⁸ Abram obeys God. The book of Hebrews records that "when called to go to a place he would later receive as an inheritance, (Abram) obeyed and went, even though he did not know where he was going. By faith he made his home in the promised land like a stranger in a foreign country" (11:8-9). Later, in a rite which Mendenhall has likened to an ancient Hittite suzerain treaty (the type that governed the relationship between a great King and one of his subject lords),⁹ Abram takes a heifer, a goat and a ram along with a dove and a young pigeon. All of these with the exception of the birds he cuts in two. After the sun had gone down and darkness had fallen, "a smoking firepot with a blazing torch appeared and passed between the pieces. On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram and said, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the Euphrates ...'" (Gen. 15:17-18).¹⁰

The final stage in the Abrahamic covenant takes place when Abram is ninety-nine years old. Foreshadowing the fulfilment of his covenant promise to provide Abram with a son from Sarai, Abram's elderly wife, the Lord renames Abram, Abraham. Sarai becomes Sara (Gen. 17:15).¹¹

This is my covenant with you: You will be the father of many nations. No longer will you be called Abram; your name will be Abraham. For I have made you the father of many nations ... I will establish my covenant as an everlasting covenant between me and you and your descendants after you for the generations to come, to be your God and the God of your descendants after you. The whole land of Canaan where you are now an alien, I will give as an everlasting possession to you and your descendants after you; and I will be their God. (Gen 17:3-7)

Now, however, a condition appears. God requires that Abraham do something. He directs Abraham to circumcise every male in his household as a "sign of the covenant" between him and Abraham. "My covenant in your flesh is to be an everlasting covenant. Any male, who has not been circumcised in the flesh will be cut off from his people, he has broken my covenant" (Genesis 17:10-14).¹² Circumcision was not unique with Abraham and his descendants. Among many of the surrounding tribes and nations it often denoted the passage from youth to adult. In this case, circumcision would be the visible sign of Abraham's covenant relationship to the Lord.

The Sinaitic Covenant (D)

The most significant covenant recorded in the Old Testament is the Sinaitic or Mosaic Covenant which was instituted between Yahweh and Moses at Mount Sinai.¹³ All succeeding Old Testament Covenantal ceremonies such as Joshua's at the time of the crossing of the Jordan (Joshua 8:30-35), or Josiah's following the discovery of the Book of the Law (Josiah 23:1-25) looked back to Sinai as the original covenant and understood their own actions to be but renewals of Sinai.¹⁴

This phase of the covenant's development took place after the Hebrews had

"sojourned" in Egypt (Deut. 26:5). Originally a haven for Jacob's "remnant" (Genesis 45:7), Egypt later became their prison. According to the author of Deuteronomy, the Egyptians "treated us (Israel) harshly, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. ... but the Lord heard our voice, and we saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression; and the Lord brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with great terror, with signs and wonders" (Deuteronomy 26:5-9). Although the covenant of Sinai is usually heralded as the time when God gave the Israelites the law, that episode was only one element in a more important milestone, what Wenham has designated "the call of Israel to be a holy nation."¹⁵ In the third month of the Exodus, the Lord spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai:

You yourselves have seen what I did to Egypt, and how I carried you on eagles wings and brought you to myself. Now if you obey me fully and keep my covenant, then out of all nations you will be my treasured possession. Although the whole earth is mine you will be for me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. (Exodus, 19:3-6)

Whereas Israel's covenant history began with a personal relationship between the Lord and an individual (Abraham), that relationship grew to include a whole nation with the Sinaitic covenant: "I will take you for my people and I will be your God" (Exodus 6:7). This expansion of the covenant does not mean that the individual was no longer important within the covenant,¹⁶ yet, it is noticeable that the people or 'nation' of Israel takes on a special, collective status. In his discussion about the group mentality of the Israelites, Akenson utilises Henry Wheeler Robinson's concept of a 'corporate personality.' Robinson saw the Hebrews as a single personality, much like members of a modern corporation. Although individuals, the Hebrews conceived themselves as a single

corporate entity which extended over time and included past, present and future members. Interestingly, Robinson believed that at crucial times in the history of the nation, the corporate character of the nation could be personified in a single individual.¹⁷ This relationship between the individual and the covenant community has been described by A. Weiser. In his commentary on the psalms, Weiser writes that "to the ancient Israelite way of thinking, the individual can enter into a relationship with Yahweh, and can participate in the blessings of the Covenant, only in his capacity as a member of the covenant community."¹⁸ In short, being a member of the covenant community entitled one to share in the benefits and blessings of the whole community. For example, speaking out of a burning bush, Yahweh tells Moses that he is going to take "my people in Egypt ... out of that land into a good and a spacious land, a land flowing with milk and honey." (Exodus 3:7-8). The flip side of this collective relationship is that collective blessings can also bring participation in collective guilt and punishment illustrated in the Joshua story (Joshua 8:18). To our modern sensibilities honed as they have been on discussions of the rights of the individual, punishments such as stoning conveyed there seem highly unethical. But to the Israelites, an individual was considered a part of a larger body - the Chosen People, and as such, whatever action an individual took was thought to affect not only himself but the broader community as well. For this reason, his guilt or success was shared by the group of which he was part, and punishment as directed by God absolved the larger group of its liability.¹⁹

The Law (E)

While the earlier covenant relationship between YHWH and Abraham was conditionless except for circumcision, Moses now earned the title of 'Law-giver.' He is portrayed as conveying to the Israelites the Ten Commandments known as the 'ten words,' the Decalogue, the Covenant Code (Exod. 20:22-23:33); the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. 5:1-28:68); and the even more intricate, Priestly Code (predominately in Leviticus).²⁰ These codes provided a comprehensive guide for all areas of family and community life. In addition, they also encompassed the many elaborate rituals surrounding the worship of Yahweh. With the introduction of these various codes, the covenant relationship between Israel and YHWH seemed to be anything but conditionless. Now Yahweh is, as Akenson has put it, quite "iffy about things." It is "not flippant" he goes on to say, to now conceive of the covenant as a "deal between God and the Hebrews."²¹

Yahweh did not beat around the bush in outlining the stipulations of this deal. "See I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse - the blessing if you obey the commands of the Lord your God that I am giving you today; the curse if you disobey the commands of the Lord your God." (Deut. 11:26-28; See also Jeremiah 11:3-4).²² For the Israelites, the key to this deal - their obligation under the covenant - was to obey Yahweh's laws. On this point Yahweh was perfectly clear. In Leviticus, he told his Chosen, "You must obey my laws and follow my decrees." (Leviticus 18:4). In Deuteronomy he warns them, "Carefully follow the terms of this covenant ..." (Deut. 29:9). The author of Psalm 119, echoes Yahweh's message. "You have laid down precepts

that are to be fully obeyed" (Psalm 119:4). Yahweh promises the Hebrews that if they keep his covenant they would be his "treasured possession" (Gen. 19:5) and enjoy the blessings of the covenant. "Blessed is he who keeps the law," states Proverbs (Prov., 29:18). For the Israelites under Moses' leadership, the blessing for obedience was to be possession of "the land he [Yahweh] promised." (Gen.,50:24); "... a good land" (Deut. 8:7); "an inheritance, a land flowing with milk and honey," (Exodus 3:7-8).²³ Later, when the Israelites were in possession of the 'Promised Land,' these blessings would produce agricultural abundance (Lev. 26:3-5).

The Righteous (F)

In reading through the Old Testament, one cannot help but notice that under the Deuteronomistic paradigm, success in the world either individually or collectively, most often indicates God's direct blessing. Failure, usually associated with sin, is inflicted on the disobedient, drunkard, or the lazy (Proverbs 6:6-11; 12:1; 21:17). If an individual, or nation, notices that the state is prospering, or personal ambitions are being met, then they are 'blessed,' and may assume that they are righteous. The correlation between being blessed and being righteous is more ingrained in scripture than we might think. This would explain why Jesus' disciples were "amazed" when he announced: "How hard it is for the rich to enter the kingdom of God" (Mark 10:23). For the disciples, as for most Jews at that time, wealth and prosperity were seen as by-products of an inner righteousness. In the scriptures, the righteous patriarch, Abraham, was described as a man "very wealthy in livestock and in silver and gold" (Gen., 13:2). His earthly riches and

possessions were seen as blessings to Abraham, as well as to Isaac (Gen.26:13-14); Jacob (Gen.. 30:30); and later Job (Job 42:12).²⁴

Calvinist theology picked up this emphasis through its concentration on the Old Testament and carried the association further with implications for a prospering middle-class. But the question it begs, remains. While this theme may be valid for the study of the *bourgeois* Calvinists, is it actually to be found in scripture? In response, I would direct attention to Proverbs 10:6. "Blessings crown the head of the righteous ..." (Prov.. 10:6) and as it is pointed out further in the same Psalm, "the blessings of the Lord bring wealth ..." (Proverbs 10:22). In a passage more closely aligned to immigration, the author of Proverbs 11 writes. "The righteous will never be uprooted, but the wicked will not remain in the land" (Prov. 11:30).²⁵

The Unrighteous (G)

Even with the benefits of maintaining the covenant clearly stated, breaches were not an uncommon occurrence. Moses labelled the 'chosen' a "stiff necked people." (Exodus 34:9) Ezekiel called them "imprudent and stubborn" (Ezekiel 2:4). Yahweh was constantly required to mete out justice to disobedient individuals and to a rebellious nation. And that justice could be harsh.

If you do not listen to me and carry out all these commands, and if you reject my decrees and abhor my laws and fail to carry out all my commands and so violate my covenant, then I will do this to you: I will bring upon you sudden terror, wasting diseases and fever that will destroy your sight and drain away your life. You will plant seed in vain, because your enemies will eat it. I will set my face against you so that you will be defeated by your enemies; those who hate you will rule over you and you

will flee even when no one is pursuing you. (Leviticus 26:14-17)²⁶

And elsewhere: "All these curses will come upon you ... because you did not obey the Lord your God and observe the command and decrees he gave you. (Deut. 28:45-480).

Two examples may illustrate Yahweh's justice. The first may also serve as an indication of the significance placed upon being obedient to Yahweh's Holy Law. One of the Lord's most persistent injunctions was to honour the Sabbath Day. Sabatarianism marked the Hebrews as God's people and set them apart from all the people around them in a concrete and visual way. This was the fourth among the commandments which Moses brought down from Sinai and is one which is most consistently reiterated. The seriousness with which God held this command was dramatically revealed to the Israelites when a man was found gathering firewood on the Sabbath Day. He was taken before Moses and Aaron and the whole assembly who at first placed him in detention "because it was not clear what should be done with him." Then the Lord told Moses, "The man must die. The whole assembly must stone him outside the camp." In obedience to the Lord's command, the assembly took the Sabbath breaker outside the camp and stoned him to death (Numbers 15:32-36).

Several years later when the Israelites were poised to enter the 'Promised land,' Yahweh told Moses to "send some men to explore the land of Canaan, which I am giving to the Israelites" (Numbers 13:1). Moses chose twelve men for the mission, a representative from each of the twelve Israelite tribes. When these spies returned, they acknowledged that the land was rich, that it did 'flow with milk and honey,' but they also reported that the people who lived there were powerful and their cities were fortified and

large.

Two of the twelve, Caleb and Joshua, recommended that Israel "go up and take possession of the land, for we can certainly do it." However, the majority, the ten other spies denounced that plan and argued, "We cannot attack those people; they are stronger than we are." And they propagated a negative account about the land they had reconnoitred. (Numbers 13:31). This failure to trust in the Lord made Yahweh's "wrath burn against them." And he asked Moses, "How long will these people treat me with contempt? How long will they refuse to believe in me?" (Numbers 14:12). Because of this rebellion, Yahweh contemplated striking the Israelites down with a plague and destroying them. Moses pleaded to the Lord not to do this and in the end, the Lord reconsidered. "I have forgiven them as you asked, nevertheless, as surely as I live and as surely as the glory of the Lord fills the whole earth, not one of the men who saw my glory and the miraculous signs I performed in Egypt and in the Desert but who disobeyed me and tested me ten times - not one of them will ever see the land I promised on oath to their forefathers" (Numbers 14:20-24).²⁷ The point Yahweh is making here seems clear. If you wish to prosper in the new land obey my commandments! If you do not, I will punish you severely and you will not make it.

The Remnant (H)

Although the term remnant is used as early as Genesis in the Old Testament, it does not become fully developed until the time of the two Kingdoms, Israel and Judah.²⁸ During that period, the rulers of the Northern Kingdom of Israel are said to have walked

in the ways of Jeroboam I and did "evil in the eyes of the Lord" (2 Kings 17:21-22; 17:1-2). "They were as stiff necked as their fathers, who did not trust in the Lord their God. They rejected his decrees and the covenant ... and imitated the nations around them." (2 Kings 17:3-6; 18:9-12; 17:14-15). As expected, under the terms of the conditional covenant, Yahweh through the prophet Amos, makes this warning. "You only have I chosen of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your sins" (Amos 3:2). Further along in Amos, the frightening nature of this punishment becomes apparent when Yahweh promises to "stir up a nation against you O house of Israel ... those who are left I will kill with the sword. Not one will get away, none will escape" (Amos 6:14; 9:1). Initially, Yahweh appears resolved to wipe his people out, but consider one of the next passages:

Surely the eyes of the lord are on a sinful kingdom [Israel]. I will destroy it from the face of the earth - yet I will not totally destroy the house of Jacob, declares the Lord. I will bring back my exiled people Israel; they will plant vineyards and drink their wine; they will make gardens and eat their fruit. I will plant Israel in their own land, never again to be uprooted from the land I have given them. (Amos 9:8;14-15)

After first declaring his intent to crush the house of Israel, Yahweh goes on to say he will not "totally destroy it." A short time later, in seeming fulfilment of this prophecy, Shalmaneser V of Assyria (726-722) invaded Israel and "shut up [Hoshea] the King like a bird in a cage" in his capital of Samaria. At the end of a three-year seige the Assyrians took Samaria and the northern Kingdom of Israel vanished from history. A 'remnant' who survived this invasion fled south to the Kingdom of Judah.

Approximately twenty years after the destruction of Samaria, another King of

Assyria, Sennacherib, sent his army against Jerusalem, the capital of the southern kingdom. The conversation that takes place outside of the walls of the besieged city between the commander of the Assyrian host and the representatives of King Hezekiah is one of the most graphic uses of psychological warfare in ancient times. When the commander of the Assyrian forces outlines what will befall the occupants of Jerusalem if they resist his force, Hezekiah appeals to the prophet Isaiah to pray for this "remaining remnant." Now, the Lord intervenes. In a dramatic show of power, the angel of the Lord "went forth and slew a hundred and eight-five thousand in the camp of the Assyrians; and when men rose early in the morning, behold these were dead bodies" (2 Kings 18:13-37: 19:1-36: 20:12-19); (Isaiah 10:20-23; 37:36).²⁹

Unfortunately for Judah, this was to be but a temporary reprieve. There had been too much sinning. Through the prophet Micah, Yahweh had asked "And what does the Lord require of you? To act justly and to love mercy and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8). But when the Lord "looked for justice" he "saw bloodshed". And when he looked "for righteousness" he "heard cries of distress" (Isaiah 5:7). According to Micah, judges were more concerned about guzzling wine than delivering justice. Decisions favoured those who paid the biggest bribe (Isaiah 5:22-23). "Judgement must come," Hosea had preached. (Hosea 12:1-13:16). The prophet Isaiah declared that such "destruction has been decreed overwhelming and righteous" (Isaiah 10:20-23).³⁰

Around 587 BC, Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, came against Jerusalem and laid siege to it. Jeremiah records that in the eleventh year of King Zedekiah's reign, a breach was made in the city's walls and Judah fell. (Jeremiah 39:1-2) Jerusalem's walls

were knocked down, Solomon's temple was left a charred ruin and what remained of the upper-classes were deported across the fertile crescent to mighty Babylon. (Jeremiah 39:1-10; 52:1-34; 2 Kings 25:1-21).

According to the prophets, this destruction would be a cleansing process, not a killing one. Its purpose was not to destroy Israel, but to purify it. As the Lord says in the first chapter of Isaiah. I will "purge away your dross and remove all your impurities" (Isaiah 1:25). This judgment then, would not stamp out the nation, but would mean exile for a few survivors, who having been purified and made righteous, would one day return to Jerusalem. (Isaiah 4:2-6); (Micah 2:12-13; 5:7-15).³¹ "In that day," Isaiah prophesied, "the remnant of Israel, the survivors of the house of Jacob, ... will return, a remnant of Jacob will return to the Mighty God. Though your people O Israel be like the sand by the sea, only a remnant will return" (Isaiah 10:20-23; See also Micah 4:6-8 and Jeremiah 23:2-3).³² Yahweh's justice demanded that a righteous judgement come upon Israel. God has weeded out the sinners from among his people. But the prophets foresaw that a gathering of "holy people" (Isaiah 4:3), a righteous remnant, would be preserved through all the trials in order to redeem society.³³

Exile by the river of Babylon would last roughly 50 years to approximately 538 B.C. The event the prophets had long foretold - the return of the Jews to Jerusalem - took place after Cyrus the Mede conquered Babylon. In contrast to the tactics of earlier Near Eastern rulers, Cyrus allowed exiled peoples to return to their homelands (Isaiah 13:1-22).³⁴ Furthermore, in Ezra 1:2-4 Cyrus gives Ezra, the leader of a group of sojourners, money and encouragement to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem.

In the scriptures, the rulers of the nations, even the nations themselves, are often depicted as Yahweh's puppets moved about at the whim of their creator. Sennacherib of Assyria was used to punish Israel for its transgressions (Isaiah 8:6-10). Later, Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon - called by Yahweh "my servant Nebuchadnezzar" - was used to chastise Judah for its disobedience (Jeremiah 5:15-17, 25:9; Habakkuk 1:5-11). Now, Babylon in turn would be punished for its iniquity by Cyrus the Mede, "God's rod of iron." He had been chosen by the Lord to be his instrument of restoration to the Jews even though he did not know it. "I call you Cyrus by your name. I surname you, though you do not know me ... I gird you though you do not know me (Isaiah 45:1-7).

In scripture prophecies may have a dual meaning. They may refer to the immediate future and they may also point to a more distant future. For example, both Isaiah and Micah mention the Assyrians and Babylonians by name and speak of the return of a remnant from Babylon. Thus, after his return with a contingent of immigrants to Jerusalem, Ezra acknowledged the fulfilment of the prophecies concerning a restoration: "the Lord our God has been gracious in leaving us a remnant" (Ezra 9:8). But there is more. Within the earlier oracle Isaiah and Micah also spoke of a restoration and a glorious future, when the mountain of the Lord's temple will be established and all nations will stream to it to worship the Lord the God of Israel. War would no longer exist. It would be a time when weapons of war would be turned into instruments of peace, "they will beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks" (Isaiah 2:2-5; Micah 4:1-3). In this oracle, the prophet Micah once again refers to the remnant: "In that day the Lord declares I will gather the lame; I will assemble the exiles and those I

have brought to grief. I will make the lame a remnant, those driven away a strong nation.”

Note here the possible influence of the term 'remnant' on later nations or peoples that see themselves as God's covenant people. For the reader of scripture, the term 'remnant' is a identifiable entity. Yahweh has purged his Covenant People several times, but each time he has preserved a 'remnant' for himself. This establishes a historical precedent as to how Yahweh has chastised and preserved his covenant people. But the concept of remnant does not remain in the past. It is also projected to some distant point in the future to "the last days" (Micah 4:1), a time when God will once again collect and sustain a future remnant.

The New Covenant (I)

Up to this point in our discussion we have been looking exclusively at the Old Testament scripture. scripture which is held up as sacred by both Jews and Christians. But what happens when we look at the New Testament. at passages that are exclusively Christian? Have our Covenantal theme and various supporting sub themes disappeared. or do they continue on into the Christian era? Is it possible for Christians to incorporate the Old Testament into their thinking? Can one be both Christian and highly Covenantal in an Old Testament sense? It is easy to see why someone would strain to see the continuity between the Old and New Testaments, so radical does the break appear. But. in regard to the themes which we have been discussing above. I believe it is feasible to argue that a straight foreword reading of the text indicates a remarkable continuity between the Old Testament and New. If this is the case, it also seems plausible that

patterns of thought common to the Old Testament can indeed find sustaining, theological sustenance in the New.

On the matter of the covenant, Akenson sees little continuity between the Old Testament and the New. As I mentioned in my introduction, such a correlation between the two books of scripture is not essential to his argumentation. Akenson maintains that his 'Christian peoples' assimilated the Old Testament directly and did not filter it through the New Testament as is the case with most orthodox Christians. The indication here seems to be: the less Christian, the more covenantal.³⁵

While one can feel confident about Akenson's research as to how the Afrikaner and Ulsterman incorporated scripture, his argument for the uncovenantal nature of the New Testament is less convincing. Akenson recognises that most Bible scholars agree that the Beatitudes are for the most part an accurate representative of Jesus' convictions "if not his exact words." On the basis of his reading of the Beatitudes, Akenson claims "Jesus was rejecting the covenant," that he was "truly revolutionary." There are indications in the New Testament that some residual Covenantal runoff existed. Even, Akenson serves up as an example of how difficult it was to escape the sway of the Old Testaments' scriptural grid. Jesus' successors were unable to follow their teacher's lead in breaking free of the Covenantal grid and recast him as a "Covenantal figure." "Indeed," Akenson continues, "the scriptures that discuss his life and work are sometimes called the New Covenant."³⁶

Although one could delve into the lengthy debate about what the historical Jesus actually did say, this is the pursuit of Bible scholars and organizations such as the Jesus

Seminar (according to this latter group, Jesus did not say very much). Entering into such a ponderous discussion would not be beneficial to this study. Here, we are more concerned about the biblical text as it has historically existed. If we examine scripture in this context, it would appear that Jesus had more to do with maintaining the concept of covenant than has been acknowledged. Consider Jesus's words in Luke 22:40. In the midst of celebrating the Passover supper, Jesus after the supper "took the cup saying, 'This cup is the *New Covenant* in my blood, which is poured out for you.'" (Luke 22:40, emphasis mine). Similar passages are to be found in Matthew 26:7 and Mark 14:24.³⁷ Note here that it is Jesus who makes reference to the covenant, not his followers. Clearly, Jesus assumes that his followers are familiar with covenant thinking and he is attempting to place his actions within the parameters of an established theological concept. This appears to be all the justification Jesus's followers needed. They recognised that historically Yahweh had communed with his people through the covenant and that Jesus gave every indication that the relationship would continue, albeit in a new form.³⁸

In 2 Corinthians, the apostle Paul describes this New Covenant by drawing a comparison with the Old. "We are not like Moses who would put a veil over his face to keep the Israelites from gazing at it while the radiance [of seeing God] was fading away ... to this day the same veil remains when the old covenant is read. It has not been removed, because only in Christ is it taken away. Even to this day when Moses is read, a veil covers their hearts. But whenever any one turns to the Lord the veil is taken away" (2 Corinthians 3:13-15). To Paul, the New Covenant has triumphed over and replaced the Old Covenant. Only conversion to Christ will enable the Jews to lift their veil and allow

them to recognise the incomplete character of the Old Covenant. Christ is, then, the "end of the law" (Romans 10:4), or as He described himself in Matthew, "the fulfilment of the law" (Matthew 5:7).

Thus Jesus is placed squarely within the Old Testament context. He is the ultimate "sacrifice of atonement" (Romans 3:25) being both the scapegoat and the sacrificial goat of Leviticus 16. Whereas before, the Israelites were required to make periodic animal sacrifices to atone for their sins, now Jesus has made a once and for all blood sacrifice to appease Yahweh's righteous anger. Salvation and blessings do not come from obeying the Mosaic Law, but instead come from faith in the blood of Jesus Christ. "For we maintain that a man is justified by faith apart from observing the law" (Romans 3:28).³⁹ Does this mean the law is now obsolete? No, although Paul states that God will declare no one righteous by observing the law, it is through the law that Christians become "conscious of sin" (Romans 3:19-20).

Perhaps the most telling example of continuity between the Old and New Testament is in how Christians are depicted in the New Testament. The language which surrounds them is powerfully reminiscent of earlier description of Israel. In the Old Testament the Israelites because of their covenant with God are seen as a 'Chosen People,' an 'inheritance,' a people 'set apart.' Likewise, the nation of Israel is seen as a 'holy race'. In the New Testament that imagery of being chosen and set apart by God is retained. Now, however, the chosen are the Christians. This development takes place in stages. First of all, Jesus is identified as the chosen one. Early in Luke, following his baptism at the hands of John the Baptist, God's voice came from a cloud to identify Jesus

as "my son whom I have chosen" (Luke 9:35). Ironically, this description is repeated almost verbatim later in Luke by the soldiers who are crucifying him, "The Christ of God the Chosen one" (Luke 23:35).⁴⁰ Then, Jesus's followers are identified as the 'chosen.' In the parable of the wedding banquet in Matthew, Jesus speaks of those who will clothe themselves with the wedding garments of righteousness: "For many are invited but few are chosen" (Matthew 22:14). Picking up on the 'chosen' as being sojourners (Deut. 26:5-9) and strangers in the world (Ps. 39:12), Jesus tells his disciples "If the world hates you, keep in mind that it hated me first. If you belong to the world, it would love you as its own. As it is you do not belong to the world, but I have chosen you out of the world. That is why the world hates you. But I have chosen you out of the world" (John 15:19).⁴¹

Perhaps the best example of the use of Old Testament imagery is to be found in 1 Peter. In the opening of this letter, several key expressions are used. The letter is addressed to "'God's elect,' the 'strangers in the world,' who have been chosen according to the fore knowledge of Christ" (1 Peter 1:1). In the body of this letter this pattern continues. Peter describes Christians as being "a chosen people, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people belonging to God, that you may declare the praises of Him who called you out of darkness into His wonderful light. (1 Peter 2:9). Here it all is: a explicit reference to a 'Chosen People,' a 'royal priesthood' and what we might consider most startling in the New Testament context, the allusion to a 'holy nation' - the prior, Old Testament characterization of Israel.

We also see examples of the 'remnant' theme in the New Testament. In Romans, Paul quotes Hosea's reference to the remnant and relates it to Jewish and Gentile believers

(Romans 9:25-29). And later in the same book, he again quotes Old Testament scripture to reinforce the image of Christians being the remnant. "Don't you know what the scriptures say in the passage about Elijah - how he appealed to God against Israel: 'Lord they have killed your prophets and torn down your altars; I am the only one left, and they are trying to kill me.' And what was God's answer to him? 'I have reserved for myself seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal.' So too, at the present time, there is a remnant chosen by grace." (Romans 11:2-5). Note the comparison Paul is making here. As it was in Elijah's day, so it is in Paul's day. Despite widespread apostasy, a faithful 'remnant' of believers remains.

The Seed (J)

The special Covenantal relationship which the descendants of Abraham are to have with Yahweh is emphasised by the gravity which God places upon on 'the seed' of his chosen.⁴² In Genesis, after God has called Abram to leave Ur, one of His first promises to Abram involves his seed. "I will establish my covenant between me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." (Gen. 17:7). This is not a case of symbolic imagery. Clearly, the reference here is to Abraham's physical descendants. This corporal connection is demonstrated later when Abraham wishes to find a suitable wife for his son, Isaac. Abraham calls his chief servant to him and tells him "put your hand under my thigh. I want you to swear by the Lord ... that you will not get a wife for his son (Isaac) from the daughters of the Canaanites among whom I am living, but will go to my country

and my own relatives and get a wife for my son Isaac" (Genesis 23:17). It is significant that Abraham makes his steward (presumably, Eliezer of Damascus, Genesis 15:2) swear this oath with his hand under Abraham's thigh near his testicles. As Abraham's testicles carry his 'seed,' the inference here is that this oath is linked to the physical continuity of Abraham's line (Genesis 24:2). Abraham's seed must remain pure, it is not to be mixed with undesirable elements. As we saw above, Abraham made his chief servant promise not to take a wife for his son from the Canaanites who lived around them, but to go to his own land and kinsman.⁴³ Earlier, over against Abraham's plea that his oldest son, Ishmael, son of Hagar, come under the promise of the covenant, "if only Ishmael might live under your blessing" (Genesis 17:26), God promises Abraham a child from Sarah's barren body. Hagar's child, Ishmael, will be blessed, but God will only establish his covenant with Isaac "whom Sarah will bear" (Genesis 17:21).⁴⁴

Such intermarriages posed the greatest danger of contamination to Abraham's seed, and scripture is full of warnings to not marry with 'the people of the land.' The reason that intermarriage with outsiders was considered dangerous was that it could lead to a breaking of the covenant by the worship of the 'false gods' of the outsiders. "You must not live by the customs of the nations I am going to drive out before you ... You will possess their land; I will give it to you as an inheritance, a land flowing with milk and honey. I am the Lord your God who has set you apart from the nations" (Leviticus 20:23-24). Moses goes so far as to warn against any formal agreement with the people of the land as it could lead to intermarriage. "Do not make a treaty with those who live in the land: for when they prostitute themselves to their gods and sacrifice to them, they will

invite you and you will eat their sacrifices. And when you choose some of their daughters as wives for your sons and those daughters prostitute themselves to their gods, they will lead your sons to do the same" (Exodus 34:15-16). Here, once again judgement will fall on the guilty. "You will fall by the sword and I will execute judgement on you at the borders of Israel. Then you will know that I am the Lord. ... for you have not followed my decrees but have conformed to the standards of the nations around you" (Ezekiel 10:20).

The extent to which this principle of separation was to be followed was revealed following the return of the remnant to Jerusalem after the Babylonian captivity. Arriving home years after the first immigrants, Ezra discovered that many of the Jews who had returned earlier had married non-Jewish women. They had "taken some of their daughters for their wives for themselves and their sons, and have mingled the holy race with the peoples around them" (Ezra 9:2). When Ezra heard this, he was stricken with guilt and he tore his clothes, pulled his hair, and sat down (9:1-5).

That night at the time of the evening sacrifice, Ezra prayed a prayer of confession about this mingling of the holy with the profane.

What has happened to us is a result of our evil deeds and our great guilt, and yet our God, you have punished us less than our sins have deserved and have given us a remnant like this. Shall we again break your commands and intermarry with the people who practice such detestable practices? Would you not be angry enough with us to destroy us, leaving us no remnant or survivor? O Lord, God of Israel, you are righteous! We are left this day as a remnant. Here we are before you in our guilt, though because of it not one of us can stand in your presence. (Ezra 9:13-15)

By the time Ezra finished his prayer, many others in the crowd also confessed that they had been unfaithful to God by marrying the "foreign women from the people around

us." Caught up in Ezra's desire to redeem themselves, the weeping crowd made a covenant that they would send away all their foreign wives and the children born to them. Ezra put all the leading priests and Levites on oath to do this, and it was decided that a meeting would be held in three days time to deal with this problem. At that meeting a list was made of all those men who were found guilty of the crime of intermarriage. The guilty were ordered to divorce their non-Jewish wives and send them away with any children born to them (10:16-44).

There have been examples of mass marriages in ancient times. In an attempt to join the Macedonians and Persians together into a 'master race,' Alexander the Great and ten thousand of his soldiers married Persian women.⁴⁵ Although the numbers in this case are not as large as those involved in that great wedding, it is something even more rare, a mass divorce. Nor was there a custody fight over the children. Tainted with foreign blood they were not wanted by their fathers.

As with some of the other Old Testament traits that have transcended the border between the covenants, this tendency to keep separate, to protect 'the seed,' is also exhibited in the New Testament. In a letter which evokes as sharp a distinction between God's people and the people of the land as anything in the Old Testament, Paul advises Gentile Christians not to be "yoked together" with unbelievers.⁴⁶ "What does a believer have in common with a unbeliever?" asks Paul. "What agreement is there between the temple of God and idols? ... As God has said: I will live with them and walk among them, and I will be their God and they will be my people. 'Therefore come out and be separate says the Lord'" (2 Corinthians 6:15-17).

Given the formidable barriers the covenant placed between the Chosen people and the goyim, it may come as a surprise to learn that some 'people of the land' were accepted within the covenant even in Old Testament times.⁴⁷ The most celebrated account is that of the Moabite women, Ruth. The Book of Ruth is generally understood as revealing that participation in the coming Kingdom of God is decided not by blood and birth, but by faith. Ruth's place in the ancestry of King David is taken to signify that all nations will be represented in God's kingdom. On a deeper level I believe Ruth's actions establish a historical precedent, a pattern for those joining the covenant.

During the period of the Judges, a famine arose in Israel. A Israelite Elimelech and his wife Naomi went to live in Moab where Elimelech died leaving Naomi with two sons. These sons grew up and eventually married Orpah and Ruth, two Moabite women. After a period of time, tragedy struck again and the two brothers died leaving the three women to look after themselves. After this last misfortune, Naomi decided to return to Israel to be among her own people. In the beginning both daughter-in-laws were determined to go to Israel with her. Naomi was able to convince Orpah to stay with her people, but Ruth would not be swayed. "Where you go I will go, and where you stay I will stay. Your people will be my people and your God my God. Where you die I will die and there will I be buried" (Ruth 1:16-17).

Notice that Ruth's commitment here is total. She is willing to submerge her Moabite identity and become totally absorbed by the Israelite customs that Naomi represents in this story. The mind set we have thus far examined indicates a suspicion toward people coming in from outside the covenant community. I would suggest that this

well known story functions as a hallmark on how to deal with such situations. Individuals coming in from outside the community need to be totally absorbed. Full acceptance may depend upon cutting all links to people or activities that fall outside the established parameters. If such links were retained that person might remain under suspicion and never be totally accepted.

Summary (L)

In reference to our discussion above let us try to draw together some of the cognitive patterns which may stem from the scripture passages discussed. First of all, the Chosen People think collectively. Henry Wheeler Robinson has described this tendency as a 'corporate mentality.' To put it simply, this means there is more emphasis put upon the 'we,' rather than the 'I.' Second, because they are the sole participants in a covenant with Yahweh, the Chosen People are to consider themselves 'a special people.' Scripture does not mince words on this point. Time after time the Israelites are described as a 'treasured possession,' a 'holy nation,' a 'Covenant People.' Such a perception can serve as a strong impetus to bind people tightly together through ensconcing a sense of purpose and significance which goes beyond the bounds of simple ethnic identity. It is also feasible to argue that such perceptions created a propensity toward courage, self-confidence and aggressiveness. Understandably such an opinion does not always cultivate feelings of modesty. While the chosen are counselled to "walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8) and it might be presumed they adopt a similar gait before men, the knowledge that you and your people have been chosen above all others for a special

relationship with God may lead to triumphalistic attitudes or feelings of spiritual or moral superiority over those believed to be outside the covenant.⁴⁸

The third characteristic is being 'set apart.' The Covenant People are warned against marrying, associating, and even making treaties with the people of the land. This tendency to set oneself apart is part of a broader pattern of separation that runs through scripture. Akenson has recognised the tendency of scripture to make sharp distinctions between the sacred and the profane. The Chosen People are 'sacred' and the people of the land are 'profane.' In Leviticus, the Israelites are taught that even food was to be separated into clean (sacred) and unclean (profane) categories (Lev. 20:25-26).⁴⁹ Along with discerning between the profane and the sacred, Old Testament scripture also denotes and grades differences between acceptable things. In Leviticus, the Lord tells Moses that "for the generations to come none of your descendants who has a defect may come near to offer the food of his God ... no man who is blind or lame, disfigured or deformed; no man with a crippled foot or hand, or who has any eye defect ... he must not come near to offer the food of his God" (Leviticus 21:16-20). And earlier, God tells the Hebrews: "Do not mate different kinds of animals. Do not plant your field with two kinds of seed. Do not wear clothing woven of two kinds of materials" (Leviticus 20:19). Such an emphasis creates a sensitivity to differences. And while this strict categorizing may seem draconian, establishing such clearly defined boundaries does have its benefits. As Akenson has put it, "such a division of the world into easily understandable black and white categories is emotionally comforting, because it erases those ambiguous gray areas of human experience that cause so much anxiety."⁵⁰ It seems clear that painting the world in black

and white colors would be particularly appealing to an immigrant community placed in a confusing new environment. Naturally, the drawback is that with such a mind set in place is there is little room for flexibility. Outside of certain prescribed situation there are few opportunities for social interaction with people outside of the immediate 'covenant' community. Outsiders must be kept at arms length and be accepted into the community only with considerable caution. Such biblically based views the Dutch Reformed brought with them to Canada.

Notes to Chapter Two

2. The Covenant

1. This tendency to marriage within the church has gone on to such an extent in the *Gereformeerde Kerk*, a sister denomination in South Africa, that certain health problems associated with inbreeding have become associated with that church, and are in fact named after it. Interview with Dr. Elaine Botha, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, May 26, 1998; A Christian Reformed immigrant told me that he knew of four couples who got together regularly, all had married their first cousins. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, January 3, 1997.
2. Carrier Contract for Services Agreement: The Hamilton Spectator 1997.
3. Max Weber, Ancient Judaism, 1952 trans., 75. In ancient society the covenantal relationship took on a variety of forms, depending upon circumstances. Sometimes an alliance between two people would be formed on the ordinary human level. There could also be a covenantal relationship between a person in power and a group of subordinates.
4. Jakob Jocz, The Covenant: A Theology of Human Destiny (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968), 31.
5. I am using, Kenneth Barker, editor, The New International Version Study Bible (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Bible Publishers), 1985. I will no longer cite it in the footnotes I will just note the text.
6. The NIV describes this covenant as a "unconditional divine promise." See 'Major Covenants in the Old Testaments,' 19. It is also described as unconditional by Jocz, The Covenant, 29; And Akenson, God's Peoples, 34. This type of covenant is known among Bible scholars as a 'Royal Grant.' Found in the Ancient Near East it refers to a grant of land or some other boon to a faithful follower. In general, these grants was unqualified and absolute. But the inheritors of the grant were included in it only as long as they demonstrated their predecessors fealty. NIV, 19.
7. The author is aware that there has been debate on whether or not God placed conditions upon Abraham. R.K. Harrison example has stated that "no obligations are imposed upon Abraham." Others have pointed to Genesis 17:2 which seems to offer support for this interpretation. However, the bulk of scholarship in this area comes down solidly for conditions implied or otherwise. R.E. Clements made an interesting contribution to the debate when he stated that, "obedience was not the presupposition of the covenant but its consequence." R.K.

Harrison. A History O.T. Times, 1955, 67; R.E. Clements, Prophecy and the Covenant, 1965, 74.

8. Akenson. God's Peoples, 14.

9. The Hittite Treaty had six sections. 1). A preamble - naming the author of the covenant. 2). A historical Prologue - setting out the history between the parties prior to signing the treaty. 3). The reciprocal obligation of the parties entering into covenant. 4). A clause - describing the pact and establishing a pattern for a regular public renewal. 5). A list of gods - who would serve as witnesses to the treaty. 6). Curses directed to those who broke the treaty, but blessings to those who remained faithful. Old Testament covenants have structures that closely resemble these treaties. For example, as the Israelites held Yahweh to be the one and only God he served as the sole witness. Passages in Deuteronomy, Exodus 19-24, Joshua 24, and I Samuel 12 offer examples of this form of Old Testament treaty. The seminal study in this area is George Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955). This is a continuation of earlier articles in The Biblical Archaeologist, XVII, 2 (May, 1954), 26-46 and XVII, 3 (September, 1954), 49-76.

10. This Covenant ritual is later described in Jeremiah 34:18. By killing the animals and walking between them the participants seem to indicate that the penalty for breaking the agreement was death. It is notable in this instance, that only God confirms his part of the pact by passing between the pieces. NIV, 29.

11. Evidently both Sarah and Sarai mean 'princes.' The difference seems to be that Sarah also indicates that she was to be the mother of nations. NIV, fn., 17:15.

12. Not all scholars agree that the covenant at this time was conditional. For example, Jocz insists that "according to the text, the Abrahamic covenant is absolutely conditionless." Jocz, The Covenant, 23.

13. The patriarchs: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Israel) knew God as El Shaddai (God Almighty). God identified himself as YHWH (The Lord) from a burning bush in Exodus 3:14-15.

14. Other examples of renewing the covenant, (Neh. 8:1-9:38).

15. Gordon Wenham, "Covenants and Near Eastern Treaties," 198-199.

16. One has only to read the psalms to see that the covenant continued to be understood as applying to the individual as much as to the nation.

17. Akenson, God's People, 21-22.

18. A. Weiser, The Psalms: A Commentary, 1962, in Jocz, The Covenant, 79.

19. NIV, fn., Joshua 7:24.

20. Although Moses is identified in the Bible as giving the codes to the Israelites, Bible scholars have long recognised that they were the work of several hands over many centuries. For example, John H. Tullock suggests that the Deuteronomic code (second law) was an "updating or modernizing" of the law to correspond with the difference circumstances the Israelites found themselves in. John H. Tullock, The Old Testament Story (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981), 89.
21. Akenson, God's Peoples, 16.
22. This compliance to God's will was according to Jocz "the *sine qua non* condition of the covenant relationship." Jocz, The Covenant, 23.
23. The image of the 'promised land,' a land 'flowing with milk and honey' is one of the most persistent images in the Bible. (Gen.,50:24); (Deut. 8:7); (Exod. 3:8); (Lev. 20:24).
24. For an interesting discussion on how this is worked out psychologically see Akenson's God's Peoples, 16. This is not to say that everything that is said about success in the Old Testament is positive. With the wealth and power the Lord bestows, comes obligations and responsibilities. In Psalm 82, Yahweh demands that his people "Defend the cause of the weak and fatherless, maintain the rights of the poor and oppressed, rescue the weak and the needy" (Psalm 82:3-4). Elsewhere, in a stricter tone, the psalmist warns that God will bring destruction on "the man who did not make God his stronghold but trusted in his great wealth." (Psalm 52:7). Thus while prosperity is seen as a reward of righteousness and poverty the result of sin, the Israelites are warned never to forget the source of their wealth. "Remember the Lord your God for it is he who gives you the ability to produce wealth" (Deut. 8:18).
25. Earlier in the scripture the Lord reminds the Israelites on the eve of their penetration into Canaan that he is not giving them the land because they are righteous, but because the Canaanites are wicked.
26. "All these curses will come upon you. They will pursue you and overtake you until you are destroyed, because you did not obey the Lord your God and observe the command and decrees he gave you. They will be a sign and a wonder to you and your descendants forever, because you did not serve the Lord your God joyfully and gladly, in the time of prosperity, therefore in hunger and thirst in nakedness and dire poverty you will serve the enemies the Lord sends against you, he will put an iron yoke on your neck until he has destroyed you."(Deut. 28:45-48). The Lord said, "It is because they have forsaken my law which I set before them: they have not obeyed me or followed my law, instead, they have followed the stubbornness of their hearts: they have followed the baal's, as their fathers taught them ... The days are coming, declares the lord when I will punish all who are circumcised only in the flesh ... and even the whole house of Israel is uncircumcised in heart" (Jer 9:13-25); (Jer 15:1).
27. The Israelites failure to trust in the Lord during their immigration led to unfortunate consequences. With the exception of the spies, Joshua and Caleb, only the Israelite children of

that generation were allowed to enter the Promised Land. All those 20 years of age or over, died in the desert as punishment for their disobedience (14:26-35). Moses reminded them 40 years late of this sin Deuteronomy (9:23-24).

28. The term remnant is first mentioned in scripture in Genesis when Joseph revealed his identity to his brothers. At that time he referred to them as a remnant. "But God sent me ahead of you to preserve for you a remnant on earth and to save your lives by a great deliverance." (Genesis 45:7). The NIV commentators note that it was likely Joseph called them a remnant in the belief that they would become a great nation (Ftn., NIV).

29. King Hezekiah sent his administrators to Isaiah and asked him "Therefore pray for the remnant that still survives" (Isaiah 36: 37:1-4).

30. See also (Dt. 16:20; 27:19); (1 King 10:9) and (Micah 4:1-3).

31. A day for which Isaiah named his son Shear-jashub, which meant "a remnant will return." (Isaiah 7:1-4).

32. "In that day, says the Lord, I will assemble the lame, and gather those who have been driven away and those whom I have afflicted; and the lame will I make a remnant and those who were cast off a strong nation" (Micah 4:6). "I myself will gather the remnant of my flock out of all the countries where I have driven them and will bring them back to their pastures where they will be fruitful and increase in number" (Jeremiah 23:2-3).

33. "Those who are left in Zion, who remain in Jerusalem, will be called holy, all who are recorded among the living in Jerusalem." (Isaiah 4:3 there is more here): (NIV, 1023). Other prophecies that deal with a remnant and a return. (Isaiah 11:10-11; See also (Jeremiah 4:27, 5:10,18-19).

34. As most of the Israelites who returned from the exile had been from the tribe of Judah, they became known as Jews a short form for Judahites.

35. Akenson, God's Peoples, 9-10.

36. Ibid., 41.

37. This is my blood of the covenant which is poured out for many," he said to them. "I tell you the truth, I will not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it anew in the kingdom of God" (Mark 14:36).

38. Conversion of the Gentiles "a wild olive shoot" (Romans 11:17) forced the ancient church to face several important questions. Should gentile Christians be required to submit to circumcision and practice the Jewish way of life, as Gentile proselytes to Judaism were required to do? And most important, what makes a person Christian - faith in Christ exclusively, or faith in Christ plus obedience to the laws of Judaism? Many of the first Christians being Jewish

continued in large measure their Jewish way of life, including attendance at the synagogue and temple, offering of sacrifices, observance of Mosaic ritual and dietary bans, and social separation from Gentiles (Acts 15).

39. The most famous scriptural passage in Reformational history. In his translation, Luther added the word 'alone' which is not present in the Greek. (NIV fn. Romans 3:28).

40. For additional passages see (Matthew 2:14) and (Hosea 11:1).

41. For another passage that deals with the 'sojourning,' 'stranger' theme, see (Hebrews 11:8-9).

42. Akenson. God's Peoples, 22-24.

43. While still in Genesis we see the possibility of intermarriage once again spring up. When Israel and his children meet up with the citizens of Shechem. Hamor "approaches Israel and asks him to intermarry with us ..." in a particularly bloody bit of treachery two of Dinah's brothers Simon and Levi fall upon the men of the city when their pain was the most intense and killed every male in the city (Genesis 34:9).

44. This selection process will be repeated two generations later between the two sons of Israel. "'Was not Esau Jacob's brother?' the Lord says. 'yet I have loved Jacob but Esau I have hated'" (Malachi 1:2-3).

45. F.W. Walbank. The Hellenistic World (Glasgow: William Collins Sons and Co. Ltd., 1981), 36.

46. Paul's advice about yoking, evokes images of the prohibition of Deuteronomy 22:10, where Moses bid the Israelites not to plow with an ox and a donkey yoked together. NIV fn. 2 (Corinthians 6:14).

47. In the case of Rahab, the Prostitute of Jericho one family joined the covenant (Joshua 2, 6:22-25). Later with the Gibeonites, the inhabitants of four cities tricked the Israelites into letting them enter the covenant (Joshua 9).

48. John the Baptist confronted this triumphalistic attitude in Matthew where he warned the Pharisees and Sadducees that God could raise up "children for Abraham" out of ordinary stones (Matthew 3:9).

49. Akenson. God's Peoples, 26.

50. Ibid., 26.

Chapter III

The Netherlands: The Synod of Dort and Popular Manifestations

The Reformation (A)

Remember the description I presented in part one. To get a better grasp on the several influences responsible for shaping the Reformed mind, I suggested we envision them as different strata of thought. Each is deposited at different periods in the history of the Reformed, all solidly together, but distinct. The scriptures are the bed rock, the root source of the Reformed mind set, but they are not the only influence we need to consider.

I would like to direct the reader's attention to some of the other prominent cognitive stepping stones we will need to examine if we want to understand how the Reformed came to think of themselves as a distinct, covenant people. To a certain degree, the other layers of thought give their own particular flavour to the mind set we are examining. The link between scripture and our immigrants was never straightforward. The historical pot was stirred many times and many ingredients unique to the Netherlands were added.

Clearly, personal intimacy with the scriptures and its Covenantal theme is of fundamental importance in creating the mind set described above. As Akenson has noted, those societies that pay most attention to the Hebrew scriptures are those most apt to react like the ancient Israelites on certain pivotal matters.¹ To what extent these scriptures are factual and accurate from a historical point of view is not the issue here. As I mentioned earlier in my discussion on worldviews, ideas do not necessarily need to be seen by all as legitimate to be influential. What is essential, is that they are accepted as

authentic and this was certainly the case with the Orthodox Dutch Reformed. The scriptures were understood to be historically accurate and literal, springing practically verbatim from the mouth of God.

Understandably, many scholars look only as far as the Protestant Reformation with its increased emphasis on the Bible to encounter the roots of Hebraic analogy. Hebraism, however, was not confined to the Protestant or even the Calvinist churches, but reached back to the time of the early church fathers.² Nevertheless, this focus on the Covenantal aspect of the scriptures by the early church fathers came to new prominence during the Protestant Reformation.

According to Martin Luther, the priest had become an obstacle between the common man and God. Luther wanted to do away with such impediments and let every man be his own priest. So along with his famous clarion call against the role of works "sola gratia" (grace alone), Luther also coined the term "Sola scriptura" (scripture alone). Anyone could come to know God personally through reading the Bible; the book only needed to be placed in the hands of the common man.³ In essence, this is Akenson's position with respect to how the Afrikaner became Covenantal. He downplays the influence of systematic theology and a schooled, orthodox leadership and argues for the direct unmediated influence of the scriptures on the Afrikaner.⁴ While this argument may have merit in regard to the Afrikaner, if we are to place the Dutch Reformed under our microscope, it would be a mistake to ignore the role played by a trained clergy and a formal theology. Theological interpretation and structure have traditionally followed close on the heels of scripture. For example, despite Luther's call for *sola scriptura*, after

the 'Peasants Revolt' and the rise of the radical anabaptist even the great protestor found himself erecting some extra Biblical authority of his own.⁵ As Brinton has pointed out, "somebody had to do the kind of thing the Fathers, Canon law, the Roman Church had done long ago. Not the Bible, but the interpreters of the Bible provided authority." Despite the Protestant appeal to scripture, somebody had to communicate just what the Bible meant on particular points.⁶

For the Dutch Reformed the foremost authority was a second generation French reformer, John Calvin.⁷ As with his famous predecessor Luther, Calvin was zealous in promoting the primacy of scripture.⁸ However in contrast to Luther, Calvin along with other Reformed thinkers professed an additional maxim, *tota scriptura* (the whole of scripture).⁹

While it would be a mistake to charge Luther with rejecting the precepts of the Old Testament in favour of the sole authority of the New, his emphasis was more concretely focussed on the gospel of Jesus Christ.¹⁰ Luther's passionate struggle with his own personal salvation is famous. To the question, "how do I obtain a God who is gracious to me?" The answer came, 'justification by faith.' Naturally, for Luther, this decree became the heart of the gospel.¹¹ Consequently, Luther was wary of any bid seeking to integrate the Old Testament into New Testament theology.¹²

Calvin and subsequent Reformed theologians took a more inclusive approach to the Old Testament. Although Calvin recognised the preeminence of the New Testament over the Old, he alleged that the 'covenant of grace' which Jesus established in the New Testament was the same covenant that YHWH had initiated with his chosen people in the

Old. "The covenant made with all the patriarchs is so much like ours in substance and reality that the two are actually one and the same."¹³ Calvin explains that Abraham was the father of all believers and as such deserves the admiration of Christians "if we consider his faith which is set before us as the best model of believing; to be children of God we must be reckoned as members of his tribe."¹⁴ As Christ is the only mediator, the one road to salvation, there was only the one covenant of grace which existed in the Old Testament as well as the New. The Old Testament covenant, Calvin asserts, was invulnerable: there could be no other covenant. "He then who once made a covenant with his chosen people, had not changed his purpose, as though he had forgotten his faithfulness."¹⁵ Christ became incarnate to complete, or as Calvin describes it, "crown" the covenant already established. Through the medium of his writings, the most famous being the Institutes of the Christian Religion, through his catechisms and through ministers trained at his Genevan University, Calvin's theology spread throughout Europe and took root in various countries.

The Netherlands (B)

With this broad outline in back of us, we can now focus our attention more closely on how the Reformed mind set was formed in the Netherlands. To a large degree the Reformed communities in Canada owe their thinking to patterns established around the time of the great synod of Dort (1618-1619). Dort is significant in that it systematically integrated into its doctrinal canons earlier theological influences at work in the Netherlands along with the Covenantal emphasises of Calvin.¹⁶ This combination of

homegrown theology coupled with Calvin's influence was to amplify several theological concerns, specifically covenantalism. Church historian John Kromminga concluded that "when we compare the Christian Reformed position with pristine Calvinism ... the emphasis upon the Covenant doctrine is more predominant in the Christian Reformed system than in Calvin's."¹⁷ For our present purposes allow me to briefly outline several of the more prominent theological developments to come out of this period .

First of all, in keeping with the emphasis of Calvin, the concepts of the 'chosen' and the 'covenant' were forcefully ensconced in Reformed doctrine. The sixth article in the Canon's of Dort entitled 'God's Eternal Decision' reads:

Some receive from God the gift of faith within time, and that others do not, stems from his eternal decision. For ... in accordance with this decision he graciously softens the hearts, however hard of his chosen ones and inclines them to believe, but by his just judgement he leaves in their wickedness and hardness of heart those who have not been chosen ... this is the well known decision of election and reprobation in God's Word.¹⁸

This election, the canon goes on to say, is the one and same for all who were to be redeemed in both the New Testament and Old.¹⁹ It was on the basis of this teaching about the will of God for salvation that the doctrine of predestination was to be understood. The only basis for God electing or choosing someone was "by sheer grace, according to the free good pleasure of his will." Nor does this mean he made his decision on certain human qualities or actions. "Those chosen were neither better nor more deserving than the others" the canon states, but rather "involves his (God) adopting certain particular persons from among the common mass of sinners as his own possession."²⁰ This vindication of the will of God expressed in the doctrine of double predestination was

proof - "not to the elect alone but 'to the entire world' of his faithfulness" in keeping his covenant.²¹

The parameters of the 'elect' and 'God's covenant' were more closely demarcated after Dort ratified the use of two earlier Calvinist works - the Belgic Confession (1561) and the Heidelberg Catechism (1563).²² From this time forward these three Reformed creeds, which quickly earned the title 'three forms of unity' would act as an litmus test for Reformed orthodoxy.

Central to this task and of historical importance for the Reformed in Canada were the three 'True Church' articles of the 'Belgic Confession.' These articles call on believers "to discern ... what is the true church," going on to explain that "since this holy assembly and congregation is the gathering of those who are saved and there is no salvation apart from it no one ought to withdraw from it." In language which is remarkably similar to Old Testament injunctions for racial purity, the article goes on to insist that "it is the duty of all believers ... to separate themselves from those who do not belong to the (true) church" in order to preserve unity.²³

Now to aid in the task of identifying which churches make up the true church and which churches are false churches 'article 29' provides a check list of the distinguishing marks of both churches. For example, the true church engages in the pure preaching of the gospel; it makes use of the pure administration of the sacraments (which a later article restricts to two, baptism and the Holy Supper); and it practices church discipline. In contrast, the false church assigns more authority to itself and its ordinances than to the Word of God; it does not subject itself to the yoke of Christ; and it does not administer

the sacraments as Christ commanded in his Word.²⁴

Before the midway point of the Synod was reached, subscription to the 'three forms of unity' was made obligatory upon all ministers and school teachers operating within the Reformed Churches. Failure to subscribe to the three forms of unity would result in the office holder being deposed from his office.²⁵ As well membership in the State (*Herformede*) Church was made mandatory for nomination to civic office.

Simon Schama has stated that Hebraic analogy has been the most compelling way in which the Dutch were drawn together in a mutually recognizable community. But as Versluis has argued, from the very beginning, Dutch nationalism and Protestantism were like opposite sides of the same coin: Catholics were by definition inferior Dutchmen. For two centuries after the nation was born in the war against Catholic Spain, the large Catholic minority in the Netherlands was what one Catholic writer has termed a "*niet-volk*," a nonpeople. Catholics did not receive equal suffrage until the constitution of 1848.²⁶

It is hard to overestimate the importance of the three forms of unity in the formation of the Dutch Reformed churches in Canada up to the present day. Although some Reformed churches accuse others of swaying from a acceptable fidelity to the forms, church officeholders, such as ministers, elders and deacons must still adhere to these doctrinal formulations. This point of contact between the doctrinal standards and the officers of Reformed Churches is according to John Kromminga 'iron clad.' "From the standpoint of formal adherence to the doctrinal standards, the resistance to change may be described as completely successful. "There is only "a remote possibility of introducing

any fundamental - or minor changes in the creeds ...".²⁷

Scripture (C)

The historic patterns and focus of the devotional life of the Reformed were formed around the time of Dort. As the synod had concluded that "we are to judge the will of God, from his Word," how the Bible was to be used and interpreted was given close attention. The 'three forms of unity' were recognised as the authoritative summary of God's Word. In addition, the synod commissioned a special Bible translation, the so-called State 'Bible.' This edition was published in 1637 with interpretive notes in the margins, to assist readers through puzzling passages. Van Engen describes how this Bible was to be employed within the typical Reformed household: "Family fathers were to make their way through the entire Bible, reading aloud from this precious and expensive book at every meal and using the notes to explain its meaning to their children. Thus Scripture was passed down in the very heart of every family, in a uniform religious language and with a relatively uniform interpretation." Nor could this official exegesis be challenged lightly. In order to maintain uniformity of thought, Dort ruled that books on theology were not to be produced or circulated by members of the Reformed community unless they had been sanctioned by synod or by a theology professor.²⁸

Church (D)

Dort sanctioned a new church order which was to regulate the polity, doctrine and practice of the Orthodox Reformed Churches up to the present day. More will be said about this later, but the church order also outlined the administration of the sacraments which are identified as the 'signs and seals of the covenant.'

Dort also put in place a similar systematic approach to produce qualified ministers who were, and still are, the only ones allowed to preach in Orthodox Reformed churches today. Despite a tendency to over regulate how people lived, (it has been said that "the one thing everyone knows about Calvinism is it was not a lot of fun"²⁹) the Calvinist ministers tried to be convincing and placed a great deal of emphasis on preaching.³⁰ Church order called on ministers to "briefly explain the sum of Christian doctrine contained in the catechism ...". To aid in this task, the catechism was divided into 52 sections so that a part of the catechism could be explained from the pulpit each Sunday of the year.

These Sunday afternoon catechetical sermons were to be central to the formation of the Reformed people's worldview. John Van Engen, a member of the Christian Reformed Church, records that in his own denomination, "Nothing so formed the mind of our community as our subscription to the three basic forms of unity and nothing so shaped our communal understanding of scripture as those catechetical sermons on Sunday afternoon."³¹

A Northern Israel (E)

Significantly, at approximately the same time as the conclusions of Dort were being implemented, the Dutch were facing another challenge which was to give the ideas coming out of Dort their own distinctive spin.

During the period the new orthodoxy formulated at Dort was emerging, the Dutch found themselves in the midst of their epic struggle for independence from Spain. Although there has been debate surrounding how this conflict played itself out in the Dutch mind, many chroniclers are convinced that by drawing from an earlier humanist heritage and bolstered by the "incessant (Bible) reading, singing and exegesis that went on in Calvinist Churches, schools and homes" a powerful Hebraic self-image was formed with the Netherlands assuming the role of the new Israel.³²

According to Simon Schama, the turbulent period of the Golden Age provided wonderful sermonic fodder in which, "the epic matter of the Old Testament, ... seemed particularly relevant to a world perceived as divided into camps of the godly and the heathen where pestilence, fire and famine were the common lot, and where unimaginable atrocities marked the highway to apocalypse."³³

In the '*Wilhelmus van nassouwe*,' the national anthem of the Netherlands, William of Orange, one of the leaders of revolt, is equated with King David. As David had to flee the tyrant Saul, William was forced to flee from a vindictive Philip. But as God was with David and Israel, He was also with William and the Netherlands. The Prince of Orange refers to "*een vaste verbond*" which one translation has as "a unshakable union," but which my old Dutch-English dictionary translates as "a permanent covenant" between the

Netherlands and God. Jacobus Lydius described this union in 1668 when he recounted that "When men ask how the Netherlands, with such little power, could overcome their enemies on land and destroy them at sea and on so many occasions snatch victory from the jaws of defeat ... then we can only say that this could only have come about through the eternal covenant made between God and his *Nederkinderen* (Netherlands children) below."³⁴

Conceivably, the most interesting development at this time occurred when the image of the 'Netherlands as Israel' transcended its theological venue - came down from the pulpit - and was expressed through a medley of popular mediums.³⁵ In school books, plays, paintings engravings and music the sacred war against Spain was glorified and immortalised. Indeed, this type of imagery was to outlive the Spanish war and was, for the edification of later generations, often dusted off and reintroduced with the names and dates changed when new dangers loomed on the horizon.³⁶

The Afscheiding - Dutch Pietism (F)

The next factor, or layer of thought we need to look at is Reformed pietism. If there is a tangible event we can link this development to it would be the *Afscheiding* of 1834. The supporters of the *Afscheiding* were called 'Seceders' because they had stepped out of the 'Enlightenment' influenced National (*Hervormde*) church in 1834.³⁷

This secession from the National church had deep roots which went back to the sixteenth century. At that time small groups of the Reformed began to form conventicles to make up for the phlegmatic formalism that was creeping into the church. These Dutch

pietists did not want their Christianity to be restricted to an aloof mental knowledge; they wanted it to appeal to their heart as well. Such a focus has parallels in broader European Protestantism, but unlike that broader movement which often delved into a radical theology. Dutch pietism sought to strengthen its ties with the orthodox theology of the established church. Dutch pietists resented the "cold, formal orthodoxy" of the established church but they so detested the theology of "rationalism and humanism" that they endeavoured counter it with a passionate, dynamic orthodoxy.³⁸

Owing to its geographic position and its economic endeavours, the Netherlands has always been in close touch with the philosophical milieux of the nations surrounding it. John Locke is said to have a direct influence on Dutch culture whereas Rousseau's influence is said to be indirect. Pedagogy that harmonized with Enlightenment ideas reached Holland largely through the work of the Germans founding the 'Philantropinums.' Basedow, Salzmann, and Campe. Understandably, these pietists did not appreciate the fruit the enlightenment bore in the Netherlands. While many philosophes had maintained a polite stance on the question of a "Supreme Being, or 'First Cause," others had rejected orthodox doctrines and had supplanted the supremacy of scripture with a faith in reason. As noted by Van Brummelen, God's grace was transformed into virtue and justification became a human endeavour instead of a divine gift. To be Enlightened meant to apply reason to the book of nature. Guided by reason and experience, humans could become honourable, responsible citizens.³⁹

Such views struck a responsive chord with many educated Dutch of Calvinist persuasion. Complete unbelief was unnecessary; although Christ was no longer the Son of

God and Saviour, he was still a historical being whose teachings could serve as a rule on how to live a virtuous life. As this liberalised theology won first tolerance and then dominance over those loyal to the theology of Dort the orthodox theologians turned to the pietistic conventicles for support.⁴⁰

The invasion by Napoleon of the Batavian Republic (1794-1806) in 1806 accelerated the influence of Enlightenment thought in Dutch society. By the early nineteenth century the 'Groningen School of Enlightened Theology' controlled the administration and theological direction of the "National church." A similar situation unfolded among those who were providing educational leadership. In a 1798 Education Act, an 'agent of national instruction' was given central authority over all elementary and secondary schools. He was to ensure that not only the schools, but all cultural institutions would "promote the enlightenment and culture" of all Dutch citizens. In keeping with this philosophy, education became a centralized monopoly of the state.⁴¹

The restoration in 1813 did not improve things as far as the pious were concerned. In 1816, an enlightened William I. recast the National Church into a bureaucratically controlled State Department of Religion modelled after the Prussian state church. This completed the process that had begun a century earlier. The removal of control of religious affairs from the local population made the church more a institution of 'social unity' than a assembly of ardent believers.⁴²

These tensions between the pietists and government came to a head in the 1830's when minister Hendrik de Cock rejected the 'Groningen theology' in which he had been instructed and turned to the traditional works of Calvin and the 'Synod of Dort' for his

sermon material. Upon advancing these themes in his sermons, de Cock attracted a considerable number of worshippers from surrounding parishes. Before long, de Cock was baptising the children of these sojourning parishioners and criticising their ministers in pamphlets as "wolves in sheep's clothing," actions which resulted in him being suspended from his appointment. As it turned out, De Cock's congregation, and the congregations of other pastors who had begun to follow him, refused to accept his dismissal and 'seceded' from the National Church to "return" to what they considered the "true church."⁴³

Before the French occupation of the Netherlands the state church had been called the *Gereformeerde Kerk*, the 'Reformed Church.' In 1816 after the restoration, the National church's name was changed to the *Hervormde Kerk*, the 'Re-formed Church.' To complement this return to the church theologically the separatists appropriated the former name of the state church, donning once more the title *Gereformeerde Kerk*, the 'Reformed Church.'⁴⁴

It is clear from the sources that there was a relationship between social class and reaction to the secession. The Secession has been described as a popular movement among the lower classes. Records from that time state that the movement was for the most part made up of the "lowest ranks," the "uncultured," and "the least significant," and having "no man of name among them."⁴⁵ They were as John Kromminga said in regard to those Seceders who later came to the United States, "no race of intellectual giants which founded the church in the wilderness. The members of the church were common people, and their leaders only slightly less common."⁴⁶ Those who did not join the secession

were said to be "the big farmers," the "local aristocracy" and the "progressive and enlightened."⁴⁷ Following a request from a synod of the National Church, the Dutch government commenced a legal persecution of the seceders. Their meetings were outlawed, some of their pastors were imprisoned, troops were quartered in their homes, and fines were levied upon individuals and congregations. This persecution coupled with declining economic conditions and the potato blight of 1845 led thousands of these seceders to participate in the great '*landverhuizing*' - a literal translation is - 'the nation-move' to the United States in the late 1840's. Led by two of the seceder ministers, Albertus Van Raalte and Hendrick Scholte, the majority of these people settled in Michigan and Iowa.⁴⁸ While not all the seceders would go to America, this early movement of a sizable Reformed community to the States would turn out to be consequential for the Reformed that would travel to Canada several generation later in the post World War II period.

The *Reveil* and Groen van Pinsterer (G)

Whereas the Reformed who came to Canada in the post war period gained much of their piety from the Seceders they also gleaned much of their formal ideology from certain Dutch thinkers who were active in the elite phase of the evangelical awakening, the Dutch *Reveil* (1820-50).⁴⁹

Originating out of Geneva, the *Reveil* was essentially a reaction against the growing influence of the nineteenth-century's secular rationalism. Emphasising "personal experience," "inner conviction," and the "rediscovery of the Bible as the guide for all

life." the *Reveil* originally found acceptance among a small group of Dutch Calvinists led by the "poet-scholar" William Bilderdijk, and his astute pupil, Isaac da Costa.⁵⁰ Both Bilderdijk and Da Costa were instrumental in how the *Reveil* developed in the Netherlands, but as Elizabeth Kluit has concluded:

it was the Awakening in The Hague, particularly in the person of Groen van Prinsterer, that broadened the *Reveil's* concerns from personal piety to social and political issues: a mainly negative attitude with respect to the world and the times gradually made way for positive involvement in public affairs.⁵¹

Considered the "father" of the Netherlands's modern Protestant political and social movements, Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer is celebrated for having laid the ground work of a Christian alternative to the secularising of Dutch society.⁵² In his seminal 1847 book *Ongeloof en Revolutie* (Unbelief and Revolution) Groen contemplated what he considered the cause of the spiritual despondency of his age - the secular origins of Europe's 'Age of Revolution.' Groen deduced that the French Revolution of 1789 was "the logical outcome of systematic unbelief," cultivated by the revolution in European thought in the preceding century.⁵³

The Revolution is a *social* revolution, whose nature is directed against every government and against every religion. More accurately, it is an *anti-social* revolution, one that undermines and destroys morality and society; it is an *anti-Christian* revolution, whose principal idea develops into a systematic rebellion against the revealed God.⁵⁴

Threatening to become a permanent feature of European society, this revolutionary unbelief, imbued with a "religious character,"⁵⁵ had penetrated into every area of life, and was attempting to reconstruct society on a secular humanist basis. For Groen its most contentious fruits were the modernism espoused from the pulpit, the new

political ideology which recognized no authority beyond man and his reason, and the growing liberal view of children as property of the state. In order to combat these new "theories of liberty" Groen called on Christians to witness for Christ in all areas of life. On a practical level this meant that Christians should become involved in careers such as politics and labour organization, realms which Christians may have in the past either avoided, or divorced from their Christianity. By 1886 Groen also called for the creation of parallel Christian organizations such as separate Christian schools where parents and not the state would decide on the type of instruction that their children would receive.⁵⁶ For Groen the whole idea of the state wanting to control the moral and religious education of children of Christian parents was "but another of those ideas derived from the system of the Revolution."⁵⁷ Groen was concerned with articulating a biblically based Anti-Revolutionary "credo" which could be practically applied by orthodox Protestants in an increasingly secular world.⁵⁸ The basis for this credo would be those Christian precepts outlined in the Bible, the "infallible standard" against which all knowledge is measured. As Groen noted in lecture eleven of his lecture series on unbelief, "if unbelief is the principle," then "the remedy lies in belief, in faith."⁵⁹

While Groen, the "lonely warrior,"⁶⁰ was unable to translate those principles into the political world, he did articulate them, and in doing so, laid the philosophical foundations for the Anti-Revolutionary Movement, the source from which many subsequent Reformed organizations sprung.⁶¹

Abraham Kuyper/ Neo-Calvinism (H)

While Groen van Prinsterer, also typified as "the general without an army,"⁶² is recognised as articulating the Anti-Revolutionary principles, it was left to Dr. Abraham Kuyper - minister, theologian, journalist and politician - to consolidate them and transform them into a movement. Strongly influenced by Groen's classic Anti-Revolutionary work Unbelief and Revolution (Kuyper once wrote to Groen that "In it you have given me a picture of your mind"),⁶³ Kuyper sought to implement its Christian Anti-Revolutionary vision in public affairs. "In the midst of the world is our calling," Kuyper declared, "and there must God be glorified."⁶⁴

For twenty years Kuyper led the struggle to reform the National (*Hervormde*) churches along more orthodox lines. This encounter led in 1886 to a second schism from the National church by the 'complainants' led by Kuyper. This secession was called the "*Doleantie*," meaning 'grieving' or 'mournful,' as it was with tears that the 'complainants' left the church. Six years later in 1892, the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands (*de Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland*) was formed when Kuyper led his immediate followers into union with the earlier seceder's '*Gereformeerde*' churches, a merger which left Kuyper at the head of 600,000 orthodox Calvinists.⁶⁵ This official union between the *Afscheiding* (separatists) and *Doleantie* (grieving) traditions did not mean that the joint was seamless. The second severing which emphasized a philosophy of structured social responsibility had a more intellectual element to it than the first which tended to focus more on individual salvation. Understanding was needed in both camps as room was required for both De Cock and Kuyper. On a theological level that union

was indicated in the conclusions of the Synod of Utrecht in 1905.⁶⁶

According to Bratt, the main goal behind Kuyper's work was to rouse the orthodox pietists from their isolationist mentality and to lead them into battle against liberalism's political and cultural dominance. The first aim required mobilization of the *kleine luyden*. "the little people" the lower rural middle-class population which formed the bulwark of Reformed belief. Kuyper sought to shake them out of their traditional way of thinking "quite simply; the Reformed needed to purge themselves of their pietistic dualisms, their separation of Sunday from the work week, of the spiritual from the physical - in theological terms, of nature from grace. Were they to be Calvinists again, they could no longer dismiss certain fields (scholarship, art, and politics) as inherently "worldly"; they had to recognise these and all other occupations as Christian callings, and more generally they had to make engagement rather than withdrawal their paradigm of the Christian life."⁶⁷

Through the concepts of 'common grace' and 'sphere sovereignty' Kuyper expanded on Groen's analysis to provide Christian organizations with their philosophical and theological underpinnings. By way of his political and ecclesiastical reputation as leader of the Anti-Revolutionary Party, Kuyper had served one term as Prime Minister (1901-1905), and as leader of the *Gereformeerde* churches he was able from 1886 onward to make the 'social question' the issue of the day. Perhaps most pertinent to his Calvinist followers in Canada and the United States, Kuyper bequeathed to them his broad and forceful 'Kuyperian *Weltanschauung*' (worldview).

While Kuyper's anti-revolutionary worldview has been described as being but a

"powerful, intuitive grasp,"⁶⁸ it is significant for the influence it has exerted within the Calvinist community both in Holland and abroad. Unlike the earlier *'Afscheiding'* movement which we might regard as a somewhat acquiescent and yielding Christian response to the processes of secularization - a flight from the world - the stance that Kuyper championed was a rather aggressive and self-asserting assault against it. This observation is perhaps best characterized by church historian John Bolt who writes, "For Kuyper, the cross represented conflict and struggle, an aggressive militancy in socio-cultural life, rather than self-denial or humility."⁶⁹

As Kuyper's thought is difficult to encapsulate I will describe but a few of his main precepts which were instrumental in shaping the worldview of the Reformed, first in the Netherlands and later in Canada.

Sphere Sovereignty (I)

Kuyper held that Christ delegates responsibility to different spheres of creation.

There is, he said:

a sovereign authority flowing from God Almighty to all parts of his creation, to everything created; to atmosphere and soil, to plant and animal, to people's body and soul, and in that soul to his thinking, feeling and willing life; and furthermore to society in all its organic spheres of study and industry (crafts and trades); and finally to the generation, to the family, to social life in towns and cities and ultimately to the state as the sphere which comprises this all and must protect it.⁷⁰

Kuyper stressed that the legitimate role of the state is to coordinate with justice the proper functioning of all these spheres. The state must not repress the freedoms within these spheres but must allow them to maintain their individual independence. Kuyper's

underlying theological support for this view was the concept of common grace. "Not only did God create all men, not only is he all for all men but his grace also extends itself, not only as a special grace, to the elect, but also as a common grace to all mankind."⁷¹ Human culture begins with creation and is a product of God's common or preserving grace rather than his special or redeeming grace. Kuyper maintained that the Church, specifically the elect, were beneficiaries of special grace while the civic, nonecclesiastical areas of the world were in the realm of common grace. Thus, he felt, based on the authenticity of biblical creation, it was necessary to maintain the independence of social groups from the centralising tendencies of the state.⁷²

While many Christians felt that politics and other worldly involvements were corrupt and should thus be avoided, Kuyper appealed to the concept of common grace as the rationale behind Christians getting involved in cultural activities that were not considered essentially religious. Politics, science, art - every sphere had received sovereignty from God, and Christians had to organize themselves in every area of life to let Christ rule. This is why Kuyper is sometimes said to have introduced culture to the pietists. "There is," he wrote in 1880, "not a hairbreadth in all the domain of human culture and achievement of which Christ, the universal Lord, does not say: It is mine!"⁷³

Principle Thinking (J)

Kuyper based this program of Christian cultural action on the method of analysis that he used - 'principle thinking.' Its basic assumption was that the determinative forces in reality were neither "external or material" but emanated from the innermost heart of a

man - his "life principle." This principle which could be expanded to include nations and civilizations "harnessed the instincts and shaped ideas and action and environment"

Furthermore, Kuyper declared that all such fundamental principles were religious in nature, commitments toward or against God's will. This was the grounds out of which every person, or even society, operated. From their response to the will of God every person and society built a functional ideology. At the heart of this belief then, was the conviction that all thinking was in essence religious and could thus be critiqued by religious precepts. Bratt notes that it was from this perspective that the Neo-Calvinist argued that "reason was the servant of the heart; that no intellectual activity, including the natural sciences was impartial or value free or without presuppositions; and that every social organization operated according to and in the interests of an ideology and this in an age when such contentions were consistently ignored or denied."⁷⁴

The Antithesis (K)

Kuyper also proclaimed that there was an antithesis between the church and the world. The redeemed lived out of one principle - love for God - and everyone else lived out of the opposite. This meant was that in the whole drama of man's existence there was no middle ground, no unclaimed territory: it was either within God's domain or the Devil's. In practical terms the existence of the antithesis allowed Kuyper to argue that there must be separate Christian organizations in every field. In his "Stone lectures" Kuyper stated that "those who still have faith ... must begin by drawing a boundary about themselves that within this circle they might develop a life of their own Only in this

way can they grow up for the combat that they must expect."⁷⁵ Coupled with his concept of sphere sovereignty, this theory of the 'antithesis' provided for Kuyper and his followers the justification for the establishment of separate Christian political parties, schools, and even a labour union.

Central to all of Kuyper's theology and cultural engagement was scripture and the role of the covenant people. This is perhaps most easily explained by looking at Kuyper's position on baptism which is called 'presumptive regeneration.' Kuyper believed that the rebirth of the sinner occurs in the heart of the children of believers while they were still in their mother's wombs. As with the children of Israel who were circumcised without understanding its meaning, the child becomes one of God's covenant children by infant baptism. This view works itself out in subsequent Christian Reformed theology to mean that at baptism it is not only the promises of the covenant of grace which are given to the child, but also, that the consummation of that grace is given to the child. What this means is these children are then considered part of the elect unless they grow up and show otherwise by their fruits. Kuyper claimed that when one was called through special grace to be of the elect, one was given the special ability to see, as revealed in the Bible, the true purposes in God's whole creation. "Now in the Bible, God reveals, to the regenerate, a world of thought, a world of energies, a world of full and beautiful life which stands in direct opposition to his ordinary world, but which proves to agree in a wonderful way with the new life that has sprung up in his heart. So the regenerate begins to guess the identity of what is stirring in the depth of his own soul, and of what is revealed to him in Scripture, thereby learning both the inanity of the world

around him, and the divine reality of the world of the Scriptures"⁷⁶ Henry R. Van Til has argued that for Kuyper, there was "no common human consciousness ... no universal mind." there was only conflict between the regenerate and the unregenerate consciousness.⁷⁷ As such, the elect had a responsibility through special grace to attest to God's pre-ordained directives for creation. In other words, the elect are set apart by God as sacred, to lead the nation and witness for him.⁷⁸ Here we see that the *Corpus christianum* view of the nation was rejected by Kuyper's followers for what is called the *Corpus Christi* position. This subsequent view sees the church as just one element in society - the believing element. For Kuyper this meant that there were true partners of the covenant and those who are partakers of the covenant in appearance only. This element Kuyper identified as the remnant which must be kept separate.

Although it is usually only noted by theologians and not historians who traditionally only dig as deep as 'sphere sovereignty', Kuyper's worldview is grounded in his *tota scriptura* approach to the Bible. As he argues in the "Stone lectures, the "Holy Scripture does not only cause us to find justification by faith, but also discloses the foundation of all human life, the holy ordinances which must govern all human existence in Society and State."⁷⁹

Kuyper and his fellow neo-Calvinists recognised a priority, a pattern in scripture. To them God's revelation begins in the Old Testament with Genesis and the account about creation and not with Christ's death on the cross. What difference did this order make? For Kuyper, this meant that creation had priority over salvation, that salvation is not somehow outside of creation, but is the restoration, the renewal, of creation. The

scriptural pattern to Kuyper was creation, the fall, redemption and restoration. Herman Bavink, the only other Neo-Calvinist to approach Kuyper in stature explains it this way: "The essence of the Christian religion contains therein that the creation of the father, destroyed by sin, is again restored in the death of the son of God and recreated by the grace of the spirit to a Kingdom of God."⁸⁰

Let me borrow an example from John Bolt to illustrate how important this creation emphasis is. Bolt notes that the only universal mandate found in the New Testament is that made in Matthew 28:19-20. "Go therefore and make disciple of all nations, baptising them in the name of the father son and holy spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you; and lo I am with you always, to the close of the age." If Bolt goes on to say, one focussed only on the New Testament, it is conceivable that one could think that the only valid Christian activity today was to preach the gospel. On the other hand, if we look at the Old Testament we see the well-known 'cultural mandate:' "And God blessed them and God said to them, 'be fruitful and multiply and fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of the air and over every living thing that moves upon the earth" (Genesis 1:28). To Kuyper this had concrete and practical application in human cultural activity. In short, all human activity was seen to be legitimate as a calling before God.⁸¹

In summary we can see that Kuyper's view of the covenant via his teachings on baptism was foundational to his view of reclaiming all areas of creation for Christ. Formerly it was believed that the covenant was for all intents and purposes limited to the promise of salvation for believers and their children. Kuyper however shows that the

covenant has a far wider significance for covenant members. The Kuyperian understanding of baptism led to a down playing of the need for the personal salvation of a member of the 'covenant.' Since the Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) were recognised as true 'covenant children' unless they grew up to reveal otherwise, all the energies of the church organic could be directed to reclaiming creation. If we put this into more theological terms, in contrast to other denominations which focus on the work of the Holy Spirit or Christ on the cross, the Neo-Calvinists focussed on God's law given in creation and revealed in the decalogue that was to be the infrastructure for Christian cultural activity.

Kuyperianism and Pietism: Unifying Elements (L)

From our discussion thus far it is easy to see why most of the studies done on the Dutch Reformed in Canada have focussed in on the differences between Kuyperians and the pietists. Clearly, Kuyper's vision of Christianity was exceedingly broad. However, it is equally clear that many Reformed within his camp in the Netherlands prior to emigration did not fully agree with his policies of cultural engagement and failed to conform (I also believe we can also assume that many simply did not understand him). In either case, Bratt has stated such defiance became the "only occasions on which he turned his considerable capacity for satire upon his own flock."⁸²

In such a situation we might then ask the question, why did so many of the orthodox and pious follow him so ardently? The answer of course is that, despite his radical politics, those with other emphases identified with him.⁸³ While serving his first

congregation, Kuyper, under the leading of "simple country folk" had himself experienced a profound personal conversion. Afterward he took it upon himself to write one devotional a week. Some like his To Be Near Unto God became classics of Reformed piety. If that wasn't enough, Kuyper further ingratiated himself with the pietists by systematically denouncing the three transgressions which rankled the pietists most - gambling, dancing, and the theatre.⁸⁴ Likewise, Kuyper's insistence on the supremacy of scripture and his application of the Three Forms of Unity appealed to the orthodox contingent. This was not necessarily an easy accomplishment in a church where "every member considered himself a theologian."⁸⁵

Kuyper was a sort of lynch pin, welding these various fractions together. And, if we can expand on this analysis, I would argue that it was his emphasis on the covenant that formed the basis for the overall unity (and in some cases disunity) among the various Reformed groupings. The covenant was the single most important idea in the scriptures and it was at the heart of all the Reformed groupings. Although it must be admitted that while it was generally understood in the same way, each group gave it their own individual spin.

Summary (M)

While at the time of Groen the ideological divisions among the various ideological groups may have been "blurry,"⁸⁶ subsequent developments strongly influenced by Kuyper's teaching created what has become known as the 'zuilen' a term introduced by J.P. Kruyt which English speaking social scientists have translated as

pillars or columns. This terminology emphasised that the essential partitions in Dutch society were vertical, and projected from the aristocracy down to the level of the working class.⁸⁷ It is Windmuller's opinion that these divisions were in all likelihood "more important in determining a citizen's loyalties and attitudes than a horizontal class partition."⁸⁸ While there is debate as to how many of these pillars actually made up the Dutch society, the three main ones were composed of the Protestants, the Catholics, and a secular or neutral group where Jews and Mennonites also found their place. In addition to these main divisions the Protestant pillar, the one we are most concerned with here, was further subdivided into what we might describe as several smaller colonnades.⁸⁹

Each of those groups established institutions which corresponded to its own particular beliefs and religious emphases. Separate political parties, schools, newspapers and labour unions so entrenched these ideological divisions that few people were willing to associate with people outside of their own particular pillar and this holds especially true for the smaller colonnades that made up the Protestant pillar. More will be said about this later, but this division among the various sectors of the population led quite understandably to a more solid entrenching of traditional differences through-out the whole spectrum of Dutch society.

Notes for Chapter Three

3. The Netherlands: The Synod of Dort and Popular Manifestations

1. Akenson. God's Peoples, 41-42.
2. For a brief but brilliant look at early Christian apologetics see 'The True Israel' in Jaroslav Pelikan, The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600): The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971), 12-27.
3. Henry Vander Groot, "Tota Scriptura" in Life is Religion: Essays in Honor of H. Evan Runner (St. Catharines, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1981), 97-117; See also Cornelius Plantinga Jr., A Place to Stand, 51; And John Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today (Jordon Station, Ontario: Paideia Press, 1984), 32-33.
4. Akenson. God's Peoples, 60-61.
5. Brinton. The Shaping of Modern Thought, 64-65. For a broad discussion of this topic see Reformation and Authority: The Meaning of the Peasant's Revolt Kyle C. Sessions, ed., (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company), 1968.
6. Brinton. The Shaping of Modern Thought, 64.
7. Van Engen emphasises the role of Calvin in the creation of Reformed traditions. Describing him as a "a one-man Roman Church," Van Engen asks "the question with respect to tradition is whether he (Calvin) was infallible; in principle certainly not, but in practice for us neo-Calvinists, far more than we have been willing to admit or reflect upon." John Van Engen, "The Problem of Tradition in the Christian Reformed Church," Calvin Theological Journal 20 (April 1985): 77.
8. This emphasis upon the 'word of God.' runs through Calvin's thought. As Calvin explains in his Institutes "the primacy of the word of God was fundamental to the doctrine of the Reformation and to 'the whole substance of the Christian religion.'" Jaroslav Pelikan, The Christian Tradition, A History of the Development of Doctrine: 4 Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 187.
9. The word 'Reformed' as used here represents those churches that came from the Calvinistic offshoot of the Protestant Reformation. For a discussion on '*tota scriptura*' see, Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 32-33.

10. Several contemporaries of Luther argued that his view of the Old Testament was similar to that of Marcion's. A second century heretic who Tertullian accused of trying to separate the law and the gospel. Pelican claims that far from equating the Old Testament with the law and the New Testament with the gospel, Luther found the gospel throughout the scriptures. Pelikan, Reformation of Church and Dogma, 168-169.

11. Pelikan, Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700), 138-139.

12. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 32-33. In one telling passage, Luther portrayed Christ as saying to Moses: "I will not preach as you. Moses, are obliged to preach. For you must proclaim the Law ... Therefore your preaching produces only wretched people: it shows them their sins. on account of which they cannot keep the law." Luth.Dav.(WA 54:79) in Pelikan, Reformation of Church and Dogma, 168.

13. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion: Volume XX Edited by John T. McNeill. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1960), 429. For a fuller examination of Calvin's views on the covenant see Chapter 10 in the Institutes 428-449, where Calvin examines the similarities between the Old and New Testaments. And chapter 11, 449-464 where he examines the differences between the two Testaments; In addition see, E.H. Emerson, "Calvinism and Covenant Theology," in Church History XX (1951), 37-57; In Plantinga, A Place to Stand there is a good discussion of the three fold purpose of the law.

14. Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion: Volume XX, 437.

15. John Calvin, Commentary on Jeremiah, trans. John Owen, 1854, IV, 126. Cited in Jocz, The Covenant, 296.

16. Pelican, Reformation of Church and Dogma, 240. For a detailed discussion on the religious situation in the Netherlands from the onset of the Reformation, up to and including the Synod of Dort see chapters 1-16 in, D.H. Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Tradition: From the Reformation to the Present (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1943).

17. John Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Church: A Study in Orthodoxy (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1949), 219.

18. Psalter Hymnal Committee, Psalter Hymnal (Grand Rapids, Michigan: C.R.C. Publications, 1987), 928.

19. Ibid., 928.

20. "Article 7: Election." Psalter Hymnal, 928.

21. Pelican, Reformation of Church and Dogma, 240.

22. The Heidelberg Catechism was composed in Heidelberg upon the request of Frederick III. Its principle authors were Zacharius Ursinus and Casper Olevianus. At the time of the Synod of Dort the Heidelberg Catechism was endorsed as "a very accurate compendium of orthodox Christian doctrine." Syn. Dord. Sess. 148 (Act. Syn. Dord. 1:366). In Pelikan Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700), 236. The Heidelberg Catechism has nothing to say about the Bible: Guido de bres, heavily influenced by Calvin and by the Gallican Confession, provided an early treatment of the Bible in his Belgic Confession. The topic takes up five articles. (Belgic Confession Articles III - VII) in The Psalter Hymnal, 818-822.
23. "The Belgic Confession." 846.
24. Ibid.. 846-848.
25. Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Tradition, 34; See also Van Engen, "The Problem of Tradition," 83.
26. Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches, 97; Versluis, Geschiedenis van de emancipatie der Katholieken in Nederland, 74. In Petersen, Planned Migration, 38.
27. Kromminga. The Christian Reformed Church, 63-64.
28. Syn. Dord. Can. 1.9.. In Pelican, Reformation of Church and Dogma, 239. Much like the King James version influenced the development of the English language, Kromminga notes that this Bible had great influence in moulding the Dutch language. Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Tradition, 36-37; Van Engen, "The Problem of Tradition," 80-81.
29. Akenson, God's Peoples, 111.
30. Brinton. The Shaping of Modern Thought, 75-76.
31. Van Engen. "The Problem of Tradition." 83.
32. The number one authority who disputes this point is E.H. Kossmann, In Praise of the Dutch Republic: Some Seventeenth- Century Attitudes (London 1963, 12). He writes that "for the seventeenth-century Calvinists their own country never did represent the new Israel." I however agree with Schama that the majority of the evidence contradicts Kossmann's position. Schama. The Embarrassment of Riches, 68; See also Groenhuis, Predikanten, 77-102.
33. Schama. The Embarrassment of Riches, 95.
34. Jacobus Lydius. 't Verheerlijkt Nederland,(1668), I. In Schama. The Embarrassment of Riches. 45.
35. Schama. The Embarrassment of Riches, 97.

36. Thus, while Philip II of Spain could be likened to a heart hardened Pharaoh, in Daniel Mostaert's *Spieghel der Jeugd of Spaanse Tyrannie* 1620, (*Mirror for the Young; or The Spanish Tyranny*) later, in 1674 Abraham Wicquevoort, could depict Louis XIV as a power hungry, Sennacherib in *De Fransche Tyrannie (The French Tyranny)*. Daniel Mostaert's, *Spieghel der Spaansche Tyrannie* (Amsterdam, 1620); And Abraham Wicquevoort, *De Fransche Tyrannie* (Amsterdam. 1674) in Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 53.
37. Van Brummelen, Harro W. *Telling the Next Generation: Educational Development in North American Christian Schools* (Boston: University Press, 1986), 16-17.
38. James D. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America: A History of a Conservative Subculture* (Grand Rapids Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1984).
39. Van Brummelen, *Telling the Next Generation*, 15.
40. Bratt. *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America*, 4.
41. Van Brummelen, *Telling the Next Generation*, 16.
42. Bratt. *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America*, 5.
43. *Ibid.*. 6.
44. Petersen. *Planned Migration*, 37.
45. Bratt. *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America*, 6-7. Hired hands, poorer farmers, and the small tradesmen (but not the destitute) composed almost its entire membership.
46. J.H. Krominga, *In the Mirror*, 15.
47. Bratt. *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America*, 6-7.
48. *Ibid.*. 6-7.
49. Harry Van Dyke, *Groen van Prinsterer's Lectures on Unbelief and Revolution* (Jordan Station, Ontario: Wedge Publishing Foundation, 1989), 21-23.
50. *Ibid.*. 21-29.
51. Van Dyke, *Groen van Prinsterer's Lectures*, 21-28.
52. Michael P. Fogarty, *Christian Democracy in Western Europe 1820-1953* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1957), 159-161.
53. Van Dyke, *Groen Van Prinsterer's Lectures*, 39-89. It is somewhat ironic that in the year following the publication of Groen's Anti-Revolutionary work, Marx published his famous

Communist Manifesto.

54. Groen van Prinsterer, quoted in Van Dyke Groen van Prinsterer's Lectures, Lect. XI, 262.
55. Groen felt that any interpretation of the French Revolution which failed to acknowledge its religious character was fundamentally unbalanced. It is interesting to note that in Groen's personal copy of De Tocqueville's L' Ancien Regime et la Revolution, where the author states that the eighteenth century rejected the existing religion "without putting another in its place," Groen added in a gloss beside it "the other religion was that of Rousseau." G. Groen van Prinsterer. Lecture Eleven from Unbelief and Revolution: The History of the Revolution in its First Phase: The Preparation (Till 1789) edited and translated by Harry Van Dyke, (Amsterdam: The Groen van Prinsterer Fund, 1973), v-ix.
56. Langley, R. McKendree, The Practice of Political Spirituality: Episodes from the Public Career of Abraham Kuyper, 1879-1918 (Jordan Station: Paideia Press, 1984), 22-26.
57. Van Dyke. Groen van Prinsterer's Lectures, 60.
58. This credo of Groen's laid the foundations for the oldest political party in Netherlands, the Anti-Revolutionary Party, a political movement which emerged out of the school question.
59. Groen van Prinsterer, in Van Dyke Lectures on Unbelief and Revolution, lect. XI, 271.
60. L. Praamsma, Let Christ Be King: Reflections on the Life and Times of Abraham Kuyper (Jordan Station: Paideia Press, 1985), 15.
61. That the Protestant labour movement's intellectual tie to Groen was recognised even at an early date is evident in a statement Klaas Kater made during a membership meeting of Patrimonium, when he addressed his fellow members as "spiritual sons of the late lamented Groen van Prinsterer."
62. L.W.G. Scholten, "*Kuyper als politicus*," quoted in L. Praamsma, Let Christ Be King, 185.
63. Goslinga, A., ed., Briefwisseling van Mr. G. Groen van Prinsterer met Dr. A. Kuyper 1864-1876 (Kampen: J.H.Kok, 1937), 8.
64. McKendree. The Practice of Spirituality, 143.
65. Fogerty. Christian Democracy, 160; Bratt Modern Calvinism, 15; Petersen, Planned Migration, 37.
66. J. H. Kromminga, In the Mirror, 17.
67. Bratt. Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 16.

68. J.D. Dengerink, Critisch-historisch onderzoek naar de sociologische ontwikkeling van het beginsel der "sovereiniteit in eigen kring" in de 19e en 20e eeuw, quoted in Boersma, "Sphere Sovereignty," 86.
69. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 144-145.
70. Abraham Kuyper, quoted in C.J. Breen, "De Doleantie in Amsterdam," De Reformatie 61 (Feb. 8, 1986):372-80.
71. Kuyper, Lectures in Calvinism, 53.
72. Langley, The Practice of Political Spirituality, 143-145.
73. Henry R. Van Til, "The Challenge of a Calvinistic Culture," Torch and Trumpet (December, 1952- January, 1953), 1.
74. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 18.
75. Langley, The Practice of Political Spirituality, 32.
76. Kuyper, Lectures, 57-58.
77. Van Til, "The Challenge," 1.
78. Akenson, God's Peoples, 71.
79. Abraham Kuyper, Lectures in Calvinism, vi.
80. Herman Bavink, The Sacrifice of Praise, translated by John Dolfin cited in Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 29.
81. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 35.
82. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 16.
83. Van Egen has recognised, Kuyper was a complex persona multifaceted had in him something of the orthodox, the pietist and the Seceder. Van Engen, "The Problem of Tradition." 29.
84. Abraham Kuyper, Lectures on Calvinism (Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.M. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1953), 73.
85. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 15.
86. Fogarty, Christian Democracy, 159.

87. J.P. Kruyt developed the term in the early 1960's as part of a sociological model. The depillarization that has been taking place since the conclusion of the Second World War is termed *ontzuiling* (depillarization). The English references are Arend Lijphart, The Politics of Accommodation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968) and William Z. Sheltter, The Pillars of Society: Six Centuries of Civilization in the Netherlands (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971). These sources are discussed in Frans Schryer, The Netherlander Presence, 24 and 333.
88. Windmuller, Labor Relations, 30.
89. Herman Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land: The Dutch Experience in Canada, 1890-1980 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 69-70.

Chapter IV

Sojourners in a Strange Land

The Exodus (A)

In May 1945, the war in Europe ended and for the second time in a generation Canadian soldiers returned home across the North Atlantic. In their wake came waves of European immigrants not seen since the opening decades of the century. By 1967 when the post-war flood had become a trickle, 2,500,000 immigrants from twenty-eight European countries had made their way to Canada.¹

The place of origin for many of these immigrants was the Netherlands. For the Dutch such large-scale migration was uncommon. Canadian historian Herman Ganzevoort, himself a Dutch immigrant, writes that, "the Dutch have never been known as an emigrating people, for good or for ill the average Dutchman loved his country, his social life, his family, all that made him a Dutchman, and he was reluctant to give this up."² Nonetheless, many Dutch did give up and emigrated following Holland's liberation in the spring of 1945. Between 1946 and 1960, approximately 377,253 Netherlanders departed their country, 142,462 of these emigrants made their way to Canada. By 1982 these numbers would rise to 523,842 and 184,150 respectively.³

One of the most challenging tasks that arises when studying immigrants is trying to come to grips with why some people leave the land of their birth to start over in a distant country. Obviously, in the case of the postwar Netherlands we need only to examine the economic situation to identify a significant catalyst for migrating.⁴ Yet, fiscal concerns alone cannot explain the 'emigration fever' that swept through the Netherlands

in the late 40's and early 50's.

Demographic pressures, housing shortages, colonial misadventure. political and religious changes all played a significant part in fostering a climate for emigration. As well, oral sources indicate that there were often several personal factors acting upon those who emigrated. Although these factors were often never fully articulated, they were in many instances crucial to the emigrating process. Operating in combination with the more universal determinants such as the competition for farmland, these individual considerations may have been those critical, deciding ingredients that tilted the scales in favour of immigration.

Emigration (B)

Why did the Dutch leave? Speaking broadly, we can say, most people left the Netherlands because they felt the postwar period held limited opportunities for themselves and their children. One immigrant summed up the feeling of many Dutchmen when he explained it thus, "If the future had looked as if I had been able to farm in it (the Netherlands), I would not have come, but we were brought up with the realization that there was no land available if you wanted to farm. So what else could you do when overseas there was so much land."⁵

Following the war the Dutch economy lay in ruins. In the cities a large number of factories and houses had been either destroyed or stripped bare. In the tradition of retreating armies, the departing Germans had pilfered everything imaginable. Most of the livestock had been confiscated or slaughtered for food. Vehicles, food, machinery, even

factories were dismantled, loaded on rail cars and shipped eastward. What remained was either obsolete or nonfunctioning a situation which left thousands of city dwellers out of work and without adequate shelter.⁶

The lack of housing would be a major problem for years to come.⁷ At the war's end, four percent of the residences in the Netherlands had been demolished - a figure higher than any other west European country with the exception of Germany.⁸ In 1945, the Netherlands Information Bureau estimated that 800,000 Dutch people out of a population of 9,000,000 were said to be existing "on the bounty of relatives and friends, crowding into their homes with them sharing their blankets, their furniture and their cooking utensils." Along with the industrial looting mentioned above, 200,000 Dutch homes were pillaged where everything removable right down to the tiles and doorknobs was taken. One war correspondent in Arnhem observing the results of the looting noted that "the Germans seemingly have a passion for door knobs since they did not leave a single one."⁹ Many immigrants who were young couples at this time have spoken about holding off getting married because there was no place for them to live as man and wife. This created a strange situation that saw some people marry days, or even hours, before boarding their ships. Their honeymoons on the high seas were often spent sleeping apart in separate women's and men's compartments.¹⁰

Unemployment was not restricted to the urban centres: it was epidemic in the countryside as well. In the war's final phase, both the allies and the retreating Germans had systematically destroyed a large number of dykes to slow the allies' advance and to flush out the entrenched enemy.¹¹ This tactic had resulted in the extensive flooding of

valuable farmland. 300,000 acres, approximately 10 percent of the agricultural land, was submerged by sea water. Such land could not be utilized until the salt had been extracted, a task which was estimated to take five years.¹² Other land was starved by a five- year absence of necessary phosphates and nitrates.¹³ Along with the remaining cultivated land being placed under a terrible strain to produce, the surplus agricultural labour force swelled.

The strain on the infrastructure of the country was further aggravated by the Netherlands having one of the highest birth rates in Western Europe during the thirties. Even the high mortality rates during the War did little to slow this trend. The population of the Netherlands increased by almost a half a million during the occupation and in the immediate post war years the annual increase rose to more than 2%.¹⁴ Several reasons have been set forth to explain this "anomaly." In a discussion which touches - if only lightly - on my own argument, Petersen points to cultural reasons "set in the past." and the development at the turn of the century of a ruling Catholic-Calvinist political coalition which preserved "the essence" of the Netherland's pre-industrial culture through social welfare programs.

The rise in the birthrate in the years immediately preceding the war can be explained in similar terms. The slow development of a 'rational view of life' came along with the rise of a social welfare state under a postwar Catholic-Labour coalition. Dominated by the Catholics, this coalition continued to operate in terms of the earlier Catholic and Reformed coalition.¹⁵

One traditional outlet for easing demographic pressure and a prime economic

source was the Netherland's colonial holdings. However, shortly after the Netherlands had been liberated, the Dutch found themselves in a war against Indonesian nationalists fighting for their own independence. As the Dutch government considered the loss of the colony's rich resources to be an immediate threat to the post war recovery, 135,000 soldiers volunteers and conscripts were sent overseas. Over the next five years, Dutch troops engaged in a costly guerilla war that saw more than 3,000 Dutch soldiers killed in action. Despite this sacrifice, the Netherlands was unable to get control of Indonesia. In 1950, after 300 years of occupation, the Dutch abandoned their colony.¹⁶

The Dutch departure from Indonesia affected the Netherlands in several important ways. First of all, demographic pressures at home were heightened by the extensive repatriation of 120,000 Dutch nationals.¹⁷ In addition to the population pressure created by the repatriation, the loss of the Netherland's East Indian colonies hurt the motherland economically as it was estimated to be a source of one-sixth of the national income.¹⁸

Less tangible was the effect the war had on those who served. While the military conflict was still being waged, many young men of fighting age left the Netherlands to avoid the draft. Others, who did go to Indonesia, found things too confining when they returned home. Reminiscent of the World War I song which talks about North American farm youth who travelled overseas to Europe, and asks, "how can you keep the boys home on the farm when they have seen Paris?" some Indonesian war veterans never fit back into their old lifestyles upon their return. It would appear that these veterans were inspired, perhaps a better word is driven, to seek new experiences and vistas. Having once

travelled abroad and experienced a foreign climate the prospect of picking up and moving across another ocean was not so intimidating.

For some veterans, their homecoming and how they were treated planted seeds of discontentment and in some cases resentment toward their homeland. In a situation that parallels the experience of returning Vietnam war veterans in the United States, some Indonesian veterans were disturbed by the reception - or lack of it - they received upon their return. Rather than hailed as heroes, many felt ignored. Few were mustered and addressed publicly. Most were demobilized without any recognition and rather than be decorated in a public ceremony, many had their service medal sent to them in the mail. Most disturbing still, questions were raised about possible war crimes and atrocities.

War - the threat of it, or the lack of it - had other ramifications on the Dutch. Many believed that it was only a matter of time until the Western allies and the Russians went to war. Such fears were not unusual, nor restricted to Europeans. According to a Gallup Poll taken in 1948, 51% of all Canadians believed that a third World War was coming.¹⁹ What we might consider a stranger development, some immigrants have stated that after the excitement of the war, peace seemed drab and monotonous. They were restless for new challenges. Immigrant, Hija Hanstra struggled to capture that feeling in an interview. "When the war was over, for a little while, life was not real any more. The excitement was gone. Strange, isn't it? We were so glad we were liberated and still we could not cope with it."²⁰

While many have talked about the sense of unity in the face of a common enemy, others have talked about an overall feeling of disillusionment created by the war. For

many the sense of trust and community that existed before the Nazi invasion was lost during the occupation. People did not know who to trust anymore as old neighbours became, or were suspected of being, N.S.B.ers (collaborators) - or as they were sometimes called 'Quislings.'²¹ For some, trying to return to the close knit community life that existed before would be impossible. "How could you resume your relationship with those people as if nothing had happened?" is how one woman put it.²² What is more, many people felt that those who had actively collaborated during the war had never been punished for their betrayal. It has been commonly assumed among many of the immigrants who came to Canada that, rather than be punished, collaborators once again assumed positions of authority during the reconstruction.

After (liberation) a lot of people in our area who collaborated with the Germans, got their old jobs back. That is the way it went in Holland. In the army too, there were officers who had collaborated, or who were never in the resistance, and in those five years they just let the country go, and we didn't. That left a bad taste in your mouth. Maybe they needed the people too, but still that is one of the reasons we left.²³

In addition to these 'general' catalysts, other more personal insights have been offered to explain why some people left the Netherlands. How important were these other factors? It is difficult to say with any certainty. I suspect that in a minority of cases these reasons may have been prime determinants in their immigration, but it is more likely that for most they were just one of the many straws that contributed to breaking the camel's back. Let me quickly indicate some of these more personal reasons that show signs of being a pattern, albeit a minor one. First of all, some Dutch sought to escape the close physical and spiritual confines of a small country with a highly regulated cultural

lifestyle. This last factor may very well have had more of an impact on women. The daily rhythms of their lives such as laundry day and cleaning day, were shared by all and, to some minds, scrutinised by all. Monday, for example, was laundry day. Due to principles that can be traced back to *De Ervarene en Vertandige Hollandsche Huyshoudster* (The Experienced and Knowledgeable Hollands Householder), it was understood that a competent wife would have her laundry out on the clothes line early in the morning.²⁴ According to some interviewees this led many women into a type of laundry competition. One woman remembered some of her neighbours starting their wash almost in the middle of the night to have it first on the line on Monday mornings. If on the other hand you were slow to get your wash on the line, it left you open to gossip or ridicule. It is worth noting that while the Dutch women who immigrated to Canada have earned a reputation for cleanliness, in interviewees they would often say that they no longer keep house or cleaned the Dutch way. That the incessant scrubbing and cleaning was too "time consuming," or that other things like their families are "more important" and deserve that time. In regard to the Netherlands, some women felt that the everyday pressures to conform to what was expected of them left very little room for individualism and creativity.²⁵

More personal still, some individuals have stated that they immigrated, in part, because they had married outside of their denomination. The subsequent strain that was placed upon their marriages by their respective families compelled them to put some distance between themselves and their relations. Similar situations occurred among those who broke the cultural taboo of 'the separation of the classes' and married above or below

their station. Despite the vertical structure of the *zuilen* (pillar), the horizontal pull of class was still formidable even within the Reformed *zuilen*.

Less discussed, elusive in regards to immigration, but still important are what we might term 'matters of the heart.' Broken marriages, relationships that went wrong, the death of loved ones - husbands, wives and children - often made familiar places and routines distressing. These events had the effect of cutting ties and making many people feel the need to get away, to start over again.

Perhaps even more subtle is how a combination of how all these factors blended together to create what might be best described as a 'sense of restlessness' or 'uneasiness' as to what the future might hold. It was in such a singular atmosphere that 'emigration fever' - an uncharacteristic impulsiveness to leave, to go somewhere, anywhere - took hold. In such instances, whole families ended up being swept up in the excitement. The experiences of one family may serve as an example for others.

My oldest brother wanted to go (to Canada) first and then my sister. She was going to live with him. My father and mother did not want to be separated from my sister so before you knew it they had decided to go. My brother and I did not want to go, but we were young and we didn't have any choice. So we came to be near my sister. Later my brother went back to Holland.²⁶

In summary, I would suggest that while in the main the Reformed shared in the push factors mentioned above, the records indicate that they also had their own particular reasons for immigrating.

In order to repair the damage that the German subjugation inflicted on the nation many people felt that a social welfare state was needed to deal with the large scale

reconstruction. Thus, the 1946 election was a rude awakening to the postwar world for the Reformed, when the Anti-Revolutionary Party (Kuyper's party) lost support and their perennial opponents, the socialists, broke through and accumulated enough support to form a coalition government with the Catholic party which had earlier been purged of its conservatives. The new bureaucracy this coalition fostered made many feel that the chances of attaining a prosperous life in a rebuilt Netherlands were being diminished by the postwar government's taxation and an over-regulation of public life.³⁷ Many Reformed in particular had little taste for the new welfare state practices. Raised on Kuyper's doctrine of sphere sovereignty, which placed a great deal of emphasis on independence and freedom within the different spheres of creation, they resented the government's intrusion into their lives.³⁸

This move to the left also had spiritual consequences as well since from the time of Kuyper the Anti-Revolutionary Party had played a role in the governing of the country. To many of the Reformed, the rise of the socialists was a turning point. They were no longer at the helm of the country. In fact, the country seemed to be turning its back on them. For many this shook the conception they held of the Netherlands as a Christian nation. And likewise reinforced the view that they were truly 'the remnant.'

Where Do We Go? (C)

For those who hoped to start anew in a different country the only question was - where? While pre-war emigration had been directed mainly towards Holland's overseas colonial possessions and western Europe, this latter migration saw the majority of

immigrants heading for new destinations such as Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Argentina and Canada.²⁹

Canada was not only the first country with which the Netherlands government made immigration agreements after the war, but it was also the country which has since absorbed the greatest number of Netherlanders following the war. While few Dutch had arrived before 1939, in 1981 the census indicated that there were then over four hundred thousand Canadians of Dutch descent living in Canada, a figure which made them the sixth largest ethnic group in the country.³⁰

It is not surprising that many of the Dutch chose to immigrate to Canada. The few that had established themselves across the Atlantic had been relatively successful; following the war, they wrote to their relatives in Holland and encouraged them to migrate. In a large country like Canada, where land was plentiful, it might be possible to obtain a farm if not for themselves, then for their children.³¹ On a more immediate level, Canada had been a wartime refuge for princess Juliana and her two daughters, Beatrix and Irene. Their tie to Canada was made all the stronger in 1943 when Juliana's and Prince Bernhard's third daughter, Margriet, was born in Ottawa.³²

This situation along with the fact that Canadian soldiers had liberated much of Holland generated among many Dutch a feeling of identification and gratitude toward the country.³³ As one immigrant recalled:

Canadians liberated Holland. They passed out the food and showed the little kids pictures of their little kids. I remember that. Big men, tough. Good, though. I thought I'd like to live away from Holland and in a country where these kinds of men came from. Killing Nazis one day, giving chocolate to little children in the Dam the next.³⁴

Another immigrant put it this way :

I always liked the Canadians; I liked them as troops. We dealt with English and we dealt with Americans, but I found the Canadian troops the most quiet. They went their own way and did not make that much noise and they were good soldiers. They were not aggressive soldiers, but they could fight. We were not really in love with the English, I guess, because of what we had learned in our history lessons at school, because of all the wars we had with the English, and that what happened in the Boer War. The Canadians were easy-going people and they were not bragging, so I thought I could work with them. Yes, that had something to do with us coming to Canada.³⁵

These connections were further augmented by the Canadian soldiers who remained in the country for approximately six months after liberation. During this "Canadian Summer"³⁶ relations between the soldiers and the Dutch civilian population were said to be "excellent."³⁷ Quite naturally many Dutch girls found their gallant liberators appealing. One woman remembered her first impression of the Canadians as being "big healthy looking guys, with big brown arms" in comparison with the Dutch boys who looked somewhat "pasty." Quite naturally many Dutch girls fell in love with them, and ended up marrying Canadian soldiers.³⁸

For the Dutch, Canada's need for agricultural labourers was the most important draw. The demobilization of the Canadian armed forces and the decline in military production did not create the high levels of unemployment initially feared. In fact, after most of the boys had come home there was still a noticeable shortage of manpower in the agricultural, mining and logging sectors.³⁹ Farming had been severely dislocated by the war and much of its labour made redundant in the short term. These were the sections of the population that were facing the most strain in the Netherlands immediately after the

war. The United States was often the first choice, but that country's restrictions on immigration trained eyes North to Canada.⁴⁰

The first Dutch citizens to reach Canada after the war were the 1,886 war brides and their children who arrived in the spring of 1946.⁴¹ Following their arrival, the Canadian and Dutch governments entered into a "gentleman's agreement" to relieve the Dutch economy of its surplus farm labourers. While there was no written agreement at first, it was to be understood that "Netherlands's farmers are not labourers. They are bonafide farm owners with capital sufficient to purchase farms in Canada. Owing to the exchange difficulties they are not for the present able to export their capital but eventually expect to acquire farms of their own."⁴²

There are two different schools of thought as to how this program came about. According to Petersen the Dutch immigrants had a "favoured status" over other immigrants for two main reasons. First, there was a primacy given to agriculturalists in Canadian immigration policy. Canada wanted farmers and the Dutch who wanted to come to Canada were recognised as being proficient farmers who "preferred to stay on the land." Petersen also emphasises that Dutch were considered by the Canadian government as being of the 'Nordic' race. According to Petersen, the Canadian government believed this racial origin made the Dutch appear more assimilable than other immigrants such as slavs and latins.⁴³ Herman Ganzevoort places a different emphasis on the how this program came about. In contrast to Petersen who stresses the role of the Canadian government, Ganzevoort focuses more on the role of the Dutch agricultural attache, A.S. Tuinman. According to Ganzevoort, the Dutch government vigorously sought out

prospective countries to take their surplus labourers. Earlier Canadian government reminiscent to immigration changed when Tuinman linked immigration to Canada with Dutch purchases of Canadian grain.⁴⁴

Changing Conditions (D)

Beginning on 26 June 1947 when the first farm families arrived on board a converted troop carrier, the *Waterman*.⁴⁵ successive waves of Dutch agricultural workers arrived in Canada. The majority of these farmers were destined for Ontario where there was an "acute need of farm workers." Secondary destinations were the Prairie provinces and British Columbia.⁴⁶ This early tendency continued through the boom years of immigration. In his study, Anthony Sas calculated that for the period 1946-1955, the peak immigration years, more than 50% of the emigrants settled in Ontario, followed by Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba, Quebec, the Maritimes and Saskatchewan.

The Canadian government's agricultural restrictions remained in force, if only loosely, for the next three years until June 9, 1950. At that time Canada's immigration policy was amended to increase the classes of Europeans eligible to emigrate to Canada. Canadian immigration law now provided for the entry into Canada of "some artisans and workers."

As with the early migration of agricultural workers, Ontario was the main destination of these immigrants. However, in contrast to the earlier immigrants who moved into rural areas these later immigrants moved into the cities. Dutch emigration peaked in 1952 with approximately 21,000 entering Canada that year. The first major

drop off in the numbers coming to Canada occurred in 1955 when immigration fell from approximately 16,000 to 7,000, and then again in 1961 when immigration fell from approximately 5,000 to 2,000. The only blip we see throughout this period is in 1957 as a consequence of the Soviets smashing the Hungarian uprising. Overall, as a result of the Marshall Plan, the economic problems in the Netherlands were coming under control. The Dutch economy was moving again and few people felt the need to look abroad for a prosperous future.

Worldview (E)

The overview of Dutch immigration which I have just given is for the most part a standard historical approach. As such we consider what are termed 'the push' and 'pull factors' that affect immigration and look at certain national characteristics and skills that might predetermine the economic success of the immigrants in a new setting. Yet in this approach something is absent. What is missing is insight on the worldview of the orthodox Reformed on the eve of their emigration.

This crucial element is among the hardest factors to document. Akenson has suggested that such rudimentary thinking may be so embedded in the collective mentality of a culture that only periodically may people refer to it.⁴⁷ But there are other factors that make it difficult to probe the Reformed. Possessing on average a grade six education, the Reformed immigrants were driven by the need to succeed economically and were not necessarily given to recording their ideas on paper. Nevertheless, beyond oral accounts, an eclectic number of sources do exist in such forms as articles and letters to the editor in

Reformed papers, as well as a growing number of memoirs. However, in some cases, much like the stage master explains in Thornton Wilder's Our Town, it has been left to the "poets and saints" among the Reformed to fathom and articulate the spirits around them.

Still, a caveat need be noted. Despite a successful structure that attempted to mould those in the orthodox Reformed into similar patterns of thinking, a remarkable diversity remained within Reformed circles and it must be acknowledged that not all the Reformed thought alike. That said, it must also be recognised that enough of the Reformed did think along similar lines that we can uncover recognisable patterns, patterns that continued to emerge, first within their immediate church and social circles and in the years to follow, within the institutions they established. From this the pivotal question remains: who did the orthodox Reformed think they were?

For K. Mulder, an elder in the Gereformeerde Kerk who led a worship service on board the *Tabinta*, the second of the immigrant ships to make its way from Rotterdam to Canada, the Reformed immigrants who crowded into the ship's mess hall on the evening of 18 September 1947 for their closing daily devotions were "pilgrims and sojourners" like the biblical Abraham their "spiritual father." To John M. Vande Kieft, who witnessed this scene, those gathered that last evening were a covenant people going "to the promised land." And he, like Joshua before the crossing of the Jordan, directed their attention toward "Jehovah, the God of the patriarchs in the ancient world" and their God still in this "new and modern" one.⁴⁸

As will become more evident later, many biblical allusions were accessible to the Reformed, but Vande Kieft seems to have accurately tapped into the worldview of many

Reformed migrants when he likened their journey to that of the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt to the promised land of Canaan, 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' That many Reformed immigrants may have identified with like the Israelites of old, poised on the boundaries of Canaan, is understandable. All through the Old Testament the one theme which continually appears is the exodus. And if we consider the epic numbers of the Reformed involved in this "*grootte trek*" across the Atlantic,⁴⁹ no scriptural metaphor available to the orthodox Dutch was more strikingly clear than that of the mass movement of the Israelites to their new land. Canada, then, was to have a dual nature. While it was to be the actual physical destination of the orthodox Reformed, it was sometimes placed in a biblical context being referred to as Canaan. This is the premise of a 1949 article in the Calvinist Contact, "Canada is Canaan. Promised Land."⁵⁰ As with that early movement of people, the Reformed felt that in being faithful the land of milk and honey would be theirs.

These scriptural images were to be particularly powerful and long lived in the pulpits of the Dutch Reformed churches in Canada. In the years since the immigration, many Dutch born ministers have expounded on the obvious and not so obvious parallels between the Dutch and Hebrew experiences. For example, the wartime occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans was seen as analogous to the enslavement of Israel by the Egyptians; after throwing off the yoke of slavery, the Israelites begin their Exodus. The food drops by the allies are compared to the biblical manna falling from the sky, the Atlantic Ocean becomes the Red Sea or the Jordan River, and Canada becomes Canaan, 'the land of milk and honey.' In most cases, the message from the pulpit was clear:

liberation. a safe voyage, future prosperity and blessings are to be seen as signs of a Covenant God's faithfulness. All the Reformed had to do was keep their side of the covenant, be obedient - which in short, was understood to mean that they maintain their religious inheritance. Life in Canada held out ample opportunities for new prosperity if they were obedient to the Word of God. Disobedience on the other hand could lead to dire consequences. All the Reformed immigrants were familiar with what happened the first time the Israelites tried to enter the promised land. Failure to obey the Lord's commands, to trust Him, led to punishment and forty years of wandering in the desert.⁵¹

In his foundational study on Dutch immigration, William Petersen noted that the Reformed had migrated at four times their numbers in the Netherlands and he suggested that these statistics might indicate that religion was a factor in the immigration of the orthodox Reformed. He quotes W. van der Mast's (1947) book Justified Immigration. For Van der Mast, a orthodox Calvinist in charge of emigration from the province of Groningen, thought the starting point for Christian immigration was "a citation from the Bible - 'Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion.'" He goes on to say that the Netherlands is the most densely populated country in Europe and if there is a country that can help develop the bare spots on the map of the world, it is the Netherlands. Furthermore, in these circumstances each and every emigrant is a missionary whose prime function it is to transfer to his new country the special religious influence in Dutch society.⁵²

This interpretation of Van der Mast's seems to have become popularised and found a following among some second generation Reformed immigrants. While doing my

research it was suggested to me on a number of occasions that the Reformed came to Canada to missionize it, to “preach to the heathens” so to speak. If that is what Van der Mast was alluding to, and it is not entirely clear exactly what he meant, there does not seem to be evidence to support that claim. No sources on the Reformed indicate that they came to Canada as a missionary in the classical sense, as one that comes to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of the land. However, this does not mean that there was not a religious aspect to their immigration.

While I believe economic factors, not religion as Van der Mast describes or understands it, was behind Reformed immigration, immigration even for economic reason can be understood within a religious context. This does not rule out the fact that a small minority of Reformed did foresee the Reformed presence playing an important role in Canada as a ‘separate’ witness. That however is not the point I want to make here. My point is that the covenant was so wired into their thinking that what ever they tried to do was set within its parameters. Or, to use an Biblical metaphor, the Hebrews were journeying to the land of milk and honey to improve their standard of living, not to convert the Canaanites.

Although such scriptural metaphors were more at home within a theological context and are harder to document outside of it, scriptural analogy has not been restricted to the pulpit. Reflecting on the mass movement of people across the Atlantic in the early 50's, Henry J. Kuiper, the influential editor of the Christian Reformed paper The Banner, predicted that poets would write epics on this “surge of Dutch immigrants to Canada” and that novelists “will weave their plots around it.”⁵³ Although few poets and writers, and

fewer visual artists have sprung out of the Reformed fold, it is not surprising that in the few literary accounts depicting the immigration experience, scriptural analogies are clearly articulated.

The best example of this may be found in the work of Hugh Cook, a Christian Reformed writer who was born in The Hague who immigrated to Canada as a child. In his work, Cook attempts to articulate the experiences of Reformed Canadians through fiction. His popularity confirms his ability to accurately capture his community's vision of reality. Significant, in the book of short stories entitled Cracked Wheat, Cook's lead story about a Dutch immigrant couple newly arrived in Canada is entitled "Exodus." Just as the Hebrews newly arrived in Canaan depended on Yahweh's promises, Cook's new Reformed Canadians, Anon and Mieke, depend on the 'promise of the Covenant' to combat their feelings of physical and spiritual displacement in Canada.⁵⁴

Another Old Testament metaphor which encapsulates travel and water is utilised in John Terpstra's poem 'Forty Days and Nights.' This poem comes as close to being one of the epics predicted by Henry Kuiper as anything published to date. The text accurately embodies the fusion of Biblical analogy and the immigrant experience in the Reformed mind and deserves to be cited in its entirety:

It may as well have been for forty days and nights that we were on the long Atlantic. Two by two, with children most of us, we packed our bags, walked the gangway, waved, and leaning on a deckrail watched the sea rise up behind us, top the dikes and take the lives of loved ones, still waving, their raised arms at last drowned by the flood of the horizon. Choosing to go, you'd almost think we should be happy, but added to that ocean our own salt and then, in quarters closer than the country we'd just left, waited, walked the deck, for ten days ate mostly variations on a theme of onions, layer by layer our former lives were peeled away, until

there was only left the small sweet core with which to land upon our *Ararat*, Quebec, from where the train, a cattle car of Frisians, Groningers, and *luyden uit Zeeland* took us all to destinations pinned onto our shirts, male and female we had no names, just places we were sent, like mail from overseas.

And this may have been the land the third dove found her branch of olive on, but it didn't look it. We sing I rest me in the thought of rocks and trees, but after fourteen days I'd had my fill of filling the cursing farmer's wagon with the stone and rock that dotted all his cursed fields, and learned a lifetime's worth of foul English, courtesy that man, while piling up those rocks somewhere as if they formed an altar to our God, as if I were about to offer thanks. If I was thankful then it was in silence, surrounded by the ever-growing trees which stood beside the fields, their bare trunks the bars of my selected prison my chosen land this is not I thought my father's world the *dorp* cozy, and in the middle of things, with family, friends, with her out visiting instead of set behind the farmer's house, walled within a shed he'd used to park his car, until we came (we have pictures of this), with not a soul for her to talk to in any tongue, on any day, except the kids.

And yet we walked one Sunday into town and, standing on the lawn of someone's house, took the photo we sent home, and without saying This is where we live, told them about indoor plumbing, how everyone had a car. Was it foolishness of pride, or faith, that focussed the Kodak Brownie on our family? We even smiled. Who knew if it would be a snapshot of our future? We felt His daily care, there was protection from the worst: we ate, had shelter, sometimes had to laugh. Do I say it right?

At times we thought it providential humour that I, scared to death of cows and horses, was sent to work on a farm; that once, needing lucht in de band of a bike, and wanting to belong, I overcame my fear of Canadese and boldly asked the man at the pump for sky in my band; that two days later I drove the coal truck from my second job, and dumped a one ton load down the basement chute of the wrong house and the next week wasn't paid, but shovelled those lumps of black back through the window, until I couldn't breathe. That week it rained. For all I cared it may as well have rained for forty days and nights and put the whole place under. I've never come so close to cursing, and what prevented it I cannot say, but looking out the cellar saw the same sign Noah saw and knew at once it was that band in the sky I'd wanted all along to tell myself to tell the kids, so someday they'd tell theirs that He had saved, protected us for this, that we could show His glory, not displaced in people who'd been moved from there to here like shining stones of coal starting from below.⁵⁵

If the scriptural metaphors we find in the work of the Reformed were restricted to the immigration experience, it might be argued that the Bible has been superficially or shallowly absorbed as the exodus theme is a relatively convenient image to exploit. But that has not been the case. In many instances we find that the biblical imagery that has been used transcends the immigration experience.

Thus in Aritha van Herk's novel The Tent Peg, we encounter a young woman looking out on the bleak prairie landscape identifying with Ja-el, the wife of Heber the Kenite the famous penetrator of Sisera (Judges 4:17-22; 5:24-27).⁵⁶ But whereas Ja-el drove a tent peg through the temple of Sisera, staking him to the ground, this Canadian Ja-el, in search of her own peace, drives 'tent pegs of understanding' through the temples of the geologists she is working with in the Canadian Yukon. In doing so she helps them come to terms with their own internal turmoil and find rest, a peace that has Biblical connotations. "For a moment I can pretend I am Deborah celebrating myself, victory, peace regained. And in their faces I see my transfiguration, themselves transformed, each one with the tent peg through the temple cherishing the knowledge garnered in sleep, in unwitting trust."⁵⁷ Although religion is never explicitly mentioned in van Herk's novel, and the situations and the interpretation of Ja-el are strictly her own, it is clearly a book shaped by scripture.

Alongside the more comprehensible touchstone of the Exodus, other, more cryptic images reveal how deeply the Old Testament was ingrained into the minds of the Reformed. For example, one of the most powerful images of the covenant is the

sacrificial stone altar. Conceivably, it is the pre-eminent Old Testament image, an altar of bloody sacrifice. Whereas the Exodus theme may still exist in a residual form in Canadian literature, one searches in vain to find similar references to a sacrificial stone altar. Yet, within the small body of Reformed literature which has been built up, it is almost commonplace.

Remember the line from John Terpstra's poem, 'Forty Days and Nights.' Terpstra describes an immigrant involved in the springtime rite of picking stones in a farmer's field and heaping them up "as if they formed an altar to our God."⁵⁸ This image dramatically reoccurs in Hugh Cook's award winning book, The HomeComing Man (1989).⁵⁹ In this book centring around the relationship between an Reformed immigrant father and son, a large rock in the family's orchard is symbolic of the father's wartime secret, a secret which affected the father's emotional relationship with his family and unbeknownst to his children, their later relationships with their families. Cook's principal character describes the rock as "huge, its square shape like the Old Testament altars he saw in the Dutch picture Bible from which his father read every day at the supper table, altars laden with the carcasses of sacrificed animals: lambs, oxen, calves, and goats."⁶⁰

As well as being communicated in poem and story, the image of an altar of rough uncut stones has been expressed in the visual arts. In 'The Altar' a painting presented to Calvin Ogilvie, the president of Acadia University, Nova Scotia, Christian Reformed artist, Matth Cupido depicted an Old Testament altar as it would have been seen from the perspective of someone standing beside it looking down.



1. Matth Cupido, Pencil study for *The Altar*. Courtesy of Matth Cupido, Canning Nova Scotia, 1996.

This work came out of Cupido's desire to create a "singular piece" of art that encapsulated his own Reformed understanding of the role of an authority figure. "I wanted to talk about that sense of governing, that sense of decision making, that sense of leadership and the responsibility behind that." The challenge for Cupido was depicting these qualities in one particular composition. Tellingly, in a decision which can serve as

another illustration of how deeply the scriptures have become embedded into the Reformed character. Cupido saw these themes coming together in the image of an Old Testament altar. "I think it [the altar] simplifies those offices to their most common denominator. That is, when we do this, meaning, acting out this presidency, we do it from the basic command, which is, that our life should in that sense be a thank offering which honours God."

To Cupido, an authority figure like the president of a university was akin to an Old Testament priest who looked after the physical and spiritual well-being of his people. The painting of the altar placed this leadership role into the proper perspective. It alluded to being a leader over people, but, as with its original meaning, it also rose upward to God, an authority above him. Clearly, to Cupido the image of the altar was dynamic and applicable. "It is not an image that stands on its own, it is a statement that has legs."⁶¹

In many respects Cupido's Altar is an Old Testament image. Physically it is comprised of twelve stones, each one representing one of the twelve tribes of Israel. "For me," says Cupido, "twelve stones says more than a whole series of books... the twelve stones represents God's people, it is a symbol, it represents a wonderful communal voice." Most notably, any reference to Christ is absent from this picture. Cupido has returned the sacrificial altar to its original Old Testament function: a meeting place between God and his people.⁶²

Although it is clear that the idea of sacrifice is the central theme in the Altar, in this work Cupido does allude, if obliquely, to an exodus motif. According to the artist,

this second theme "is not always visible on top" but nevertheless underlies the idea of sacrifice. In Biblical times stones were used in a commemorative sense. Joshua, for example, raised twelve stones to signal the place at which the Hebrews had crossed the Jordan river into the land of Canaan. In his discussion on the Altar, Cupido states that the "the whole idea of an altar, even in the biblical sense when you talk about 'And he raised a stone'... we raise a stone to recognise ... where we have come from, and where we are. It has not been on our own doing? It has been God that has led us here."⁶³

Although the metaphor of the Exodus seems to have been the most obvious scriptural reference available to the Reformed, another has been equally utilised: that of being 'sojourners - strangers in a strange land.'⁶⁴ "By faith Abraham, when called to go to a place he would later receive as an inheritance, obeyed and went, even though he did not know where he was going. By faith he made his home in the promised land like a stranger in a foreign country" (Hebrews 11:8-9). An extension of the exodus theme, the 'strangers' and 'sojourning' metaphor found in both the Old and New Testaments has been a favoured theme for sermons. The acceptance and continued use of this reference results from its appropriateness. In comparison with the early Dutch Reformed settlers in the United States where block settlement was the rule, the postwar Dutch in Canada were never organised into any identifiable community settings. Upon their arrival, the Dutch families were separated and sent into what one commentator labelled "a semi-dispersion."⁶⁵ In such a situation the description of being a 'sojourner' or a "stranger in a strange land"⁶⁶ may have spoken more accurately to those immigrants whose daily lives were often marked by isolation and loneliness.

One indication that this might be the case comes to us through the medium of song. Although they might not deserve it, the Dutch Reformed in Canada have acquired a reputation for not showing sentiment or affection in public or private. A large percentage of mature interviewees have stated that they cannot remember their parents hugging them, or telling them they love them. This tendency was more pronounced among men, where a firm handshake was generally seen as an appropriate greeting between family members. Hugh Cook has one of his characters, Paul Bloem, reflecting on this trait. "He was not sure whether it was an ethnic thing or not, the Dutch just not showing affection as openly as Italians say."⁶⁷ Be that as it may, song has historically been a medium of emotional release for the Reformed and even today, the uninitiated listener can feel the passion in the voices of the old immigrants when they sing *'Ere zij God'* (Glory to God), their traditional New Years eve song in Dutch. Immigrants identified with hymns that spoke to the situation they now found themselves in. In interviews, several songs have been mentioned that dealt with feelings of alienation and having to put the future in the hands of a covenant God. One hymn "I Am a Stranger Here, within a Foreign Land" has been mentioned as having been especially relevant during these early years. This hymn was in the Christian Reformed Churches Red Psalter Hymnal. Its first stanza begins: "I am a stranger here within a foreign land; My home is far away upon a golden strand; Ambassador to be of realms beyond the sea - I'm here on business for my King."⁶⁸

This theme has also appeared in the title of one published memoir, Arie Verduijn's, Sojourners: A Family Chronicle (1981) as well as figuring prominently in many others. Raymond Louter, a second generation Reformed playwright, based his play

on postwar Dutch immigration, Stranger in the Land, on this outsider theme. Louter drew inspiration for his theme from an obscure passage in Jeremiah: "O the Hope of Israel, the Saviour thereof in time of trouble, why shouldst thou be a stranger in the land and as a way-faring man, that turneth aside to tarry for a night" (Jeremiah 14:8).⁶⁹ How are we to understand this tendency among the Dutch to describe their emigration as an exodus and themselves as 'sojourners' and 'strangers in the land?' Although it is not necessarily articulated in the earliest records, such ideas put their move in a context which they could understand. By placing their move under the supremacy of God, their move was legitimized. They were assured that God was with them and had in fact sanctioned their migration. This belief persists to this day. In a 1993 article entitled "Emigration by Divine Appointment," William Lensink, a foreman in the technical department at Stelco in Hamilton, states that "those of us who emigrated did so by divine appointment. Whether it was wise for some to leave I cannot say. But I do think that many children and grandchildren benefited from the decisions of their children and grandchildren to heed the command to go to a land that God would show them and be a blessing and be blessed there."⁷⁰

Such views were not restricted to the non academic. In his article "Reasons for Emigration" Adrian Guildemond (a trained historian) comes to a similar conclusion, holding that perhaps the immigration of the Dutch to Canada "is analogous to the Exodus from Egypt by the Hebrews who did not fully realise what was going on, but later knew it was God's dealing with them by a mighty and merciful hand."⁷¹ Other descriptions are also revealing.

In his work A Bitter Sweet Land: The Dutch Experience in Canada, 1890-1980 historian Herman Ganzevoort describes the Dutch who came to Canada after WWII as "a tribe on the move, with suspicion and cold assessment in their eyes, getting the measure of their neighbours and expecting little but what they could provide for themselves."⁷² What is Ganzevoort insinuating here? What tribe is this? Immigrants from the northern province of Friesland might identify with the Friesians. Others, reaching back to antiquity, might resurrect the model of the ancient Batavians. But these possibilities are unlikely, and do not explain the haughtiness recognised by Ganzevoort. "Others," Ganzevoort states, have suggested that "such arrogance grew out of their (the immigrants) fear of the unknown, a compensatory reaction that many immigrants manifest."⁷³ Unquestionably, there is more than an element of truth in this suggestion. Yet does such an explanation go far enough? Adriaan Peetoom, another immigrant, goes even further than Ganzevoort in his study of the Reformed in asserting that "the evidence is clear, the Dutch emigrant ships transported conquerors, orthodox-Calvinists who from their own point of view were armed with determination to subject this virgin land to what they saw as God's will."⁷⁴ If Canada was to be saved, if there was to be a Christian culture in Canada, Reverend Remkes Kooistra wrote in his 1957 book Jong Zijn in een Jong Land it could only be done by the Christian Reformed Church.⁷⁵ Tribes, conquerors, saviours? coming to subject the land, to redeem it? What are we to make of all this? Where do these references come from?

Clearly, the theological and devotional patterns instituted at the Synod of Dort, the events and interpretations of the Golden Age of the Netherlands formed a tenacious

intellectual gauntlet that shaped and animated the worldview of the Reformed. But lets us now take a closer look at how we get from a covenantal mind set laid out in scripture and in a series of confessions to a group of Dutch Reformed immigrants and their progeny in Canada.

Demographics (F)

First of all, we need to recognize that the bulk of the Orthodox Reformed that came in the early formative years of immigration were from the agricultural provinces where the people were religiously conservative and the divisions between the denominations quite pronounced. A.S. Tuinman's figures show that in 1949 an astounding 87% of the Dutch immigrants were involved in agriculture. It was not till 1951 that the percentage of agricultural workers as compared to the rest of the immigrants dropped below 50%. Even then, agriculture continued to be the dominate profession of incoming immigrants for several more years. It was in this group that the majority of the Reformed were concentrated. These were also the people under the most demographic pressure in the Netherlands at the end of the war. Their catechism told them that first and foremost the purpose of marriage was to have children.⁷⁶ At the turn of the century Abraham Kuyper had upheld this position by declaring that birth control was unbiblical, as a result the Reformed continued to have large families, so at the war end many Calvinists, like their Catholic neighbours were "rich in children" at a time when land and work was scarce.⁷⁷

Although it would be difficult to prove, it may be that the Reformed who came

were more religiously conservative. During the heavy immigration years, Reverend Gerritsma (a *Gereformeerde* minister in Zoterdam), stated that he saw the Lord "moving the lampstand (Revelation 2:5) from western Europe to Canada" because "because most of the conservative (God fearing) people were leaving Holland."⁷⁸ This combination of religious conservatism and ruralism might be a critical combination in understanding why Old Testament scripture captured the essence of the Reformed in the way it did, and support Van Jaarsveld's reflection that "the stories of the Old Testament could never have made such a deep impression on urban communities."⁷⁹

Scripture (G)

Oral sources also indicate that the Orthodox Reformed who came to Canada in the post war period had a strong legacy of daily Bible reading. In the Reformed tradition, the first panacea for ignorance and scepticism of the Bible was to immerse oneself in it. "To read it heartily, mindfully, and searchingly" was a prevalent injunction.⁸⁰ In the Netherlands, as later in Canada, the Bible was read formally at least three times a day following the main family meals and before the patriarchal family prayer. If the children in the family were young, the Bible reading would alternate between the adult Bible and a *Kleuter Vertelboek* (children's Bible) until the young ones were deemed sufficiently cognizant to deal with their parent's text.⁸¹

In the early years in Canada the immigrants still often employed a Dutch children's Bible such as Anne de Vries,' *Kleuter Vertelboek voor de Bijelse Geschiedenis*. This Bible was often followed up in the English language with *Marion's Bible Stories*.

The choice of Bibles used often reflected the level of proficiency the immigrants had acquired with their new language. As the parents progressed with learning English they often began using a child's English language Bible before switching to an adult level English Bible.

There does not appear to have been any involved reading strategy when it came to the immigrants making their way through the scriptures. According to most interviewees, fathers simply began with 'Genesis' and made their way through the scripture until the end of 'Revelation.' If there was any customary departure from this pattern it usually involved the additional reading of some devotional material or the psalms. This book of scripture seems to have been the most popular section in the Bible. Many immigrants have mentioned having favourite psalms and have said that they would turn to them on a more frequent basis.

Other individuals have mentioned skipping certain books such as 'Numbers.' This however appears to be more the exception than the rule. It was noted more than once that "all of the Bible is the Word of God and no part of it is any less important than another." One Reformed individual summed up his family's Bible reading habits thus. "We read the Old Testament faithfully and the New Testament received no more prominence in that reading than the Old Testament."⁸²

The theological justification for reading the entire canon was strong. Christian Reformed Church minister, Dirk Miedema, explains it thus: "One cannot understand the New Testament unless you read those parts of the Bible. Without Leviticus, and its discussions on sacrifice, the death of Jesus Christ is an enigma. Jesus is the perfect and

last sacrifice of atonement."⁸³

The Bible reading after the evening meal was often followed by questions - some of considerable intricacy - directed toward the children by the father.⁸⁴ After Christian day schools were established the Bible was in some cases studied in school and in the church catechism class where the Heidelberg Catechism was used as a doctrinal guide. As well, the Bible was studied in Sunday school. Children were encouraged to pray and read the Bible on their own in order to develop a close personal relationship with God. In Canada as in the Netherlands, a Bible was the traditional gift the church would give a young couple at their wedding. The presenter, typically their elder, would usually encourage the newly weds to turn to it daily and build their married lives around it.

In most Reformed communities these practices were re-established in Canada without any difficulty or obvious change. The change in geographical location did little to upset family devotional patterns. If anything, the new location and new experiences shone a fresh light on certain sections of the Bible. I have already indicated several key themes in the previous chapter, but such analogies were not restricted to those few topics that relate directly to this study. For example, in his memoirs, Arie Verduijn writes:

From hearsay and logic we knew about the vastness of our new country before we arrived. The Netherlands would fit into southern Ontario with room to spare. We had also been told how beautiful the country side would appear to us. But nobody had mentioned that, taking Psalm 103:11 literally, God's love would appear to be greater in Canada than in the old country. 'As high as the sky is above the earth, so great is his love for those who have reverence for him.' The generally lower clouds we had known all our lives had made it hard reading this text, to see what grandeur was talked about. Now the impressive expanse spoke overwhelmingly clearly.

This text and others such as Psalms 8 and 19 which also talk about how God has revealed himself in nature have also been a prominent theme for Chris Overvoorde , a *Gereformeerde* artist who emigrated to the United States in 1957 and joined the Christian Reformed Church.



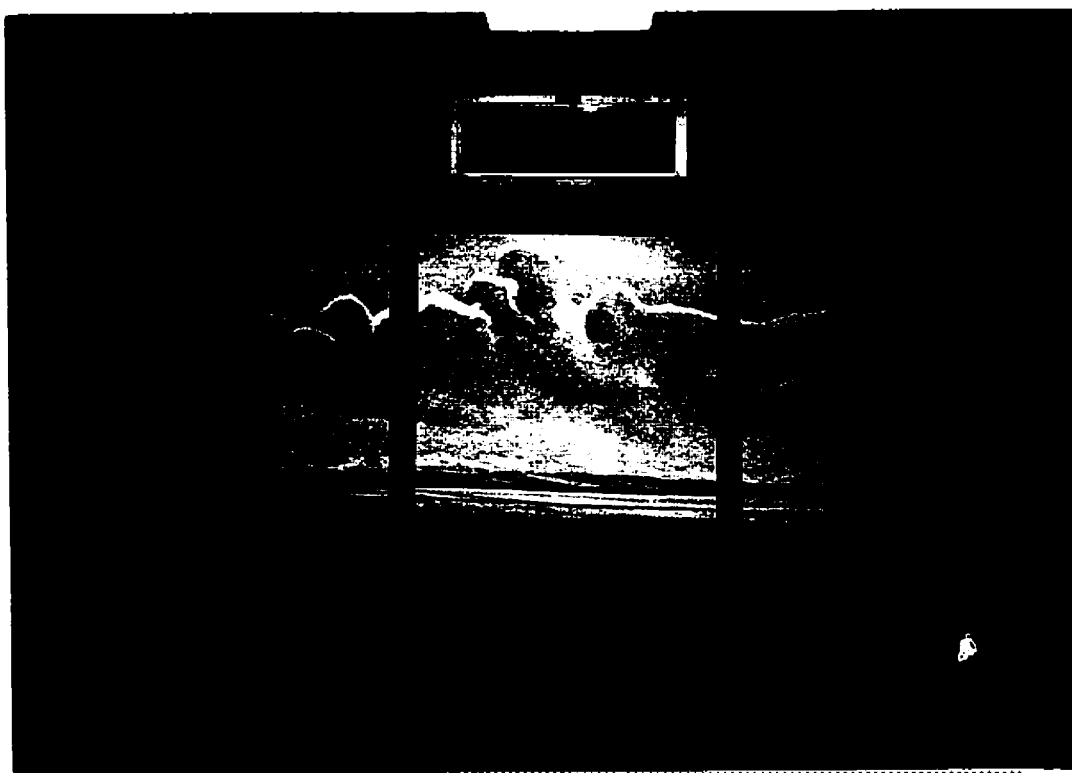
2. Chris Stoffel Overvoorde, *Prairie landscape*. Acrylic on canvas. 1994.

Although Overvoorde did not settle in Canada, (many of his most notable landscapes are Canadian prairie scenes) he is of interest here, as he is one of the few Dutch born visual artists within the Christian Reformed community. While Overvoorde has also looked to scripture for inspiration for his paintings, he also points to the motivational influence of the Reformed catechisms particularly the Belgic confession

which asks:

By what means God is made known to us. We know him by two means: First, by the creation, preservation, and government of the universe; which is before our eyes as a most elegant book, wherein all creatures, great and small, are as so many characters leading us to see clearly the invisible things of God, even his everlasting power and divinity as the apostle Paul says (Rom. 1:20). All which things are sufficient to convince men and leave them without excuse.

“This,” says Overvoorde, “is where I took my cue from, how does God reveal himself through the book of nature? This notion of the power and grandeur of God is what motivated me. When I look at nature, when I’m sitting in the middle of the prairie its scary, the awesome dimension of that. If you look at my paintings you can see that.”⁸⁵



3. Chris Stoffel Overvoorde, *Prairie Triptych*. Acrylic on canvas. 1994.

Church (H)

The impact of the scriptures was not limited to individual or family cognizance. At least equally important were the Sunday services where atmosphere, structure and imagery were almost as consequential as the proclamation of the Word from the pulpit. Reformed worship services in the Netherlands and Canada were designed to manifest *Eerbiedigheid*, a Dutch word for respect and devotion. According to Reverend Bernard DeJong, worship services going back to Old Testament times had this atmosphere of "respect and reverent silence." The prophet Habakkuk wrote in 2:20 - 'God is in His temple, let all the earth be silent before Him. "Our worship services," writes De Jong, "are modelled under that vision - a vision of God the Lord meeting his people in sacred ceremony."⁸⁶

Other allusions were more direct. Twice each Sunday in the Netherlands, Reformed ministers would typically address their congregation as 'the Covenant People,' the 'children of Israel.' Interviewees have also revealed that during the war years ministers drew explicit comparisons between events in scripture and the experiences of the congregation in the pews. In an 1943 article published in The Banner, a unnamed Dutch writer criticised the degree to which this exegesis had grown. He concluded that because the church in Holland had grown such deep roots into the life of the nation the Dutch were "continually tempted to see Holland as the land of Canaan." People continually applied "the texts of the Old Testament which speaks of Israel as the elect nation not only to the Church, but also to the Netherlands, so an enemy of Israel becomes the present day enemy of the Dutch nation."⁸⁷

Equally clear is the perception of God that prevailed. The deity was, as is often seen in a Calvinist church, a God of justice. This understanding carried over into the preaching in Canada as well. It was not as John Bolt writes 'the imitation of Christ' or the 'Sermon on the Mount' that formed the basis of Reformed ethics but the decalogue.⁸⁸ Still, some people indicated that a change in emphasis took place in Canada as to how God was portrayed. In the Netherlands God was seen more as Jehovah, the almighty, "a God that had the world in his hands," a God who would mete out justice and punishment. Whereas in Canada, "in later years, God has been more portrayed as a loving kind God."⁸⁹

In contrast to the services of other denominations, a Reformed service began with a reading of the Old Testament decalogue. This was an essential ingredient of the service. One Dutch-Canadian minister remembers that when he forgot to read the law during a Sunday morning service he had a member of his congregation get up and walk out of the church.⁹⁰ Others wrote letters of protest over such omissions. In one case, individuals went so far as to resign from their church's governing council over their minister's failure to read the law at the beginning of their worship service. The most common version read seems to have been from (Exodus 20:1-17).

And God spoke all these words: I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of Egypt, out of the Land of slavery. You shall have no other Gods before me. You shall not make for yourself an idol in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or on the waters below. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I, the Lord your God, am a jealous God, punishing the children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generations of those who hate me, but showing love to a thousand generations of those who love me and keep my commandments. You shall not misuse the name of the Lord your God, for the Lord will not

hold anyone guiltless who misuses his name.

Remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy. Six days you shall labor and do all your work but the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. On it you shall not do any work, neither you nor your son or daughter . nor your manservant or your maidservant, nor your animals nor the alien within your gates. For in six days the Lord made the heaven and the earth, the sea and all that is in them, but he rested on the seventh day. Therefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day and made it holy.

Honor your father and your mother so that you may live long in the land the Lord your God is giving you. You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not give false testimony against your neighbor. You shall not covet your neighbor's house. You shall not covet your neighbor's wife or his manservant or maid servant, his ox or donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor.

We could focus on a number of aspects of this command here, but let us look at the edict to "remember the Sabbath day by keeping it holy." In the eyes of the Reformed this was a singularly consequential command, both in the Netherlands and later in Canada, as obedience to it was seen by many as denoting membership in the covenant. It is perhaps significant in itself and indicative of the power of the direct reading of the scripture that so many of the Reformed approach the Sabbath as the last day of the week in light of Exodus, rather than as the first day of the week in celebration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, as it is understood in other Christian traditions.

To most Reformed keeping the Sabbath holy meant not working. "On it (the Sabbath) you should not do any work." Whether one worked on the Sabbath, or participated in recreational activities or not, the Sabbath was traditionally seen as the litmus test for true covenantal living. The degree to which the Reformed would go to obey this command is striking. For example, Reformed tradition decreed that on a

Sunday only work that was absolutely necessary was acceptable. In many cases this meant women would prepare as much of the meal as they could the day before. Although it would generally depend on the traditions of the province from which the people came, or whether they were from an urban or rural environment, more often than not, the Sunday meal was simpler than the meals served the other days of the week. Dutch soup and pudding was not atypical. "You tried to do as little work as possible ... You planned your Sunday meal on Saturday and made sure that could be easily done. Your potatoes were peeled, your soup was cooked on Saturday so that on Sunday, you went to church and then you had your coffee fellowship, not so much at the church, but in your own family group."⁹¹ If you were a farmer, as many of the immigrants were, this usually meant feeding your livestock and if you were a dairy farmer, attending your cattle which still had to be milked twice on a Sunday. Church services however were scheduled so that they fell in between milking times. Still, there were some exceptions as "someone might stay home to do the necessary things like the milk cans because we were on a farm cows had to be milked twice on Sunday. You had to clean things up on Sunday morning just as well in order to get things going again on Sunday evenings."⁹²

Two of the most interesting things in looking at Sabbatarianism here is the extremes to which this sometimes went and the Pharisee-like dexterity that this spawned in some people. Some immigrants remember their fathers going so far as to shave on Saturday night so they would not have to do it on the Sabbath. Business talk on the Sabbath was of course taboo, but some men have stated that during their after service smoke and talk session, people would discuss their livestock in such a way the pigs and cows

were potentially bought and sold without the words ever being used. As one immigrant recalled: "In Canada you stepped out of church and you would hear guys talking about selling a bunch of pigs. (They would phrase their questions) If it wasn't Sunday what would you ask for them? This didn't go on in the Netherlands because you would see each other during the week and that was not always the case here." ⁹³

In his short story "First Snow," Hugh Cook tells the story of the early years of immigration when one of the male members of the congregation did not show up for a Sunday service. The minister and the little flock waited as long as they could, but when it was obvious that the fellow wasn't coming, the small congregation proceeded with the service. Capturing the spirit of the people and the emphasis placed on the Sabbath, Cook writes, "for most members of the congregation of Dutch immigrants to miss the service would have been remarkable enough, but for Tjepkema - well, everyone knew something must have happened. The man never missed." Concerned that something might be wrong the minister drove out to the young man's farm the next day. Upon arriving he found the young man not in the barn working hard as he supposed but dressed in his Sunday suit sitting at his kitchen table. It seemed that in the business of the week the young man had gotten his days mixed up and thought that the Sabbath was Saturday. Realising this and " ... overwhelmed by the enormity of his sin" Cook's character concludes: "There was only one thing to do. I would have to let today be my Sunday." So on that Monday morning, Tjepkema put on his Sunday suit, prepared to read a sermon and in obedience to God's laws would refrain from working.⁹⁴

Interestingly, the idea of work on the Sabbath was extended to include

recreational activities that were also interpreted as being able to desecrate the idea of a Sabbath's day of rest. Interviews have supplied a formidable list of 'don'ts' for a Sunday. For many that meant that bikes were not to be rode on Sunday, fishing was not allowed, organised activities such as soccer were forbidden, for girls knitting and sewing were not allowed. One women recalled that as a young girl she was allowed to skate to church over the canals as it would be much quicker, but on the return journey she was not allowed to skate past the little bridge that crossed the canal and connected her house with the road. Skating more then necessary would be skating for pleasure and that was not allowed on the Sabbath.⁹⁵

Clearly Sunday was to be understood as a serious day and it was commonly thought among the young that any form of pleasure and Sundays did not mix. This was adeptly illustrated in a reflection shared at a wedding reception the author attended in 1997. At that reception the groom's mother told the story about a family vacation several years earlier. They were staying at a cottage on a beach, it was a Sunday and it was terribly hot. After a serious conversation the mother and father decided that it would be "okay to let the children go swimming just this once on a Sunday." Revealing was the groom's - then only a child - response to this serendipitous announcement. "thank you, thank you mom, and don't worry we won't enjoy it!"⁹⁶

If there was one activity that was seen as acceptable for a Sunday it was reading - unless of course that was something you had to read and then it was forbidden because it was work. Times are changing on this accord, now it is not uncommon to find many Reformed people engaged in organized and unorganized recreational activities on a

Sunday. The Christian Reformed Church in Ingersoll, Ontario, has even scheduled its second Sunday Service to allow families to stay at the beach longer on a Sunday afternoon. If there is still one injunction that has some force it is against shopping on Sunday.

The subject of the law is an extensive one that transcended theological venues and involved not only obedience to God, but to all governmental authorities as well. This is outlined in the 'Belgic Confession' in Article 36. Anabaptists were to be "detested" because they rejected "higher powers and magistrates and would subvert justice, introduce community of goods and confound that decency and good order which God has established among men."⁹⁷ In "From Myth to Mythology," Peetroom recalls that at the beginning of the German occupation the orthodox Reformed were confused on how to respond. If the German *Reichmarshal* was now the legitimate authority in the Netherlands, it would be against God's law to offer any type of resistance, either passive or armed.⁹⁸

It is difficult to discern how all these ingredients worked their way around in the minds of the people in the pew, but some observations were noteworthy for the degree to which they reflected Old Testament paradigms. In the Old Testament wealth is repeatedly seen as evidence of blessing, perhaps even as a sign of membership in the elect. Older immigrants from the northern agricultural provinces of the Netherlands have mentioned how this emphasis on wealth and blessing was underscored in rural churches.

At a time when church pews were rented a person's financial status determined how close you would be to God's word. The rich, the *dikken boeren* (the big farmers)

acquired the choice seats in front, closest to the pulpit. The wives or women who sat in these pews wore *oorijzer's*, skull caps with gold plates on heads covered by a crocheted headdress. The more prosperous women wore 'broad gold' *oorijzers* and the others women, still wealthy, wore the 'narrow gold' *oorijzers*.' The most affluent women also went one step further and had gold spindles hanging down from their temples with diamonds inserted in them. Despite the crocheted headdress onlookers remember seeing the golden sheen that reflected off the women's heads.⁹⁹

Behind the rich or to their flanks sat the men and women with less wealth. Still relatively well off, these women wore *oorijzers* of silver on their heads. To their rear, and in the wings, sat the widows, the labouring class and the poor in the chairs for which there was no rent charged. Here, the women had no precious metals on their head and wore the crocheted headdress.

As Reformed churches are presbyterian in nature, the men in authority are the elders. In some areas of the Netherlands even up to the start of immigration, elders were almost exclusively men of wealth and status. That they were rich was a sign of God's blessing and individual righteousness. Having been thus blessed, they were thought to be better able to provide leadership than the average parishioner. Before the service began, these men with their distinctive stripped pants paraded into the sanctuary and took up their positions behind the minster and facing their wives who sat in front. Hence the rich - the blessed - formed a hedge around the pulpit.¹⁰⁰

Christian Schools (I)

The view that the Reformed were God's '*Netherkindren*' (Dutch children) was also part of the ethos of the Christian Schools (the schools with the Bible). According to interviewees many of the historical embellishments that Schama noted in his study of the Golden Age were still being emphasised in the pre and post World War II period. People described their education as "patriotic." The history of the Golden Age was highlighted, with the Netherland's prosperity and power being viewed as a blessing and evidence of God's favour. Nor was this message subtlety conveyed. Older immigrants recall seeing on the cover of their school texts a map of Palestine with a map of the Netherlands semi-imposed over top. Such motifs seemed to have had their effect. One Reformed immigrant, now a professor at a major Canadian university, remembers one of his classmates asking his teacher "are we Israel?" He couldn't remember the teacher's answer, but he did not think the question unusual, as he himself had thought the same thing.¹⁰¹

The rosy light that shone on the Golden Age had also shone brightly on Prince William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch in their war of independence against Spain. The Orthodox Reformed who came to Canada had great reverence for Queen Juliana who was seen as the embodiment of a historical tradition that went back four hundred years to Prince William of Orange.¹⁰² People living in the Holland Marsh in the late 40's remember how the girls at the Dutch Christian school would wear orange ribbons in their hair on April 30, Queen's Juliana's birthday. To many of the Orthodox Reformed who immigrated to Canada there existed a "threefold cord:" God, the Netherlands and Orange were one.¹⁰³

Other immigrants of school age when they came to Canada recalled how amazed they were that they learned virtually nothing of the Netherlands in the Canadian public schools. "We had been taught that the Netherlands was really something, one the most important countries in the world."¹⁰⁴ Even during the German occupation much was made of the fact that the Netherlands was still a colonial power. "We had Indonesia and Surinam as colonies and we had established the Boers in South Africa." The Dutch connection with South Africa was highlighted. One immigrant has stated that. "we always learned that we won the Boer war, because they still have a Dutch government over there - not English."¹⁰⁵

This potpourri of religious and educational influences was to have a persuasive effect on the average Dutch orthodox Reformed person. It created a close familiarity with the Bible and caused the distinctions between Dutch history and Biblical history to fade. As one immigrant acknowledged: "William the Silent was just another King like King David. The only difference was that we knew more about King David's sins. But both served the Lord."¹⁰⁶

Summary (J)

What has not been dealt with in any studies thus far is how the concept of the covenant was seemingly equated with the orthodox *zuilen*. Much has been said about the *zuilen* in other studies, but what is missing is the intensesness of the feeling directed against those outside their particular *zuilen*. It has been said that "the Dutch have as many dikes in their mental life as in their countryside." Petersen writes that "typically a

Dutch child plays only with children of his own faith, and he learns early that the *andersdenkende* (those with another point of view) are queer."¹⁰⁷ This maybe a bit of an understatement. Bram Kloosterman, an academic born into the Reformed community in the Netherlands and who later left it, puts things in stronger terms. "We, those of us in the *Gerefermeerde* were taught to hate those who were not of us."¹⁰⁸ Why did the Reformed create such a wide gap between themselves and others? Why such enmity?

I would argue that for many of the Reformed immigrants that came to Canada this emphasis on being part of the elect, those chosen through special grace, coalesced with the Old Testament concept of a chosen, covenant people that are to be set apart kept separate from the world. This conviction fits into the immigrant situation in which the Orthodox Reformed found themselves. In many respects it is easy to see how the Reformed could identify with the ancient Hebrews. Their doctrine and history - all that they held dear - told them that their religious beliefs were superior to those of the inhabitants of the land. Outside of the few Reformed churches already in existence, many people have stated that they thought that a real Biblical Christianity did not exist in Canada until their arrival. One Dutch women who was young at the time of the mass immigration remembered that when people were leaving the Netherlands for Canada they had a special service for the family who would sit at the front of the church. What stood out in her mind was that at the end of the service they sang Psalm 73, with its reference to - "those who seek their wealth apart from God." The meaning was clear. Canada was a place apart from God.¹⁰⁹ Nor was this thinking restricted to the young. Reflective of a general consensus is another women's statement that "when we came to Canada there

were no Christian schools and no Christian churches where the Word was preached."¹¹⁰

Although there were a number of references in the literature at the time that Canada was a Christian country, and that several political leaders were apparently Christian,

revealingly in many interviews the immigrants have stated that they strongly felt that

God was travelling with them across the Atlantic. None seemed to consider that He

might be already in Canada doing mighty works among the Canadians. Speaking in

retrospect, many immigrants have indicated that initially they did not consider the

Canadians true covenantal Christians, or to put it in more Calvinistic terms, part of the

elect. "They were," as one immigrant said, "like the pagans around us."¹¹¹ In the Terpstra

poem, God had "protected," "saved" His people. The only Canadian mentioned in the

poem is described as a cursing, foul mouthed farmer.¹¹²

Does this mean that these Orthodox Reformed saw themselves as the actual descendants of the Israelites the Chosen people?¹¹³ The answer to that question is no.

Nevertheless, it is clear that as much as the ancient Hebrews felt that they were the

children of God, these modern day sojourners felt themselves to be the spiritual heirs of

the Israelites. The reaction of the Reformed at the time of immigration and afterward

makes sense if we accept the supposition that the Reformed immigrants, operating on

precepts expounded in scripture saw themselves as a 'covenant people of God,' special

and distinct from the people around them. It is not surprising to find Old Testament

motifs such as the Exodus playing such a salient role in descriptions of Reformed culture.

If we do believe that the Dutch Reformed that came to Canada conceived of

themselves as a covenant people, we need to know how this perception influenced their

behaviour. I will say more about this later, but this argument goes a long way to explaining the proclivity of the Reformed to keep other communities at arms length while socialising and marrying mainly within their own community. Religious views reinforced natural immigrant proclivities. Furthermore, I also believe that this thinking explains the inconsistencies in how some Reformed organizations operate.

Notes for Chapter Four

4. Sojourners in a Strange Land

1. Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration, 372. During the 1930's immigration to Canada was confined to wives and children of inhabitants able to maintain them and to individuals with enough assets to launch a business; Petersen, Planned Migration, 170.
2. Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land, 63.
3. Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health in the Netherlands, *Verlag over the werkzaamheden van de organen voor emigratie* cited in VanderMay, To All Our Children, 52-53. See Chart B; For another set of figures which differ see Chart C; Anthony Sas, "Dutch Migration to and Settlement in Canada: 1945-1955," (Ph. D. dissertation, Clark University Worcester, Mass.). 1957, p. iv.
4. Petersen, Planned Migration, 66.
5. Interview with Harry and Pauline Bootsma, Brantford Ontario, November 24, 1993.
6. Netherlands Information Bureau, in E.J. Tanis, "Holland" The Banner December 1, 1944, 1134; E.J. Tanis, "The World Today: Holland's Plight," The Banner (March 2, 1945), 199; "Lands." The Banner (May 11, 1945), 446.
7. Petersen, Planned Migration, 66.
8. Ibid., 66.
9. The Netherlands Information Bureau, printed in Anton C. Van Beers, "Holland: Aneta War Correspondent." The Banner (May 18, 1945), 476.
10. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Hija Haanstra, Dunnville Ontario, September 7 and 9, 1993.
11. Anton C. Van Beers, "Holland," The Banner (May 18, 1945), 476.
12. Petersen, Planned Migration, 66-67.
13. "Lands." The Banner (May 11, 1945), 446.
14. Petersen, Planned Migration, 80.
15. Ibid., 67.

16. The Dutch and the Indonesia economies were so entwined before the war that economists in the Netherlands found it virtually impossible to estimate the number of jobs dependant upon the Indonesian connection. Derksen noted that beyond the impact of the direct contact occupations, this part of the labour force "decisively affected" the remainder of the Dutch economy including that part of it that had no immediate contact with the colonies. See Petersen, Planned Migration, 83.

17. Green, Immigration, 30. Petersen writes that population pressure in the Netherlands was the result of three main factors. a) The quick rise in the population. b) The general rise in people's expectations, and c) the loss of a portion of the prewar economic foundation. For a summary see Petersen, Planned Migration 225; Peetoom states that 300,000 people were repatriated from the colonies. Adrian Peetoom, From Mythology to Mythology, 46.

18. Petersen, Planned Migration, 83.

19. Many interviewees say fear of a Soviets push to the Atlantic was a factor in their immigration. William Kilbourn, "The 1950's," in The Canadians: 1867-1967 Careless, J.M.S. and R. Craig Brown, eds., 328.

20. Interview with Hija Haanstra.

21. Vidkun Quisling was a Norwegian officer who founded the fascist Norwegian *Nasjonal Samling* - National Union. Quisling plotted with the Nazis to over throw his counties government and at the time of the invasion by the Nazis proclaimed himself the new Prime Minister. Initially denied this position, the Germans later reinstated him as Prime Minister in 1942. During the war Quisling's name became synonymous with traitor.

22. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, June 7, 1996.

23. Interview with Hija Haanstra.

24. De Ervarene Verstandige Huyshouder, 2d ed. (1743), discussed in Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches, chapter six "Housewives and Hussies: Homeliness and Worldliness." 375-480.

25. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.

26. Interview with Matth Cupido, Redeemer College, April 1, 1996.

27. For a published account of one man's encounter with the post-war bureaucracy see, Syrt Wolters, The Hidden Family Upstairs: A True War Story (Victoria, B.C.: Springboard Publishing Company, 1995), 116-119.

28. This feeling comes out in many of the interviews; See Wolters, The Hidden Family Upstairs, 116-119; See also, Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land, 66. Did this cause any one to leave? When the immigrant ships were leaving the quay in Rotterdam it was common for most of the passages to singing the 'Willhelmus,' the Dutch national anthem. One immigrant told me that his father, a small businessman refused to sing with his fellow passengers because he felt he was being forced out of his country by the government's tax and bureaucratic policies.
29. Anthony Sas, Dutch Migration to and Settlement in Canada: 1945-1955 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms, 1957), 7-10.
30. The official figure was 408,240. "1981 Census of Canada" recorded in Warren E. Kalbach. "Growth and Distribution of Canada's Ethnic Populations, 1871-1981," in Ethnic Canada: Identities and Inequalities (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1987), 88.
31. Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land, 65.
32. VanderMey, To All Our Children, 48.
33. Petersen suggests that a similar feeling was directed toward the Dutch by Canadian veterans. In 1946 when a poll was taken in Canada to determine if the people would endorse a larger population, 75 per cent of the World War II veterans who responded gave implicit approval to a large immigration contrasted with only 58 per cent of civilians during the war. "Poll of the Canadian Institute of Public opinion," in Cantril, Public Opinion, 585-586. in William Petersen, Planned Migration, 171.
34. Barry Broadfoot, The Immigrant Years: From Europe to Canada 1945-1967 (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1986), 33; For another published story see, James C. Schaap, "Margaret De Wit," in CRC Family Portrait: Sketches of Ordinary Christians in a 125-Year-Old Church (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church), 207.
35. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Van Wely, Beamsville Ontario, October 14 and 20, 1993. .
36. Lindalee Tracey, A Scattering of Seeds: The Creation of Canada (Toronto: McArthur and Company, 1999), 265.
37. Petersen, Planned Migration, 171.
38. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Hessel Baarda, St. Ann's Ontario, February 24, and June 21, 1993.
39. G.H. Gerrits, They Farmed Well: The Dutch Canadian Agricultural Community in Nova Scotia 1945-1995 (Kentville, Nova Scotia: Vinland Press, 1996), 15-17.
40. Christian Reformed Church, Acts of Synod, 1947, 204.

41. The Dutch war brides comprised the majority of Dutch immigrants in 1946 and an substantial proportion in 1947. William Petersen, Planned Migration, 176; See also, Michiel Horn. "Canadian Soldiers and Dutch Women after the Second World War," in Dutch Immigration to North America Herman Ganzevoort and Mark Boekelman, eds., (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983), 129.
42. For further information on this agreement see Petersen, Planned Migration, 174; In regard to money Vande Kieft records that "above a modest maximum" most of the immigrants money remained impounded in the bank in the Hague. John M. Vande Kieft, "A Thousand Dutch Immigrants." The Banner (July 11, 1947), 843; Oral interviews have recorded that many immigrants smuggled some of their money out of the country.
43. Petersen, Planned Migration, 176-193.
44. Ganzevoort, A Bittersweet Land, 68.
45. John Vellinga. "Immigrant Arriving on the 'Waterman.'" The Banner (Dec. 5, 1947), 1356; John Vellinga. "Arrival of the 'Waterman' from the Netherlands." The Banner (Nov., 14, 1947), 1271; John Vellinga. "Immigrants from the Netherlands Arriving in Canada," The Banner (Nov., 21, 1947), 1303.
46. Vande Kieft. "A Thousand Dutch Immigrants." 843. A pattern seemed to be established with the first boat load of immigrants. Of an estimated One thousand immigrants, six hundred and fourteen were allocated to Ontario, with approximately three hundred and fifty bound for the prairie provinces. Herman Wierenga, "New Migration Planned as First Dutch Arrive!" The Banner (1947) 872.
47. Akenson, God's Peoples 102.
48. Keeping with Old Testament imagery which sees Canaan as a 'Promised Land.' but also a hostile foreign environment, Vande Kieft sees the movement of the immigrants into Ontario and the Western provinces as a "semi-dispersion" into a "strange land." John M. Vande Kieft, "Missions at Home and Abroad: Arrival of the Tabinta," The Banner (Nov. 7, 1947), 1225.
49. The term 'Groote Trek,' (Great Trek) is associated with the 'Great Trek' of the Afrikaner Voortrekkers. In Afrikaner history the 'Great Trek' was presented as a second Exodus when Yahweh led the Afrikaner out of a British Imperial bondage to a new Canaan. Vande Kieft, "A Thousand Dutch Immigrants." 843; "Arrival of the 'Waterman' from the Netherlands." The Banner (November 14, 1947), 1271; Akenson God's Peoples, 74; In 1945 there were fourteen congregations in Canada. A short eight years later there were 89 congregations. In one year 24 Christian Reformed congregations were organized.
50. Calvinist Contact (October 8, 1949), 8; G.H. Gerrits makes reference to the Canada-Canaan connection in his book, Gerrits, They Farmed Well, 106.

51. Much of my information here is from oral interviews and The Living Word: Sermons for Reading Services in the Christian Reformed Church in North America (St. Catharines Ontario: Synodical Committee for Reading Sermons, 1939-1998). In a sermon entitled "The Glorious Deeds of the Lord," based on Psalm 78, Minister, John van Dyke compared the enslavement of the Israelites by the Egyptians with the occupation of the Netherlands by the Germans. John VanDyke. "The Glorious Deeds of the Lord," Sermon at Ancaster Christian Reformed Church, October 20, 1996.
52. W. Van der mast. *Verantwoord Emigratie, (Justified Immigration)*. Cited in Petersen, Planned Migration 186. Petersen's book was compiled with sources collected in 1951 when immigration was still ongoing.
53. Henry J. Caper. "The Plight of Our Canadian Churches," The Banner (January 16, 1953), 68.
54. Hugh Cook. "Exodus," in Cracked Wheat and Other Stories (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1984), 11-22. Cook's story has a familiar ring to it. Mission reports in the late 40's and early 50 describe similar situations. In a mission report from 1951, Harry Blystra describes an immigrant family as "contented and cheerful, working hard, and trusting their covenant God to provide for them and their family as they were seeking his kingdom first and foremost." John M. Vande Kieft. "New Arrivals in Alberta." The Banner (September 14, 1951), 1101.
55. John Terpstra. "Forty Days and Nights," in VanderMey, To All Our Children, 13.
56. Aritha van Herk is one of the best known Reformed writers in the country. She won the \$50,000 Seal Books first Novel award for Judith in 1978. Aritha van Herk, The Tent Peg. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1981).
57. Ibid., 226.
58. John Terpstra. "Forty Days and Nights," 13.
59. Hugh Cook. The Home Coming Man, (Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1989).
60. Ibid., 16.
61. Interview with Matth Cupido.
62. Ibid., April 1, 1996.
63. Ibid., April 1, 1996.
64. Vande Kieft. "New arrivals in Alberta." 1101.
65. John C. De Korne, "Missions at Home and Abroad," The Banner (Nov., 7, 1947), 1225.

66. Jacob Cupido. "Special Appeal for our Canadian Churches," The Banner (November 7, 1952), 1366.
67. Cook. The Home Coming Man, 20.
68. Psalter Hymnal, 394-395. Other songs mentioned in this context are *Op uw myn heiland blyf ik hopen* (Wherever I Go I Will Trust My Saviour) and *Wat De Toekomst Brengen Mogen* (What the Future will Bring).
69. Arie Verduijn. Sojourners: A Family Chronicle (Burlington, Ontario: Published by Arie Verduijn): "It's Stranger Here." A review on Stranger in the Land, The Crown Vol. 13 (Nov. 24, 1995), 9.
70. William Lensink, "Emigration by Divine Appointment and Because of Ten Plagues," Christian Courier (January 1, 1993), 11,13.
71. Adrian Guildemond, "Reasons for Emigration: A Synopsis." in To Find a Better Life: Aspects of Dutch Immigration to Canada and the United States, 1920-1970 Gordon Oosterman. (Grand Rapids, MI: The National Union of Christian Schools, 1975), 27.
72. Ganzevoort. A Bittersweet Land, 66.
73. Ibid., 66.
74. Adriaan Peetoom. From Mythology to Mythology: Dutch-Canadian Orthodox-Calvinist Immigrants and their Schools (Unpublished, Thesis for the Degree of Master of Arts University of Toronto), 71.
75. Remkes Kooistra. Jong Zijn in een Jong Land (Toronto: Pro Rege Publishing Company, 1957), 20. Cited in Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition," 154.
76. This is to be found in the "Form for the Purpose of Marriage." It reads. "The purpose of marriage is the propagation of the human race, the furtherance of the kingdom of God and the enrichment of the lives of those entering this state. (Red) Psalter Hymnal, 112.
77. Petersen uses Max Weber's model that the development of urban mindedness means an increase in rationalism. Petersen maintained that in the immediate postwar era many Dutch were less "urban minded" than elsewhere in North western Europe. That is to say they, they had not replaced their traditional religious modes of thinking and behaviour with a rational view toward life. For a in-depth discussion on this subject see Petersen, "Postwar Encouragement of Fertility," in Planned Migration, 72-79.
78. The candle stick referred to here stands for blessing (Revelation 2:5).
79. Akenson. God's People's, 79.

80. Cornelius Plantinga Jr., A Place to Stand: A Reformed Study of Creeds and Confessions (Grand Rapids, Michigan: The Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1979), 50.
81. One popular example of this genre was Anne de Vries, ' Kleuter Vertelboek voor de Bijelse Geschiedenis (Kampen: Uitgave J.H.Kok, 1948). In the Reformed tradition, the first panacea for ignorance and scepticism of the Bible was to immerse oneself in it. "To read it heartily, mindfully, and searchingly."
82. Interview with Dr. Thomas J. Oosterhuis, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, June 12 and 13, 1996.
83. Interview with the Reverend, Dirk Miedema, Redeemer College, June 23, 1996.
84. Although it would be hard to establish, I would maintain that such intellectual stimulation enhanced the mental abilities of the children and in some cases may have even instilled philosophical inclinations.
85. Interview with Chris Overvoorde, Calvin College, January 11, 1998.
86. Ancaster Christian Reformed Church Bulletin, January, 1999.
87. Editor. "The Spiritual Outlook in Holland." The Banner (March 19, 1943), 281.
88. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 134.
89. Interview With John and Hennie Dykstra.
90. Interview with the Reverend Bernard DeJong, Ancaster Ontario, May 24, 1997.
91. Interview Symen and Ytje Kloosterman.
92. Ibid.
93. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
94. Cook, Hugh, "First Snow " in Cracked Wheat and Other Stories, 52-62.
95. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
96. Mrs H. Zuidema, Elora Ontario, 1997.
97. John Bolt writes that it is not the imitation of Christ or the Sermon on the Mount that forms the basis of Reformed ethics. but the decalogue. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 134.
98. Peetroom, 51.

99. Interview with Hennie Kranendonk, Ancaster Ontario, February 2, 1996.
100. Letter from Dr. Bram Kloosterman, Wageningen University the Netherlands, 1997. It needs to be noted that following immigration most lower class Reformed immigrants were highly critical of those who tried to reestablish status distinctions in Canada.
101. Interview with Gerry Geritts, Acadia University, Nova Scotia, 1996.
102. Interview with Thomas J. Oosterhuis.
103. More than a few *Gereformeerde Kerk* immigrants have mentioned that growing up they naturally assumed that the Queen of the Netherlands was G.N.K. because the House of Orange was held up so high in their histories.
104. Interview with Mrs. Arlene Muska, Hamilton Ontario, 1995.
105. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
106. Interview Symen and Yjte Kloosterman. .
107. Petersen. Planned Migration, 38.
108. Interview with Bram Kloosterman, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, 1996.
109. Interview with Jonka Kloosterman, Barrie Ontario, August 7, 1995.
110. Redeemer College, Netherlander-Canadian Heritage Collection, Interview.
111. Interview with Brad Walters, Redeemer College, September 21, 1996.
112. Terpstra. In VanderMey. To All our Children, 13.
113. One Friesian immigrant stated that such a suggestion might not be as ludicrous as we might at first think. He told me about a history book on his native province of Friesland that argued that the Friesians were descended from the lost tribes of Israel. Nonetheless, few Canadian-Friesians if any, would accept this pseudo-history. Interview with Jan and Hennie Dykstra.

Chapter V

Canada

The Arrival (A)

When the first Reformed immigrants walked down the gangplank of the Tabinta in Quebec City in 1947, a warm greeting awaited them. Fieldmen and representatives of the Immigration Committee for Canada of the Christian Reformed Church were on hand to help them through customs, answer questions and give them counsel on what lay before them. Nor was this the only assistance that the Christian Reformed Church was to provide.¹ In the years to follow the services of this denomination would prove invaluable to the immigrants. Etched into the memory of many a newcomer is the image of the field man awaiting them at dock side or at a quiet train station late at night.

Aside from their inaugural greeting these men provided a variety of important services. They found sponsors for the new Canadian immigrants among farmers for whom the recent arrivals were to work for one year. Fieldmen also acted as interpreters and in some cases mediators between the immigrants and their employers.² As well as arrange for jobs for the newcomers, they also addressed other material matters such as arranging for transportation to work or to a Christian Reformed church.³ In many cases, the fieldman themselves opened their own doors to provide temporary accommodations to the newcomers. Early Christian Reformed Banner articles reported instances of fieldmen having two, three or even four immigrant families living with them in their homes at various times.

Support for the immigrants did not stop at the Canadian border. Along with the

hiring of fieldmen who were mainly Canadian, American men, home missionaries and pastors moved north to Canada to work in 'the burdening harvest' of immigrants. To support this enterprise the American based Christian Reformed Church directed hundreds of thousands of dollars north to build up a Canadian 'Reformed' infrastructure.

More will be said about this later, but it is important to recognize that Reformed Americans were responsible for building up a critical force of immigrants in Canada, and many of the subsequent accomplishments of the Reformed were due to this vigorous intercession in the early crucial stage of the Netherlander immigration. Why did the American based Christian Reformed Church see Dutch immigrants in Canada as being within their realm of concern? Or to put it another way, why would they expend so much energy, time and money toward these refugees who were not even coming to the United States? Several factors seemed to have fed into the Christian Reformed Church's involvement. First of all, the Christian Reformed Church had been involved in Canada prior to the end of the Second World War. In addition, the Christian Reformed Church had been attempting to aid the Reformed in the Netherlands during the war and immediately after. These two reasons seem readily apparent, but another factor underlies these two, the covenant.

The Christian Reformed Church in Canada (B)

The Christian Reformed Church that offered such a warm greeting to the Postwar Reformed immigrants was founded by the seceders who had immigrated to America in the 1840's under Albertus Van Raalte and Hendrick Scholte (see page 80). Initially these

earlier immigrants had joined in union with the Reformed Church of America, the RCA, a colonial daughter of the state Church of the Netherlands, the *Hervormde Kerk* whose roots went back to the period when New York was New Amsterdam and a colony of the Netherlands. After a union of approximately ten years the Seceders separated from the R.C.A. to form the C.R.C.. Although there were a variety of theological and cultural reasons for this separation, several factors stand out.⁴ The Seceders felt there was a neglect of preaching from the Heidelberg Catechism in the second Sunday service and for catechetical instruction in general. Other reasons included a lack of emphasis placed upon the doctrine of predestination and a predilection for singing hymns over psalms. And in what was considered an affront to covenantal faithfulness, babies were being baptised in private homes and in the consistory room, rather than before the entire congregation. One final important issue was the growing tendency among members of the Reformed Church of America members in the east to be involved in Freemasonry. In 1864, following approximately 10 years of union, the Seceders from the Netherlands once again seceded and founded the True Dutch Reformed Church (*Ware Hollandsch Gereformeerde Kerk*). This name was changed in 1890 to the one that the denomination presently carries: the Christian Reformed Church.

Soon after adopting its new name the Christian Reformed Church turned its attention north to Canada. Following a request for assistance from a small band of Dutch Reformed immigrants to the prairies, the first Christian Reformed Church in Canada, the Nijverdal C.R.C., was founded in 1905 in Alberta.⁵ According to their denominational paper, The Banner, the C.R.C. only became involved in Ontario during the middle of the

1920s.

The attention of the Christian Reformed Church was drawn to eastern Canada by the Handbook on Foreign Bibliography and by the Bulletins of the sixth census of Canada. In a 1925 Banner editorial, Henry Beets stated that the editorial staff were "simply amazed" when they learned about the large number of people of Dutch background in Canada, particularly as they "had never heard or seen any appeal to organize churches of our kind in Ontario." Beets wondered if the majority of this Canadian Dutch population had either joined Canadian churches or had become irreligious. In either case he asked, "how could our little church cope with such a situation?"⁶

In response, the C.R.C. sent home missionaries into Ontario on exploratory trips. By such actions and by contact from small bands of immigrants they became aware of a few scattered Netherlanders in Ontario⁷. These immigrants were invited by the home missionaries in the field, the Rev. J.R. Brink and later the Rev. S. Dykstra, to come together for occasional worship services.⁸ More formal missionary work was begun in Ontario around 1927.⁹ This activity quickly bore fruit when the first Hamilton Christian Reformed Church was founded in 1929.¹⁰ Shortly after the beginning of the Hamilton Church, a small group from Hamilton moved to the Holland Marsh for economic reasons. Around 1935 they began to meet together in small groups for worship, but they had no minister or church building until 1940 when the Reverend Martin Schans accepted their call. Previously the Reverend Balt, who served as the home missionary in Hamilton, travelled to the Holland Marsh once a month to provide pastoral care.¹¹ At

about the same time, a group of Reformed individuals in Windsor was organized into a church in 1939 with ten families. This small community of Reformed people met in an upper room at the Y.M.C.A. in Windsor.¹² During this period these churches were described as "small compared with the larger Canadian churches."¹³

Despite the limited small size of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada during the thirties, sources indicate that the adherents expected their community to grow due to an expected rise in immigration. However, the growth that was anticipated in the Reformed community during the thirties and then the forties did not occur. First the Depression arose and then the war. The lack of immigrants led to disappointment in the little Canadian Dutch Reformed communities¹⁴ that created a number of problems. William Meyer noted in the Banner in 1939 that the social contacts for the Reformed were "very limited," a situation which might result in mixed marriages.

The adults who have grown up in Holland return to that country for a helpmeet, but the boys and girls of teen age will not have that opportunity or desire. This will eventually result in mixed marriages. Will this younger generation then remain loyal to the Christian Reformed Church? Will they appreciate the Reformed heritage and the covenant training as they should? ...the children are instructed along covenant lines.¹⁵

Some growth did occur to the point that by the time the war ended in 1945, there were fifteen Christian Reformed Churches scattered across the breadth of Canada.¹⁶ Small congregations were located in only four provinces: Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia. In Ontario there were only five churches and four Ministers: Holland Marsh, the Reverend John Vander Meer; Hamilton, the Reverend Sam Dykstra; Sarnia, the Reverend Herman Wierenga; Chatham, the Reverend Gerrit J. Vander Ziel;

Windsor, no pastor. While there was one congregation in Winnipeg, the province of Alberta had the largest representation with six churches. Additionally there were three churches in British Columbia.

The Christian Reformed Church was and still is organized along the congregational model of church government which consists of three tiers or levels of church administration. At a local level a Christian Reformed Church congregation is governed by a general consistory or council which is comprised of the union of two elected church bodies, the restricted consistory and the deaconate. This council is responsible for the general government of the church, the ministry of the Word and the business administration. Every organised Christian Reformed Church was required to belong to a classis, "a group of neighboring churches" which were situated in a particular geographical area which usually addressed issues which extended beyond the local congregation. The final level of Church government was the annual synod of the Christian Reformed Church which was customarily held in Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Synod is considered the assembly representing the churches of all the classises. When a decree is reached by the synod, that resolution is accepted by the representatives of every classis and thus every church.¹⁷

On the eve of the first wave of immigration in 1947, there was no Canadian classis. Each Canadian church was a member of a distant American classis. The Churches in southern Ontario for instance were members of the Grand Rapids East classis. Of the Canadian Church the largest numbered 80 families. Together they had approximately 500 families and numbered around 2500 members. This amounted to approximately 2%

of the membership of the Christian Reformed Church.¹⁸

The Plucky Dutch (C)

While the assistance offered Reformed immigrants was an extension of earlier efforts to help church members in The Netherlands during the war, new initiatives evolved through several stages. They began during the false peace shortly after the war in Europe commenced when several American Christian Reformed churches decided to take up an offering for the destitute members of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands.

In 1940, Classis Illinois overtured Synod to take steps so that the Christian Reformed Churches might concentrate their relief efforts on "the brethren of Reformed faith in the Netherlands." In commenting on the Illinois proposal, the Synod of that year recognised that the overture apparently referred to straight forward war relief, "the idea presumably being the moneys which are now contributed for the Red Cross in Europe or for Red Cross work in the Netherlands on the part of our people be conserved for relief work among our Dutch brethren of the Reformed faith only." There were, however, wider implications to such a undertaking that went beyond what Classis Illinois had foreseen. As Synod went on to say :

We realize that the problem, insofar as it concerns the spiritual care of the brethren of our faith is the responsibility of our Committee and we shall endeavor to meet their need. However, since there undoubtedly will be, if refugees from the Netherlands are admitted to Canada or the United States, an acute need of material assistance, our Committee suggests that Synod ... appoint a Committee which shall arrange for the proper distribution of support, if and when the contingency arises.¹⁹

Toward this end, Synod elected to solicit through its church papers and in other

feasible ways the contributions of the American Reformed for Netherlands war and mission relief. Plans entailed distributing such funds to “brethren of the Reformed Faith in the Netherlands, in need of war relief ...” and to “refugees of the Reformed Faith who are admitted into Canada or the United States, and in need of material assistance.”²⁰

In 1943 the name of this relief committee was changed when Classis Sioux Centre and Classis Pacific petitioned the Christian Reformed Synod in Grand Rapids Michigan to establish a special benevolent fund which will would work out the most efficient way to aid their “spiritual brethren” in the Netherlands. In response to these overtures, Synod dissolved the ‘War Relief Committee’ that was in operation and created the ‘Netherlands War Relief Benevolent Fund,’ with a mandate for “reconstruction work among the brethren of the faith” in the Netherlands.²¹

Concern for the Reformed in the Netherlands peaked following the Allied invasion of Europe when first hand accounts began to filter home. Letters from soldiers in the Netherlands, reports from the ‘Queen Wilhelmina Fund,’ and other articles highlighted the challenges facing the Dutch and the poor conditions they were living in. They created sympathy and a strong desire to provide assistance for what one writer labelled the “plucky Dutch.” For example, while one report stated that “no worse disaster ever befell a nation than has blighted vast areas of the Netherlands. Suffering is as great or greater than in any war torn country.” It also concluded with the observation that “Holland will rise again,” because it had “sturdy people” who were more than willing to rebuild their country if only they had needed assistance.²²

Articles and letters appealed to shared ethnicity and religion. Many heartfelt

reports came from the pens of Dutch- American soldiers who fought in the Netherlands. In a 1945 letter to the editor entitled "Land's Great Need," an American soldier Gerrit Vander Pol, wrote, "I'm American and proud and thankful for it, but after seeing the country and meeting its people I'm happy and proud to say I am an American of Dutch descent and feel sure you'd be the same if you had been there."²³ The final official stage of development for the benevolent fund occurred in 1946 when Synod renamed it as the 'Netherlands Rehabilitation Fund Committee.' The intent was to make the name conform more closely to the original purpose of the Committee as established in 1940.²⁴

Brothers of the Covenant (D)

To a large extent the assistance the Christian Reformed Church rendered to the immigrants in the Post war period was a continuation of these earlier patterns. The Christian Reformed Church was already in Canada and they had been attempting to aid the Reformed in the Netherlands. But there is more. Aside from these two elements we also need to recognise once again the primary role of the concept of the covenant in determining action. Thus far we have been looking at the concept of the covenant almost exclusively in the context of the Dutch Reformed coming from the Netherlands, but it seems clear that the Christian Reformed Church in the United States saw the orthodox Reformed coming from the Netherlands as being in 'covenant' with them.

In a 1946 Banner article, John C. De Korne and John M. Vande Kieft recognized how deeply the ties of spiritual kinship and of blood were felt between the Reformed in the Netherlands and in the United States and how they continued to draw the two peoples

together even across the wide ocean and change of country. "We say unto them," the authors write. "what Moses said long ago to Hobab, his kinsman: "Come with us, and we will do you good and you will do us good."²⁵ These Covenantal ties of faith and blood were fundamental reasons why the Christian Reformed Church extended itself to the degree it did, and why it placed such an emphasis on helping "people of the Reformed faith only."²⁶

It was not unusual that a small denomination should have been interested in helping its diaspora, but numerous articles and letters to the editor printed during the war and early immigration years refer to the Dutch Reformed as "members of Christ's body,"²⁷ "our brothers and sisters in Christ"²⁸ "our brethren in the faith"²⁹ and a "covenant people"³⁰ One of the more direct references to a covenantal bonding comes from a 1951 Banner article on "The Challenge in Canada" by the Reverend Joseph Gritter. Gritter insisted that the work being done with the Reformed in Canada " ... is not missionary work at all." These immigrants are, he states, a "*covenant people*, already members of the church of Christ ... so close to us in both ties of *blood and spirit*"³¹ . Despite membership in the covenant, Gritter noted potential problems for the immigrants. "It is also true that if these people are not properly ministered to, their children will eventually wander away from the church, and that before long, having services only once on a Lord's Day, no sustained catechetical instruction, no organization meetings and other church activities - these are conditions that spell spiritual disaster."³²

Consequently, Gritter argued that the immigrants must be helped during the first crucial years. "So long as there is such a crying need in Canada, among those who are so

close to us in both ties of *blood and spirit*, all building in the States that is not absolutely necessary, congregationally and denominationally, ought to be stopped until the need of these people has been met."³³ The price to aid these immigrants would be high in the beginning, but it was also recognised that in the long run there would be dividends.

In a series of articles, Henry J. Kuiper, the editor of the Banner, who according to James Bratt "stood so aptly than anyone else for the character of the people and the times,"³⁴ called for the Christian Reformed Church to give generously to the immigrants. Why? Kuiper noted in a 1947 article that "the influx gives large promise of strengthening our present Canadian Christian Reformed churches and of establishing new congregations in present settlement." This understanding found support among the Immigration Committee as well and it became part of the settlement strategy of the committee to direct the immigrants to areas close to established Christian Reformed Churches.³⁵

Home Missions/ Preventing the Dispersion (E)

Unlike the followers of Van Raalte and Scholte who colonised Holland along the shores of the Black River in the state of Michigan, and of Pellas in the prairies of Iowa, the Dutch arriving in Canada in the first few years after the war were potentially subject to being sent into a Bible-like "dispersion."³⁶ For a number of years the most frequently discussed problem facing the immigrants in Canada from the perspective of the Americans was this dispersion, or 'scattering' as it was more commonly referred to.

The warning was first sounded by Canadian R. De Boer in an 1945 article. "Are We prepared?" In it DeBoer recalls that "all those that immigrated in the early 20's have

had no contact in Canada at all. It is different now with our 15 churches and mission stations in Canada. The contact through our boys fighting to regain every square foot of land in Holland will increase the stream of newcomers. Shall we let them come and be scattered all over Canada through agents of the railroad companies who are looking for their own personal profit? Has not the past taught us a great lesson?"³⁷

Dispersion was not a new fear; as early as 1925 the Reverend Henry Beets warned against the problems of immigrating to a large country like Canada and leaving Canadian government and railroad officials with the sole authority to settle the Reformed. "The object is to Canadianise these people as soon as possible ... this must be prevented ... they must form settlements."³⁸ Fears about civil and railroad authorities were expressed in denominational newspapers after De Boer and the Reverend Paul de Koek recognised the problem during the 1940's and began to sound the alarm. "They (the Reformed immigrants) must not be allowed to be swallowed up by the great places in that great country" de Koek wrote in the Calvin Forum in 1946.

The Immigration Synods (F)

In 1947 the Canadian Farm Bureaus and Fruit Grower Associations foresaw an "acute shortage" of field and orchard laborers. With the coming of peace the thousands of prisoners of war engaged in those sectors had been returned to their own countries. These organizations pressed the government for immediate removal of restrictions upon immigration in the above categories. In response the government swung wide the doors for the spring work. Although this unexpected sequence of events pushed the work of the

Christian Reformed Church from the “initial planning stage to that of action” the denomination was not caught totally unprepared.³⁹

A year earlier in 1946, the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church appointed an Immigration Committee for Canada. “The rumors are persistent that the doors of immigration in Canada will be opened soon to emigrants from the Netherlands. The Canadian churches are alert to the need of guiding prospective emigrants in settling in that spacious country. It is the opinion of your Committee that a synodically appointed committee on immigration, whose responsibility will be to Synod, should be appointed to function as a bureau of information and guidance to all those who contemplate emigrating to Canada. ... The function of this committee shall be to give information and guidance to emigrants from the Netherlands.”⁴⁰ As with other denominational committees involved in providing aid in the Netherlands, the Christian Reformed Church’s Immigration Committee for Canada would provide broad assistance to the larger Dutch immigrant community if its expenses were met. But its primary focus would remain on ameliorating the material and spiritual difficulties of the orthodox Reformed immigrants. This principle was explicitly confirmed in the first report the immigration Committee submitted to the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church in 1947. “We assume responsibility for aiding all Dutch immigration to Canada. This was done with the provision that we shall continue to serve the spiritual interests of those of Reformed persuasion and that we shall be given compensation for services rendered and for expenses incurred in assisting those of other, or of no faith at all.”⁴¹

This committee was to be the first private organization instructed to help in the

placement and settling of Dutch immigrants in Canada.⁴² Over the next several years this committee would undertake several steps that would change the face of the C.R.C. in North America. The following actions are particularly worth noting:

(1) One of the first acts of this committee (1946) was to address a communication to the Reformed churches in the Netherlands (the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*) urging them to caution their constituents against immigrating to an unknown country (Canada) without gaining information to keep them from locating in places remote from established Christian Reformed Churches. Following fears expressed earlier in the Banner, Synod reported a "danger that the emigrants will be uninformed with respect to the existence and location of our churches and thus be scattered. Civil and railroad officials can hardly be expected to be interested in the spiritual welfare of those who are akin to us in the Faith."⁴³

(2) To assist in this task the Committee prepared *De Gids*, a booklet of "welcome and information" for the following year. This booklet was to be distributed among prospective emigrants in the Netherlands by the Protestant, Christian Emigration Central (*Christelijke Emigratie Centrale*) which was to be their "connecting agency" in the Netherlands. The booklet was comprised of two sections. The first part extended the welcoming hand of the Christian Reformed Church across the Atlantic and presented the spiritual aspects of Christian immigration and the second described the various Christian Reformed Churches in Canada, noting the possibilities and opportunities which they offered to those wishing to make Canada their new home.⁴⁴ According to a report given

at Synod in 1947 the C.E.C. (*Christelijke Emigratie Centrale*) was "stressing this matter also to prevent scattering and eventual drifting away and loss to our churches and to their own souls."⁴⁵ Aside from distributing *De Gids* to the C.E.C. the immigration committee distributed it to various Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, the Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerken*), the Christian Reformed Church (*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*) and the orthodox congregations of the Re-Formed Church, the State Church (*Hervormde Kerken*).⁴⁶

(3) At the Synod of 1947 Henry Kuiper thought "Canada loomed larger at this meeting than at any previous Synod!" The executive committee assumed the responsibility to call fieldmen and missionaries for the country when they are needed. Fieldmen continued to sponsor immigrants until 1951 when the earlier immigrants that had established themselves were now allowed to sponsor immigrants on their own.⁴⁷

There was also a spiritual concern. The Immigration Committee that in 1947 wanted to direct immigrants "as much as is possible and feasible to our own churches already established in Canada" encountered problems. As Joseph Gritter explained, many prospects would "settle in communities where a church is already established. But the immigrants, generally are still widely scattered. ... All these new immigrants must be contracted as they come, the field agents through direct contact with the immigration officials are informed about the places where they settle. They in turn inform the missionary pastors who look up these people and bring them into contact with the local church, if there is one, or bring together as many as possible at a central place and there begin to hold services with them, with a view to a congregation in the future."⁴⁸ In 1947

it was decided to appoint one field agent, John Vellinga, of Chatham, Ontario. Vellinga was engaged as a full-time representative, with salary and expenses paid by the Ontario provincial Immigration department. This committee reported that "while serving all Holland immigrants, he is free to further the special interests of our own brethren and sisters of the Household of faith."⁴⁹

(4) In 1947 Synod heard that there were a considerable number of Dutch war brides and a few of them belonged to the Reformed faith. According to the immigration committee, "many of them were married in haste and are now repenting at leisure and not a few are seeking divorce and return to their own country." The churches secured the names from the Red Cross and tried to "save them for the Church in Christ's name ... and will endeavour to direct these brides, who are now mostly mothers, to their spiritual mother in a strange land."⁵⁰

(5) In 1951 the doors opened to the entrance of skilled workers, particularly industrial tradesmen, and immigrants were permitted to become sponsors for relatives. When the Netherlands government began to pay a subsidy to its citizens prepared to emigrate,⁵¹ the Canadian Immigration Committee encouraged locals in certain strategic centres in various provinces to open 'Immigration Reception Homes' in order to provide temporary living quarters for small families when accommodations could not be found.

(6) By 1949 there were four funds of the Christian Reformed Church intended to support the Reformed immigrants in Canada.

First was the fund for the Canadian Immigration Committee. Originally this fund received one or more offerings per year from the churches. However, by 1950 it was

acknowledged that church offerings were insufficient to cover the expenses that were occurring in the Canadian field. Recognising that the Canadian immigration movement was a major denominational undertaking of great importance to the entire denomination, Synod of that year adopted a proposal to fund the committee on a quota basis. Out of the fund all the full time and part time field workers, secretary and the other expenses incurred in placement of Dutch immigrants were met in this way.⁵²

Second, by 1949 the Canadian Emergency Fund was supported through a quota of \$3.50 per family from all the churches. The money received for this fund was used for the purchase of parsonages in Canada for home missionaries, their salaries and milage expenses. Supplies necessary for expediting the work on the Canadian field were also drawn from this source.

Third, the Canadian Relief Fund originally started by Classis, Grand Rapids East, provided money and clothing from churches and individuals for needy immigrant families and in case of sickness and other emergencies. Transportation of immigrants was also paid for out of this fund on a milage basis.

Fourth, the Canadian Building Fund also begun in 1949, was intended to purchase or build churches in Canada. As early as 1947 the lack of adequate church facilities prompted Henry J. Kuiper to declare the situation in Canada an "emergency!"⁵³ Kuiper asserted that if the immigrants had no houses of worship and no parsonages, they would have to rent a church building which would mean that in all likelihood the congregation would have only one service on the Sabbath in contrast to the two Sunday services Reformed Church Order traditionally demanded. Kuiper believed that if this

situation continued for a considerable time the immigrants would form the destructive habit of "staying at home after brief period of worship on Sunday morning."⁵⁴ Kuiper pointed to history to support his claim that the C.R.C. needed to give and give generously to the immigrants.

We have heard it said that when our fathers came to Michigan a hundred years ago they had no emergency building fund from which they could draw; they had to help themselves. History tells a different story. The fact is that one of the reasons Dr. Van Raalte and many of his people reacted favourably to the invitation to join the Dutch Reformed Church was the warm welcome and the financial assistance they received from that Church and its members.⁵⁵

Kuiper went on to consider other problems which he deemed even more dangerous to the welfare of the Reformed immigrants. "Least we come with too little and too late, it is well to note that other Canadian churches beside our own are devising plans and programs" with the Reformed immigrants in mind⁵⁶ This proselyting effort on behalf of the Canadian churches deserved the most serious attention. "Let there be no mistake about this!" Kuiper declared. "If we do not help them provide for their needs, many will lose their souls. They will drift into (Canadian) churches which do not proclaim a full gospel, or which proclaim no gospel at all, and their children will drift into the world and be lost for the Kingdom."⁵⁷

The funds raised in this program were administered in the following manner: One-fourth of the amounts received by any Canadian church was considered an outright gift. The remaining three-fourths fell under the rules previously set out for the church help fund and had to be repaid at 5% per annum. Repayments might begin after five years rather than in just one year as in the United States.⁵⁸

Four special drives were organised under the leadership of the Canadian Building Fund. By March 1, 1954, six years after it was first set up the fund had received \$710,415.00. By the same date 78 new churches in Canada had been built with loans from that fund.⁵⁹ The church in Alymer, Ontario, was the first of the Christian Reformed denomination in Canada to arise from Post World War Two immigration. At the time of its dedication when the prayer of King Solomon at the opening of the temple was recited, the building cost an estimated 26,000 dollars. Beyond what the church itself raised, two other sources contributed to its construction. The Huron and Erie Mortgage Company of St. Thomas provided a mortgage of \$6,000 and the Building Fund extended a loan of 10,000 dollars.⁶⁰

The 'Canadian Emergency Fund' remained in existence until 1954 at which time the name of the fund was changed to 'Church Extension - Canada.' This name corresponded with the fund that looked after church extension in the States. While assistance was still needed in Canada, the emergency period had made way for the normal pattern of Church growth.⁶¹

Influx into the C.R.C.: The Pew Fit Well (G)

This outreach from the American based Christian Reformed Church had a dramatic impact on the immigrants and on the small Christian Reformed Church in Canada. Following the arrival of first wave of immigrants in 1947, Reverend Vander Ziel reported that approximately 200 immigrants arrived in Chatham on Friday and attended his church the following Sunday. Between one Sunday and the next the

congregation doubled. "Think of it," the Reverend Vander Ziel wrote at the time, "the church is now too small. The congregation all at once swelling to more than twice its former size!"⁶² What happened in Chatham was to foreshadow the changes that would take place in the denomination as a whole. In 1947 the Canadian wing of the Christian Reformed Church amounted to approximately 2% of the membership of the denomination,⁶³ a short three years later, there were 68 Christian Reformed Churches, a jump of fifty three new immigrant congregations. About 15% of the Christian Reformed churches were now north of the Canadian border.⁶⁴

By 1957, the centennial year of the Christian Reformed Church, the total membership had grown to 211,456 with Canadian membership numbering 40,475.⁶⁵ That year the Reverend Francois Guillaume recognised that the influx of immigrants from the Netherlands was producing a "great change in the ecclesiastical character of Canada."⁶⁶ Guillaume reported that Canadian ministers were now often placed in various committees of study and whereas before the Canadian voice was rarely heard in larger denomination assemblies, now there was increased Canadian participation in synodical affairs with many Netherlander - Canadian ministers members of synodical boards in Grand Rapids. Guillaume recorded that three of the twelve members of the Long Range Planning Study Committee for Calvin College (the denomination's college) were Netherlanders. In addition, the *De Wachter* (the denomination's Dutch language newspaper) had three regular Canadian contributors.⁶⁷ "Surely," Guillaume concluded, "our Christian Reformed Church is reckoning with Canada."⁶⁸

Throughout the Post war period, the percentage of Canadian churches continued

to rise. By December 1998, the Canadian wing made up nearly a third of the total Christian Reformed Churches in North America, or 238 out of 964. With a North American membership of 275,466, that in Canada stood at 81,098.⁶⁹ The phenomenal growth of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada during this time period must be recognised as resulting from one of the great proselyting efforts in Canadian history.

In addition to directing immigrants into its churches, it is likely that the aid offered by the Christian Reformed Churches drew immigrants toward Canada and away from other destinations in a manner influencing overall immigration figures. A number of scholars have made much of the fact that the number of Reformed immigrants that came to Canada was four times their relative numerical strength in the Netherlands. In his study on Dutch immigration, Petersen offered two suggestions to explain this anomaly. He thought that these statistics might indicate that religion was a factor in the immigration of the orthodox Reformed. He quotes W. van der Mast's 1947 book, Justified Immigration, suggesting that the starting point for Christian immigration was a citation from the Bible - "Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth and subdue it and have dominion." He goes on to say that the Netherlands is the most densely populated country in Europe and if there is a country that can help develop the bare spots on the map of the world, it is the Netherlands.⁷⁰ Even the agriculturalist who came to Canada did not go to any undeveloped areas but instead went to the heaviest populated rural areas of Ontario.⁷¹

Since the immigrants were primarily from rural areas where the orthodox Reformed were over represented in the rural population in the Netherlands, it makes

sense that they would be overly represented in rural immigration statistics. As well, Canada wanted rural immigrants and the United States did not. Three quarters of the immigrants went to places in Canada where the Reformed had already been established. Despite the claim of many Dutch Reformed today that they had only their own resources to rely upon when they first came to Canada, most clustered in the same way as other immigrants. Interviews indicate that offers of assistance to Reformed immigrants drew them away from other potential destinations to Canada. In fact, knowledge of this assistance may have served as a catalyst to make more people leave their homeland than might have been the case without such support.⁷²

One of the remarkable things about the formation of the post war Christian Reformed Church in Canada was its diversity. It was still a Dutch church but it was mixed, class wise, rural and urban, provincially and perhaps most remarkably, denominationally. As well as attracting immigrants from the different provinces in the Netherlands, the Church drew immigrants from the various Reformed denominations. Unlike the Christian Reformed Church in the States which grew almost exclusively out of the Seceder movement, many streams of 'Reformedness' flowed into the C.R.C. in Canada. The bulk of the immigrants which joined the Christian Reformed Church came from the 'Reformed Churches in the Netherlands' (*De Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*). Others came from the 'Liberated' or 'Article 31 Church' Reformed Church of the Netherlands (*De Vrijgemaakt or onderhoudende art.31 Kerken in De Nederland*); the 'Christian Reformed Church' (*De Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*); the Netherlands Reformed Congregation *Oud Gereforeerd* and the 'Re-Formed Church.'

the state church (*De Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*) which also included the *Gereformeerde Bonders* an orthodox faction within the *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*.

That the Christian Reformed Church was able to attract this diversity early in the immigration years is understandable. For many Reformed immigrants the Christian Reformed Church was in a very real way the only show in town. For reasons to be discussed below, interviews have indicated that many immigrants never considered joining any other church. What is exceptional is that after acclimatising themselves to the country, so many of these immigrants remained and found a permanent home in the Christian Reformed Church. Their surroundings may have been a bit strange at first, but the pew fit. We will examine later why so many immigrants remained in the C.R.C. . But we also need to point out that despite this success, this does not mean that there were not problems surrounding the integration of the immigrants.

Those Who Left (H)

The 1961 Canadian census noted that only 22% of the Dutch immigrants reported being members of the Christian Reformed Church. Other divisions broke down as follows: 23% joined the Roman Catholic Church, 25% joined the United Church and 30% reported being "other."⁷³ We won't deal with the Dutch Roman Catholics here. Of all the religious immigrants their choice was conceivably the most obvious as the Roman Catholic Church was in essence the same in Canada, as it was in the Netherlands. The main question is, seeing how the Christian Reformed Church's presence loomed so large over the immigration process, why did the other Protestant immigrants not join the

Christian Reformed Church?

The answer to that question is as diverse as the immigrants themselves and is to a degree unanswerable. Still, there are recognizable patterns that we can trace. To begin with, not all the Dutch immigrants that came to Canada were Christian, many were secular. These people may have been thankful for the assistance rendered to them by the Christian Reformed Church, but not being Christian, they had no intention of crossing over the line from secular to Christian. They were however products of the unique Netherlands *zuilen* (pillarization) system. In his wide-ranging study on Post World War II immigration, Frans Schryer has shown that in some instances these secular Dutch, like their religious countrymen, attempted to recreate in Canada their own humanist organizations along patterns developed in the Netherlands.⁷⁴

Not joining a Canadian church was also one of the main choices for those immigrants from the *Hervormde Kerk*, the state church in the Netherlands. These immigrants came closer to fitting the original vision of the Dutch immigrant that Canada was initially looking for - willing to quickly adapt to and fit into Canadian society.⁷⁵ In 1948 *Hervormde* immigrants embarking for Canada were advised by church representatives to join the United Church in Canada. The Rev. J. Stam of the *Hervormde Kerk* was sent to the new world to facilitate this transfer. In an article in the New York Times he stated that "We want to bring the immigrants into the life of Canada, and not have them locked up in nationalist groups."⁷⁶ In addition to the direction provided from their own church, several other factors feed into this movement. Considered more liberal in their theology and more mainstream in their cultural pursuits, the *Hervormede*

immigrants represented a more “cosmopolitan trend” within Dutch Protestantism. The *Hervormde* were generally better educated and shared a similar lifestyle and value system with rural and small town Protestants in Canada. In Frans Schryer’s words, most did not have to much trouble “fitting in.”⁷⁷

We also need to recognise that for some immigrants who may have been practising Christians in the Netherlands, being in Canada allowed them to make a break with the faith of their fathers. It did not matter if they were Reformed (*Gereformeerde*), Re- Reformed (*Hervormde*), Liberated (*Vrijgemaakt*), or of any of the other smaller Reformed denominations; being in a new environment provided some immigrants with the option of getting away from what they may have considered to be a dead, meaningless orthodoxy. These people may have yearned to leave the church in the Netherlands, but found it difficult, if not impossible, when one’s particular ‘*zuilen*’ of family, friends, church, and culture was so closely interwoven. Now, in Canada, with few established ties and the room and opportunity to go one’s own way, it was possible to escape from an irrelevant belief system and the accompanying social structures that previously oversaw in meticulous detail almost every aspect of one’s life.

Although many Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) immigrants quickly joined the Christian Reformed Church because it was perceived as the ‘Reformed Church’ (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) in the new land, other immigrants did not join the church for the very same reason - because it was perceived to be the Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerk*). In many cases this decision not to join the C.R.C. revolved around people marrying outside of their respective denomination. For example, one Reformed couple

consisting of a Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) woman and a Re-Reformed (*Hervormde*) man did not affiliate with the Christian Reformed Church in Canada as they envisioned their marital union to be greeted in the same condemnatory vein as it had been received in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in the Netherlands.⁷⁸

Another response was for immigrants to avoid all the Reformed Churches that sprang up in Canada and join a mainstream Canadian Church. To some Reformed, migrating to Canada also meant making a heart commitment to a new country. To be a good Canadian meant going to a Canadian Church. "We are here in Canada now, we are going to go to a Canadian Church" is how one Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) family described their decision to join the Presbyterian Church of Canada.⁷⁹ In some instances, the catalyst for this response came from the Canadian churches themselves. During the immigration years a number of Canadian churches such as the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Church of Canada actively pursued the new Reformed arrivals. In 1948 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada addressed a telegram to the Christian Reformed Synod offering "to serve any of your people coming to this country (Canada) should they have no congregation of their own church."⁸⁰ In addition, the Presbyterian Church arranged to have an official representative at the arrival of the immigrant ships to hand out information about their denomination in the Dutch language.⁸¹ The effort to persuade prospective Reformed immigrants to unite with the Presbyterian Church extended beyond Canadian shores. In the summer of 1952, the Presbyterian Church of Canada sent the Reverend H.R. Pickup to the Netherlands to attend the Synods of the Netherlands Reformed Church (*De Gereformeerde Kerk*) and

the Christian Reformed Church (*De Christelijk Gereformeerde*). Pickup's mission was to communicate the message that the Presbyterian Church of Canada would be happy to provide "a spiritual home" for their sojourners heading overseas.⁸²

Class also played a part in immigrants joining a Canadian church. John Verbrugge observed that for the ordinary labourer the initial levelling - the lowering of the class distinctions - that took place within an immigrant church when funds from the Netherlands were frozen was a "refreshing experience," but for the middle class immigrants this involved "psychological disturbances."⁸³ We have discussed the rural nature of this migration, but as with all mass immigration movements, the immigrants that came from the Netherlands were not limited to one class background. Not all were farmers. So while the immigrants were predominately from a rural background, people from further up the class ladder such as lawyers and doctors also made up a minor part of these waves of immigration. In the early years, as the Christian Reformed Churches were swelling with the influx of rural immigrants, many of these professionals and their wives felt out of place in what one woman referred to as a "*boere kerk*" (a farmer's church). In such instances these immigrants often found a home in a Presbyterian or United Church with people of a similar class background.⁸⁴ Professionals such as doctors who did join the Christian Reformed Church often found that there were few if any other immigrants of a similar class or intellectual grounding. "There was," commented one doctor who immigrated in 1955 and joined the Christian Reformed Church "a real element of intellectual isolation in the church in those early years."⁸⁵ On another level as with those immigrants that joined the local chapter of the Optimists as a

vehicle to become more Canadian, some immigrants foresaw social and economic benefits to be gathered from joining a Canadian church higher up the class ladder.

Still, the stumbling blocks did not disappear when the immigrants joined the Christian Reformed Church. Difficulties arose as church members from an earlier migration stretched to make room physically and mentally for the post-war wave. This experience is common to all immigrant communities but it was especially true in the case of the old timers; the prewar Reformed immigrants, as the waves of newcomers that washed up on Canada's shores quickly grew to outnumber and eventually engulf them. Accommodations needed to be made on all sides. The old timers had to adjust themselves to the new immigrants that in many cases had a propensity to be critical of both them and what they found in their new home land. This was not an easy task. As one observer wryly commented: "one cannot help suspecting when a critic begins his criticisms as he comes down the gangplank of the immigration ship."⁸⁶ In the most extreme cases, complaints and homesickness did cause some families to pack up and return to the Netherlands. This reverse flow however, was not always the end of the immigration story. Once home again, some would find that the country which they had left behind was not the utopia of their memories. In such a situation, it was not unusual for some families to set off once again for Canada, this time more appreciative of the opportunities that the country could provide.⁸⁷

Even among the immigrants themselves tolerance and patience would be key words as adaptations needed to be made. These were exciting times as immigrants from all the provinces - North and South Holland, Groningen, Gelderland and Friesland, to

name a few - crowded into small country churches. After services provincial borders continued to exist. People gravitated toward those they knew from their home town or province. Provincial dialects were heard and in many churches groups of tall Friesians stood off by themselves smoking and speaking a language impenetrable even to their fellow Netherlanders. Some immigrants discovered to their surprise that even in a small country like the Netherlands, different perspectives on issues such as the church and immigration often went hand in glove with coming from different parts of the country.

Although language has often been cited as a source of tension for the immigrants who joined a Christian Reformed 'old-timers' church, it did not create the long lasting difficulties that one might have first expected. Initially, because of the immigrants, the Home Missionaries and ministers that were called to service in Canada needed to be able to preach in Dutch. In the English speaking oldtimer's churches this reversal in language did cause some resentment among that group of 'old timers' who had either been born in Canada or immigrated to Canada in their youth and were no longer familiar with the Dutch language. Previously in the Christian Reformed Church in the States, the use of the Dutch language accorded a barrier between the Reformed community and American society. Dutch was the language of religion and the chosen means of conversation within the Reformed community. English was considered the language of business. In Netherlanders in America Fred Lucas reported that as late as 1900 there were only two English speaking congregations in the C.R.C.. According to Lucas it was the First World War that sounded the death knell for the Dutch language in the Reformed Churches. During the war public sentiment swelled against people of German decent or who spoke a

foreign language. In this heated atmosphere, a Dutch school in Iowa was put aflame and Dutch language church services were “discouraged.” The Dutch language hung on for another half century, but by 1950, it had declined to such a degree that it was mainly used in special services for the elderly.⁸⁸

Despite some criticism from the old timers, in contrast with the earlier wave of immigration that went to the United States, these new immigrants followed the advice of their Home Missionaries and introduced English into their worship services in a remarkably short period of time. The temperament of these new immigrants appears to have been different than that of the earlier immigrants that settled in the south. These post-war immigrants did not tie their faith to their language of origin. Nor did they fear the loss of their religious heritage by this means. Overwhelmingly they recognised the need to learn English in order to succeed economically in their new land. By 1957, it was reported that “generally speaking the language ratio in our worship services (two services on a Sunday) one is Holland, one English.” while some congregations were already having more English than Dutch services. It was also reported that it was not just the ‘Young Peoples Society’ that was functioning in English, but also at meetings involving older immigrants. English was becoming “‘the’ language.”⁸⁹

Antagonisms arose in relation to a number of worldly activities. Representative of the Christian Reformed perspective are pronouncements from the Synods of 1928 and 1951 which are famous for their injunctions against the three big worldly vices of the Calvinist: the theatre, playing cards and dancing.⁹⁰ While one urban Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) observer believed that “many in the *Gereformeerde Kerken*” would find

the position of the Christian Reformed Church “very restrictive and narrow.”⁹¹ interviews would seem to indicate that rural, orthodox Reformed immigrants generally thought along the same lines in regard to these particular vices. One immigrant woman remembered that when some Canadian pilots who were hidden in their house during the war taught the family to play cards, her uncle, an elder in the church, came by to admonish them against such a “sinful” activity.⁹² Even Abraham Kuyper who had had such a high view of creation and stressed that all areas of life need to know Christ had also made an exception in this case. Kuyper had written in his lectures on the subject that “not every intimate intercourse with the unconverted world is deemed lawful by Calvinism. for it places a barrier against the too unhallowed influence of this world by putting a distinct “veto” upon three things, card playing, theatres and dancing.”⁹³

Despite the best of intentions on both sides it was recognised by some of the newcomers themselves that “immigrants are often difficult people.” Dutch habits and customs often conflicted with those customs which the old timers had adopted.⁹⁴ Notwithstanding a fragile unity on some issues there were differences of opinion on liturgical and cultural activities. Although the work was continually hailed as God’s work and extremely rewarding, home missionaries and ministers were also said to need the ‘wisdom of Solomon’ to work in the field in Canada. A home missionary in the Christian Reformed Church in Sarnia during these early years earned the nickname *de dominee met het emmertje zand* (the minister with the little pail of sand) as he was continually called upon to douse the “fires of controversy” in his church.⁹⁵

One difference that quickly became obvious to both groups was that the post-war

immigrants were much more inclined to drink alcohol and smoke ⁹⁶ than the American old-timers. It has been presented to this author that the inclination of some immigrants to smoke and drink is a result of Reformed thinking. The explanation put forth here is that all things including tobacco and alcohol are gifts from God. What is important is the use or the direction they are put to. They can be used to glorify God or to dishonour Him. Man is responsible to use God's good gifts properly. For example, drinking wine at a wedding to enhance a celebration would be seen as a legitimate use of God's creation. If, however, too much wine is consumed, a time of respectable jubilation can turn into a drunken revelry which would be an improper use of the good things of God. Two short anecdotes may serve as an example of how alcohol was used legitimately and how the immigrants may have differed from the old-timers in their approach to it. It was related to this author that an example of a legitimate use of alcohol took place at a consistory meeting in Victoria British Columbia. That after arriving at a decision to build a new church at a consistory meeting one of the "staunch" immigrant elders went to his car and returned with a case of beer to celebrate the occasion.⁹⁷ The second example involves Dutch-Canadian representatives attending the annual Christian Reformed Synod in Grand Rapids Michigan. These Canadians were conspicuous at this gathering for their many coolers, which unbeknownst to the American representatives contained beer, that they carried back and forth between their cars and their rooms. When an American representative asked the Canadians why they had so many coolers, one of the Canadians responded tongue in cheek that they were for their Bible studies and invited their American co-religionist to join them. Later to the surprise and consternation of the

Canadians, the American did arrive at their door, Bible in hand.⁹⁸

Although similar 'gifts from God' arguments have also been put forth in respects to smoking, other influences not so biblically based also fed into this practice. Older immigrants have stated that in the Netherlands boys sought to smoke as soon as they were able because smoking was seen as a badge of manhood. A popular Dutch saying went "*Het geen man die niet roken kan*" (your not a man if you don't smoke). One immigrant who came to Canada as a young man in the late forties remembers sitting with his friends in the balcony of their church in Friesland with their cigarettes between their fingers during the final benediction. At the minister's closing "amen" a dozen matches would be struck in unison.⁹⁹ In Canada this tradition of smoking around and within church buildings was an annoyance to many old timers, who had to walk a gauntlet of smokers as they went in and out of their church. For nonsmoking office bearers such as ministers, elders and deacons, things did not get any better inside as consistory and council rooms have been described as being "blue with smoke" during church meetings.¹⁰⁰

Liturgical - Difficulties (I)

Other, more important sources of friction involved the semantics the Christian Reformed Church used in its ministry to the immigrants in Canada and the desire of the immigrants to reinstate liturgical customs from the Netherlands. Immigrants did not like it that the ministers that looked after them were called 'Home Missionaries' as it seemed to indicate that they were not Christian.¹⁰¹ Questions were raised: "Why is all this called

'Home Missionary' labour? How is one able to group all this ingathering of immigrants under the work of 'Evangelization?' Official propaganda pieces, such as a famous folder from the Home Mission Board may call this evangelization, but is this evangelization? Are all these Reformed immigrants from the Netherlands to be labelled as those who have grown estranged from the Church? Doesn't the Christian Reformed Church have better powers of discernment than this?"¹⁰²

Also disturbing to the 'old timers' were the criticisms directed toward Christian Reformed liturgical practises. Following the practise established in the Christian Reformed Churches in the United States, Home Missionaries suggested that the immigrants use individual cups when celebrating the Lords's Supper and remain in their pews, rather than arise and gather around a communion table and share a common cup at the front of the church as was the custom in the Netherlands. To the immigrants who were used to using a common cup and to moving to a table at the front of the church this practice raised a number of difficulties. Office bearers who were charged with maintaining the integrity of the table, contended that it was difficult to enforce silent censure when the person under censure was lost in the body of the church congregation. Pastoral concerns were also an issue here. With everyone sitting in the pew, it was felt that it was difficult to discern who had, and who had not, participated in communion. Failure to partake in the Lord's Supper was commonly understood to suggest that a person was troubled in spirit and may need ministering to by the pastor or his ward elder. It was also felt that by staying in the pew the average immigrant lost the psychological advantage of bodily arising from one's seat and physically going to the table of the Lord.

According to F. Guillaume this last concern was “no small matter” during the pioneer years in Canada, when one’s faith was often strained by the rigours of immigration, and the immigrant was spiritually vulnerable and in need of the Lord’s grace.¹⁰³

Some immigrants, ministers included, also expressed concern that the Christian Reformed Church had officially taken a position in respect to the matter of baptising adopted children. That adopted children, even though they were not “certified to root from believing fathers and mothers are baptised,” raised questions among some of the immigrants who did not baptise such children.¹⁰⁴ Another area of difficulty for the immigrants was North American marriage customs. In the Netherlands, marriages were first of all performed at city hall or another seat of government and afterward in the Church. Not familiar with the clergy holding both authority from the denomination and from the state, a few immigrants claimed that the church was infringing on the rights of the state.¹⁰⁵

In some instances, after continual difficulties arising due to such issues, one solution was found in simply allowing the immigrants to establish a second or in some cases even a third church. ‘Old timer’ congregations continued to function, often donning the additional mantle of ‘First Church.’¹⁰⁶

Shortage of Ministers (J)

As immigration numbers climbed during the late 40s and early 50's, the demand for ministers for home mission work rose dramatically. By 1951, Banner editorials were declaring that there was an “emergency situation” on the Canadian field because of the

Christian Reformed Church's failure to provide a sufficient number of home missions ministers "to gather the dispersed together"¹⁰⁷ Steps were taken at a denominational level to meet this shortage. Salaries were raised for ministers serving in Canada, a leave of absence plan for ministers in regular congregations was adopted, and more fieldmen were appointed to release the missionaries from the burden of field work.¹⁰⁸ One solution presented was to call ministers from the Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) Churches in the Netherlands. In view of the acute shortage of manpower, Classis: Ontario appointed a committee to serve as contact between Canadian calling churches and available men in the old country. This move and the calling of ministers from the Netherlands generated a heated debate in church affiliated papers.¹⁰⁹

Chief among the arguments against calling Dutch ministers was the fear that they might carry over with them certain doctrinal disputes which arose in the Reformed Churches (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) in 1944. More will be said about this later, but these disputes had led to a major schism and the formation of a new denomination, the Liberated or Article 31 Reformed Churches (*Gereformeerde Kerken Vrijgemaakt*). Still clear in the memory of many in the Christian Reformed Church was the painful 1924 schism led by the Reverend Herman Hoeksema. Maintaining that the doctrine of common grace held up by the Christian Reformed Synod of 1924 was not a Reformed interpretation, the Reverend Hoeksema led his supporters out of the Christian Reformed church to launch the rival Protestant Reformed Church. This sentiment was not exclusive to the 'oldtimers' and their American clergy. Elements among the immigrants also expressed concern about the potential of schism that would accompany the Dutch

ministers.¹¹⁰ Many immigrants who saw their families and churches torn apart in 1944 did not want to see a repeat of that painful experience in their new homeland.

In a 1951 Banner article, Elco H. Oostendorp warned that if the doctrinal disputes from the Netherlands were introduced into the Christian Reformed Church it could result in breaking up “the unity of the various elements for which we have worked in Canada.” The Christian Reformed Church, Oostendorp concluded, had some choices to make. As the American churches would have to pay for most of the bills in Canada for the foreseeable future, schismatic activity among the immigrants “should lead us to some real thinking before we finance any Trojan horses.”¹¹¹

Other criticisms were expressed in the press. Critics stated that ministers from the Netherlands would have little understanding about Canada or the Canadian mentality. The people in the pew, it was argued, needed a view of reality that was operative to provide a coherent world view as a viable alternative. On a more practical level it was held that Dutch ministers were not proficient enough in English and this would prevent them from preaching effectively. One Banner article recorded that the English sermons of those Dutch ministers who had preached, had not been well received by the ‘old timers.’ The concern was also raised that the process of Canadianization would be slowed down, especially if older Dutch ministers were called.¹¹² In an article in the November 1951 issue of the Gerformeerd Weekblad (a Dutch paper), K. Norel took issue with this language critique. Norel held that Dutch ministers could grow into the language as well, or even better, than the average Dutch immigrant. While Dutch ministers would not fit in very well in the older churches, he was sure that they would be able to serve satisfactorily

in the new 'all immigrant' churches that were popping up.¹¹³ Oostendorp records that it was suggested to him by some immigrants that they felt that the American ministers hesitated to admit their Dutch peers into the denomination because they were afraid of the competition. "The Hollanders are so much thorough, positive, and learned" is how Oostendorp summed up this line of thinking.¹¹⁴

For the Dutch ministers the controversy surrounding serving in Canada did not end when new immigrant churches began to call them to the pulpit. One of the biggest stumbling blocks for Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) ministers was the *Colloquium Doctum*. The *Colloquium Doctum* was the examination that a minister from another denomination would have to undergo to become a minister in the Christian Reformed Church.¹¹⁵ According to the criteria outlined in the minutes of the 1943 Acts of Synod, the standard of "approval or disapproval" would be based on the candidate's: soundness of doctrine; sanctity of life and knowledge and appreciation of Christian Reformed practices and usages. Also to be considered was the need of calling others than those who are of the Christian Reformed Church.¹¹⁶ In reply to a letter from the Immigration committee of the Reformed Churches (*Gereformeerde Kerken*) about this matter, the Synod of 1951 stated that "the calling of such ministers falls under the rules governing the calling of ministers from any denomination other than our own."¹¹⁷ Immigrants and some supportive 'old timers' both argued that the Reformed Church (*Gereformeerde Kerk*) was an ecclesiastical 'sister church,' that ministers of that denomination had the right to preach in a Christian Reformed Church and as such should not be subjected to a *colloquium doctum*. In a 1956 article in The Torch and Trumpet the Reverend Francois Guillaume

who had himself been called from the Netherlands to serve in Second Toronto Christian Reformed Church asks why had the process of the *colloquium doctum* “ become in substance a second candidate’s examination in dogmatics?”¹¹⁸

This controversy peaked in 1956. In the previous year, the synod of 1955 had before it three communications from *De Deputaten van de General Synod van de Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland voor Correspondentie met Buitenlandse Kerken*. Those communications requested Synod to declare that a minister from the *Gereformeerde Kerk* who had accepted a call from a Christian Reformed Church not be subjected to a *colloquium doctum* as a prerequisite for installation as a Christian Reformed minister. The 1955 Synod tabled the proposal to discontinue colloquia docta for ministers coming from the *Gereformeerde Kerk* and referred the matter to a study committee. Upon receiving that report in 1956 Synod adopted three proposals.

1) When one of our churches has decided to call a minister of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*, it shall with the letter of call forward to him a transcript - to be prepared by the Stated Clerk of Synod - of the following deliverances of our Synods: the position taken in the general rules of 1881 and by the Synod of 1867 regarding membership in oath bound societies, the conclusions of Utrecht adopted by our Synod of 1908, the synodical resolutions of 1928 and 1951 on worldly amusements, the three points of the Synod of 1924 concerning the doctrine of common grace; and it shall inform him that acceptance of the call will be understood to imply his promise to abide by those deliverances in his exercise of the ministerial office in the Christian Reformed Church

2) The foregoing rules shall be applicable to ministers coming to us, not only from the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederlands*, but from any denomination which the Christian Reformed Church by Synodical action shall have received into full ecclesiastical fellowship.¹¹⁹

While the synod recognised that the Christian Reformed Church had long regarded the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederlands* as a sister church it never went so far

as to say it was the same church and recommended that ministers from the *Gereformeerde Kerken* be subject to the same examination as ministers from other denominations. This decision was in line with its committee's earlier deliberations that a church had the right to assure itself of denominational purity and unity.¹²⁰ But as illustrated below, the majority of *Gereformeerde* immigrants did not pick up on this distinction.

Preaching was an important issue for the immigrants. One common refrain was that the immigrants desired sermons by Dutch pastors who could identify with the Canadian situation.¹²¹ "Sometimes we had an American minister give a Dutch sermon. That was alright but sometimes you felt there was an ocean between his experiences and yours. Somehow you could feel that these people were brought up in a different country. And if you had an old Dutch minister that was different."¹²² Those immigrants that were influenced by Kuyperianism also had specific concerns. In 1952 John Vriend, the son of Reformed immigrants, warned American ministers in the field to be aware that the immigrants "have a fairly keen ear for good preaching." Vriend cautioned that the ministers should be certain to focus on the Kingdom of God motif in their sermons. According to Vriend sermons that leave the understanding that the salvation of man is central to the gospel message would be to the immigrant's way of thinking like "so many Methodist Sunday School homilies."¹²³ In sermonising, the redemption of man is secondary, it is the Kingdom of God that must be placed first.¹²⁴

This emphasis was highlighted in a 1952 article in the Torch and Trumpet. In it an immigrant wrote that it had been his experience in the Christian Reformed Church

that the salvation of man occupied the centre of the “sermonic stage” almost every Sunday.

That message is indeed the great and good news of the Bible, but surely it may not be allowed to stand by itself. Christ is not in the first place our saviour and Redeemer, but he is the re-creator of all things, and part of his program is the redemption of man - a program which includes our resumption of the task which was given to Adam in paradise, namely, that of dressing and keeping the garden.¹²⁵

Although this was a subtle shift of emphasis it was apparent to many that it had influenced developments or, better put, stunted developments in non-ecclesiastical affairs. In political matters and other social-cultural areas growth was limited due to the emphasis being put on the ‘salvation of man,’ rather than ‘the Kingdom of God.’ As such, these emphases reflected one of the more critical debates to surface at this time. Conflicting conceptions about different approaches to Christian witness in social areas had emerged.¹²⁶

Church as Organism and Church as Institute (K)

These differences were often put in terms of the Church as ‘institute,’ the “mother of believers,” and the church as ‘organism,’ the “entire body of believers.” John Bolt describes the church as institute as the “organized worshipping, teaching, evangelizing church” and the church as organism as “the Christian community at large in all its endeavours.”¹²⁷ While the immigrants recognised there was but one ‘true’ church they saw that church manifesting itself in two distinct ways: One through general revelation (the self revelation of God through nature), and the other, special revelation, (God

revealing himself through holy scripture). The different roles of the church were then as follows:

The church as institute is the mother of believers, an institution of salvation for the conversion of sinners and for perfecting of the saints The church as institute has been entrusted with 'the oracles of God.' She is 'the ground and pillar of the truth,' and has been commanded by her Lord to 'search the Scriptures.' She is commissioned to study the word of God diligently, to reproduce the truths and authoritatively set forth the church doctrine as dogmas to be believed.¹²⁸

The church as organism is understood as being much wider.

The organic church must apply these (the above) Biblical principles to her study of God's general revelation and explore the vast workmanship of the Creator, in order that in all this we may learn to know God The task of the church as organism is to explore the whole field of general revelation in the light of these biblical principles.¹²⁹

Dutch ministers claimed that in the Netherlands the Church as organism seized more of the initiative in the work of the church. In contrast, they asserted that in the United States, more of the work was appropriated by the instituted church. "There is," stated the Reverend Henry Venema, "one characteristic which typifies our average American Christian Reformed mentality more than that of our Holland immigrants ... out of the faithful struggle for Reformed faith and action has grown an emphasis on the church as institute at the expense of the Church as organism." This difference was to play prominently in the criticism some immigrants directed toward the Christian Reformed Church. Often called Kuypersians, these immigrants noted that Christian Reformed Church members had yet to establish a Calvinistic university along the line of the Free University of Amsterdam and pointed to the denominationally run Calvin College and consequently church-sponsored periodicals as examples of the instituted church

assuming more control than biblically warranted. In the meantime independent Christian activity in areas such as labour and politics was neglected and its growth stunted.¹³⁰ In contrast the Kuypersians among the Reformed wanted the community to build institutions that were not owned or controlled by the church.

J.H. Kromminga suggested that this development was due to the fact that in the new world the Dutch Reformed Churches were much smaller in proportion to the total American population and scattered over a much wider area. In such a situation the institutional church took a defensive stance against what was perceived to be a threatening environment and left less initiative to its members.¹³¹ In contrast, Francois Guillaume suggested that the lay immigrants from the Netherlands were more pro active. In his centennial year article he gives an example of this more pro-active stance recounting a situation that took place when the first post war congregations were organizing and the home missionaries and immigrants were establishing church societies. "Occasional conflict arose. On the one hand, the recent immigrants out of the Netherlands wished to select a chairman and Bible leader out of their own group. On the other hand, the Home Missionary, frequently felt that he should lead the discussion as he did in the States. These immigrants had never learned that the discussion of scripture, of the confessions of faith, etc ... was something to be entrusted to the pastor. Self activity was in their blood.: this was something they felt should be re-enacted in Canada."¹³²

Christian Organizations (L)

Hand in hand with the principle of the church as organism was the concept of

Christian organizations. Reformed immigrants from the Netherlands had experienced Christian organizations in almost every facet of society.

In the Netherlands we were indoctrinated with the idea that we should advocate separate Christian action, that neutrality is impossible and forbidden by God and that there is no inch of ground about which Christ does not say it is mine! ... However we get the impression here that, for many of us here Christian action is a matter of expediency, not of principle: that neutrality is possible and allowed; that the antithesis is a lost principle.¹³³

According to Francois Guillaume this difference of opinion about separate Christian organizations was the crucial issue which separated the immigrants from the Americans. "Here," Guillaume asserted in 1957, "relationships are being strained and understanding is extra-urgent. This matter is not solved simply. Our various views about antithesis, common grace, and the Kingship of Jesus Christ leads us to different conclusions. Here, more than in respect to any other question, we encounter difficulties on account of the various backgrounds which are not easily erased Let us remember that these things have aroused deep disturbance and discussion among us."¹³⁴ The fact that the American led Christian Reformed Church was not active in these spheres led some immigrants to inquire if the Christian Reformed Church was in fact really a "true church." Guillaume hints that such strong differences may have necessitated a separate Canadian Reformed Church operating north of the border.¹³⁵ Other calls went up that highlight these differences. In a 1956 Calvinist Contact article, the Reverend W. VanderBeek insisted that the Canadian wing of the Christian Reformed Church needed to establish its own seminary as they had their own particular task to fulfill in Canada. "It is," VanderBeek declared, "a Canadian Calvinist task."¹³⁶ Such indications seemed to

indicate that a division might well have taken place between the Canadian and American wings of the Christian Reformed Church. Given this level of discord and with such principles at stake, we need to ask why the immigrants did not secede from the Christian Reformed Church? Why did they not join a Canadian church or start their own church under what they considered more *Gereformeerde* principles?

Why Did They Join? (M)

Realistically we need to recognise some simple, practical reasons such as the lure of a common language that was one of the most prominent early drawing factors in bringing immigrants into the Christian Reformed fold. Despite some language preparation by a good percentage of the immigrants, most were ill prepared to function exclusively in English. In addition to having sermons in a language they could understand, some immigrants have mentioned that after a week of struggling by in English with their Canadian boss one of the things that made Sunday pleasurable was the opportunity to socialise after the morning service in one's own tongue. "I guess it was the immigration that pulled people together in one church, and the C.R.C. was already here and they used the Dutch language. ...In the early immigration years everyone hung on to one another. There was this language barrier all week and on Sundays you could finally relate to people who were in the same circumstances and comfort each other."¹³⁷ Language and the accompanying social interaction may even have been a factor in proselyting. Christian Reformed Church minister Dirk Miedema has suggested that the lure of socialising with fellow Dutchmen in the Dutch language drew people to the

Christian Reformed Church in Canada who never went to church in Holland.¹³⁸

After the language barrier we need to consider that the immigrants lacked knowledge of other options. One immigrant now a minister in the Christian Reformed Church acknowledged that during the first few years in Canada most immigrants would not have considered going to a Canadian Church because they just did not know much about them. In retrospect, he feels that the Reformed immigrants could have in good consciousness joined the Presbyterian Church of Canada, but despite that church efforts to reach out to the Reformed immigrants and educate them, most did not realise that the Presbyterians were close to them in doctrine.

Doctrine was not the only criterion the Reformed weighed when they considered going to a church. They were also interested in the application of faith to life and were greatly concerned with the question of righteous conduct. Prominent in this regard were a number of traditional '*shibboleths*' surrounding the Sabbath. Strict Sabbatarians, the Reformed were often quick to judge their Canadian neighbours who did not attend church regularly, questioning their Christian commitment and the commitment of their denomination. As one *Gereformeerde* women recalled "We lived not to far from the Presbyterian church in Crossland - the parking lot there grew grass, that was not a very good sign."¹³⁹ This judgmental attitude sometimes ran to extremes. For example, people who worked on the Sabbath for no good reason were often simply written off as Christians.¹⁴⁰ Face to face discussions about the Bible did not help allay many of these beliefs. Once they had gained a level of proficiency in English, it did not take long for many uneducated Reformed immigrants to consider themselves better versed than their

Canadian neighbours in their knowledge of scripture. Maybe the Canadians were Christians, but if they were, it was a watered down, superficial Christianity. As late as 1995 this author heard a Christian Reformed minister lump all other Christian denominations together as "Canadian Christianity" and then label it as "weak and liberal." At the very least this blanket statement shines some light on the continual existence of an 'us vs them mentality' and the persistence of a theological/ethnic self-identity.¹⁴¹

The initial greeting and assistance provided by C.R.C. fieldmen often created a spirit of gratitude in immigrants of Reformed background toward the Church. It was often reported that the newcomers were "profoundly" impressed that it was the Christian Reformed Church that was the first to "reach out a friendly hand immediately upon their arrival" in Canada.¹⁴² Ten years after the first immigrants arrived Rev. Francois Guillaume and Rev. Henry Venema suggested that it would be worthwhile to pause and reflect on the industry of the first Canadian *dominees* (ministers) and the labor of the 'old Canadian' fieldmen. While insisting issues still needed to be resolved, the two Canadian ministers stated that such problems did not compare with the immigrants "amazement" and "thanksgiving" for all that was done for them by the Christian Reformed church.¹⁴³

Delegates said: 'so many thousands are necessary, and so many thousands came.' parsonages were purchased. Buildings for religious services were rented. Money did not strand the labor in Canada. If at any place money was needed, money came. ... And humanly speaking, unless the States churches had been so good to us: except our congregations in the states had unreservedly and with consecrated devotion given for that which was developing in that unknown Canada, we would not be half as far as we are today.¹⁴⁴

The Ministers' Institute of 1957 (N)

The differences within the Christian Reformed Church on the issue of Christian organizations were more problematic. Differences which looked to many like the road to schism were however paved over to most peoples' satisfaction at the Ministers's Institute of 1957. At this gathering representatives from both sides of the border outlined their respective visions for the ministry of a Reformed people and their Church. Although no specific conclusions were reached on this issue of ministry and witness, the dialogue seemed to defuse the tension between the two groups. Both American and Canadian representatives agreed that each side in the matter could benefit from the contribution of the other and that these points of divergence did not warrant a schism. Differences regarding Christian organization would have to be respected.¹⁴⁵

The Importance of Being Right: Covenantal Doctrine (O)

Although the Christian Reformed Church was instrumental in making the transition from the Netherlands to Canada more comfortable for the immigrants, it would be a serious mistake to assume that the newcomers would have remained communicants if they did not deem that the Christian Reformed Church was a 'true church' in the Reformed understanding of that term. As Akenson has recognised in regard to other covenantal people, "sanitizing the scriptures may make the modern reader more comfortable with them, but most believers through the ages have not wanted to be comfortable: they have wanted to be right."¹⁴⁶ Despite the swirl of uncertainties surrounding immigration, the necessity of joining a true church was deeply embedded

in the minds of many orthodox immigrants.

In commenting on the controversies in the Netherlands in a 1952 article, the Reverend Elco Oostendorp, a Christian Reformed Church minister, observed the proclivity among the immigrants to want to belong to a true Reformed church: "... I am very much afraid of giving the impression that our church is doctrinally indifferent as to the points in dispute in the Netherlands. This impression seems to be current in some circles in the Netherlands so that some immigrants have asked whether we are just a 'Christian' church or really '*Gereformeerd*,' that is Reformed! Let us not soft-pedal the precious truths we hold on the covenant of grace just to keep a false peace."¹⁴⁷ It is clear from the sources that the Reformed that joined the Christian Reformed Church assumed that they were joining a 'true' church. One immigrant woman, Mrs Dykstra, summed up her decision to go to a Christian Reformed church thus: "We knew that going to the Christian Reformed Church that we were closer to the truth! Than going Baptist or Presbyterian."¹⁴⁸ Mr K. Norel, a well-known *Gereformeerde* journalist who toured Canada, wrote a series of articles in the *Trouw* and the *Gereformeerd Weekblad* in which he pointed out that in matters of liturgy and doctrine the differences between the Christian Reformed Church and the *Gereformeerde Kerken* were "almost negligible."¹⁴⁹

There were several points which seemed to weigh heavily in directing the immigrants toward this conclusion. Foundational to this recognition was the Christian Reformed Church's fidelity to scripture. The Bible was held up as the inspired word of God, but there was more. As with the orthodox Reformed denominations in the Netherlands the doctrinal integrity of the Christian Reformed Church was defined in its

creeds, the 'Three forms of Unity.' These creeds were seen as binding on the church and the adherence to them was a real one for they were seen as living documents to which reference was frequently made for the solution to the churches problems.¹⁵⁰ Along with the Reverend Henry A. Venema, even the Reverend Francois Guillaume, one of the leading neo-Calvinists critics of the C.R.C., attested to the orthodoxy of the Christian Reformed Church in their 1957 centennial year article.

In this respect the Christian Reformed Church stands strongly isolated on this North American continent. Its full confession of Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and of the Bible as the infallible Word of God, plays an important role here. Isolation by way of pure profession is possible here not only because our church has its confessions on paper, but also because of its mighty efforts to maintain those confessions. And this is special blessing of the Lord, that the Christian Reformed Church has without enfeeblement maintained its position as a truly orthodox communion for a whole century.

Many immigrants, particularly those from the Reformed Church (*de Gereformerde Kerk*), have stated that during their early years in Canada they just assumed that the Christian Reformed Church was the *Gereformerde Kerk* in its Canadian guise. As one immigrant stated, "it was natural, really natural to go to the Christian Reformed Church... We all considered that it was practically the same. It was not that we were building up the church here. It was that we were transferring the Church from Holland to here - a new country. The Christian Reformed Church here was really a continuation of the *Gereformerde Kerk* in Canada."¹⁵² Another popular perspective was that if the Christian Reformed Church was not the actual embodiment of Reformed Church in the Netherlands (*de Gereformerde Kerk*), it was at the very least a sister church. One woman explained that following her arrival in Canada, her uncle, who had been a well respected elder in

the Netherlands, instructed her that the Christian Reformed Church “was the closest (church) to our *Gereformeerde Kerk* ... so that’s why we went.”¹⁵³

The Sacraments (P)

Although some immigrants looking for a more Kuyperian slant had difficulty with the preaching of the Home Missionaries, the message brought by the American ministers was seen as being biblical. Moreover, the catechism - that touchstone for Reformed orthodoxy - “was preached.” The differences between what the immigrants were used to in the Netherlands and what they experienced in Canada often came down to a matter of preaching style and cultural background. “The missionaries they were good ... In the first place we did not understand it (the sermon) very well, but you could feel that this was where you belonged - here was God’s message. And all these people with you were in the same boat. You kind of derived comfort from that and encouragement. That’s what we needed.”¹⁵⁴

Beyond the sermon, the traditional hub of a Reformed service, the administration of the sacraments, “the signs and seals of the covenant,” also played a significant role in making the immigrants feel at home in the Christian Reformed Church. Of the two sacraments infant baptism was perhaps the most consequential. Whereas the Lord’s Supper was, by a tradition which stretched back to Geneva, only administered four times a year, the immigrant churches arguing on the basis of article 56 of Church Order that the opportunity for baptism should be given every Sunday, sometimes had baptisms two or three Sundays a month.¹⁵⁵ “In our Canadian congregations we baptise frequently ... Our

immigrants feel this quite keenly and therefore they continue to read the form of baptism expounding God's glorious covenant of grace from Sunday to Sunday, as often as is necessary."¹⁵⁶

Some immigrants have commented on the fact that initially due to the language differences some of the wording and structure surrounding the celebration of the sacraments seemed strange. One of the most noticeable differences was the church Psalter. One immigrant remembered noticing the difference. "In the Netherlands we had it all in one. The Bible, then the 150 Psalms, the 29 hymns and the back part. The three creeds: the Heidelberg Catechisms; the Canons of Dort, the Belgic Confession and the forms. In Canada when we first came we had the Red Psalter at first. The creeds were all there, but there were differences, hymns instead of all Psalms."¹⁵⁷ Still, for most of the immigrants these differences turned out to be a minor distraction when they began to recognise that the English forms were a close translation of the Dutch forms which they had used in the Netherlands. "It looked familiar - at first you didn't understand all this language - but when you read in the baptismal form about Pharaoh and all his hosts drowning in the Red Sea ... that the Israelites came through the Red Sea and that came through in the Covenant. You understood that. But a lot of that stuff went over your head for the first year when you were in church. It wasn't every day language."¹⁵⁸

On another level, the administration of the sacrament of baptism forcefully and publically outlined the concept of the covenant as "an ordinance of God to seal unto us and our seed His covenant." As will be discussed in more detail later the doctrine was the same in the *Gerformeerde Kerk* as it was in the Christian Reformed Church. In fact, even

the wording of the forms in the Christian Reformed Church was a direct translation from the Dutch. To understand the effect this could possibly bring about, one needs to realise the context within which a sacrament such as baptism was administered. If the sacrament of baptism was to be administered it became the central theme of the Sunday morning service. It was both a family and a congregational affair taking place within the body of the service. Family and friends would come from great distances to witness the event. The immediate family would sit in the front row of the church. In lieu of having God parents it became the custom among some families to have one of the grandmothers hold the child before and after the baptism. The baptismal form with its explicit references to the covenant and the 'seed' would be read, after which the baptism itself was performed with the father and mother moving to the front of the church and before the congregation. As patriarch and biblically designated spiritual head of the family, the father would hold the child during the baptism.

Traditionally, such an event called for a sermon which related at some level to the covenant. Perhaps the most poignant part of the service was the reading of the baptismal form. The form was broken into three main sections. In the first section the covenant is explained and the connection between the Old Testament circumcision and the New Testament baptism is outlined. In the second section the parents are addressed and asked to answer three questions. And in the third and final section, a prayer of thanksgiving is offered. Here, in part, are excerpts from the first section.

For when we are baptised into the name of the father, God the Father witnesses and seals unto us that he makes an eternal covenant of grace with us and adopts us as His children and heirs, and therefor will provide us with

every good thing and avert all evil or turn it to our profit... baptism is a seal and indubitable testimony that we have an eternal covenant with God....Therefore God formerly commanded to circumcise them, which was a seal of the covenant ... Since then, baptism has come in the place of circumcision; the children should be baptised as heirs of the kingdom of God and of His covenant; and as they grow up the parents shall be bound to give them further instruction in these things.¹⁵⁹

Summary (O)

Despite the various liturgical differences and difficulties surrounding translation, the theological language of the Christian Reformed Church had a familiar resonance in the ears of many of the Orthodox Reformed newcomers. To those who joined the C.R.C., the similarities with what they left behind far outweighed the differences, and this was true at both a cultural and doctrinal level. One *Gereformeerde* woman summed up the feelings of many of her fellow immigrants when she concluded that in joining the Christian Reformed Church, "We all considered that it was practically the same. We didn't have to give up anything doctrinally."¹⁶⁰ Key here was a general unanimity on certain covenantal touchstones.¹⁶¹

Notes for Chapter Five

5. Canada

1. John C. De Korne. "Arrival of the Tabinta," The Banner (November 7, 1947), 1225.
2. Editor. "The Challenge in Canada," The Banner (June 29, 1951), 807.
3. According to the policy-ruling adopted by the Canadian Immigration Committee, one-third of the amount of transporting the immigrants to a Christian Reformed Church by busses or car is being paid for by the committee; one-third by the established church and one-third by the immigrants themselves. Acts of Synod, 1949, 71.
4. This Church was founded when New York was New Amsterdam and a Colony of the Netherlands.
5. The settlers that founded this have been traced to the Dutch province of Overijssel and of these the majority came from the town of Nijverdal. The church had their worship services in two different places, Monarch and Granum. William Buursma "Site of First Christian Reformed Church in Canada Honoured," The Banner (January 1, 1993), 9; Burdett another of the early western churches was formed in 1911. H. Baker, "Burdett and Lacombe, Canada," The Banner (November 16, 1939), 1073.
6. The total number of people listing their origins as Dutch was given as 117,000 and almost half of these 50,512, were said to reside in Ontario. In Bulletin XII went on to report that 353 people stated that they belonged to the C.R.C. and 1,343 reported belonging to the Reformed Church of America. Henry Beets, "Care for the Canadian Dutch of the Reformed Faith," The Banner (April 24, 1925), 260.
7. For example, the Christian Reformed Church in Sarnia began circa 1926 when four young immigrants from the Netherlands petitioned a Grand Rapids classis about their desire to "worship the Lord as they had been taught in the Netherlands." The Consistory, "Sarnia, Ontario, Canada," The Banner (February 25, 1944), 184; See also J.R. Brink, "Reconnoitring in Canada," The Banner (August 7, 1925), 809.
9. Henry Beets, "Reconnoitering in Canada," The Banner (August 7, 1925), 509; William Meyer, "Missionary Work in Western Ontario," The Banner (May 4, 1939), 416.
9. William Meyer, "Missionary Work in Western Ontario," The Banner (May 4, 1939), 416.
10. Richard Rienstra, "Empire State and East Ontario," The Banner (October 19, 1939), 975.

11. Richard Rienstra, "Empire State and East Ontario," The Banner (January 5, 1939), 21; Richard Rienstra. "Empire State and East Ontario," The Banner (June 22, 1939), 600; The Consistory. "Holland Marsh, Canada," The Banner (August 23, 1940), 788.
- 12.. Rienstra. "Empire State and East Ontario," 21; John O. Schuring, "Windsor Organized," The Banner (November 16, 1939), 1067.
13. William Meyer. "Missionary Work in Western Ontario," The Banner (May 4, 1939), 416.
14. H. Baker, "The Canadian Field," The Banner (May 4, 1939), 413; S.G. Brondsema. "Western Canada Notes," The Banner (January 10, 1941), 48; M. Keuning, "Western Canada News." The Banner (April 30, 1943), 421.
15. Meyer. "Missionary Work in Western Ontario," 416.
16. G. Besselaar, "Canadianization," The Banner (March 2, 1945), 201.
17. Every organized church has the right to send two representatives (usually an elder and a minister) to a classis. Each classis traditionally delegates two ministers and two elders to the synod. William P Brink, Richard R. De Ridder, Manuel of Christian Reformed Church Government (Grand Rapids Michigan: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1980). 165 - 203.
18. Henry J. Kuiper. "All Eyes on Canada," The Banner (August 29. 1947), 981.
19. Christian Reformed Church. Acts of Synod, 1940, 118.
20. Ibid., 120.
21. For the grounds, see the report of Classis Holland in The Banner (February 19.1943). 189; See also, George Kaastra, "Repeats Plea for the Netherlands," The Banner (April 30, 1943), 424. And Acts of Synod, 1943, 126-127.
22. Authors name withheld, "First Hand News from the Netherlands, October 15 1944," The Banner (November 10, 1944), 1070; Wm. Dryfhout, "Food Parcels for the Netherlands," The Banner (April 14, 1944), 356; E.J. Tanis, "The World Today: Holland's Plight," The Banner (March 2. 1945). 199; E.J. Tanis, "The World Today: Holland Will Rise Again," The Banner (April 6. 1945). 319.
23. Gerrit Vander Pol. "Lands Great Need," The Banner (August 3. 1945), 712.
24. Acts of Synod, 1946, 120-121; By the time the 'Deacons Committee for the Netherlands Relief brought their work to an end in 1949. They had sent \$123,000 worth of new clothing, along with an unlisted amount of used clothing to the Netherlands. Acts of Synod, 1949, 68-69.

25. John C. De Korne and John M. Vande Kieft, "Missions - at Home and Abroad," The Banner (September 20, 1946), 1084.
26. Acts of Synod, 1940, 118.
27. George Kaastra, "Repeats Plea for the Netherlands," The Banner (April 30, 1943), 424.
28. J.J. Buiten, "Netherlands War Relief," The Banner (September 21 1945), 878; Henry Baker. "Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken*." The Banner (March 6, 1953), 292.
29. J.J. Buiten, "Netherlands War Relief," The Banner (November 23, 1945), 1139.
30. Joseph Gritter, "The Challenge in Canada," The Banner (June 29, 1951), 807.
31. *Ibid.*, 807.
32. *Ibid.*, 807.
33. *Ibid.*, 807.
34. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America, 125,
35. Henry J. Kuiper. "More Synodical Decisions," The Banner (July 11, 1947), 836.
36. Paul de Koekkoek. Calvin Forum (January, 1946), 123-24.
37. R. De Boer. "Are We Prepared?" The Banner (June 22, 1945), 589.
38. Henry Beets, "Editorial," The Banner (April 24, 1925), 260-261.
39. Acts of Synod, 1947, 205.
40. Acts of Synod, 1946, 23; The original membership as appointed by Synod was originally: Reverend Peter Hoekstra, Mr. L. Kool, Mr. Jacob Uitvlugt, Reverend A. Disselkoen, Mr. J.J. Wyenberg, Mr. Ben De Jong and Reverend J.M. vande Kieft. Acts of Synod, 1947, 200.
41. Acts of Synod, 1947, 208; This position was stated earlier in the report as well. "The Canadian officials recognise our Committee as the responsible agency for aiding Dutch immigrants in Canada. We have accepted this responsibility upon condition that the expenses involved in aiding those of other faiths shall be met by the government or cooperating Canadian organizations interested in immigration." Acts of Synod, 1947, 204-205.
42. Hansevoort. A Bittersweet Land, 70
43. The Synod of 1946 also settled the direction of 'The Netherlands Rehabilitation Fund Committee.' Acts of Synod, 1946, 23-25.

44. Kuiper. "All Eyes on Canada," 981 and 992; Acts of Synod, 1947, 202.
45. Acts of Synod, 1947, 205.
46. Acts of Synod, 1948, 333.
47. Harry Blystra. "Work in Canada and Among Servicemen," The Banner (May 25, 1951), 653.
48. Gritter. "The Challenge in Canada," 807; See also Acts of Synod, 1947, 205.
49. Acts of Synod, 1947, 208.
50. Peter Hoekstra and J. Vander Vliet, "Supplementary Report of Committee on Immigration," Acts of Synod, 1947, 208.
51. Acts of Synod, 1951, 198.
52. Acts of Synod, 1950, 32.
53. Henry J. Kuiper. "More Synodical Decisions," The Banner (July 11, 1947), 836.
54. Henry J. Kuiper. "Don't Fail our Canadian Brethren." The Banner (December 14, 1951), 1508.
55. Ibid.. 1508.
56. Ibid.. 1508: The Immigration Committee reported at the Synod in 1948 that there were "certain evidences" that the Presbyterian Church of Canada was eager to welcome the Reformed immigrants into that church to which the author of the report added "may this be an added incentive for us to meet the challenge with God's help." Acts of Synod, 1948, 334.
57. Henry J. Kuiper. "Canada's Challenge," The Banner (November 6, 1953), 1349.
58. Acts of Synod, 1949, 35-36.
59. Acts of Synod, 1950, 244; Acts of Synod, 1951, 67; See also Kuiper, "Impressions of Synod." The Banner (September 7, 1951), 1060; Acts of Synod, 1952, 324-326.
60. The Consistory, "Christian Reformed Church at Aylmer Ontario, Canada," The Banner (February 16, 1951), 212.
61. Acts of Synod, 1954, 393.
62. Kuiper. "All Eyes on Canada," 981.

63. Ibid., 981.
64. Kuiper, "Don't Fail our Canadian Brethren," 1508.
65. Francois Guillaume and Henry A. Venema, The United States and Canada in The Christian Reformed Church: The Christian Reformed Church Especially its Growth and Development in Canada (Toronto: Pro Rege Publishing Company, 1957), 1.
66. Ibid., 23-24.
67. Ibid., 25.
68. Ibid., 26.
69. U.R.N.S., "C.R.C. Membership Continues to Decline," Christian Courier, (March 22, 1999), 8
70. Petersen, Justified Immigration, 188.
71. Later, around 1953 the C.R.C. began to open up new fields: the peace River district in Northern Alberta, Regina in Saskatchewan, Sault Ste. Marie and Ottawa in Ontario, Montreal in Quebec and the maritime provinces. In addition they also looked at more northerly places in Ontario such as the Cochrane area as a potential location for Reformed immigrants. This was however only after they thought sites in Southern Ontario were exhausted. Acts of Synod, 1953, 344.
72. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra. This opinion seems to be representative of many immigrants.
73. Canadian Census, 1961, in Graumans, "The Role of Ethno-Religious Organizations," 6.
74. For the best discussion so far on the activities of the secular Dutch in the Post War period see Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence in Ontario.
75. See also, Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 96-7; 124-126.
76. New York Times (November 20, 1948).
77. Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 96.
78. Interview with John and Hilda Faber, Ancaster Ontario, March 14, 1996.
79. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
80. Acts of Synod, 1948, 70.

81. Ibid., 334.
82. Petersen, Planned Migration, 189-190.
83. John C. Verbrugge, "The Canadian Melting Pot," The Banner (Sept. 26, 1952), 1159.
84. Interview with Willma Vandenburg, Ancaster Ontario, January 8, 1995.
85. Interview with Job Roukema, Ancaster Ontario, September 8, 1996.
86. Kromminga. In the Mirror, 82.
87. Interview with Sid Bakker, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, January 4, 1997.
88. Lucas. Netherlanders In America, 596-598.
89. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 13.
90. In 1963 Synod adopted a number of rules governing the admission of ministers from other denominations. They adopted a procedure that the prospective minister would receive a transcript noting among other things the resolutions of 1928 and 1951 relating to worldly amusements. Acceptance of the call implied the ministers promise to abide by these deliverances in the exercise of his ministerial office in the Christian Reformed Church. Acts of Synod. 1963, 22.
91. Elco H. Oosterendorp, "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," The Banner (March 7, 1952), 295.
92. Interview with Symen and Yjte Kloosterman.
93. Kuyper. Lectures on Calvinism, 73 quoted in Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 88; Another area where there was a common touch stone was the in regard to profanity and the Sabbath. Above. I have discussed the length to which some of the orthodox immigrant went in order to observe the Sabbath. Bratt arrives at similar conclusions with regard to the Dutch-Americans in the pre and early immigration period. "In discussing profanity and the Sabbath, for instance. the Dutch pulpit did not resort to rational demonstrations or utilitarian calculations. God's name and day were holy in themselves and all 'needless' work (much less pleasure) on the Sabbath and all swearing were evil *per se*, regardless of the consciousness or intent of the person involved." Bratt. Dutch Calvinism in America, 138.
94. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 12.
95. Interview with Mr an Mrs Gerrit de Boer, Sarnia, August 29, 1990. Quoted in Schryer. The Netherlandic Presence, 360.
96. Norel. Gereformed Weekblad, (November 16, 1951) in Petersen, Planned Migration, 190.

97. Interview with Bruce Dykstra, Ancaster Ontario, January 15, 1997.
98. For a similar story see Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 362.
99. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
100. Interview with Dirk Miedema.
101. This feeling was expressed in a number of articles from the time period under discussion and it has also come out in the interviews I have conducted.
102. Guillaume The United States and Canada, 13.
103. Ibid., 15-16.
104. Ibid., 15-16.
105. Francois Guillaume, Torch and Trumpet (March 1956), 5.
106. Ibid., 29.
107. Clifford Vander Ark, "A Suggestion as to How to Meet the Emergency in Canada," The Banner (September 14, 1951), 1116; Henry J. Kuiper, "Impressions of Synod," The Banner (September 7, 1951), 1060.
108. The Advisory Committee Home Missions, Acts of Synod, 1951, 68.
109. For the best discussion on this issue see Aileen Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada, 1946-1960." Master's Thesis, University of Toronto, 1982.
110. John Vriend, "The Case for Canada," Torch and Trumpet (February-March, 1952), 19-20.
111. Elco H. Oostendorp, "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," The Banner (March 7, 1952), 295.
112. Ibid., 295.
113. K. Norel, "Some Tensions Between the New Immigrants and the 'Old Timers' in Canada," Gereformeerde Weekblad (November 16, 1951), 156-157. Cited in Oostendorp, "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," 295. These and similar points were also discussed by the Reverends Paul De Koekkoek and J.K. Van Baalen, in the Calvinist Contact during this time period.
114. Oostendorp's stated that from the perspective of the American ministers "there is nothing to this suggestion." Oostendorp, "The Shortage of Ministers," 295.

115. D.H. Kromminga, "The Reader Asks: On Calling Ministers from Other Denominations," The Banner (July 14, 1944), 655.
116. For a more detailed interpretation of this criteria see, The Synodical Committee Re Admittance of Ministers from other Denominations, Acts of Synod, 1945, 83-87.
117. Oostendorp. "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," 295.
118. Francois Guillaume, Torch and Trumpet (March 1956), 5.
119. "Article 65." Acts of Synod 1956, 38.
120. "Supplement 36." Acts of Synod, 1956, 490.
121. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 19.
122. Interview with Syman and Yjte Kloosterman.
123. Vriend. "The Case for Canada." 20.
124. According to Van Ginkel some immigrants felt that the preaching of the home missionaries "tended to reveal an American Methodist influence which was unfamiliar to them. The sermons usually lacked evidence of rigorous exegetical expertise, and tended to focus on moral applications of Biblical passages." Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition 61-61.
125. S. Wolters, "Estranged from the Word," Torch and Trumpet (August - September, 1952), 29.
126. Guillaume, Canada and the United States, 4.
127. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 68.
128. The Consistory of Second Englewood, Acts of Synod, 1948, 442.
129. Ibid., 443.
130. The Christian Reformed Churches' Calvin College (1876) evolved from the literary department of its theological school to a junior college intended to prepare students to enter the seminary, to the four year liberal arts college. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 40.
131. Kromminga, In the Mirror, 85-86.
132. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 15.

133. Francois Guillaume, "Reflections of An Immigrant Pastor" Torch and Trumpet, (March 1956), 6.
134. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 27.
135. Ibid., 27.
136. William VanderBeek, Calvinist Contact (July 20, 1956) 2.
137. Interview with Harry and Paula Bootsma, Brantford Ontario, November 24 and December 8, 1993.
138. Interview with the Reverend Dirk Miedema.
139. Interview with Symen and Ytje Kloosterman.
140. The Reformed recognised that there were essential services that needed to be operating on the Sabbath. In the same way they recognised that farmers need to milk their cows. The problem however was those people who just didn't do what needed to be done but would for example plow their fields on a Sunday. The daughter of an immigrant remembers here father telling her that a neighbouring farm family would never be blessed , but would rather be cursed for working their fields on Sunday. Interview with Allie Bergsma.
141. Reverend Van Hoft, Covenant Christian Reformed Church, Barrie. (March 26, 1995).
142. Acts of Synod, 1958, 331.
143. Guillaume. The United States and Canada, 12-13.
144. Ibid., 23.
145. Lectures, Christian Reformed Ministers' Institute, 1957, (Grand Rapids: Michigan, 1957).
146. Akenson, God's Peoples, 10.
147. Oostendorp, "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," 295.
148. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
149. Oostendorp. "The Shortage of Ministers in Canada," 295.
150. J. H. Kromminga, In the Mirror: An Appraisal of the Christian Reformed Church, (Hamilton Ontario: Guardian Publishing Co., LTD. 1957), 11. In both of the secessions we examined earlier, each saw themselves as preserving the Reformed heritage. The seceders did not see themselves as departing from the Reformed church in any sense of the term. They maintained that they were defending Reformed Church organization over against the

reorganization imposed upon the Dutch church by royal command . They contended also that they were defending the Reformed creeds against the misuse and disuse to which they were being subjected.

151. Guillaume The United States and Canada, 9.
152. Interview with Symen and Ytje Kloosterman.
153. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
154. Ibid.
155. Guillaume, Torch and Trumpet, 5.
156. Guillaume, The United States and Canada, 15.
157. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
158. Ibid.
159. The Psalter Hymnal Committee, Psalter Hymnal: Doctrinal Standards and Liturgy of the Christian Reformed Church (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Publication Committee of the Christian Reformed Church, 1934), 83.
160. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra..
161. Akenson calls these aspects the “all embracing arms” of the covenant Donald Akenson, Surpassing Wonder: The Invention of the Bible and the Talmuds (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 91.

Chapter VI

Covenantal Divisions

Indications of Future Trouble (A)

The years between 1946 and 1950 were a short golden period for the immigration efforts of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada. The denomination extended a helping hand toward those it recognised as its covenantal brothers and sisters, and for the most part that hand was graciously accepted. For the C.R.C. the challenge presented by the influx of so many immigrants was daunting, but the burden was lightened by what seemed to be a general solidarity amongst the Orthodox Reformed. To a certain extent the trials of immigration had created a level playing field during these early years as class and theological differences were held submerged. Many immigrants remember this period as a time of brotherhood and unity in the common struggle to re-establish one's self. On the surface it appeared that the challenges that did exist came from outside the Reformed community, from Canadian churches determined to usher unknowing Orthodox Reformed into their suspect sheepfolds.

Indications that this idyllic period was drawing to a close began to appear in the late 40's when the Christian Reformed Church's synod began to receive reports from the field that ministers from other Reformed denominations were now attempting to initiate contact with the immigrants¹, an activity which one Christian Reformed field representative described as being "spiritually detrimental and disturbing."² In 1949, Christian Reformed field representative J. Vander Vliet reported the "prolonged presence" of two *Hervormde* ministers who were visiting a large number of former

members of the *Hervormde Kerk* residing in Ontario. According to Vander Vliet these ministers were urging their former co-religionists to join the United Church of Canada.³ In 1950, synod received a report that representatives of the Schilder group (also known as the Liberated or Under Article 31 Group and the Old Reformed) had expressed the desire to place their own adherents that were arriving in Canada. In a report issued later the same year, it was noted that the Reformed Church of America and the small Protestant Reformed Church had also appointed fieldmen to assist in the placement of the immigrants.⁴ In 1952, a short two years later, the breadth of Orthodox Reformed immigrants that the Christian Reformed Church was sanctioned to assist from their mother denominations in the Netherlands would shrink further when its Immigration Committee reported that representatives of the *Christelijk Gereformeerden* (Christian Reformed Church in the Netherlands) were now active in the field, this after they had initially asked the Christian Reformed Church to serve their immigrants.⁵ Now the Christian Reformed field representatives were limited to placing only members of their official sister church, the *Gereformeerde Kerk* (Re-Reformed Church). While many immigrants from denominations other than the *Gereformeerden* would find a home within the Christian Reformed Church, by 1952 the size of the Orthodox Reformed community, the Christian Reformed Church had originally envisioned embracing, had constricted significantly.

Schisms - Covenantal Divisions the Most Important (B)

As mentioned in chapter one, the bulk of the research done on the Orthodox Reformed immigrants has focussed on the differences between the Dutch Kuyperians and the American Christian Reformed. The usual argument that is presented is that the Reformed newcomers were followers of Abraham Kuyper and as such, they strove to establish a broad network of Christian institutions to proclaim Christ in all areas of life. Operating out of that context, these Kuyperians had great difficulty with the Christian Reformed pietists that they found upon their arrival. The tensions between these two factions characterized the early immigrant period. Although these differences are significant, it is crucial to note that the Kuyperians did not establish their own *Gereformeerde* denomination in the new world. And second, few people either left or failed to join the Christian Reformed Church because it wasn't Kuyperian enough. Despite their posturing the pew fit.

The most consequential divisions which split the Orthodox Reformed newcomers came about as a result of doctrine. And in the majority of these cases, this separation revolved around theological issues such as one's view of the covenant, baptism and the true church. Whereas covenant bonds were a factor in drawing some of the orthodox immigrants into the Christian Reformed Church, it was also a factor in keeping others separate.

To give a comprehensive analysis of all the Reformed manifestations that popped up during these years would be a lengthy undertaking. What follows is an attempt to deal with the key issues that arose among the orthodox immigrants that kept some of them out

of the Christian Reformed Church and subsequently led to the formation of three new Reformed denominations. I have briefly touched upon the work of Dr. Abraham Kuyper and Dr. Herman Bavink in chapter two. In order to understand why the covenant became such a controversial point in the post World War Two period in Canada, it is necessary to examine in closer detail their doctrinal formations concerning the covenant of grace.

Kuyper's Covenant of Grace (C)

To Kuyper the covenant of grace was a relationship between God and man. It was unilateral in its origin and bilateral in its existence. This covenant consisted of two elements, a promise and a command. Kuyper believed that this covenant was made with all the elect and their descendants. He did not, as some suppose, associate the covenant of grace with the elect only. He described the covenant of grace as "the river bed through which out of the depths of his divine election the water of life flows towards us."⁶ Simply put, God gets His elect, or places His elect, among those who are in the covenant of grace. This covenant has two sides; a spiritual eternal core and a visible manifestation in time, or to put it another way, an outward side and inward side. What this means is there are two types of covenant members, the real and the sham. Outwardly, all believers and their children are in the covenant, inwardly only the elect are genuine members of the covenant.⁷ As human beings cannot see the heart, they can only determine who are real and who are false by their words and deeds. Kuyper also held that covenant members must be involved in self examination to be sure if they are real members of the covenant.

Covenant members have a greater responsibility with respect to living as God's people. Those who prove themselves to be sham members of the covenant will be liable to greater punishment even than those who were never a part of the covenant in the first place.

One aspect of Kuyper's understanding of the covenant is his belief that regeneration precedes calling. This conception has been titled 'presumptive regeneration.' Kuyper's view of the covenant and the role of baptism is tied up with his thinking on presumptive regeneration. Kuyper believed that every covenant child, that is all children of believers, normally received the seed of redemption in their hearts while they were still in their mothers' womb. If we put this in evangelical terms, we might say that these children are considered reborn before they were born. This being the case, the child would subsequently be baptised as an infant into God's covenant. The covenant then serves to show these children the new life they have in God and to remind them of all the privileges they have received as regenerated citizens of His kingdom. Later in life these children have to actively respond to God's call to conversion.⁸

What this means is at baptism, it is not only the promise of the Covenant of grace that is given to the child, but also the actualization of that grace is conferred. In short, these children are seen as the elect and they need have no fear of eternal punishment. As the seed of regeneration could take a long time to blossom out of love, mature covenant members are to consider covenant children regenerated until they by their actions prove otherwise.

Dr. Herman Bavink (D)

Dr. Herman Bavink agreed with many of Kuyper's opinions concerning the covenant of grace, but on some key points he arrived at different conclusions. Bavink differed from Kuyper in that he believed God first of all calls, then regenerates. As mentioned above, Kuyper placed regeneration before the call, that regeneration normally preceded baptism. Bavink saw no ground for this position and argued that regeneration could take place before, at, or after baptism. Also in direct opposition to Kuyper, Bavink did not believe pre-supposed regeneration to be the basis for baptism. Bavink argued that baptism was not an entrance into a spiritual relationship with God, but as with ancient Israel, entrance into a legal relationship. Bavink's position is important as it came to be incorporated into both the theology of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* and the Christian Reformed Church in North America. This was done as a result of decisions taken at two Synods. For the *Gereformeerde* this was the Synod of Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1905 and for the Christian Reformed Church it was the 1908 Synod of Kalamazoo, Michigan where the "Conclusions of Utrecht" were adopted.

One point of agreement involved the 'judgement of charity,' or as it was sometimes put, love. This was a view set forth by Kuyper, accepted by Bavinck and also incorporated into the decisions of Utrecht. The judgment of charity meant that mature members of the covenant were to treat covenant children as if they were redeemed citizens of the kingdom. In other words, when dealing with covenant children in the home, church or school, the people around them were to presume that they were regenerated. Bavinck made much of this and saw the judgment of charity to be the basis

of Reformed pedagogy. It gave Reformed pedagogy a basis that stood over against Anabaptist and Methodist pedagogy that saw conversion rather than nurture as the goal of education.

The Conclusions of Utrecht (E)

As mentioned earlier in chapter three, Dr. Abraham Kuyper had led a significant number of people out of the *Hervormde Kerk* in the *Doleantie*, the doleful or grieving secession of 1886. In 1892 Kuyper's group united with several churches that had earlier left the State Church during the *Afscheiding* of 1843 to form the *De Gereformeerde Kerken*, the Re-Reformed Church. Nevertheless there was some doctrinal discord among these different Reformed streams and not all the *Afscheiding* churches united in this merger. We will discuss one of these churches, the *Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk*, which is the mother church of the Free Reformed Church in Canada below. The Conclusions of Utrecht 1905 were adopted to reconcile differences in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* (the Re-Reformed churches) among those churches that did unite as a result of the union of the different Reformed streams in 1892. The conclusions covered various points of controversy, one of the most factious being presumptive regeneration. This was dealt with in the fourth point of the conclusions.

And finally, as concerns the fourth point, presumptive regeneration. Synod declares that according to the Confession of our churches the seed of the covenant by virtue of the promise of God is to be viewed as regenerated and sanctified in Christ until as they grow up, the opposite becomes evident from their walk or doctrine; that is less correct to say that baptism is administered to the children of believers on the ground of their supposed regeneration, because the ground of baptism is the command

and the promise of God; further, that the judgement of love according to which the church regards the seed of the covenant as regenerated . in no wise means that therefore every child is truly born again, since God's Word teaches us that they are not all Israel who are of Israel, and as it is said concerning Isaac: in him shall thy seed be called, so that in the preaching earnest self examination must constantly be urged inasmuch as only he who believes and is baptised shall be saved ... Meanwhile Synod feels that the position that every elect child therefore is actually regenerated before baptism is not to be proved either on the ground of Scripture or on the ground of the Confession, since God in his sovereignty fulfils his promise at his own time, whether before or after baptism, so that it is imperative to express oneself carefully on this point and not to be wise above what God has revealed.⁹

Presumptive regeneration does not mean, says Utrecht, that the presumption of the new birth is the ground for infant baptism. According to the section quoted above, the ground for baptism is closer to Bavink's interpretation than Kuyper's. "It is less correct to say that baptism is administered to the children of believers on the ground of their supposed regeneration , because the ground of baptism is the command and the promise of God."¹⁰ Despite the fact that it was Bavink's theological position that was adopted at Utrecht and Kalamazoo, it was still the theological constructs of Abraham Kuyper, particularly his views on presumptive regeneration, that later drew the attention of a sizable coterie of the Orthodox Reformed that landed in Canada. It is a bit of a mystery why this may be, but the reason may lie with the figure of Kuyper himself. Consider the statement of C.A. Schouls, a Free Reformed minister. Reverend Schouls writes that while presumptive regeneration may have been "the private view of one individual and not the doctrinal position of a church ... the private views of the one individual can carry more clout than those of another. Certainly then, if that individual is someone of the stature of Abraham Kuyper, his private views count for very much And the students

who are being taught by such a man and whose entire outlook on church and preaching is being shaped by such views are not going to say, 'this was only my teacher's private view'.¹¹ Abraham Kuyper was in many ways larger than life. Even though his position on presumptive regeneration as the basis for baptism may not have been the one officially adopted by the Christian Reformed Church, his influence ensured that his views were at the least well publicised and seriously considered.

The Canadian Reformed (F)

Perhaps the most significant challenge to the Christian Reformed Church's dream of unity came from the orthodox immigrants who broke with the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* in the mid 1940's and shortly thereafter joined the flow of immigrants to Canada. At the time of the schism these people were commonly referred to as the Schilder group, the Reverend Klass Schilder being one of the main spearheads in this movement. As time went by this group became better known as the *Vrijgemaakt*, or the *Gereformeerde Kerk Onderhoudende art. 31*, the 'Liberated' or the Re - Reformed Church maintaining article 31.' The article 31 reference here refers to a section of church order regarding the authority of the local church. Convinced that Schilder and his followers had not been legitimately dealt with under this article, the *Vrijgemaakt* placed such significance on this provision that they became identified with it.¹² It is this church order issue which often dominates the discussion of the differences which separate the *Vrijgemaakt* from the *Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland* and subsequently the differences between the Canadian Reformed and the Christian

Reformed. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to this group in the Dutch context as the *Vrijgemaakt* and in the Canadian context first as the Liberated. Despite the tendency to point to the church order issue as being at the root of the conflict between the *Vrijgemaakt* and the *Gereformeerde Kerken van Nederland*, the original grievances were of a theological nature and touched upon the covenant. Schilder and his followers emphasized in their understanding of the Covenant that all children of true believers were under the Covenant and that the promises of the covenant were inseparable from the demands of the covenant. They stressed the unity of the true church and insisted that this unity must come to institutional expression.¹³

In short, the story of the *Vrijgemaakt* is thus: in the mid thirties, questions were raised as to whether or not some of the things that were being preached in the *Gereformeerde* churches in the Netherlands were truly Reformed. The result was that the general synod of Amsterdam 1936 made the following decision. "In view of the fact that views are being presented in our churches which depart from the current teachings, and that those who defend them are convinced that these views are entirely in conformity with scripture and the Confessions while others raise the question whether they really are in accord with Scripture and the confession; Synod judging that such uncertainties should not continue decides to appoint seven deputies and instruct them to study the views referred to and apply to them the test of scripture and the Confession; and second, to report to and advise the following Synod."¹⁴

Three years later at the general Synod of Sneek, a majority and minority report were presented. While this synod was in session, Professor Schilder (one of the seven

aforementioned deputies) was taken into custody by the Germans. Since Schilder could not be present, Synod decided not to resolve the issue in his absence. This was done after his release and return. A decision was made in 1942.¹⁵ Objections were made only against what was decided on the subjects of the covenant of grace and self examination. Regarding the covenant of grace, Synod reaffirmed a part of the teachings of Utrecht 1905, deciding:

1. That the Covenant of Grace is of such fundamental significance for the life of faith that the preaching as well as all other activity of the church should proceed from it, and that every presentation and practice which fails to do justice to God's covenant should be shunned.
2. That in the promise of the covenant the Lord doubtless pledges himself to be the God not only of the believers but also of their seed (Gen.17:7); but that he no less reveals in his Word that they are not all Israel that are Israel (Romans 9:6).
3. That therefore, in accordance with the deliverance of Utrecht, 1905, the seed of the covenant by virtue of the promise of God is to be regarded as regenerated and sanctified in Christ until as they grow up the opposite should become evident from their walk or teaching, though the Synod has properly added that this in no wise means that therefore every child is truly born again.¹⁶

Professor Schilder and his followers could not agree with this declaration. They renounced the 'Conclusions of Utrecht' adopted in 1905 and reaffirmed in 1942 where these stated that "according to the confessions of our churches the seed of the covenant by virtue of God's promise is to be regarded as regenerated and sanctified in Christ until as they grow up the opposite becomes evident from their conduct or doctrine."¹⁷ On March 23, 1944, Professor Schilder was suspended by the General Synod for a period of three months. The suspension was extended for another month in an effort to arrange a conference of reconciliation with him. This conference was held, but the results were

not settled to the satisfaction of the synod. On August 3, 1944, Prof. Schilder was removed from his offices of professor and minister in the *Gereformeerde Kerk* on the grounds of schism (causing a church split).¹⁸ In addition to laying the charge of schism against Schilder, the sentence was pronounced against many of his office bearing supporters and in one case even against the entire congregation of Bergschenhoek.¹⁹

In addition to questions of doctrine the conflict also involved matters of church polity. Whereas Dr. Greydanus and the Reverend D. Van Dyke of Groningen, who were also deposed, filed a gravamen (formal complaint) at the 1943 Synod against the quote taken from the Conclusions of Utrecht above, Dr. Schilder took another tact. Schilder denied on formal grounds the legitimacy of all decisions enacted after August, 1942 and refused to acknowledge the lawfulness of Synod or to appear before it.²⁰ Schilder and his supporters felt that by continuing in session beyond the limit allowed to it, by adding to its jurisdiction and by attempting to exact conformity to its doctrinal and church political actions, the Synod of 1942 had engaged in actions which went against scripture and the Reformed confessions.

The direct consequence of these expulsions was a mass exodus from what was up to this point considered the bulwark of orthodoxy, the *Gereformeerde Kerken*. Considerable concern and interest seized the Netherlands over these actions, and despite the difficulties of wartime travel, several hundred people came to a meeting led by the Reverend H. Knoop in The Hague on August 11, 1944. At that meeting, Dr. Schilder read an "Act of Liberation or Return," modelled after the "Act of Secession or Return" from the days of Hendrik de Cock, one of the leaders of the *Afscheiding* movement. In this Act,

Schilder charged the synod with being un-reformed in its attempt to bind people to non-scriptural teaching. He stated that those who liberated themselves from the actions of the synod "maintained the true unity of the church and were the legitimate continuation of the old Reformed Churches in the Netherlands, as they had been in existence from 1892 on and before."²¹ This position engendered the view that the *Gereformeerde Kerk* was a false church. As this movement found soil in the rural areas in the Netherlands particularly fertile, it would become an issue among the orthodox immigrants migrating to Canada.²²

The Canadian Context (G)

As with the other orthodox immigrants, when members of the Liberated churches arrived in Canada the question arose - which church would they join? In general the Liberated chose one of four paths. Some joined the small Protestant Reformed Church of Herman Hoeksema. It was however not long before theological controversies on unscriptural binding surfaced that convinced the Liberated that they could not in good conscious remain within that denomination.²³ Others joined the Christian Reformed Church. Whereas some of the Liberated chose to accept what they found within the Christian Reformed Church and quietly settled in, others tried to initiate changes within the denomination and tensions over the latest schism in the Netherlands began to manifest themselves. Some remained but others, disheartened over their inability to effect the changes they felt needed to be made within the C.R.C., departed and founded a new Reformed denomination, the Canadian Reformed Churches. The first Canadian

Reformed Church was instituted in Lethbridge, Alberta on April 16, 1950.²⁴ By 1960 near the end of the time frame of this study, a movement out of the Christian Reformed Church coupled with immigration had swelled the ranks of this new Reformed denomination to twenty-two congregations. The federation of Canadian Reformed Churches would continue to grow, reaching forty-nine congregations in 1999. Forty-five of these churches are located in Canada with four, going under the name American Reformed Church, established in the United States.²⁵ The question that arises here is why the Liberated did not opt for the Christian Reformed Church? Why did they feel they had to take this path? In order to understand the motives of the Liberated who immigrated we need to examine in closer detail Schilder's view of the covenant.²⁶

Schilder's Covenant (H)

As mentioned above, Kuyper and Bavink saw the covenant of grace in the light of eternal election. God makes His covenant of grace so that it has two sides: an outward side and an inward side, or in other words, an external form and inward substance. Outwardly all believers and their children are in the covenant. Inwardly, only the elect are genuine members. In his theology, Schilder parts with this Kuyperian-Bavinkian view of the covenant of grace which connected the covenant directly with believers and their children. According to Schilder there are not two sides of the covenant in the sense of a substance and a form, but rather two reactions to the single covenant of grace, one of obedience and another of disobedience. In other words, Schilder argued for a single covenant of grace made with believers and all their children, as distinguished from eternal

election by which only some and not all such children will be saved.²⁷ Initially Schilder concurred with the generally accepted Reformed view that the covenant was unilateral in its origin and bilateral in its existence. Later, without denying that the covenant was unilateral, Schilder placed more emphasis on the bilateral character of the Covenant. Without detracting from God's sovereign dispensation of the covenant, Schilder insisted that we may never speak of predestination in such a way that it undermines our human responsibility.²⁸ The covenant was to be understood as a mutual contract between two parties, albeit "two immeasurably unequal parties."²⁹

Why did Schilder advance this point of view so forcefully? Writing in the mid 40's H. J. Kuiper, a keen observer of the religious climate in the Netherlands, suggested that presumptive regeneration may have become "a snare" for many in the Netherlands. "When so many covenant - children lead the life of the unregenerated and the worldly, the doctrine of presupposed regeneration seems to conflict with reality and the emphasis on the need of personal faith and conversion is apt to appeal to the most serious members of the church."³⁰ Against this back drop, Schilder wanted to make it clear that, in the covenant, God treats man as a responsible partner. Man is not a nonentity in the covenant: he most definitely counts. Giving man a position of accountability, says Schilder, forms part of the constitution of the covenant. This appeal to man's responsibility constitutes one of the essential elements of Schilder's understanding of the covenant. He describes the motivating quality of the covenant thus: "People sometimes make bears dance on a heated floor. One can also regard the covenant in this way. It fans the flames to a great heat. Nothing makes us more responsible. In the covenant our

responsibility is infinitely strengthened."³¹

Since the covenant constitutes a bilateral relationship, it implies a "mutual obligation" on the part of both parties, an arrangement that confers legal status upon the members of the covenant people. This does not mean that the covenant is a mere legal contract between God and man. Schilder insisted that God's covenant was indeed a covenant of grace. But even so, Schilder held that in the covenant God's gifts of love come to individuals in a legal relationship with legal guarantees.³²

This legal character of the covenant has, in the view of Schilder, at least two important consequences. On the one hand, it implies that the promises of God come to humanity in the covenant with an assurance that a legal relation can offer. On the other hand, it means that the demands with which God, who forms the other party in the covenant, comes must be regarded just as seriously. He has the fullest right to enter into a 'lawsuit' against his people, as the Old Testament prophets repeatedly proclaim."³³ Schilder refers on this point to the two parts of the covenant, namely promise and demand. Schilder regarded these elements of promise - with the assurance of reward and demand with the threat of wrath - as parts of the substance of the covenant that were present in all the different phases of the history of the covenant. The wrath of the covenant is therefore not just something that occurred only in the old covenant dispensation: according to Schilder it also characterizes the new covenant in Christ. Thus these elements also serve to underline his basic conviction regarding the covenant, namely, that it emphasizes the responsibility of man."³⁴

With regard to the doctrine of the covenant, Schilder felt that Kuyper reasoned

so strongly from the perspective of God's irresistible grace, that man's responsibility in the covenant was under emphasized. In response, Schilder emphasised that God treats man as a responsible being and confronts him with the choice of being obedient or disobedient. In short, we can say Schilder highlighted man's role in the covenant. The question that can be asked of this approach is whether such an emphasis upon the responsibility of man does not undermine the certainty of the covenant. Schilder replied in the negative. Precisely because the covenant comes with legal warranties (rechtsassuranties) Schilder held that being a member of the covenant would strengthen one's faith in His covenantal promises. However, the promise of the covenant may never be separated from its demand. Promise and demand are completely integrated in Schilder's understanding of the covenant.³⁵

Baptism (I)

The element of legal warranties played a role in Schilder's thinking on baptism. In contrast to Kuyper (presumptive regeneration), Schilder felt that the concept of presuming anything lacked the definiteness that baptism had. The belief that baptism is conducted on the basis of presumptive regeneration removed the element of assurance that baptism was given to communicate. This lack of assurance Schilder felt would have harmful ramifications in the life of the child. Baptism, Schilder argued, must be built on more objective grounds. On this matter, the seceders often turned to the teachings of Prof. W. Heyns. Heyns felt that the church must have nothing to do with presumptive regeneration, for by this, the very basis of assurance is removed upon which children of

the covenant may claim that God has indeed established His covenant with them, that he is their God and that all the blessings of salvation are theirs. Hence the Liberated sought something more certain that may be said about all the children of the covenant that are born of believing parents. According to Schilder that something was the covenant promises of God. From this perspective, baptism was a sign and seal that is to assure those in the covenant that they are full partakers in the promise of God, and he is God to them and their children. These promises, then, are indeed certain, but they are also conditional. A member of the covenant must walk before God and be upright. Baptism seals in a sacramental way the promise of the gospel, but this promise in fact demands that those in the covenant appropriate for themselves what is promised and make it their own.²⁶

The True Church (J)

One of the most significant aspects of Schilder's theology as far as the immigrants in Canada would be concerned involved the new emphasis he brought to the concept of the true church. Although all the Reformed Churches hold to the concept of the true church and define themselves as such, it has been acknowledged that the Liberated/ Canadian Reformed stressed that aspect of Reformed doctrine to a much greater degree than most other Reformed groups. In a recent article on Schilder's ecclesiology, H.J.D. Smit, a minister in the Liberated Churches, has characterized Schilder's concept of the church as one stressing "the absolute call of God to membership in the true church." Schilder asserted that believers who are not members of the true

church maintaining scriptural unity are in essence being disobedient to God and cannot claim God's favour in their life.³⁷

In this area Schilder departed significantly from his earlier more Kuyparian leanings. Whereas in the tradition of the *Afscheiding* (1834) it had been commonplace to label the Dutch Reformed Church a false church, Kuiper and the *Doleantie* (1892) leaders had refused to speak in such black and white terms. Kuiper had maintained that article 29 where it speaks in terms of two easily identifiable entities, the true church and the false church, was no longer easily applied in the modern world. They could speak of a false hierarchy trying to run the whole church, but since local churches were the only real form of the church and since regeneration formed the invisible church, they could not bring themselves to call the state church as a whole false.³⁸

Schilder, on the other hand, moved toward the viewpoint of the earlier Seceders where it was necessary to distinguish which churches were true and false with the need to separate one's self from the false. He found support for this position in scripture and in the Belgic Confession's articles 28 and 29, which call believers to separate themselves from those who do not belong to the true church, maintaining that these two churches - the true and false - are easily recognized and distinguishable from one another. This position would be presented a few years later by an Liberated immigrant in Canada critical of a perceived pluriformity in the Christian Reformed Church. In "Reactions of an Immigrant" S. Wolters stated that:

The doctrine of the pluriformity of the church has, almost imperceptibly, become the prevailing view in our churches, with the result that people are not even aware of its being contradictory to the confessions ... people

today speak of the church invisible as something which is supposed to exist in and among all denominations. Christ however, has emphatically indicated the prerogatives and powers of the institutional church and never mentioned the so-called invisible church as something which would then exist apart from the institution as such. For the powers of the church I would refer to Matt 16:19; 18:18 and John 20:23; further, see also articles 27-29 of the Belgic Confession.³⁹

Schilder's continual focus on the straightforward prose of these articles fostered a charge from one of his opponents that he was "absolutizing" the visible church.⁴⁰

Although it may be true that some of the extremism that is attributed to the Liberated is exaggerated, it does appear that Schilder and his followers saw few churches living up to the title of 'true church.' In a recently published book about Schilder, the author states that according to Schilder, if Christ were to return he could easily find His church by looking up the postal address of the Liberated Churches.⁴¹ Following immigration the Liberated focus on the true church would become a source of tension among some of the immigrant communities in the Christian Reformed Church in Canada.

The opening steps in this development took place before immigration. In 1945, seeing itself as the "legitimate continuation" of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* the synod of the Liberated churches decided to re-establish contact with all foreign churches with whom the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* had previously corresponded with. Accordingly, in 1946 the Liberated churches sent a cablegram to the Christian Reformed Church of North America inviting them to send representatives to their General Synod to be held in Groningen, Holland on April 1946. In reply a synodical committee sent a message informing the Liberated that as the Christian Reformed Church did not maintain church correspondence with the Reformed Church of

the Netherlands (maintaining Art.31 of church order), they were not authorized to send delegates to their Synod.⁴²

In 1949 an appeal from J. De Haas of Lethbridge, Alberta Canada came to the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church. In this appeal, De Haas asserted that the *Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland onderhoudende Artikel 31* was the historical continuation of the Reformed Church with which the Christian Reformed church had carried on correspondence with previous to the war. De Haas maintained that by its failure to maintain its correspondence with the *Onderhoudende Artikel 31* group and its continuing relationship with the synodical group, the Christian Reformed Church had not given a just hearing to the *Onderhoudende Artikel 31* group. De Haas went on to propose that synod resume communications with the Article 31 group and if they would not do that, that they then appoint a committee to determine which church is the "historical continuation" of the *Gereformeerde Kerken*. In response to this appeal, synod declared that it saw no valid reason for discontinuing its relationship with the *Gereformeerde Kerken* as there had been no change in the doctrinal position or ecclesiastical conduct of the *Gereformeerde Kerken* that would merit a change in their relationship.⁴³

In a report to Synod from field representatives in 1949 it was noted that immigrants belonging to the *Gereformeerde Kerken Onderhoudende Artikel 31* had caused difficulty in some of the churches and that a uniform policy of procedure of how to deal with these disruptions was advisable. In response, the General Home Mission Committee suggested that before these immigrants would be accepted for membership in the church the following matters ought to be brought to their attention.

A) In 1908 our church (the Christian Reformed Church) accepted the conclusions of Utrecht. All who enter our denomination ought to agree with those articles as accepted by us in their original form.

B) The fact that those who come to us from the *Gereformeerde Kerken (Synodalen)* are accepted without question is natural and should give no offense. The *Gereformeerde Kerken* have long been recognised as a sister church and a present we are only acting according to the policy established before the rupture in the *Gereformeerde* occurred.

C) Assurance should be given by these immigrants that as members of our denomination they will not agitate the differences which existed amongst the *Gereformeerden* in the Netherlands.⁴⁴

The agitation did not stop. The following year a similar another request calling for an inquiry into the Schilder question came before Synod. In 1950 three members of the Christian Reformed Church in Neerlandia, Alberta, requested Synod to make an investigation as to the causes for the schism in the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. "Thus it is claimed our church would be able to judge on the basis of scripture and Confession with which church we should have correspondence and which group should be called to repentance." Again synod did not accede to this request holding that it was not in their province to "sit in judgement" over these churches. As they noted in their second recommendation, "it is not our Christian duty to invite delegations from these churches for the purpose of settling their issues."⁴⁵

In these instances the synod of the Christian Reformed Church felt that it was not called to examine the events of 1944. Several perplexing difficulties arose. First of all, with synodical and liberated immigrants crowding into the same churches the obvious question was raised, if a man was excommunicated in the Netherlands for being a schismatic, would he by going to another country cease to be guilty of breaking the unity

of the church? In a letter to the editor of the Torch and Trumpet, Syrl Wolters described the quandary he and other Liberated immigrants felt themselves to be in.

In the Netherlands I resigned from membership in the *Gereformeerde Kerken* ...because I believed that their synods had made illegitimate use of the keys of the kingdom.... if I have erred in this respect ... the church in the Netherlands has rightly excluded me from the communion of the saints - a transaction recorded in heaven. When on Judgement Day I appear before Christ, the church register of Enschede will be my condemnation and damnation. Christ will keep His Word! But if these things are so, how can the Christian Reformed Church accept me as a member? ... But if I have not sinned, if my act of liberation was an act of faith and obedience, then the communion is still disrupted. No, not if I simply forget about the matter and live blithely on as if nothing happened. But it will be disrupted the moment that I am conscious of the fact that at one communion table both the obedient and the disobedient receive and assume a place, one group condemning the other group as schismatics.⁴⁶

Although the Liberated argued that the C.R.C. needed to make a study and judgement on this issues once and for all. it is also clear that they felt that any judgement except one for the recognition of the legitimacy of the Liberated church in the Netherlands would be a tragic mistake. In an letter written to the Christian Reformed Churches synod in 1963. representatives of the now established Canadian Reformed Church noted that church correspondence "is not just a friendly gesture but that it implies a serious relationship as sister churches. By church correspondence we try to express the truth of what we confess in Conf. Belg. Art. 27. ... there is a close contact between the corresponding churches, the office-bearers are mutually acknowledged, delegates are received at the broadest assemblies." Because official church correspondence meant so much "the sisterly duty" of the Christian Reformed church was to examine ... "both statements and to investigate which one was true." By not investigating the events leading

up to 1944 the Liberated immigrants felt that the Christian Reformed Church was in fact making a decision in favour of the *Gereformeerde Kerk synodical*. This action or inaction was to become the major impediment preventing the Liberated from joining the Christian Reformed Church.⁴⁷ Several other factors played into this as well.⁴⁸ Representatives from the Canadian Reformed Church listed them in a letter to the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church in 1962.⁴⁹ However by 1976 they had noted that all of them save one - the issue of the Christian Reformed Churches relationship with the *Gereformeerde Kerk synodical* - had been settled⁵⁰ At issue here was that many former article 31 people believed that the close sister church relationship between the *Gereformeerde Kerk* and the Christian Reformed Church in North America meant that the Christian Reformed Church was no longer a true Reformed church⁵¹ The sister church relationship with the false *Gereformeerde Kerk* was "the port of entry" through which the "evil fruit of the deviation" which corrupted the *Gereformeerde Kerk* would penetrate into the Christian Reformed Church.⁵²

In an 1952 article John Vriend commented on the atmosphere that these controversies created in the Christian Reformed Church. Vriend noted that on one hand the Liberated people felt that the Christian Reformed Church was "against them," and on the other hand many Synodical people viewed the Liberated people as "pathological troublemakers."⁵³ The key issue here was the 'true church.' In a joint article in the Torch and Trumpet, Calvin College Professor Henry R. Van Til and the Christian Reformed minister John H. Piersma wrote that they "... reject with vigour the claim of some 'liberated' brethren that the church of Jesus Christ did not arrive in Canada until a

congregation of the 'Liberated' was established in the new world." These authors went on to say that this presumption conveyed "an unwarranted arrogance and one to which we cannot subscribe . . . we pray that the breach may be healed. But it certainly is not going to help matters along to assert that there is only one true church of God - viz.. 'the liberated churches' and that outside her bosom there is no salvation, and that, in effect, has been the attitude of some 'liberated ' brethren in Canada."⁵⁴ From the perspective of the Liberated, the Christian Reformed Church would be faulted on two major accounts. First of all, it failed to recognise the *Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands (Onderhoudende Artikel 31* as the historical continuation of the *Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands*. And second, it continued to officially correspond with the false *Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands*, designating it a sister-church. Failure to change this relationship lead to the withdrawal of the Liberated from the Christian Reformed Church.

After the establishment of the Canadian Reformed Church in Canada, the Liberated set about building up their own tight infrastructure. Organizing their own network of church societies buttressed by parochial elementary and high schools, old age homes, and in 1969 their own theological college.⁵⁵ In each case, participation in these areas was seen as demanding the same criteria as in the church. Church membership became the gauge for cooperation in any type of religious or cultural activity.⁵⁶

The Free Reformed Church (K)

Originally the *Christelijk Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland* had asked the Christian Reformed Church in Canada to look after the immigrants from their denomination that came to Canada. By 1950 that situation had changed with the *Christelijk Gereformeerde* becoming active in the immigration field in Canada themselves. Although many members of that denomination had already found a home in the Christian Reformed Church, the *Christelijk Gereformeerde* was able to draw enough of their people out of the C.R.C. and along with new immigrants form a new Reformed denomination. Because the exact literal translation of its name the *Christelijk Gereformeerde* (the Christian Reformed Church) was already taken, the new denomination christened itself the Free Reformed Church.⁵⁷

Unlike the tension with the Liberated which was of a more recent nature, the movement of the *Christelijk Gereformeerde* people from the Netherlands out of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada is more closely related to specific doctrinal issues with roots that go back to the 1892 schism in the Netherlands. As mentioned above, when Dr. Abraham Kuyper's *Doleantie* group united with several other churches, not all the churches joined in this union. Several small *Afscheiding* groups remained separate. Their objections to that union were divided into five main points: 1) the churches themselves were not heard - decisions had been made by Synods and delegates: 2) the principles of the two movements were too far apart - struggle and argument could be foreseen: 3) it is difficult to recognise all the churches of the *Doleantie* as true churches: 4) the required love, so necessary for any marriage, is missing; 5) leaders of the

Doleantie church, particularly Kuyper, taught things about the covenant and baptism which they could not accept as being Reformed.

I have previously mentioned the difficulties the Canadian Reformed Church had with Kuyper's view of baptism. The *Christelijk Gereformeerde* and its offspring the Free Reformed are also critical of Kuyper's view concept of presumed regeneration. As Tim Zuidema, a former member of the Free Reformed Church, has attested: "Many people in the Free Reformed Churches grow up with the name Kuyper and his neo-Calvinistic 'presumptive regeneration' in the same mental categories as the heresies of the pre-Reformation Catholic Church, and the sins of liberalism in the mainline Protestant denominations."⁵⁸

The Free Reformed do not claim that grace is actualized at baptism, but rather, that God's grace is only promised. This promise then becomes a pleading ground for a later conversion, of which one of the steps is regeneration. The baptised member of the church can then call to God and rely on God to be faithful to His covenant of grace. In this covenant he promises that he will adopt that member as his child. In short, baptism calls the recipient to become reborn into the kingdom, and then after to receive the benefits of citizenship of that kingdom.

The difference here is only slight, but for the Free Reformed the ramifications of these theological differences are critical and go beyond the baptismal act itself. Free Reformed people were critical of ministers in the Christian Reformed Church for presuming that their hearers were Christian. Henry J. Kuiper gives us an example of the type of preaching the Free Reformed would find disturbing in a 1946 Banner editorial

where he stated that “there are ministers and elders (in the Christian Reformed Church) who feel that it is Methodistic to plead with our youth to repent of their sins and to warn them often against the terrible consequences of worldliness and covenant-breaking as the prophets and Jesus warned the complacent covenant-people of their day.”⁵⁹ The main concern here for the Free Reformed is that Kuyper’s model of the covenant flows over into preaching where it breeds a false sense of security. Theologian F.M. Ten Hoor, one of Kuyper’s major critics, argued that the preaching of those who follow Kuyper’s emphasis:

... is not addressed to spiritually dead sinners who are on their way to hell, but to regenerated children of God who are on their way to heaven, even if they do not know this The emphases is put on what we know and what we should do. Rather than on what we are by nature and ought to be inwardly as children of God. Is not gospel preaching whereby spiritual life is laid bare in all its depths and set in motion.⁶⁰

Schouls puts it this way: Kuyper’s “... approach to the congregation was that it was a gathering of those who believe and are regenerated.” This kind of pastoral approach, it was feared, would lead to a hollowing out of the preaching which earnestly calls to repentance, not only a daily basis but also for the first time. According to the Free Reformed position, the Kuyperian perspective can lead to people who can be born, live and die without ever questioning their salvation or their citizenship in the Kingdom of God. If a Kuyperian minister under the sway of ‘presumptive regeneration’ feels that there is no need for a call to salvation, then there is a danger that people might still die in their sin.

It is the position of the Free Reformed that if baptism has replaced circumcision.

the Old Testament sign and seal of the covenant, then it is important to recognise that not all members of the tribe of Israel were saved. All the children of the Israelites were circumcised but they still had to choose to serve God and to live in accordance to his holy law. As with the Old Testament circumcision, the sacrament of baptism is a pleading ground, not a resting ground. A member of the covenant must call on God to apply the promises he made at that persons' baptism. Then the covenantal promise God made with his people will be kept. In the Free Reformed position it is this command to obey that is primary. It comes first before God promises to be the God of his people.⁶¹

The Judgment of Charity (L)

An area in which there was a clear cut disagreement was the matter of the judgment of charity. This was the view that mature covenant members are to treat covenant children as if they are redeemed persons. The Free Reformed recognised that God has a claim on covenant children and they must be nurtured on the basis of that claim. At the same time they believed that the nurturing a child would receive in church, home and school must lead the young person to consciously accept God's promises. The Free Reformed believe that the judgement of charity might cause a lack of emphasis on bringing a child to conscious acceptance of the covenant promise. Some of the motivation might be lost if the child is to be considered of the elect.

In 1950 the first Free Reformed Church was established in Dundas, Ontario. This denomination would grow to nine congregations by 1958. Growth would slow down but it would reach fourteen congregations by 1995.⁶² As with the Canadian Reformed, the

Free Reformed would construct their own social system, not as large or as elaborate as the Christian and Canadian Reformed networks, but the Free Reformed established their own private parochial schools.

The Reformed Church of America (M)

The final denominational grouping we will consider here is the *Hervormde*, those immigrants from the *Hervormde Kerk*, the state church in the Netherlands. This group has been briefly mentioned before in conjunction with their tendency to join the United Church of Canada following immigration. Several reasons were behind this development: a less isolationist mindset; a higher level of education as compared to their (*Gereformeerde* countrymen) and values that were similar to those found in Protestant churches in rural Canada. Still, despite these characteristics some of the more orthodox among the *Hervormden* did not fit in. Some encountered language difficulties, others missed contact with their fellow Dutch or they found the lifestyle of their Canadian pew mates more liberal than what they were used to. Additionally, in some cases the theology and preaching they experienced in a Canadian church seemed watered down.

To date, the few studies that have discussed this group do not usually mention doctrine as any type of motivating factor in explaining their actions. That would be a mistake. There are indications that a good number of the Re-formed shared orthodox (*Gereformeerde*) principles. According to a Dutch study not less than 30% of the Anti-Revolutionary (Orthodox) vote in 1946 and 1948 came from members of the Re-formed

Church.⁶³ I believe it is viable to argue that in comparison with the other groups discussed that saw their understanding of the covenant in very restricted terms, there is also a sense that some *Hervormde* thought along the same patterns as their more orthodox countrymen. They held to the central role of scripture and the three forms of unity, but their understanding of the covenant was not as exclusive. Although there are no statistical figures to confirm it, there are indications that in some areas a respectable number of *Hervormden* joined the Christian Reformed Church. Theology may have been a factor. For example one immigrant interviewed stated that initially he had gone to the Reformed Church of America which was generally seen as the equivalent of the *Hervormde Kerk*, but after the first catechism lesson concluded that "I don't belong here," and went to the Christian Reformed Church. "That first catechism lesson, on that first evening, was about creation and I was taught [that night] that God hadn't created things in six days. I disagreed with him because I had read Genesis ... so I left and never went back. He told me that I should not take what it says in the Bible literally."⁶⁴

Others could not bring themselves to join the Christian Reformed Church. In some cases old rivalries from the Netherlands were resurrected. Some *Hervormden* felt that in the Netherlands the *Gereformeerde* had carried themselves a little too righteously, and recognising that many of the *Gereformeerde* had made their home in the C.R.C. was enough to keep them from joining. Others felt that the Christian Reformed Church was overly clannish⁶⁵ and that they gossiped and were prone to infighting.⁶⁶ By the late 40's and early 50's the issue of separate Christian education became a '*shiboleth*.' As the *Hervormden* were generally inclined to support the Christian teachers in the public

schools - that being their experience in the Netherlands - many felt that their refusal to support the new separate schools made them feel that they were being treated like second class citizens.⁶⁷

By the late 40's some *Hervormde* immigrants of more orthodox leanings petitioned the Reformed Church of America to send ministers to them to help them organise a church of a more *Hervormde* nature. In 1948 the Reformed Church of America sent an emissary to Holland who succeeded in getting the *Hervormde Kerk's* earlier recommendation to join the United Church changed. And in 1949 the Reformed church in America appointed an immigration committee to assist and place *Hervormde* immigrants. After this *Hervormde* immigrants, as they departed for Canada, were given a brochure in which the synod of the Dutch Church urged them to join the Reformed Church of America if possible and listed the United Church of Canada as the second best choice.⁶⁸ In some areas where there was a concentration of orthodox *Hervormde* immigrants, Reformed Church home missionaries established Reformed Churches. In other areas where interested numbers were low, initial efforts proved unfruitful. Barrie, Ontario, provides an example. A Reformed church was founded in the early 60's, but due to a lack of numbers this congregation eventually folded and many of its members joined the local Christian Reformed Church.⁶⁹ Despite these drawbacks by 1960 there were twenty-one 21 Reformed Churches of America in Canada.

In the years to follow other Reformed Churches would be founded on Canadian soil. In general they would be offshoots of either the *Afscheiding* or *Doleantie* tradition. The one exception would be the *Gereformeerde Bonders*, a small orthodox wing within

the *Hervormde Kerk*. This group established a congregation in Springford just south of Woodstock in Ontario. Although this church was technically under the Reformed Church of America's umbrella, the mindset within this congregation is more pietistic. Also out of the pietistic *Afscheiding* stream came the *Gereformeerde Gemeenten* which reestablished themselves in Canada as the Netherlands Reformed Congregation. Often referred to by the older immigrants of the other Reformed denominations as the *zwarte kousen kerk* (the black stocking church) it is centred in Norwich Ontario where they have a large congregation of several hundred families. In addition to Norwich, this church also has smaller congregations in Ancaster, Hamilton, Bradford, St. Catharines and Unionville.⁷⁰

In addition to the fruit of these earlier break offs whose roots were in the Netherlands, there were also developments unique to the North American environment. Since the 1960's other movements came out of the Christian Reformed Church. The first, and smallest took place in Guelph in the early seventies when a number of young people left the Christian Reformed Church to join the Elora Fellowship, a cult founded by Henk Katerburg, himself an immigrant and former member of the Christian Reformed Church. Frans Schryer concluded that this charismatic movement's focus on "a direct experience of religious conversion and messianic zeal" struck a cord with many young immigrants raised in a faith where the accent was placed on the rational.⁷¹ More along the lines of the pattern established in the Netherlands was the formation of the Orthodox Reformed Church in the mid 60's. More recent still is the creation of the United Reformed that unfolded in the 90's.

The lightning rod for this last and largest schism was the ordination of women, but other things were included such as a movement away from a literal understanding of creation, the acceptance of some form of evolution, and an assumed growing synodicalism on the part of the denomination. In general this combination of ingredients led many people to feel that the Christian Reformed Church had slipped from its theological foundations.⁷² In an "Open Letter" to the Christian Renewal on May 12, 1997,⁷³ Mr. and Mrs. Kitts stated that they resigned as members of the CRC and have chosen to belong to the congregation of the Orthodox Reformed Church (the forerunner of the United Reformed) because of their "commitment to the principle of the Reformation, often expressed in the latin phrase *sola scriptura*, and by their desire to hold high the creeds, the three forms of unity, also by way of the Form of subscription as signed by those who give leadership." What needs to be noted here is that in the case of each of the schisms the main reasons given for separating from the 'established' church was the need to be faithful to scripture as only the individual could interpret it. The established church, once faithful, was now moving away from its historical foundations in Scripture and the three forms of unity. Each seceding group then considered itself as the legitimate continuation of the true church - the remnant.

To the outsider it might seem like the orthodox Reformed over emphasised these subtle theological distinctions surrounding the covenant. Why are such divisions and distinctions so important? To return to my original argument, each orthodox Reformed stream accepted the doctrine that God relates to man only through his covenant. In addition, it is important to note in regard to the Reformed that these religious beliefs had

concrete ramifications in their lives. Theological constructs shaped their outlook and activities. The schisms and religious controversies we discussed in the last chapter were not just played out in the abstract - these happenings had a profound impact on communities. Even families were split apart on these issues.

For example, following the 1944 Schilder deposition this schism spread rapidly through the *Gereformeerden Kerk*. In a year it was estimated that more than 30,000 people had left the *Gereformeerde Kerken* for the *Vrijemaakte*. Eighty two ministers had joined the Schilder camp and 110 churches had been established.⁷⁴ A few years later on the eve of the postwar immigration it was estimated that some ninety to one hundred thousand people had joined the new denomination.⁷⁵ The animosity between the groups was such that in some places communities were fractured and in the worst instances families were ripped apart when brother turned against brother. Some immigrants to Canada remembered the heart ache it caused.

In one case a woman did not even know how many aunts and uncles she had because the schism in 1944 split the family and her father would not talk about those who went with the Liberated. Another immigrant who went back to the Netherlands in the 70's was amazed to find that the occasion of his visit was the first time the Netherlands branch of his family had reunited since the schism.⁷⁶

In Canada, following the establishment of the various Reformed churches, these communities began to grow with very little contact among each other. In some instances in Canada various groups would come together to work toward a single goal but often denominational rivalries got in the way. The establishment of the Christian School in

Hamilton is a good example of this.

This project came out of the Christian Reformed community. They approached the Free Reformed Church and the Liberated, some of whom were associated with the Protestant Reformed Church and others who had established their own church under the Canadian Reformed Church banner. The *Hervormde* who had established the local Reformed Church of America were not approached. One can suspect that this was done because they had generally not been involved with the 'school with the Bible' orthodox Christian schools in the Netherlands, and the Reformed Church of America traditionally supported the public schools at the elementary and high school level in the United States.

Initially there appeared to be some support for cooperation among the four denominations to build the school. But in the end, only a few Free Reformed and Liberated parents sent their children there. They preferred to send their children to the public school until they could build their own parochial schools which the Canadian Reformed did in 1973 (Timothy Canadian Reformed School) and Free Reformed in 1979.

Why did some of the Liberated not join the movement to establish a Christian school? In the correspondence received from the Canadian Reformed Church, the Reverend Loopstra stated that the constitution looked acceptable but he was certain that the Christian Reformed members did not live up to the confessed basis. "If they really did, we would not be separated." Reverend Loopstra went on to express his concern on several issues such as common grace, the pluriformity of the church which clouded the antithetical understanding of Reformed thought, the practise of Church discipline in the

C.R.C., and its misrepresentation of history.⁷⁷

Still, such examples do not mean that there was no cooperation or relationship among the Reformed denominations. Considering its past history, it is somewhat surprising to discover that the current principle of Hamilton's Calvin Christian School (formerly the Hamilton Christian School), Ted Postma, is a member of the Free Reformed Church, and his predecessor Ben Harsevoort was Canadian Reformed. In other areas this trend has continued. Redeemer College, a university degree-granting institution in Ancaster, Ontario, is perhaps the best example of inter-Reformed cooperation. While the majority of the faculty, staff and students body continue to be Christian Reformed, the Canadian Reformed and Free Reformed denominations are represented in the staff and faculty. Recently this reformed circle has expanded further as Netherlands Reformed Congregation students have begun enrolling. In this last case the main motivation appears to be that because of recent growth, this denomination is seeking to train its young people to be teachers in its denominational run parochial schools.

Despite the outward appearance of cooperation, denominational controversies have continued to cast their shadow over the college. In the 1980's and early 1990's few Canadian Reformed students would enroll in Redeemer because the President of the College at that time, Reverend Henry De Bolster, the prime mover in the establishment of the college, had once been a member of the Canadian Reformed church before he became a minister in the Christian Reformed Church. According to one Canadian

Reformed member. 'The way he left the Canadian Reformed Church left a bad taste in the mouth.'⁷⁸

Summary (N)

Despite the efforts of the Christian Reformed Church to be all things to all people, the dream of providing a 'spiritual home' to all the Orthodox Reformed immigrants was not to be. Even Henry J. Kuiper, one of the strongest voices on behalf of the immigrants was forced to acknowledge this situation by 1951.

Our churches should form a homogeneous group. The tragic experiences of the Protestant Reformed church in Hamilton which came under the controlling influence of Schilderian sympathizers and ousted the Protestant Reformed minister, in spite of their commitment to P.R. doctrine should serve as a warning to us. If some of the immigrants from the Netherlands, though of Reformed persuasion, feel better at home in another Church than ours, by all means let them seek other connections. The Reformed contingent in Canada is large enough to supply members for more than one denomination.⁷⁹

In one sense the Christian Reformed Church's vision of the covenant was either too broad, or it was not broad enough. Doctrinal controversy, old suspicions, fear of Canadianization, led to splits, even though it seemed during the initial stages of immigration that the wounds of the past would heal in a new climate. The controversies, the hurts, were not left behind in the Netherlands. They just needed a little prosperity to bud anew.

Before we leave this topic, there is one further question we might want to consider. What was the Christian Reformed Church position in regard to the true church? In 1952, in reaction to the controversy with the Liberated on the nature of the true church, professor Henry R. Van Til of Calvin College and the Reverend John H.

Piersma outlined the Christian Reformed position. In their article in the Torch and Trumpet they note that the term pluriformity did not mean that there was no distinction between a true and a false church, and that it made little difference to which church one belonged. "It is required that we be on our guard against the false conception found in Reformed circles that any denomination calling itself the 'church' has a right to the name." Nevertheless, as the authors go on to say, the confessions do clearly indicate a pluriformity of "some sort." As they go on to say, "we do confess a universal church consisting of 'true Christian believers, all expecting their salvation in Jesus Christ, being washed by His blood, sanctified and sealed by the Holy Spirit.' The church moreover, has existed from the beginning of the world, and "is not confined, bound, or limited to a certain place or to certain persons, but is spread and dispersed over the whole world"⁸⁰

. On the one hand, the theology articulated by Van Til and Piersma, offered the opportunity to recognise neighbouring Canadian churches as 'true churches' in the fullest sense of the word. However, on the other hand, it would appear that there was little attempt to explore that thinking in the Canadian context. A more realistic picture of the ecumenical thinking of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada at this time was provided by the warning that immigrant souls would be lost if they ended up in a Canadian church.

Whether it be the Old Timers, or the immigrants, there was a certain exclusiveness to all Christian Reformed communities simply because they believed their church was truer than the Canadian churches. For the more generous of spirit, this did not mean some of the others were not true, but in general, most Christian Reformed

people would feel that they were the truest. Tom Oosterhuis, the Christian Reformed Chaplain at the University of Calgary, captured this feeling this way:

There was a strong sense that the Christian Reformed church was closest to the truth. ... The Christian Reformed community took its Christianity seriously, that it wasn't - my parents didn't use words like dualistic. There was a suspicion that other Canadian Christians would have good church Christianity even though theologically they were inadequate. That was one level. But in terms of practical Christianity, Christianity pervading all of life, that other Christians were never as consistent about that as the Christian Reformed were. So you have a more well rounded, theologically closer to the truth church - so you have two levels. basically. A higher standard of Christian belief, plus it's integrated.⁸¹

Although it appears that most Canadians did not understand the differences among the Orthodox Reformed immigrants that were flooding in to the countryside and generally lumped them together as generic Dutch churches. The flurry of activity that accompanied the formation of the new denominations in the late forties and early fifties did not go unnoticed. In an article in Maclean's, Fred Bodsworth observed that the "most serious grouping" among the post war immigrants was among Dutch farmers and that the immigration department was at a loss for a solution, as the clustering was being fostered by church leaders. According to Bodsworth. Dutch immigrants normally assimilated promptly into the Canadian population but now that assimilation was being impeded by "church rivalry." Church leaders were discouraging mixing and were herding the immigrants together to build their churches. Bodsworth also stated that there had been cases in Ontario where well-established Dutch families were uprooted and moved to a Dutch settlement where "the economic opportunities are much poorer than where they were."⁸²

Notes for Chapter Six

6. Covenantal Divisions

1. The Immigration Committee reported in 1949 that two other organizations "a Roman Catholic and a Reformed organization" were now in the field working with the immigrants. The Reformed organization working in conjunction with the United Church of Canada. Immigration Committee for Canada, "Supplement 30," Acts of Synod, 1949, 324.
2. "The Canadian Field," Acts of Synod, 1949, 236.
3. "Canadian Immigration Committee," Acts of Synod, 1948, 336.
4. "Supplement No. 27," Acts of Synod, 1950, 344-346.
5. During a trip to the Netherlands the Reverend J.M. VandeKieft met with a body of seven "*Deputaten voor Emigratie*" of the "*Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*" during which they agreed that the C.R.C. would look after the spiritual interests of their sheep who emigrated to Canada. Clarence Bouma, Acts of Synod, 1950, 435-436; In 1952 it was reported that the *Christelijke Gereformeerde* had some of their own people in the field. Canadian Immigration Committee. "Supplement No. 19," Acts of Synod, 1952, 314.
6. Dirk Miedema, "The Relationship of the Covenant of Grace to the Separation of 1944," (Unpublished Paper. Calvin College, 1980), 3.
7. J.M. Batteau, "Schilder on the Church." in J. Geertsema ed., Always Obedient: Essays on the Teaching of Dr. Klaas Schilder (New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1995), 79.
8. Ibid., 75.
9. Henry J. Kuiper, "The Split in the Netherlands," The Banner (November 30, 1945), 1148; See also H.J. Kuiper, "The Lessons of a Tragic Church-Split," The Banner, (March 8, 1946), 292.
10. Kuiper, "The Split in the Netherlands," 1148.
11. C.A. Schouls, 1892-1992: Lessons For Today? (Unpublished Manuscript, 1992), 10.
12. Article 31 Church Order read: If anyone complains that he has been wronged by the decision of the minor assembly, he shall have the right to appeal to the major ecclesiastical assembly; and whatever may be agreed upon by a majority vote shall be considered settled and binding, unless it be proved to conflict with the Word of God or with the articles decided upon in

this General Synod, as long as they are not changed by another General Synod.

13. S.A. Stauss, "Schilder on the Covenant," in J. Geertsema ed., Always Obedient: Essays on the Teaching of Dr. Klaas Schilder (New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1995), 25-27; Batteau, "Schilder on the Church," 72-73.

14. H.J. Kuiper. "What Really Happened?" The Banner (August 31, 1945), 797.

15. Ibid., 811.

16. Ibid., 811.

17. Henry J. Kuiper, "Editorial: The Issue," The Banner (August 10, 1945), 724; See also Henry J. Kuiper, "The Split in the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands." The Banner (December 14, 1945), 1212.

18. Henry J. Kuiper, "What Really Happened III." The Banner (September 14, 1945), 854.

19. W.W.J. Vanoene, Inheritance Preserved: The Canadian Reformed Churches and Free Reformed Churches of Australia in Historical Perspective (Winnipeg Manitoba: Premier Publishing, 1991), 45.

20. H.J. Kuiper, "What Really Happened II," The Banner (September 7, 1945), 830.

21. Kuiper, "What Really Happened III." 854; Vanoene, Inheritance Preserved, 45.

22. Kuiper, "What Really Happened III," 854.

23. This development had much to do with Schilder himself. In contrast to his earlier pre-war visit to the United States during which he was treated as a celebrity in the Christian Reformed Church. Schilder on his return visit after the war was effectively barred from access to the pulpits of the Christian Reformed Church. One small Reformed denomination a offshoot of the Christian Reformed Church, the Protestant Reformed Church, did hold out a hand to him. Initially this connection served to funnel many of the Liberated immigrants in the direction of this denomination a move Schilder supported. In an article in the weekly De Reformatie Schilder wrote that despite differences "The Protestant Reformed Churches are the only ones where are church members will be at home right away." Later this connection was also discontinued. For some Liberated who did wished to join the Protestant Reformed problems arose over the transfer of papers from the Dutch Churches with some churches refusing to transfer them W.W.J. Vanoene, Inheritance Preserved 64.

24. The first Canadian Reformed Church that was instituted in Lethbridge on April 16, 1950, initially bore the name 'Free Reformed Church.' That title was changed a few months later when a minister from the Netherlands, Reverend J. Hettinga recommended that the consistory of the Lethbridge church change their name to Canadian Reformed Church. Vanoene, Inheritance

Preserved, 75-76.

25. [Http://www.canrc.org/test/directory.html](http://www.canrc.org/test/directory.html) "Canadian and Reformed Churches - Directory." December 1999.
26. We need to note that the theology of the Liberated was not developed in the abstract. Schilder's theology evolved within the doctrinal disputes and church life of his day. Schilder in particular struggled with the overwhelming presence of Abraham Kuyper and the worldliness within his own church. For a good discussion on this see Strauss. "Schilder on the Covenant." 19-31.
27. Batteau. "Schilder on the Church." 83.
28. Strauss. "Schilder on the Covenant," 26.
29. This view of the covenant was also one that Schilder carried through with help from aspects of the Secession tradition. For example, Helenius de Cock and Ten Hoor had held a similar view, over against the Kuyperian tendency to identify the covenant with election. This was not an entirely unanimous Secession point of view however, since the experiential (*bevindelijke*) concept of covenant present in the Secession tradition, also portrayed the covenant as having two sides, or substance and form with the substantial covenant of grace being made only with the elect. Strauss. "Schilder on the Covenant," 21.
30. Henry J. Kuiper. "The Lessons of a Tragic Church-Split." The Banner (March 8, 1946), 292.
31. Strauss. "Schilder on the Covenant." 26.
32. Ibid.. 26-27.
33. Ibid.. 27.
34. Ibid.. 27-28.
35. According to Kuiper the element in the covenant presentation of the Schilder group which appealed to many members of the Reformed churches is their emphasis on the covenant demand and what they call the covenant-curse. By the latter is meant the curse which God pronounced on faithful Israel and still pronounces on those who have known the will of the Lord but have not done according to his will. Concerning these Jesus declares they will be beaten with many stripes. Kuiper. "The Lessons of a Tragic Church-Split." 292.
36. Strauss. "Schilder on the Covenant," 28.
37. H.D. Smit. "*Gehoorzamen: Achter Christus Aan! Schilder Over de Kerk.*" in J.M. Batteau. "Schilder on the Church," 65-66.

38. Batteau, "Schilder on the Church," 78.
39. S. Wolters, "Estranged from the Word," 30.
40. H.H. Kuyper, "*De katholiciteit der Gereformeerde Kerkn.*" *Afscheidscollege*, June 1, 1937. In J.M. Batteau, "Schilder on the Church," 65.
41. Sierd Woudstra, "In Search of Freedom," review of *Van Vijmaking tot Bevrijding*, *Christian Courier* (October 25, 1996), 20.
42. Acts of Synod, 1946, 126.
43. "Appeal of J. Haas," Article 114, xii. Acts of Synod, 1949, 65-66.
44. Acts of Synod, 1949, 236.
45. "Three Brethren of Neerlandia Canada," Article 144, Acts of Synod, 1950, 67-68.
46. Wolters. "Estranged from the Word." 31.
47. Vanoene. Inheritance Preserved, 338.
48. Three immigrants from the Liberated Churches who had joined the Christian Reformed Church in Hamilton wrote in a letter published in *De Reformatie* of January 22, 1949, that they were under disciplined as they expressed their agreement with the teachings of the Protestant Reformed Churches on the Three points of Kalamazoo 1924. In addition they stated, they had not been able to obtain a clear decision regarding the decrees which led to the liberation in the Netherlands in 1944. Commenting on that letter, Dr. Schilder stated that "for our people there is no place in the Christian Reformed Church of North America.." Ibid., 67-69.
49. The Deputies of the Synod of 1962 of the Canadian Reformed Churches. "An Appeal to the Synod 1963 of the Christian Reformed Church," Vanoene, Inheritance Preserved, 322-324.
50. J. Faber, D VanderBoom and W.W.J. VanOene, "To the General Synod of the Christian Reformed Church. To the Consistories of the Christian Reformed Church. To the Members of the Christian Reformed Church." Ibid., 342-343.
51. Bolt. Christian and Reformed Today, 14.
52. The views of the Canadian Reformed Churches are summed up in two letters to the Christian Reformed Church. The Deputies of the Synod of 1962 of the Canadian Reformed Churches. "An Appeal to the Synod 1963 of the Christian Reformed Church," (May 27, 1963) 322-324; And, J Faber, D VanderBoom and W.W.J. VanOene. "To the General Synod of the Christian Reformed Church. To the Consistories of the Christian Reformed Church. To the Members of the Christian Reformed Church." Both letters are carried in their entirety in Vanoene. Inheritance Preserved, 322-357.

53. Vriend, "The Case for Canada," 19-20.
54. John H. Piersma and Henry R. van Til, "Reply to Mr. Wolters," Torch and Trumpet (October-November, 1952), 21.
55. Vanoene, Inheritance Preserved, 202.
56. J.M. Batteau. "Schilder on the Church," 78.
57. Schouls. 1892-1992: Lessons For Today? 13.
58. Tim Zuidema. "Comparing Views on Baptism." (Unpublished Paper. Redeemer College, 1998), 3.
59. One example of this is in the Christian Reformed context is a 1946 article where Henry J. Kuiper discusses "presupposed regeneration" as if it was the official position of the CRC. Kuiper. "The Lessons of a Tragic Church-Split." 292.
60. Ten Hoor. "Practische Bezwaren," De Gereformeerde Amerikaan 9 (1905), 389-98. quoted in Zuidema, "Comparing Views on Baptism."
61. Zuidema, "Comparing Views on Baptism." 4.
62. Rev. G.P. Hamstra and Rev. H. Overduin. 1995 Yearbook of the Free Reformed Churches of North America (Chilliwack: British Columbia, 1995), 12-38.
63. Petersen has argued that "The Orthodox Calvinists (like pietists in any country) were predominantly of the lower class; but this fact had an effect on their range of influence contrary to what might be supposed Their unyielding traditionalism in most social and political questions has echoed in the conscience of the parent churches more orthodox wing, which has acted in turn as a bridge to the Modernist wing. The range among Dutch Protestants from narrowly pious to nominally Christian not only facilitates the growth or irreligion among them but also provides a passageway for Orthodox Calvinist ideas, usually in a somewhat diluted form, to the centre of Dutch social and political life." Petersen. Planned Migration, 40.
64. Interview with Harry and Paula Bootsma.
65. Interview with Neil Paul, Ancaster Ontario, November 12, 1996.
66. Schryer. The Netherlandic Presence, 99.
67. Veruijn. Sojourners, 307-308.
68. cf. Nederlands Hervormde Kerk. Inlichtingen op kerkelijk gebied voor de Ned. Herv. Emigrant naar Canada.

69. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
70. Schryer. The Netherlandic Presence, 126-127.
71. Schyer. The Netherlandic Presence, 63.
72. Interview Harry and Paula Bootsma.
73. Kitts. "Open Letter." Christian Renewal (May 12, 1997), 3.
74. Henry J. Kuiper. "In Brief," The Banner (August 10, 1945), 724.
75. Henry Baker. "Synod of the *Gereformeerde Kerken*," The Banner (March 6, 1953), 292.
76. Interview with Harry and Tina Donkers, November 25 and December 1, 1993; Interview with William Vandenburg, Hamilton, Ontario, September 19, 1995.
77. Gerrit den Boggende. "Dutch Calvinist Immigrants." (M.A. Thesis University of Toronto, 1991), 89.
78. Interview with Jake and Nellie Oosterhof, Vineland Ontario, October 13 and 18, 1993.
79. Henry J. Kuiper. "Survey of 1951." The Banner (December 21, 1951), 1540.
80. John H. Piersma and Henry R Van Til. "Reply to Mr. Wolters." Torch and Trumpet (October-November, 1952), 21-22.
81. Interview with Tom Oosterhuis, Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario, June 12 and 13, 1996.
82. Fred Bodsworth. "What Kind of Canadians are We Getting." Maclean's (February 15, 1952), in William Petersen, Planned Migration, 189.

Chapter VII

The Chosen and their Seed

Business (A)

When we turn our attention exclusively to the early Christian Reformed community the question that arises is, what was the result of this intense focus on covenantal theology and the true church? Did this preoccupation have a concrete manifestation? One of the most distinguishing things about the Reformed community is the degree to which it has remained separate from mainstream Canadian society. In their 1980 study of the Christian Reformed community in the Holland Marsh, K. Ishwaran and Kwok B. Chan found that while the C.R.C. people were economically part of the surrounding society and co-existed with various Catholic minority groups, "the latter merely share a common physical space and exist in complete cultural and social isolation from the former."¹ Although the traditional Reformed network of family, church and school is now more porous than in the past, all the Orthodox Reformed communities resemble what Frans Schryer calls a "closed society," a society where people participate only in those organizations which are associated with their faith community."²

In the case of the Christian Reformed, this community also includes an economic aspect. Where possible, it is still customary for members of the community to go out of their way to support "their" people by taking them their business first. This holds true on an individual and well as a collective basis. For example, no large building projects are awarded outside of the Christian Reformed community. Institutions such as churches, schools, colleges, are almost exclusively constructed by firms owned or operated by

Christian Reformed individuals. In awarding such work, criteria such as quality of workmanship and price are weighed, but principles are also taken into consideration: Does this company or family business make corporate or individual donations to this institution; does it offer principled support towards this institutions goals?³

Initially, as there were few professionals in the Christian Reformed church, the early immigrants were forced by necessity to seek Canadian skills. Often the ties that were made in those years were so strong that the first generation of immigrants continued to place their trust in the hands of these early contacts long after the C.R.C. community began to produce its own professionals. But as with contractors, once Christian Reformed professionals began to take their place in the community, it also became important to frequent Christian Reformed doctors, lawyers, dentists, and others.⁴ When Elaine Botha, a professor from a conservative Reformed university in South Africa took up a position at Redeemer College, a small Reformed university in Ontario, she discovered that the community went beyond church and social circles to include a loose service network of tradesmen and professionals. "When I came here people would say, do you need a doctor? I know a Reformed doctor. Do you need a garage mechanic? I know a Reformed garage mechanic and on and on."⁵

In addition to frequenting the business of people within the church, it was typical for employers to first seek their employees from within the denominational community. Peter Wierenga, the Christian Reformed owner of a greenhouse in Pelham, Ontario acknowledged that he hires only Reformed people to work in his business. Wierenga felt that as a business operator he had an opportunity to provide employment

for those people so they could in turn provide Christian education for their children. In commenting on himself and other employers in the Christian Reformed Church, Wierenga felt that they had “ ... an important role to play in the big picture ... we are given talents and it is up to us to use them to build God’s kingdom, in whatever way that means.”⁶

One of the major considerations in this Christian Reformed network remains the idea of trust. Who can you trust? Without the ties of blood and a common faith there was always the suspicion that those people outside of the church might take advantage of you. Deep down in the heart of many of these frugal Dutch immigrants was the fear that these Canadians might be making an exorbitant amount of money for the work or services they provided. This perception was inevitably coupled with the belief that you could trust a member of a Reformed church to do a proper job and to charge you a fair price. It was therefore assumed that a fellow church member would give you ‘a deal.’

How this actually worked out in reality is more difficult to determine. While it is clear that in certain cases Canadians did take advantage of the immigrants, it is equally clear that some of the Old Timers as well as some of the immigrants themselves were not hesitant to misuse or advance themselves over the backs of their coreligionists. In reflecting on how he and his family were treated on an old timer’s farm in the Holland Marsh, north of Toronto, one immigrant commented that “Our bosses wanted us to learn English as quickly as possible when we joined their [Christian Reformed] church, but they used to tell us off in Dutch when they thought we were not working hard enough in the fields.”⁷ Another immigrant who also toiled in the fertile fields of the Holland

Marsh remembered that on certain days in the summer there would be unusually heavy traffic on the highways and that some people would stop their vehicles to watch them working in the fields. Later, once he could understand English, this immigrant felt betrayed when he discovered that those particular work days were holidays.⁸ Although these examples probably only reflect the experiences of a small minority of the immigrants they do support one immigrant women's observation that in some situations, "Dutch took advantage of Dutch."⁹

Holy Separation (B)

Perhaps the most striking aspect of this characteristic of remaining separate has been the Christian Reformed community's tendency toward endogamy. Even in comparison to other equally rural, close knit immigrant Dutch Canadian communities who were not Reformed - such as Dutch Catholics - the Reformed have had a much higher rate of endogamy. Up to this point in its history, the bulk of the growth within the Reformed communities in Canada had been the result of growth from within, via intermarriage. This is not to say that the Christian Reformed Church has not attempted to bring "Canadians," or "outsiders" as they are sometimes referred to into the church. Although in the early years the C.R.C.'s aloofness, inward focus and lack of outreach was one of its most distinguishing characteristics, there was always an element of outreach. As early as 1947 one of the better known ministries of the C.R.C., the 'Back to God' radio broadcast, was heard on the Hamilton station each week. In addition, Jon Vellinga who was the president of the Ontario Council for Immigration had a group of gospel

singers perform over the Chatham radio station.¹⁰ In recent years, various church programs such as the Christian Reformed women's 'Coffee Break' program, a morning Bible study for women, and Vacation Bible School (VBS) have attracted attention in the broader community, and non-Dutch Canadian women and children have started attending these undertakings. In a few cases this outreach has led to some women and their families joining a Christian Reformed Church. However, after a fifty-year period it is still unusual for Canadians of non-Dutch Reformed background to marry into the church, and rarer still for non-Dutch Reformed Canadians to enter the C.R.C. community if they have not married into it.¹¹ In some instances, we can find Christian Reformed Churches which have no single 'Canadian' member who has not entered the church through marriage. This keeping to one's self is a common occurrence among immigrant groups. The surprising component here is the degree to which these white northern Europeans have remained separate from the people around them after half a century.

In a sample survey of ten Christian Reformed Churches in the Hamilton area in the year 2000, approximately 17% of the membership of the churches were non-Dutch.¹² This percentage decreases further if we look at more rural Christian Reformed Churches. In the Ingersol Christian Reformed Church in southern Ontario for example, there was only one non-Dutch family (husband and wife both non-Dutch) and seven other 'Canadians' who entered the church through marriage amongst a congregation of seventy families.¹³ In the 1980's and 90's it was still not unusual to hear a minister addressing his congregation from the pulpit as 'we Dutch people.'

Obviously, the scriptures were not the only cause of this separation; the

immigration experience itself is responsible for many of the barriers that separated the Dutch from the rest of Canadian society. Initially there were differences in language, differences in culture, and strenuous work relationships. Also, despite their favoured immigrant status, many Dutch were competing for jobs with Canadians. Since Dutch tradesmen quickly gained a reputation for undercutting their Canadian competition (and each other), this created some resentment. Still, I believe that these factors fall far short of explaining why the Christian Reformed Church communities have held themselves apart to the degree which they did in contrast to other. I would argue that the tendency for the Christian Reformed to socialize and marry within their own community can be attributed to the influence of scripture and the emphasis placed upon the covenantal seed. That the Christian Reformed would place such an significance upon their children is not surprising. As Steve Bruce has observed, "Calvinists have tended to suppose that their children have a higher than even chance of being part of the elect and have conversely have tended to suppose that people of other races, especially those that have rejected the gospel, are unlikely to be part of the elect¹⁴." Even Abraham Kuyper assumed that "it pleased God to let the objects of his election nearly always be born from generations wherein faith has already worked."¹⁵ This focus on the covenantal seed or blood relationships which was central to the worldview of the Hebrews can be used to explain much of the behaviour of the Christian Reformed.

Earlier, I noted how the idiom of 'the seed' and its relationship to the covenant runs through the scriptures. This is explained in detail in Part II, but let me recap some of the key points. In Genesis, God says to Abraham, "I will establish my covenant between

me and thee and thy seed after thee in their generations for an everlasting, covenant."

(Gen. 17:7). Later, Canaan, the promised land, is given by God in covenant to the chosen people and to that people's seed. We have noted that the primary designation of 'the seed' in the scriptures is "biological," and refers to the procreation of the covenant people.¹⁶ Right from the very beginning a dichotomy was created to keep the covenantal people separate from the Canaanites. Yahweh warned of making treaties with the people of the land, and more important still, God warned against marrying outside of the nation. "When the Lord your God shall bring thee unto the land thou goest to ... Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son. (Deut. 7:1 and 3).

John Bolt, a Reformed theologian who teaches at the seminary of the Christian Reformed Church at Calvin College in Grand Rapids Michigan, places separation in the context of holiness:

This principle of holiness dominates scripture. The very structure of the book of Genesis shows how God was separating a people unto himself, calling Abraham from a pagan past and making a covenant with him in order that Abraham might walk before him and be perfect. a holy people brought before God into a holy land were not only commanded not to mix clean and unclean but also to separate themselves from the pagan customs of the nations by destroying the inhabitants of the land of Canaan. Israel's numerous ceremonial laws were to teach here the spiritual principles of discernment, of distinguishing that which promotes holiness from that which pollutes or corrupts. It is the clear teaching of scripture that we are called to holy living, and because we live in a sinful world, holiness also demands of Christians a certain separation.¹⁷

While by no means ironclad in the Netherlands - there was always some flow back and forth between the Orthodox Reformed denominations - Kuyper's ideas on the

antithesis which had become manifest in the *zullen* coincided with the command to holy separation. This is clear in how some *Gereformeerde* people viewed the prospect of marrying outside of their particular orthodox *zullen*. For example, one *Gereformeerde* woman interviewed said that she would never have entertained the thought of dating a *Hervormde* boy. "In the very first place, that would have been against my parents, because we looked at them (the *Hervormde*) that they didn't have the true church, and it says in the Bible not to associate with unbelievers." Views about the *Hervormde* varied; while an orthodox *Hervormde* church might be seen as being on the "wrong track" but somewhat acceptable, a "Free" (liberal) *Hervormde* Church might be seen as not being on track at all. As one man summed up his view of the liberal *Hervormde*, "Well, those people would go to hell; after all, those people would go sailing on a Sunday and they had even a minister that was a woman." The same man remembered his father telling him during the war that even if Hitler came to an Orthodox *Hervormde* church when they were celebrating the Lords' Supper, they could not stop him from partaking in it if he wished.¹⁸

During the 50's, 60's and 70's when it was extremely rare for non-Dutch Canadians to join the Christian Reformed Church, it appears that the first generation Reformed immigrants followed the strict patterns of separation established in the Netherlands.¹⁹ As one woman put it, it would never have crossed her mind to marry a Canadian because of the Biblical command not "to be yoke with unbelievers."²⁰ This sanction also covered social activities. In short, any associations which could lead to intermarriage with the people outside of the community was considered dangerous as

that marriage partner could potentially lead a covenant child astray and break the covenantal bond.²¹

The convictions of the immigrants were that you would not jeopardize your Christianity by marrying a Canadian. As a covenantal people in a new land, the Dutch orthodox Reformed that came to Canada believed that they were called first and foremost to maintain their covenantal distinctiveness, or as the title of the history of the Canadian Reformed Churches indicates, 'preserve their inheritance.' In the circumstances the Reformed found themselves in when they first came to Canada, it was difficult to distinguish between Canadian values and worldliness. Many immigrants considered the two to be the same thing. Everything was thus suspect. According to Christian Reformed minister, Bernard De Jonge, there was a feeling that you couldn't really connect with someone who was from outside your religious /ethnic community. They would be an alien. You wouldn't be able to place them, or read them. In response to this situation, the orthodox "circled the wagons."²²

Church Networks (C)

In the context of the Christian Reformed Church, circling the wagons meant first and foremost the creation of a network of clubs and other social organizations under the church umbrella. In the beginning this structure was piecemeal, but as the Christian Reformed community became stronger and the network became more and more efficient, it soon circumscribed the social, cultural and even sports activities of its members. Young children entered the system upon being enrolled in Sunday school.

which they attended during the morning service. When they graduated from Sunday school at age nine they were separated by sex, the girls joining Calvinettes and the boys, Cadets. These organizations are considered to be the Christian equivalent to the Girl Guides and Boy Scouts with an emphasis being placed more on the handicraft aspect. After Calvinettes and Cadets at approximately 13 years of age, the children now considered 'young people' would start catechism classes where they studied various church related material with a particular attention paid to the Heidelberg Catechism which would be taught by an elder or the pre-confession class taught by the Minister. Although initially many children did not attend high school as they were needed to contribute to the family income (usually to buy a farm), as time went on and attending high school became more of an option, the young people generally went to catechism from grade nine to grade twelve. With the establishment of Christian high schools, the tie between home and church was complete. At the same time as they would be involved in these church education activities they would also be involved in mixed, social club activities (Young Peoples) generally made up of singles but always having a Bible study. These organizations and clubs were organized at the church, classis and denomination levels. At the denominational level Cadet and young people jamborees succeeded in bringing young Christian Reformed people together from across Canada and the United States.

Clearly, the network created within the Christian Reformed Church was intended to guide young members of the church to socialize and eventually marry within the denominational circle. The various Christian high schools in Canada, Calvin College in

Grand Rapids Michigan, and in recent years, Redeemer College in Ancaster, Ontario were places to pursue a higher education in a Christian environment and hopefully incur a Christian worldview , but they were also institutions where you would meet other young Christian men and women from a similar background who were potential marriage partners.

The tendency to want to associate with and marry only within their religious community was not restricted to the orthodox Reformed that landed in Canada. Many of the immigrants who moved to Brazil where distinct Dutch colonies (along the lines of those formed in the United States last century) were formed, likewise showed no interest in having anything to do with the people outside of their orthodox Reformed colonies. According to one immigrant who first moved to Brazil and later to Canada for economic reasons, it was also important to him that his children marry within the Reformed community, something which may have been difficult if he stayed in Brazil due to the small size of the colonies and the limited number of suitable marriage partners. In Canada there would be more of a chance for them to marry someone of Reformed background.²³

When a couple got married they generally joined couples clubs within the church. In some churches they would have two or three couples clubs that would roughly correspond with the age of the couples. For the older immigrants there were Men's Life groups and the women's Coffee Break as well as mixed Bible study groups. While expanding one's knowledge about God was central to these clubs, they also provided an important social outlet. As an indicator that Canadian practices were also infiltrating the

Reformed community, by the second generation, churches began organizing their own Christian Reformed hockey teams (despite a downplaying of athletics, many people in the Christian Reformed community developed a love for hockey). But here once again, they would usually only play in a league with other Christian Reformed Churches.

In interviews, the children of immigrants have indicated that they often felt that they were people of two worlds. They may have gone to the public school, but after school they were not allowed to participate in extra-curricular activities. As well, some were not encouraged or allowed to play with neighbouring 'Canadian' children. The message they picked up from church and home (and later Christian school) was that they were never expected to feel at home in the public school, nor were they to consider the friends that they made there to be on par with their friends from church. There was sufficient socializing to be experienced in church associated organizations. Some had the feeling from their parents, that going to the public school was a necessary evil - the greatest testing of your faith and a temporary condition that would soon get rectified. They could never really belong or feel at home with Canadian kids and eventually they would have their own school and things would be as they should. Until then, their spiritual centre was to be their home and church with its various clubs. This atmosphere coupled with the Sunday sermons, the Bible reading, the strict separation of 'public school' life from social life, church and family life, had a pronounced effect on those growing up in a Christian Reformed family in Canada. One woman said that she believed they " ... were the Chosen people." Another said that she was convinced that they " ... were 'the church.'" According to a Allie Bergsma, a second generation immigrant, the

attempts of the community to remain separate and distinct from the 'Canadians' around them made her feel like "we (the immigrants) were special ... we were made to feel like we were the remnant."²⁴

In one interview, Tom Oosterhuis (who grew up in the Christian Reformed community at Holland Marsh) compared his faith community there with a description Petersen makes about the Hebrews in his book Where Your Treasure Is. Oosterhuis notes that whereas "today the Christian Reformed Church is very much interested in outreach, evangelism, church growth and so on, this was not always the case, and that in his book Petersen makes a statement about the Hebrews which would describe the Christian Reformed Church that I grew up in."

The Hebrews were not an aggressively proselyting people, but they were an intensely serious people, serious about the meaning of life. Serious about Covenant with God. They did not campaign to convert others to their way of life but their faith was contagious. Peoples among who they lived were attracted by the dazzling intensities of their worship and were drawn into the maturing pilgrimage of holiness. They left their superstitions they left their games with spirits and divinities, they left their dull preoccupations with the self. They discovered through the witness of the Jew the reality of God who created. Entered into suffering, carved out a way of redemption, they believed, they became Jews it was a marvelously attractive life. Separation from the ways of the world, concentration on the ways of God, it never became a mass movement but nothing rivaled it for intensity, creativity and influence.²⁵

"I think," says Oosterhuis, "that is the way we liked to perceive ourselves, we didn't quite get all these people flocking to the church and saying what a wonderful thing to become Christian Reformed. I think that is what we hoped would happen, that people would simply say what you guys are doing though is really wonderful, let us join you."²⁶

Interestingly, Oosterhuis also recognized parallels between the Christian Reformed community and modern orthodox Jews and like many within the Reformed community, Oosterhuis has developed a love and interest for the literary work of Chaim Potock..²⁷

When I was studying in Amsterdam we had Jewish friends and they were reading Chaim Potock. They said you should read this, you might find this interesting. We read it, devoured it. They said - you like that book? We said yes. Their reaction was, 'but it is Jewish!' But both my wife and I said, but he is describing our experience! We can identify, we know what he is talking about! The Chosen and The Promise were his first two. When I read those I knew what he was talking about. Now the rabbinic learning, that was foreign to us. But the constant Bible reading tied to the meal times, the constant conversations about the church. Whenever my parents had people over you talked about the school, people, and church. The vast majority of conversations that took place was about the church.²⁸

Accordingly, in addition to not being allowed to be involved in community activities, dating outside of the community was also considered taboo. Although it would be unfair to say that Canadians were always seen in a negative light during these early years, it does appear that considerable effort was put forth to emphasize the distinctiveness of the immigrants over and against Canadians. In scanning the Banner during this period a typical home missions report would read like John M. Vander Kieft's 1951 article "New Arrivals in Alberta." In this report Vander Kieft describes the immigrants as "contented and cheerful, working hard, and trusting their covenant God to provide for them and their family as they were seeking his kingdom first and foremost." In the same commentary, Vander Kieft describes the residents of the town as "typical 'Saturday niters' who love their beer as they love their life."²⁹ Not only were the immigrants often presented as morally superior, but in 1950 the Immigration Committee

reported that “their [the immigrants] perseverance and ability to conquer difficult situations makes them more suitable for this task than the average young Canadian whose main purpose and task of life in our days seems to be to live in the city, to work short hours and to enjoy life to the full.”³⁰

These attitudes were sometimes reflected in the way the label ‘Canadian’ was used. Although most older Reformed immigrants and their children today would still commonly use the label ‘Canadian’ as a source of differentiating between them and ‘outsiders’ (which generally means the old Anglo-Saxon consensus), the term itself was also used as a label of derision. Among Reformed people, the term Canadian might be used to describe shoddy goods, or poor work habits while the label ‘Dutch’ might represent quality. Whereas a Dutch home would be considered *gezellig* (snug) with its little Dutch curtains and carpeted tables and abundance of flowers, a ‘Canadian’ home might be considered cold or unattractive. The term Canadian was also linked to spendthrift ways or public drinking. More common was the linking of Canadian with secularism. In some instances this attitude on the part of the Dutch was ill concealed and the Dutch in some communities developed a reputation as being self righteous and arrogant. What is surprising is that aspects of this mentality would remain commonplace among the offspring of the original immigrants, second and third generation Orthodox Dutch Reformed. These people born in Canada, the majority of whom cannot speak Dutch, and who have never even been to the Netherlands, will often still consider themselves ‘Dutch’ and refer to their neighbours as ‘Canadian.’³¹

What about those men and women who did date outside of the Christian

Reformed community? Here again reaction was mixed, but until recently such dating was usually frowned upon. People who did date outside of the community remember pressure being put upon them by their family and friends and, in some cases, even their ministers to break off such relationships. It is revealing how scripture was used in these cases. As one woman recalled:

I was dating a Canadian boy we always called them Canadians we were Dutch although I was born in Canada and had only been to Holland for a visit twice before. When I told my father that I was serious about this boy he quoted scripture to me he told me to read Leviticus about being harnessed together. He was a Christian from a different denomination but that didn't matter to my father.³²

Another woman remembered when she considered going out with a 'Canadian', her father's after dinner Bible reading happened to be from Proverbs where the question was asked "how a bird of the air and a fish of the sea could make a home together." In addition, the father took the family on a rare outing to a movie theatre to watch 'Fiddler on the Roof.' Two things about this experience stood out for her. First, she remembered how her father identified himself with Tevia, the patriarch of the Jewish family, and second, she remembered her father reiterating the wisdom of tradition and the sacredness in remaining distinct which was part of the theme in the movie.³³

If a relationship between a Reformed person and a Canadian went so far that marriage was a serious consideration, then that person was in tandem both welcomed and pressured to join the church. In general most people who married someone who was Christian Reformed joined the Christian Reformed Church. It was exceedingly rare for a Christian Reformed person to marry into another denomination. If the 'outsider' did not

join the church and a marriage did take place, then that person could very well be held in suspicion that they had not really left their old life. In such a case, they might not be totally accepted by their spouse's family and the Christian Reformed Church community to which their marriage partner belonged. If they did join the church and become active members in it, then they were usually warmly accepted. Tom Oosterhuis remembers how welcoming his congregation at the Holland Marsh could be when a Canadian joined their church.

There was always a fascination when somebody from the church married someone who was not Christian Reformed and that they actually joined the Christian Reformed Church, that there was a non-Dutch person in church. There was always a fascination with that. It happened from time to time and they always got a special treatment. Like a very welcoming kind of treatment.³⁴

Not every Canadian, however, received what they considered to be a welcoming reception. Some Canadians who joined the Christian Reformed Church remember experiencing some disturbing episodes with the charter members of their new congregation. One recalled being dismissed in a conversation at church during the seventies as being "just a Canadian."³⁵ Other Canadians in Christian Reformed circles have indicated that they found little phrases such as "If you ain't Dutch you ain't much" ostracizing. Even if they were done tongue in cheek, they conveyed a smug us - you mentality.

One Canadian who was troubled by this attitude wrote a letter to the Calvinist Contact in 1996. Under the pseudonym Mr. Johnson, this Canadian wrote that:

I find the attitude of keeping a church pure by keeping it ethnically

homogeneous troublesome. ... My second memory was the time I went home to meet my future wife's parents. We attended their Christian Reformed church and my future mother-in-law introduced me to one of the older members of the church. When he was told what my name was, he immediately said, "Johnson, that's not Dutch!" and turned and walked away. He obviously didn't care whether or not I joined the C.R.C. ... My next memory was my first classis meeting as an elder delegate. I must look Dutch because during the meal the elder across the table asked me, "What boat did you come over on, or were you one of the unlucky ones who was born in Canada."³⁶

Although I know of no studies that investigate the topic of marriages between Reformed individuals and Canadians, a peripheral examination of this topic would seem to indicate that most of these mixed marriages are as successful as marriages within the church. In general, the tensions that exist in the mixed marriages appear to be common to those where both of the marriage partners are Reformed. However in one instance, one woman who came from an evangelical background reflected upon how her husband's approach to being a Christian through his understanding of belonging to the covenant disturbed her when they were first married. "So you [her husband] were born a child of God and the promises are for you. That is kind of arrogant! What about me? He [her husband] made me feel like he was an Israelite and I was a Gentile. I was inferior and he was chosen before the beginning of the world."³⁷

If there is one group of Canadians that evoked a particular response from the Orthodox immigrants it was African Canadians. One Christian Reformed man who was born in Canada remembered his father slapping his sister across the face when he heard that his daughter - who was a waitress at a function - had danced with a Black man. For the son, the incident made a huge impression on him as he had never seen his father hit

anyone before.³⁸ Another young woman related how she thought her father was going to get sick at the dinner table when she told him that a young black man had asked her if he could go to church with her family. Although veterans of the Indonesian War had certainly had some contact with nonwhites and some Indonesians had been repatriated to the Netherlands and had even been settled in the countryside, most of the first generation had never met a black person until they came to Canada. These and other similar stories are perhaps some of the clearest examples we have of scriptural induced separation and relate to a particular tradition of interpreting passages from the Old Testament.

In regard to skin colour, immigrants have pointed to Genesis 9:18-25. In those verses Noah became drunk and lay uncovered within his tent. Ham, one of his sons, saw his father's nakedness and ran and told his two brothers outside. Where upon they took a garment and walking backwards into the tent they covered their father's nakedness. When Noah awoke from his wine and found out what his youngest son had done he said, "Cursed be Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers" (Genesis 25).

According to these immigrants, the Canaanites were black. It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy where they learned this. Some said that they were taught this in school. Others said they had heard it from the pulpit. A few stated that they learned it on their father's knee. In any case, this belief was held by some and directly affected their view toward blacks and their convictions about apartheid in South Africa. In conversations and interviews with first generation immigrants, blacks have been called "niggers" or in the older Boer fashion "kaffirs." Some immigrants indicated that the lowly place of blacks in such places as South Africa during the days of apartheid

was justified.

Another factor which fed into this view, but was much more difficult to gauge, was the impact of popular historical fiction and history books about the Boers in South Africa. In these stories the exciting exploits of the Afrikaners in the Great Trek and the Boer War were glorified. As well, the connection of blood the Dutch had with their Calvinist brothers of Dutch ancestry was strongly made. Noting this connection was not new. Even Kuyper in his "Stone Lectures" at Princeton Theological College in 1898 made mention of the Calvinism that had been "passed on from our fathers to their African descendants" and the "heroism of old Calvinism" that was being made evident during the Boer War. Rather than play cowboys and Indians, it would seem that many a young Dutch boy spent Saturday afternoon fighting the Zulu King, Shaka, as he and his tribe made their way across the polders and dykes of Friesland and Zeeland.³⁹

Attitudes within the Christian Reformed Church (E)

Although my focus here has been primarily on trying to understand some of the influences, theological and otherwise, that shaped how the immigrants perceived themselves and how that manifested itself in their actions. I believe it is also important that we try to get a sense of the thinking within the pre and post immigration Christian Reformed Church on some of the issues discussed above. Eventually, with the passage of time, each group would and did influence the other. But what was the situation at first contact? Did the views of the immigrants and the Old Timers and Americans in the Christian Reformed Church find support from the other, did their thinking coalesce? Or

were they at odds on some of the issues mentioned above? Here again lack of sources prevent me from presenting a comprehensive comparison, but a brief examination of some Synodical documents from this period may give us an indication of some of the thinking within the C.R.C. . In regard to a similar emphasis being put on the 'seed,' this topic is highlighted when we consider how the Christian Reformed Church approached three related subjects: adoption, infant baptism and mixed marriages.

Adoption (E)

Article 56 on the 'Administration of Infant Baptism,' reads that "The covenant of God shall be sealed to children of believers by holy baptism. The consistory shall see to it that baptism is requested and administered as soon as feasible." Not only was infant baptism to be administered as soon as possible, in 1888 synod stated that a consistory "might not accept anyone as a member of the church who denies or opposes infant baptism."⁴⁰

Let me quickly run through a number of synodical decisions related to the baptism of adopted infants. The foundational decision allowing the baptism of adopted children in the C.R.C. was made by the Synod of 1930 which declared that "children who were not born of believing parents, but who are adopted by believers may be baptised."⁴¹ In 1936 it decided that the 1930 decision on allowing the baptism of adopted children " ... in no way justifies the molestation of anyone who whether as church member or in the specific capacity of office-bearer, may have conscientious scruples against the administration of (the sacrament of) baptism to such children."⁴² In 1949 synod passed a

decision that "no adopted child should be baptised until a probation period is over and the adoption made final."⁴³ In 1954 Synod reiterated its 1936 decision that "... a consistory had the right to refuse permission to baptise adopted children."⁴⁴ It was not until the synod of 1968 that the decision of 1949 was finally rescinded. In place of the earlier ruling each consistory was now granted "... in consultation with the adoptive parents, the freedom to decide when children placed in adoptive homes should be baptised."⁴⁵

If we look at this series of overtures related to the adoption of baptised children it appears that following its original 1930 decision to allow the baptism of adopted children, synod seemed to waffle. Various road blocks were throw up which hindered the Church Order policy of baptising a child "as soon as possible." It is possible to interpret these decisions several ways, but on the surface it is clear that with regard to receiving the 'sign and seal' of the covenant, lineage mattered. The biological children of believing parents and the adopted children were considered and treated differently.

On a similar note, one Calvin seminary professor used to advise prospective pastors that when they counselled couples contemplating adoption that the pastors encourage the parents to select a child who had a least one believing parent, grandparent, or even great grandparent.⁴⁶ Here again, it would seem that some sort of physical, biological continuity was important for the transmission of grace.⁴⁷

Mixed Marriages (F)

As with the immigrants the theme of mixed marriages was also a concern for the

Christian Reformed Church. In 1940 Classis Illinois overtured Synod to appoint a committee to make a thorough study of the matter of marriages (be it ecclesiastical or private solemnization) involving a member of the Christian Reformed Church with an unbeliever or a person of a "different faith" such as a Roman Catholic. As such marriages had been consummated in the past and their number was on the increase, Classis Illinois felt that it was desirable that some agreement be made with reference to the spiritual welfare and the ecclesiastical supervision of the children born of such a union.⁴⁸

At the beginning of this overture, Classis Illinois (this overture originated from the consistory of First Cicero) stated that as a general rule, ecclesiastical confirmation of marriage of a believer with an unbeliever must be denied on the grounds that: (a) The scriptures forbid such marriages. (b) Our "Form for the solemnization of marriage" demands promises which an unbeliever cannot make. (c) The evil of mixed marriages is making itself felt in our churches and augers ill for our denominational distinctiveness. (d) The adoption of a 'General Rule' would allow for exceptions as when the unbeliever shows signs of being teachable (of which he has given sufficient proof) and is ready to consent that the children will be reared as members of God's covenant."

From the point of view of the first committee assigned to deal with this task, the label 'mixed marriages' implied marriages between believers and unbelievers or between believers of one faith with a believer of another. The committee went on to clarify these categories further. A mixed marriage would involve the marriage of a Christian Reformed person with: (I) an unbeliever. (II.) a Jew. (III) a Catholic. (IV)

With a Sectarian. (Christian Scientists, Jehovah's Witnesses, etc ...) (V) With a member of another denomination (VI) and with a Modernist. ⁴⁹ According to the committee, the Old Testament was "replete with condemnations" of the "outstanding antediluvian sin" of mixed marriages.

Rachel appealed to Isaac's covenant consciousness when she delivered Jacob from Esau by pleading the dangers of marrying the heathen women round about. The feast of Baal-Peor was designed to crush Israel by the fact that Balaam could not curse Israel into defeat. Mixed marriage via immorality would succeed where curses had failed (Numbers 25:1-5; 31:16). perhaps the loftiest expression and the most penetrating analysis is given by Malachi. 'He sought a godly seed' Malachi 2:10-16, especially vs. 15). In short, Israel should not intermarry with heathen, in order that there be no confusion in the godly seed. God exercises a sovereign claim upon the offspring of his covenant people. How can one love the covenant and surrender one's offspring to an anti-covenant life?⁵⁰

These overtures would occupy Synod up to the eve of Dutch immigration. In all, three testimonials on this subject would be delivered to Synod: the first in 1945 was followed by a majority and minority report in 1946. The first report the committee returned in 1945 was rejected by the Advisory Committee to synod. While the Advisory Committee felt that the testimonial had "many commendable features" it was found to be not acceptable for three reasons: first, that it was not sufficiently concise; second, it did not make a clear distinction between marriage with unbelievers and marriage with believers in other denominations; and third, "the '*strong disapproval*' expressed with regard to *every marriage* with a member of *another denomination* and the intimation that every such marriage is *always a sin*" was seen as "unwarranted pronouncements."⁵¹

Following the appointment of a new committee a majority report and a minority report were presented to Synod 1946. Holding that it was of "an excellent nature." and

contained the "plain teaching of the Bible on a well-known truth" the majority report followed much the same pattern as the report of 1945. It reiterated that "there can be no doubt as to the teaching of Scripture concerning the marriage of one who is in the covenant with one who is not in the covenant." A recommendation was made to "all ministers and elders to see that the children of the covenant receive due instruction in the home before it is too late and to send children wherever possible, to Christian grammar schools and Christian high schools in order to prevent the formative ties of intimate friendship between the sexes in the formative years of life."

In the matter of marriage between people belonging to different denominations this committee upheld many of the sanctions of its predecessors in regard to marriage to Roman Catholics and other suspect denominations, but while it stated that "it would indeed be ideal if members of the Christian Reformed Church would marry only with a member of their own denomination," it found a blanket condemnation of all marriages between Christian Reformed people and those of other denominations "both impractical and wrong."⁵²

There are localities in which the number of Christian Reformed people is so small that there, unless our young people go far and wide upon scouting expeditions, marriage is virtually prohibited if it is to be to members of the Christian Reformed Church. ... Synod would rather advise these young people to refrain from becoming intimate with those who do not evince unmistakable signs of interest in the true Christian religion, and urge them to see their pastors, asking them to lend their aid in getting their friend acquainted with and interested in the doctrine and the ways of our Church.⁵³

According to the Reverend W. Groen, the author of the minority report, there was nothing in the majority report that he disagreed with: "I have profound respect for

the work of my brethren and offer no criticism either of the content or of the form of the report.” Nevertheless, as the Reverend Groen went on to say, “any testimonial on mixed marriages will be a redundancy in view of the plain teaching of the Bible on that subject. Beginning with Genesis 6:1-4 and continuing through the history of the patriarchs and of the people of Israel to the Gospels and Epistles, the subject of mixed marriages is so clearly and thoroughly treated that any synodical testimonial would be at best only a repetition of and an anticlimax to that which the Bible teaches. In fact this teaching is so well known amongst us that we would ask: Why is Synod seeking a well-known truth?”⁵⁴

Despite this support the Reverend Groen did not sign it on points of church order. He felt that synod lacked authority to issue general testimonials as a part of a censure and ecclesiastical admonition. Further, he thought there was no specific instance of mixed marriage which the minor assemblies were unable to settle and which would cause synod to now become involved in (synod usually demanded a concrete case to be involved in and did not usually work in the abstract). And in light of what happened in 1945 he felt the mandate of the committee was ill considered.⁵⁵ Synod agreed with the reasoning of Reverend W. Groen that church order did not support the creation of a general testimonial. In the end it accepted the Groen’s minority report as information.⁵⁶

African - Canadians (G)

Whereas the topic of mixed marriages occupied Synod for several years, beyond reports from Christian Reformed missions in Nigeria there are few synodical or **Banner** references to Blacks before 1951 when Peter Van Tuinen reported on the Anglican

response to new race relations legislation in South Africa. Van Tuinen felt that the strong criticism that the Anglican Synod leveled against the Afrikaner government's Apartheid policies reflected "sound Christian attitudes."⁵⁷ Also in an 1951 The Banner it was reported that synod had engaged a "coloured worker for Negro evangelization." In his report on the synod of that year, Henry J. Kuiper called this a "significant decision" that he felt would be met with "hearty approval" on the part of the members of the denomination. Kuiper believed that prejudices within the C.R.C. were not quite as extensive as some people might think they were, and he goes on to say that "At least, we will all agree that the Christian Negro is our equal before God since in Christ "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian...". Despite this assertion that blacks were equal to whites before God, further on in his article Kuiper - who we might consider as being one of the more enlightened members of his denomination at this time - seems to indicate that race does matter and that he himself believed in church segregation. In a discussion of a mixed race couple that attended a church he once served Kuiper recalled that "the mother and sons were treated as if they were whites, but it cannot be said they felt at home among us. Mixed marriages of this kind are a tragedy. There are good reasons for separate congregations for whites and blacks. Therefore we believe that Synod's plan to engage a Negro evangelist to work exclusively among his own people and eventually with the blessing of God, to organize a Negro church or churches is an excellent one."⁵⁸

In 1957 "when the problem of segregation" had become a "national issue of profound concern." Classis Hackensack overtured Synod to adopt a number of

resolutions relative to 'Segregation in the Churches.' The resolutions were lengthy and covered such subjects as the 'solidarity of the human race as seen in man's creation' and as 'seen in the divine judgment upon sin.'" One of the sub resolutions addressed the same passage in Genesis mentioned in relation to the immigrants above. It read: "The so-called Hamitic Curse has no bearing upon the relationship between colored and white peoples. There is no suggestion of evidence in the biblical account of this curse that the Negro race was cursed because of the sins of Ham." (Genesis 9)⁵⁹

Classis Hackensack referred this material to synod on four grounds. First, that "the problem of race segregation is not confined to a single congregation or classis, but it is an issue on which many congregations in many places have need of guidance." Second, "the material provides a guidance on a vital issue involving the Christian conscience in a matter with direct and immediate bearing upon the life of the church." Third, "This material also provides a witness from the Word of God to the world on a vital issue which has been disturbing the conscience of our society for many years." And fourth, "It is the duty of the church to address itself to such issues as this with courage and conviction, clarity and consistency from the Word of God."⁶⁰

Curiously, synod adopted the first and second grounds presented by Classis Hackensack and dropped the third and fourth grounds. A further request that the material presented by Classis Hackensack be printed under separate covers and be made available to the churches was also rejected.⁶¹

Summary (H)

Although we need to be careful that we do not try to draw too many conclusions from such a cursory examination, it does appear that there were similarities in the way that the immigrants and the charter members of the Christian Reformed church approached the world. In each case the dominant issue was the need to maintain the integrity of their Reformed faith. Although there was a commitment to evangelise and reach out and become part of the community/ nation, that directive was submerged by the concern that contact with 'outsiders' might somehow contaminate the covenantal line. For the immigrants what was important was inside. It was safer to build walls not bridges. The result was a retreat into what might be described as covenantal isolationism.

Notes for Chapter Seven

7. The Chosen and their Seed

1. K. Ishwaran and Kwok B. Chan, "Time, Space, and Family Relationships in a Rural Dutch Community," in Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1980), 198-220.
2. Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 127.
3. This information came as result of conversations with various people. Particularly helpful for the early period was an interview with Michael Wynands, Redeemer College, March 14, 1996.
4. A typical perspective would be like that of Jake and Nellie Oosterhof. "... If we need anything done we first look at people in the church, because we feel that is where our support should be." Interview with Jake and Nellie Oosterhof Vineland Ontario. October 13 and 18, 1993.
5. Interview with Elaine Botha at Redeemer College. November 2, 1997.
6. Interview with Peter and Lorraine Wierenga. Pelham, Ontario. December 8, 1993.
7. Frans Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 384.
8. Interview with William Louter. Redeemer College, Ancaster Ontario. June 15, 1995.
9. Interview with Gerry and Nellie Schouten. St. Ann's Ontario. March 2, 1993.
10. Herman Wierenga. "News Concerning Our Church." The Banner (January 24, 1947), 116.
11. I have heard several older ministers make similar references during sermons in the last dozen years.
12. Out of 1467 names listed in the Church directories only 243 names could be identified as non-Dutch names.
13. Interview with the Reverend Dirk Miedema.
14. Steve Bruce, God Save Ulster: The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 10. Quoted in Akenson, God's Peoples, 119.

15. Quoted in J. Kamphuis, An Everlasting Covenant (Launceston, Australia: Publication Organization of the Free Reformed Churches of Australia, 1985), 25.
16. Akenson, God's Peoples, 75.
17. Bolt, Christian and Reformed Today, 86-87.
18. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
19. Orthodox Dutch Reformed immigrants often avoided fellow Dutch speaking immigrants who were non-Reformed (Catholics for example) even if they spoke the same dialect. Schryer, The Netherlandic Presence, 94.
20. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
21. Akenson makes a similar observation in God's Peoples, 24.
22. Interview with Reverend Bernard De Jong, Ancaster Ontario, September 17, 1997.
23. Interview with Sidney and Margaret Zeldenrust. Dunnville, Ontario. December 15, 1993
24. Interview with Allie Bergsma, Redeemer College. April 4, 1996.
25. Eugene H. Peterson, Where Your Treasure Is: Psalms that Summon You from Self into Community (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 24.
26. Interview with Dr. Thomas J. Oosterhuis.
27. A number of Reformed individuals such as Justin Cooper, President of Redeemer College and Matthew Cupido have noted Potock as one of their favourite authors. Potock's work has also been a mainstay in the English curriculum of a number of the Reformed communities high-schools.
28. Interview with Dr. Thomas J. Oosterhuis.
29. Vander Kieft. "New Arrivals in Alberta." 1101.
30. Canadian Immigration Committee. "Supplement No. 27." Acts of Synod, 1950 , 344-345.
31. This also holds true for other Dutch-Canadians although it maybe more commonplace within the Reformed community owing to its more closed character..
32. Interview with Allie Bergsma.

33. Ibid.
34. Interview with Thomas J. Oosterhuis.
35. Interview with Bill James, Hamilton Ontario, December 12, 1996.
36. Slofstra, Peter and Marja. "Johnson, that's not Dutch," Christian Courier (March 8, 1996), 14: See also see Feb. 2, 1996.
37. Interview with Denise Smith, Redeemer College, November 14, 1998.
38. Interview with Alex DeVries, Redeemer College, September 13, 1995.
39. Abraham Kuyper, Lectures on Calvinism, 40
40. Manual of Christian Reformed Church Government, 230.
41. Acts of Synod, 1930, 93.
42. Acts of Synod, 1936, 54-55.
43. Acts of Synod, 1949, 20.
44. Acts of Synod, 1954, 84.
45. Acts of Synod, 1968, 17.
46. Verduin. 25.
47. Ibid.. 25.
48. Acts of Synod, 1940, 104-105.
49. "Report of the Committee on Mixed Marriages." Acts of Synod, 1943, 355-356.
50. Ibid.. 357-358.
51. Acts of Synod, 1945, 23.
52. "Majority Report 'Mixed Marriages.'" Acts of Synod, 1946, 185-187.
53. Ibid.. 185.
54. "Minority Report 'Mixed Marriages.'" Acts of Synod, 1946, 189-190.
55. Ibid.. 190.

56. "Article 79," Acts of Synod, 1946, 46-47.
57. Henry J. Kuiper, "Impressions of Synod," The Banner (Sept. 7, 1951), 1060; Peter Van Tuinen, "Glimpses of the Church World: Churches and Race Relations," The Banner (April 13, 1951), 456.
58. Henry J. Kuiper, "Impressions of Synod," The Banner (September 7, 1951), 1060.
59. "Segregation in the Churches," Acts of Synod, 1957, 126-128.
60. *Ibid.*, 20.
61. *Ibid.*, 20.

Chapter VIII

Christian Organizations

Covenantal Factors (A)

Up to this point in my discussion, I have concentrated on depicting how the concept of the covenant influenced the way the Christian Reformed people perceived themselves and how that worked itself out in both the church and community context. This line of discussion raises one further question. Did this unique understanding of the covenant shape any of the Christian organizations this community founded?

As mentioned at the beginning of this study, Christian Reformed people have been involved in launching a hodgepodge of Reformed organizations. That range from old age homes, farm and business associations, to a labour union and political lobby group through to various levels of Christian schools. As much of the historiography to date assumes that the majority of the orthodox Reformed that ended up in the C.R.C. were Kuyperians, the inference has often been that Kuyperian principles were the primary mainspring for these organizations.¹ While there appears to be considerable material to support this assessment, I would suggest that covenantal concerns also played a role in the founding of these organizations. Moreover, I would submit that in some instances, such as in the emergence of the Christian schools, that the idea of the covenant was a major catalyst. In other more 'Kuyperian' organizations such as the Christian Labour Association, I also believe the idea of the covenant was a factor, if not in their actual formation, then in how they have operated. These circumstances are a little difficult to grasp, but we may get some insight into this situation by taking a brief look

at the movements mentioned, the Christian school system and the Christian Labour Association of Canada.

It may be helpful here to quickly review a few key emphases of Kuyperianism and covenantalism. As mentioned in my introduction I believe that covenantalism runs through both Kuyperianism and pietism. Nevertheless, if we were to strip each of these concepts down to their bare essentials, we would see a few different emphases. First of all, as we have seen with our examination of covenantalism thus far, the main concern is to maintain the integrity of the relationship between God and His people. As the world outside of the covenant family poses a potential threat to this relationship, there is strong inward focus and a tendency toward isolationism. There is within Kuyperianism as it has functioned in Canada an element of this isolationism as well. While the upper echelons within a Christian organization may be involved in talks and deal making with outsiders, the rank and file generally functioned within an exclusively Christian atmosphere. What was, and remains important, was maintaining a separate, distinct 'Reformed' witness in a particular sphere. If there is a key point of difference between the two - and that is not completely clear - it is that within Kuyperianism there is a call to critically engage modern culture. This is done because under the cultural mandate, Christ is heralded as Lord of culture, but also because having a Christian organization hopefully allows Christians to function within an environment which they support at a philosophical level. In addition, there is within Kuyperianism a strong call to witness, to present a Christian model to the rest of society.

Christian Education (B)

As noted above, in general the historiography on Christian organizations looks at Kuyparianism as its principle mainspring. Harry Kits for example indicates that the initiative for the Christian schools came from the Neo-Calvinists (the Kuyparians). He also notes that the Confessional Reformed supported Christian schools although he seems to indicate that they were but following the lead of the Neo-Calvinists and that their support was secondary to the establishing of the schools. "Almost as important to the immigrants as their churches were the Christian schools they wanted to develop for their children. There were only three such schools in Canada before 1945, but the Dutch set up over thirty more by 1960. The day schools were strongly supported by the Neo-Calvinist community, but also drew in the Confessional Reformed."²

Because Christian schools associated with the Christian Reformed community are parent run, studies of such schools downplay any connection between the schools and the Christian Reformed Church and slide over formative church and theological factors. This is different with other schools started by other orthodox Reformed immigrants. For example, the Canadian Reformed Church, the Free Reformed Church, and the Netherlands Reformed Congregations each run their own parochial schools. These schools are clearly appendages of the church structure. In each case you need to be a confessing member of the respective church to be a member of the school. In general admittance to the school is restricted to children of church members. Where the schools have allowed members of other churches to come in, it is usually with the understanding that they will not be allowed membership in the school which in practical terms means

they would not be allowed a vote (or voice) in school affairs.³

Beyond the existence of the Christian Reformed Churches themselves, the most visible, physical manifestation of the Reformed presence are the sixty-nine independent Christian schools that are scattered throughout southern Ontario. To argue that the concept of the covenant influenced the establishment and philosophical direction of Christian schools we need first of all to make a connection between the Christian Reformed Church and the Christian schools. Making such a connection is not always straight forward. While acknowledging that many Reformed immigrants were instrumental in establishing the Christian Schools, any formal connection between the Christian Reformed Church and the Christian schools is almost universally denied because such schools organized along the Kuyperian lines of sphere sovereignty are parent run. The rationale behind this understanding that it was the duty of the parents not the state to educate their children comes from scripture. Prof. L. Berkhof explains it thus:

Negatively, it may be said that the Bible in speaking of the duties of the state never mentions the work of educating the children of the nation, cf. Ex. 18:22-26; Deut. 1:16-17; Matt. 22:17-21; Rom. 13:1-7; Pet. 2:13-15. It is a striking fact that even in the Old Testament in which we find God dealing with the nation of Israel rather than with the individuals that belong to it and consequently speaking primarily in national terms, always refers to, or addresses the parents as the responsible educators of the children. The Book of Deuteronomy, the Book of Proverbs, and the 78th Psalm are very instructive in this respect. In the New Testament it is clearly indicated that the government must guard the interest of all those that belong to its realm, must judge between a man and his neighbour, must preserve order by punishing evil doers, and must levy taxes for the support of its work. Rom. 13:1-7. But when it speaks of the education of children, it turns to the parents in the words: Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but nurture them in the chastening and admonition of the Lord. Eph. 6:4⁴

In his history of the Holland Marsh Christian School, George de Zwaan sums up the current view of many in the Christian Reformed community when he writes that the Christian school in the Holland Marsh "was never an extension of the local Christian Reformed Church. The school was not based on certain denominational creeds or ethnicity. The close association between the church and school was due more to common family membership in both organizations than to any institutional relationship."⁵

What does this stance mean in regard to making an association between the Christian Schools and the Christian Reformed Church? I feel that the continual focus on denying any type of legal connection between the church and school is misleading as there can be deeply significant connections at more than the legal level. So while from a legal perspective one would have to agree that there is no juristic union between the C.R.C. and the Christian schools, I also believe that we can also find that on a deeper philosophical - purpose level, the two were intimately connected. And despite claims to the contrary, the immigrant founders definitely considered the Christian schools 'their schools.' In fact, in contrast to those who have stated that the schools have no doctrinal focus, I would advance that for many, perhaps for the majority of the founders, the creation of the schools was tied to the baptismal formulas of the *Gereformeerde Kerk* and the Christian Reformed Church.

The Christian Schools (C)

The first Christian School in this stream in Canada, the Holland Marsh Christian School, was officially opened on the 15th of February 1943.⁶ Despite George de Zwaan's claim that "it was never based on certain denominational creeds or ethnicity,"⁷ sources indicate that the original founders of the school saw a more intimate connection between the church and school than is now generally acknowledged. In a 1943 Banner article S.A. Winter described the Holland Marsh Christian School as the "first Christian Reformed School in Canada."

A public school had been built according to government regulations. It soon became clear that, although this was our school, it was impossible to give our children the only kind of education that is fit for *the seed of the covenant* on February 15, the first Christian Reformed School in Canada was opened. ...The president of the society, Reverend Schans was in charge of the gathering. Mr. Uitvlugt addressed us, speaking of the big day for all our Canadian churches, for our own congregation, for fathers and mothers, for their children especially and finally, that it *to educate the seed of the covenant in the ways of the covenant*.⁸

Despite operating out of a Kuypertian 'parent run' model it is quite clear with the references to the school being "Christian Reformed," and "our school" (the Banner was the official publication of the Christian Reformed Church) that the founders of the Holland Marsh Christian school saw it closely associated with the Christian Reformed Church.⁹ Still, we need to be wary of placing too much significance on this one example. Although the immigrants eventually threw their support behind this school, as the date - 1943 - indicates, Holland Marsh Christian School was at least initially an Old Timer school. Did the later immigrants see the same close relationship between the school and the denomination?

Few records survive to indicate the exact thinking of any of the founders of the Christian schools. but Gijsbert den Boggende's research on the Hamilton Christian School (a later post immigrant school now called the Calvin Christian School) indicates similar denominational links. According to the Hamilton school's constitution, the aim of that Christian school was "the glorification of God through the establishment of Protestant Christian Schools in Canada, where our children are instructed covenantally in the teaching of the Holy scripture as expressed in the three forms of unity, and where all of education is penetrated by a Christian spirit."¹⁰

Records note that most teachers in the Hamilton Christian school were members of the Christian Reformed Church. The one contract still in existence from the 1950's specified that the teachers had "to give Christian instruction ... according to the general rules adopted by the board." Although not contractually articulated, the rules included two relevant articles. Article 2 stated that the school's basis was "God's infallible word as the only guideline for heart and life." Article 3, dealing with the school's purpose declared that the "children (had to be) educated covenantally in the teaching of holy scripture as expressed in the three forms of unity and that the whole education (had to be) permeated with a Christian spirit."¹¹

One of the strongest indicators of a connection between the schools and the Christian Reformed Church was that during the early years many of the schools stipulated that their teachers and even their voting members needed to be able to conform to the 'three forms of unity' - the same criteria that one had to agree with in order to be a full member in the Christian Reformed Church. Despite the universal nature

of these creeds, they were the unique hallmarks of the Dutch orthodox Reformed churches. By restricting their school membership to those who could agree with these particular forms, the founders of the Christian Schools were for all intents and purposes restricting their membership to the Dutch orthodox Reformed. Later, in some schools this criterion was quickly expanded to include parallel credal statements such as the Westminster Confession in order to draw in Canadian Christians. In the case of the Hamilton Christian School, the organizers followed the advice of Mark Fennema from the National Union of Christian Schools that "the board must remain of our denomination." So, while the board went so far as to allow children from other denominations to enroll, their parents were not given voting rights.¹²

There is also evidence to suggest that this denominational connection went beyond the individual schools to include the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools. Since there were few qualified Christian Reformed English speaking teachers at this time, teachers trained at Calvin College would become the most sought after instructors for the Christian schools. And because school boards did not want to hire teachers who only spoke Dutch or whose English was poor, the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools discussed the possibility of obtaining "the services of teachers outside our denomination." den Boggende has correctly recognized the use of the term 'our denomination' is a solid indication that the O.A.C.S. was considered a Christian Reformed organization.¹³ Later, in the 1960's the organizational wing of O.A.C.S. took steps to prod some of its member schools to becoming more inclusive by developing and recommending to its member schools a broad confessional statement that was not based

on doctrine. Some member schools followed this lead, but other Christian schools continued to restrict voting membership to Reformed parents into the 1990's.¹⁴

Why have a Christian School? (D)

So why did some of these immigrants sacrifice and struggle to establish their own private school system? It is not surprising to discover that some of the factors we discussed in the last chapter came into play in regard to the establishment of the Christian school. In addition to those variables, we also need to recognise that the public school was initially a bit of a mystery to the immigrants, particularly in regard to what, if any, Christian character it might have. Some said they heard that the school was Christian. Others said that they heard that the school wasn't Christian but that some teachers were. In the midst of the debate, children would bring home stories of them knowing the Bible better than their teachers.

What we heard was that they called it a Christian school if they said the Lord's prayer in the morning. But that was the limit of it. There was never a Christian song sung. We had Christians songs. We had songs that still told of God's glory in nature and who made it all. And then the people who were not sending their children to the Christian school because of the money would say - 'Oh yeah - but the Lord's prayer is being said. - but how does that help a person if he Lord's prayer is being said and if they are not taught what it meant. We were taught by the catechism what it meant.'¹⁵

As mentioned above, most of the historiography points to a Kuyperian rational behind the founding of the Christian schools. But upon even the most cursory examination of the few sources recorded above, it is clear with references to educating "... the seed of the covenant in the ways of the covenant" that there was a strong

covenantal emphasis behind the establishment of these schools. From what context do these references to 'the seed' and 'covenant' arise from? Known as the 'demands of the covenant,' interviews point to this reference being directly linked to the promise Reformed parents made at the baptism of their children. In the *Gereformeerde Kerk* this form read in the Dutch:

*Ten derde: of gij niet belooft en u voorneemt, dit kind, als het tot zijn verstand zal gekomen zijn, waarvan gij vader (moeder, getuige) zijt (of: deze kinderen als zij tot hun verstand zullen gekomen zijn, een iegelijk het zijne, waarvan hij (zij) vader (moeder, getuige) is), in de voorzeide leer naar uw vermogen te onderwijzen, en te doen onderwijzen?*¹⁶

One immigrant has explained the significance of this passage thus. "We sent our children to the Christian school because it says in that old baptismal form, it says in Hollandise, 'That you raise children in this doctrine and that you help them be raised in that doctrine. That is freely translated, "*in de voorzeide leer naar uw vermogen te onderwijzen, en te doen onderwijzen*" In other words, let them be taught - also. You teach them yourself this doctrine and you let them be taught." The reference to 'letting them be taught this doctrine' was understood to refer to sending them to Christian schools.¹⁷ Upon joining the Christian Reformed Church, immigrants found parallel passages in the red Psalter Hymnal. While little emphasis is put on this passage anymore, originally the immigrants that ended up in the C.R.C. found that the third passage in the Psalter was understood to mean the same thing as it had in the *Gereformeerde Kerken* in the Netherlands - to provide your child with Christian education. In the C.R.C. these passages were found in the third question of the baptismal form from which the minister addressed the parents. Earlier we examined the first two passages:

Beloved ... you have heard that baptism is an ordinance of God to seal unto us and our seed His covenant. There for it must be used for that end, and not out of superstition. That it may, then be manifest that you are thus minded, you are to answer sincerely these questions: First: Do you acknowledge that our children, though conceived and born in sin and therefore subject to all manner of misery, yea, to condemnation itself, are sanctified in Christ and therefore as members of his church ought to be baptised.

Second: Do you acknowledge the doctrine which is contained in the Old and New Testament, and in the articles of the Christian faith which is taught here in this Christian church, (The Three Forms of Unity) to be the true and complete doctrine of salvation?

Third: Do you promise and intend to instruct these children, as soon as they are able to understand, in the aforesaid doctrine and cause them to be instructed there in to the utmost of your power?¹⁸

For some parents, establishing a Christian school was their way of meeting the covenant obligation they took upon themselves when they had their children baptised.

The baptismal form is the crucial link uniting the church, schools and parents. This however was not the extent of the denomination's involvement in Christian education.

In a clause that goes back to Reformational times, Christian Reformed church order gave official directives to church consistories to promote Christian education. Article 21 of church order stated that "the consistories shall see to it that there are good Christian schools where the parents have their children instructed according to the demands of the covenant." Article 41 augmented this directive by having classis inquire from the Church representatives if their consistories - the elders in their churches - promoted the cause of Christian schools in their ward. At every classis meeting every consistory was asked "Does the consistory see to it that there are good Christian schools where the parents have their children instructed according to the demand of the covenant." In addition, it was also the function of church visitors (a committee of the

classis) to call on the consistories of each congregation and inquire if "... the parents as far possible send their children to Christian schools."¹⁹ Although it would vary from congregation to congregation, one of the most consequential ramifications of this aspect of church membership was that a man would not be allowed to stand for elder or deacon if they sent their children to the public school. This was a cause for concern for many immigrants trying to establish themselves and felt that they could not afford Christian education, as well as for those immigrants that felt that establishing separate schools hindered the Christian calling to be 'a salt to the world.' Writing in his memoirs about his experiences in First Church in Hamilton, Ontario in 1960, Arie Verduijn recorded that "Only staunch promoters of the Christian Schools were nominated for elder and deacon. On 9 July just before he left on vacation, I wrote P. Y., [the minister] strongly objecting to the practice. As usual, my submission was ignored, consequently we felt like second class church members."²⁰

The connections between the Christian schools and the denomination are less obvious now than they were during the years following immigration. The link between the two, while not necessarily articulated, and even in many cases downplayed, is still quietly understood. While this connection has generally proven to be extremely beneficial for the schools, in the past decade this association has also had a downside. When the Christian Reformed Church was last shaken by a major schism in the early nineties, a number of the families who left the Christian Reformed Church also pulled their children out of the local Christian school. Although no schools closed because of these withdrawals, in several locations staff were let go, or had their salaries clawed back

because of budget shortfalls. While in many instances the families that pulled their children out of the Christian schools began home schooling, in St. Catharines (Ontario), the parents founded a combination Christian elementary and high school, Heritage Christian School in Jordan, Ontario. Why did this double exodus take place?

In St. Catharines two main reasons have been expressed.. First, some 'concerned' parents who had difficulties with Christians of other denominations having a voice in the running of the Christian school left. Second, - to the bewilderment of many non-Reformed parents - other 'concerned' parents claimed to have departed the school because of the threat presented by the growing apostasy in the Christian Reformed Church. Since they left the church because they felt that it had departed from a true Reformed understanding of the Word of God, consistency demanded that they leave the Christian school as well. Without the insight of the other connections among the church, the immigrants and the school which we made above, such a response would not make any sense and might seem strangely contradictory, as those that left the school because of its association with the Christian Reformed Church may have, for many years, argued that this same school was parent run and separate from the Christian Reformed denomination.

Curriculum (E)

Although it would appear that for at least some parents - perhaps the majority, although there is no way of determining this - prime incentive for starting Christian schools may have rested with them trying to fulfill their baptismal vows, this does not

mean that Kuyperian insights were insignificant. While the baptismal formula may have been the main catalyst in starting the Christian schools, it did not provide a comprehensive Christian pedagogy, something the Kuyperian emphasis on the cultural mandate tried to address. Still, while Kuyper's work stimulated the development of a pedagogy that would instruct pupils to see and experience Christ as king in all aspects of creation, at the time of immigration it appears that that pedagogy had not necessarily been fleshed out. Whereas Kuyper had talked about claiming all areas of culture for Christ, interviews with former students have indicated that in some Christian schools in the Netherlands not all disciplines were considered worthy of serious attention. The focus was on learning the traditional subjects, reading, writing and arithmetic, along with the catechism, singing and learning some patriotic history and poetry. Certainly, any type of physical or sports education was afforded little time. While children might play games such as soccer in the school yards, seeking a career in the sphere of sports was something never to be seriously pursued. For example, the more conservative Reformed believed that a Christian could never become a professional soccer player as he would be required to play on Sundays. Furthermore, even to be a fan would be a risky undertaking as a Christian as you would be tempted to go to Sunday games.

Ironically, for some immigrants who were in elementary school during the war, a physical education program was not seen as being a Kuyperian or Christian attempt to give justice to the role of the body and the sporting life, but as a German innovation enacted under duress. Some students have reported that they had never had physical education classes until the Germans put them in place during their occupation. Shortly

after the Germans left, so did the classes. Another discipline that received little or no attention was the arts. The visual arts were something that the teacher might have the class do on a Friday afternoon when the school day and week were drawing to a close and the students were becoming increasingly difficult to control. As with sports, a career in the arts was something children might do, or if time allowed, something an adult might practice as a hobby, but few would have considered it a legitimate career on its own.

It appears that a similar situation existed within the Canadian Christian schools following immigration. Rather than have a well thought out Kuyperian curriculum, the first Christian schools in Ontario taught a combination of the Ontario Public School curriculum as well as that adapted from the National Union of Christian Schools, the N.U.C.S.. In place of an integrated curriculum, in the early years the teacher was the key component in the Christian school.²¹ Here again it was important that the teacher be a known quality, someone who would abide by community standards. In most cases this would mean that the teacher would be a member of the Reformed community.

How does that person spend her time - her leisure time - and where does she go to church on Sundays and how often does she go? You are bound to know a Dutch person better than any Canadian person. Because of the language and because of the background. If here a person came up and said 'I am from Appeldorn and I use to go to the *Gereformeerde Kerk* in Appeldorn, well, you might have a person here in the congregation that also was from Appeldorn and there might be a connection. So you have it easier. So if you have a person who said 'well I grew up in Thunder Bay and we lived in Sharon for a while,' you know you had nothing to hold on to. Especially if this person did not go to a Christian Reformed Church, how would you know?'²²

In the mid-sixties after the Christian schools became more stable, Canadian

educators began to discuss the direction of their curriculum in their school journals. The Canadian Kuypersians objected to N.U.C.S. teaching materials and texts that limited the Christian life to "moral and spiritual values," and accepted uncritically the American way of life. In contrast to this tendency, some Canadians held that curriculum material should be chosen to help children become Christians who could address social issues and promote Christian justice and freedom. This is in essence the Kuypersian view - which focuses on preparing children to become Christian critics and reformers of society. In addition to these concerns, the Canadian teachers wanted to forge a Canadian identity for their Christian schools. They criticised the N.U.C.S. for not taking into account the aspirations of its rapidly expanding Canadian sector. The Canadians based such criticism on the fact that it took 25 years to convince the American based N.U.C.S. that it needed a name change to reflect its international character.²³

Considering the different philosophical backgrounds of the participants it is perhaps not unexpected that clashes would occur between the N.U.C.S. and its Canadian wing over curriculum. However, it would be a mistake to believe that the border cut neatly between the two opposing camps over this issue. There was also tension within the Canadian Christian Reformed community over Kuypersians attempting to direct the Christian school curriculum. Already in 1967 and 1968 articles in the Canadian Christian School Herald noted that the work done by "our parent organization, the National Union of Christian Schools" was very suitable for Canadian schools and charges of a lack of a Christian curriculum" disturbed them.²⁴

Perhaps the best example of this divergence of views occurred in 1967 when

Bert Witvoet, the vice-principal of the Toronto District Christian High School, decided to teach The Catcher in the Rye. In explaining his decision, Witvoet took a Kuyperian stance stating that "To the extent that an author reveals the worldly spirit of his age he is valuable for the study of an age Our students must realise that in the study of literature they deal with life. Only then can they meaningfully prepare for a life of service to God there is no safety in protectionism."²⁵

Despite the stated policy of the board that the English curriculum should contain "a responsible critical evaluation of modern literature," it was decided because of a number of complaints that Witvoet could not teach the novel. Not satisfied with this decision, a number of board members began to push for Witvoet's dismissal. The board attempted to make a compromise at this point and demoted Witvoet from his vice-principalship. Opposition towards Witvoet and his followers surfaced once again in the spring of 1969. At that time the board dealt with a motion to cancel Witvoet's grade 12 Kuyperian 'Christian Life' course. After the board had dismissed the education committee's chairman who supported Witvoet, the staff signed conditional contracts stipulating the need for mutual discussions regarding educational policy changes. In a letter to the parents the staff explained that they felt that "students must be prepared to stand responsibly in this world with a witness to the Gospel that reaches out to the mind of the twentieth century man, and that exposes the student to the spirits of this world in a biblically responsible way. In no way does the staff wish to be part of a traditionalistic and protectionistic trend." Although several clergymen intervened on behalf of the staff, the board declared the teaching positions vacant. It wanted to rehire only those teachers

who would not question the board's policy decisions. Consequently all the teachers left the school at the end of the school year.³⁶

This series of events can be interpreted several ways. Although it would not be accurate to say that this development revealed anything particular about covenantalism, (as I mentioned above I believe that the concept of the covenant was part of both pietism and Kuyperianism), it does raise questions about the influence of Kuyperianism. Even at this late date (1969) it is clear that at least in this location, not all of the supporting community agreed with even this mild Kuyperian attempt to engage culture. Judging by their actions it would seem that foremost in the mind of these parents and board members was the desire to protect, or more accurately isolate, their children from the world. For this group, preparing children to live an obedient Godly life did not mean cultural engagement.

Christian Labour in the Netherlands (F)

Of all the organizations the Reformed immigrants founded in Canada the Christian Labour Association of Canada could well be considered the most purely Kuyperian of the lot. Whereas Christian education had predated him, it was Kuyper himself who encouraged the development of a Protestant Christian union to raise Christ's banner in the area of labour, an act that must be considered one of his most radical responses to the new industrial reality .

In 1891 at a Christian Social Congress Kuyper acknowledged the legitimate grievances of the working-class when he declared at the beginning of the congress that

"the social question had become the question, the burning life-question of the end of the nineteenth century."²⁷ Kuyper's powerful opening address not only encouraged the advocates of Christian trade unions to continue fighting for their creation - independent of employer domination ("For labor there must be created the possibility of independent organising and defending its rights"), but it also drew certain conclusions which - considering his mixed audience of employers and employees - were very radical. "The right to strike should not be denied." under the qualifications that "it should never be used as a political instrument, or as a wanton breach of contract."²⁸

Kuyper's address is also important for the various themes he introduced which would become mainstays of Christian unionism. According to Kuyper, when God created the world he also provided ordinances for the domain of labour, and Christians should be "entirely dependent on those ordinances of God in nature and in the moral law, as His revelation makes them known." Kuyper also rejected the class struggle. He encouraged Christians not to join in any revolutionary movement that promised a utopia, but instead to try to improve society gradually. Another theme Kuyper raised was stewardship. He dismissed the communist concept of a "community of goods, as well as the conservative belief of absolute human ownership of property. Instead Kuyper called for Christians to use their goods and property responsibly. "Absolute property." Kuyper felt, could "only be spoken of by God ... all our property is only loaned ... our management is only stewardship."²⁹

Aside from the Christian Social Congress of 1891, the other major factor which led to the creation of Christian unions in the Netherlands was the Railway strike of

1903.³⁰ Following this strike, the Calvinist community was split into two groups. The one group advocated the creation of Protestant unions as a defensive tactic against the threat of socialist unions, while the more conservative group advised against it, arguing that the existence of unions in themselves was in some ways a manifestation of class conflict. The turning point in this debate came when the socialist *Nederlands Verbond van Vakverenigingen* (Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions) was established in 1906.³¹

Fearing the possible allure of this new organization which hosted a moderate program, the Protestants at conferences in 1908 and 1909 reacted to counter this threat by forming their own labour union, and on the first of July 1909 the *Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond C.N.V.* (Christian National Trade Union Federation) came into being.³² Upon its creation in 1909 the Christian Trade Union became but another "zuil" among the *zuilen* (the pillars or columns) which had been evolving in Dutch society since the second half of the nineteenth century. In the workplace it meant a development of a trade union structure which operated on the principle of pluriformity. This meant that in any one company several unions of differing ideological perspectives could be present to represent its share of the workers. Each worker had the freedom to make his own decision as to what union he would join and in most cases he would then select that which best matched his own individual perspectives.³³

What is significant to note about the development of the Protestant labour movement in Holland during the early part of this century is that the relationship between the employer and the worker came to be viewed differently. While there continued to be many who believed that the relationship between the master and his "obedient" servant as

espoused by the Apostle Paul continued to set the standard for the work relationships in the modern industrial age. this position was being successfully challenged.

A.S. Talma, a Calvinist minister and statesman who had been influenced by the efforts of Stocker in Germany and of Maurice and Kingsley in England, denied that the relationship between an employer and a worker was an "authority relationship." Talma acknowledged that while it was true that a worker did indeed contract to work under the command of an employer, this obligation did not necessarily suggest his complete submission, nor did it signify an abdication of his own individual autonomy and accountability. Talma argued that the master - slave relationship of the Bible had been replaced in modern times by a contractual relationship between employer and employee - hence the Biblical directives needed to be read in their context in antiquity and could not be transported literally to modern conditions.³⁴

That Talma's approach gained acceptance was of crucial consequence both to the existence and further development of the Protestant labour union movement. It is entirely likely that a more submissive 'traditional' approach would have so alienated the majority of Protestant workers, that the existence of a viable and separate Protestant trade union movement would have been highly unlikely.³⁵ As it was, confessional trade unionism became a fact of life and its adherents came to accept it as the only proper response to modern industrial labour relations.

The Christian Labour Association of Canada (G)

The Christian Labour Association of Canada was founded in the fall of 1951 by twelve young Dutch immigrants (several of whom were former members of the *C.N.V.*) who were working in the chemical industry in Sarnia, Ontario.³⁶ With the "active" assistance of Ralph DeGroot, the President of the Christian Labour Association of the United States, and Joseph Gritter its secretary,³⁷ this pioneering effort in Sarnia was soon followed up by the establishment of several other "locals" in St. Catharines, Hamilton, Aylmer, and Chatham, Ontario, and in Vancouver B.C. in the west.³⁸

Initially locals were loosely organized and had little contact with each other. Writing just three years later in 1954, F.P. Fuykschot felt that it was "doubtful" if these locals had elected boards, collected union dues, or in some circumstances, even held meetings.³⁹ One of these very early locals, whose founding there is a record of, is the Vancouver local. In November 1951 a small group of new immigrants and "old timers" (pre-war Dutch immigrants) came together "under the influence of memories of old times." to discuss the possibilities of establishing a Christian Labour organization. According to one participant at the meeting, shortly after the opening devotions and prayers, a motion was made by one of the old timers, to appoint a committee to study the feasibility of establishing a Christian union: this motion however was voted down by the immigrants. Not wanting to wait half a year for the results of such a study, the newcomers hoped to organize immediately. This assertiveness carried the meeting, and so, utilizing the constitutions of the Netherland's *Christelijk National Vakverbond*, and the Christian Labour Association of the United States, these few men designed their own hybrid

Canadian constitution.⁴⁰

On February 21, 1952, delegates from four of the Ontario locals (Sarnia, Hamilton, Aylmer and St. Catharines) convened in London, Ontario to formally constitute the Christian Labour Association of Canada.⁴¹ Although it is estimated that these delegates all together represented less than one hundred men, this meeting was even then considered the first step in the building of a national labour organization.⁴² At this gathering the newly instituted organization "tentatively accepted" the constitution and by-laws of the Christian Labour Association of the United States as its own, set up a provisional National Executive Committee to which each local could elect three representatives, and decided to hold quarterly meetings. The next meeting was scheduled for the following April.⁴³

The April 1952 meeting of the C.L.A.C. can be rightly judged as an important move towards stability, due to the arrival of one man, Frans Peter Fuykschot. When F.P. Fuykschot arrived in Canada in 1952, he was but entering the second last phase of an active and varied career in Christian labour organization. A versatile man, Fuykschot's career in the Christian labour movement had begun in 1938 when he had been appointed to the secretariat of the *C.N.V.* in Holland. Following the war, Fuykschot served as General Secretary of the International Association of Protestant Workers and (interestingly) also held a leading position in the Secretariat of the Catholic Trade Union Movement.⁴⁴

Fuykschot's trip to Canada was initiated by the International Federation of Protestant Workers, who had commissioned him "to support and promote the

establishment of a Christian Labour movement." At the April quarterly meeting, he was elected to the position of National Secretary, a position he was to hold until 1958. In addition to this responsibility, Fuykschot also assumed the editorship of The Guide, the new monthly publication of the organization.⁴⁵

Under the leadership of the new National Secretary, the next two years witnessed the slow but steady growth of the C.L.A.C. so that by the end of 1953, twenty-five locals were thinly spread out from British Columbia to Ontario. Under the prompting of the western locals, the National Board resolved to send Mr. Fuykschot to the west, to investigate the possibilities of the C.L.A.C. increasing its tentative presence in that part of the country. In his later report in The Guide, the National Secretary stated that while he detected an "awakening"⁴⁶ in that area of the country in regard to the C.L.A.C., he concluded that, "it had to grow and ripen as had been the case in Ontario."⁴⁷

Despite the National Secretary's observation that the situation in the west was not yet 'ripe,' by the time of the C.L.A.C.'s first National Convention in June 1954, the old Vancouver Christian Worker's Local (No. 9 C.L.A.C.) had become the first local to be certified in the country. This contract, described in the December Guide as "simple but good," was entered into by the employees of the Velden Construction Company on October 6, 1954.⁴⁸

The Struggle for Certification in Ontario (H)

Although the C.L.A.C. had won a certification battle in British Columbia, it had yet to win legal recognition as a bargaining agent in Ontario, the province where most of its members resided. This the C.L.A.C. attempted to rectify on March 9, 1954 when it appeared before the Ontario Labour Relations Board in an attempt to gain certification for the 16 employees of Bosch and Keuning Limited, a small printing plant in Hamilton, Ontario.

In this case which proved to set an unfortunate precedent for the C.L.A.C., the Ontario Labour Relations Board dismissed the application on a technicality stating that there was not sufficient evidence of employee membership in the union as receipts for payment of membership had not been shown. "The applicant has failed to comply with the Board's standard respecting proof of membership in that the applications for membership which it submitted were not accompanied by individual receipts for payment ... In addition, no evidence was given that employees of the respondent had presented themselves for initiation or taken the members' obligation or done any other act consistent with membership with the applicant. The application must accordingly be dismissed."⁴⁹

Although this decision was a setback, what was to prove to present the most serious difficulty for future C.L.A.C. certification applications, was the Board's concluding warning that the "basic, aims, principles, and objectives," to which the applicant for membership must pledge support, would seem to "impose restrictions on membership in that prospective members are called upon to accept Christian doctrine as a condition of membership."⁵⁰

While not stating outright that the C.L.A.C. was being discriminatory, (it merely stated that the "applicant should give consideration to these matters before it submits any further applications"),⁵¹ the Labour Relations Board cited the Gaymer and Oultram Case (1954),⁵² and drew the C.L.A.C.'s attention to the provisions of section 34 of the Labour Relations Act which stated that any agreement between an employer and a trade union shall be declared null if it discriminates against any person because of "his race or creed."⁵³ The board also noted section 4 of the Fair Employment Practices Act that asserted: "No trade union shall exclude from membership, or expel, or suspend, any person or member, or discriminate against any person or member, because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin."⁵⁴ The C.L.A.C.'s fortunes again worsened in March 1956, when the Fair Employment Practices Act, with its non-discrimination clauses was enacted in British Columbia. At that time, Vancouver Christian Worker's local 9 had a certification application before the Provincial Board. Under the newly enacted legislation this application was speedily refused on the grounds that the C.L.A.C. discriminated.⁵⁵

Following these failed attempts to win certification, the C.L.A.C., on the advice of its lawyers, continued to push for collective agreements on behalf of its members. These agreements would of course hinge on the 'voluntary recognition' of the C.L.A.C. by the employer, but as it turned out, the refusal of the Labour Relations Boards to certify the C.L.A.C. proved to be a formidable difficulty to overcome. By 1955 only five companies had signed collective agreements with the C.L.A.C., a figure which covered only ten percent of the organization's total membership.⁵⁶

Despite the serious drawback of not being able to obtain certification, the C.L.A.C. continued to grow in membership. By 1955 more than fifty active locals were in existence, district boards had been put in place to help stimulate growth in the locals, and The Guide, which had begun with a first run of 500 copies, had increased its circulation to 4,000 copies a month.⁵⁷ These signs of vitality were extremely heartening to the membership of the C.L.A.C., but as F.P. Fuykschot admitted at the time, "the matter of certification holds our N.E.C. and all our active members and supporters in constant tension."⁵⁸

In 1957, on behalf of its affiliate, the Concrete Block and Brick Workers Association, the C.L.A.C. once again tried to obtain certified bargaining rights, this time for the employees of Woodbridge Concrete Products Limited, Brampton. In an earlier reaction to its losing certification bid in the Bosch and Keuning Case, the C.L.A.C. leadership drafted a series of separate (hopefully non discriminatory) constitutions for its local affiliates.⁵⁹ This action would seem to be directed at insuring a successful certification bid, without sacrificing the all important Biblical principles of its primary constitution. This tactic was to prove unsuccessful. In the Woodbridge application the Labour Board upon examining other stipulations in the C.L.A.C.'s Constitution, rejected the provision which declared, "each local is a separate union in its own right." and asserted that the "parent organization" exercised "sovereign power." It also stated that its affiliates were "subordinate, not autonomous bodies" within the C.L.A.C.'s national organization. Having come to this conclusion, the Board then held that the affiliate's application must then be examined according to the C.L.A.C.'s constitution.⁶⁰ Although

the National Executive of the C.L.A.C had "hoped and believed" up till the last moment, that they would now receive certification.⁶¹ in its decision given on January 29, 1958, the Labour Relations Board held that this case fell "squarely within the principles set out in Gaymer and Oultram and the Ottawa Citizen Case" and rejected the C.L.A.C.'s application on the basis of the danger of discrimination.⁶²

There were several factors which weighed heavily in the board arriving at this decision. To begin with, the Board noted that the C.L.A.C. had neither removed nor altered the wording of Article VI, the membership clause, a step that had been recommended by the Board during the Bosch and Keuning Case. Also, during that earlier hearing, Mr. Fuykschot had been asked by an examiner whether or not a Moslem would be allowed to become a member of the C.L.A.C.. His reply had been that such a person would not be admitted. In the Woodbridge Case, when asked the same question, Mr Fuykschot had responded with an assenting "yes." stating that no person seeking membership with the C.L.A.C. was asked "what church they belong to." In the Board's mind these conflicting statements made them unsure as to what position the Association truly held. To confuse matters more, about a week after the hearing, the Board received a transcript of an National Executive meeting where policy statements which extolled a non-discriminatory interpretation of the constitution had been discussed. After examining these resolutions, the Board stated they were at a "loss to know" what policy in regard to membership had been devised by the C.L.A.C., but believed that "at best the enacting part of the resolution could only be treated as an expression of intention for the future, not as proof of an established practice." In addition to this, the Board felt that there was no

ensconced practice that showed persons had been admitted to C.L.A.C. membership without regard to creed. In concluding its decision, the Board pointed to the developments in British Columbia's labour law, and held up as a precedent the similar decision its Labour Relation Board had arrived at.⁶³

The most immediate result of this second failed application bid was that a subsequent application the C.L.A.C. had before the Board was dismissed within days. The Board pointed to their earlier decision.⁶⁴ In the long run the reaction generated by this rejected certification bid was much more serious; buried tensions would surface, shaking the C.L.A.C. and threatening both its foundations and its very existence.

"What Do You Want to Be?": Crises and Schism (I)

Following this latest certification setback in Ontario, there was a great fear throughout the C.L.A.C. membership, particularly among the National Executive, that their Association was in danger of becoming nothing more than a "study group" which included a few Dutch Canadian members who would "try to change the law."⁶⁵ In an article in the June Guide of that year, F.P. Fuykschot admitted that since the C.L.A.C. had been refused certification in British Columbia, Christian trade union activity in that province had "almost vanished," and that a few 'locals' had taken the drastic step of opting out of the organization.⁶⁶ In Ontario, Fuykschot feared the same situation was developing when the C.L.A.C.'s head office began receiving a large quantity of correspondence questioning the future role of the union. In order to counter-act what might be a growing trend, Fuykschot issued a strongly worded statement repudiating the

belief that the C.L.A.C. would "deviate" from its Christian 'calling' to become a study group: to take such steps he declared, "would be to sell our birthright." For Fuykschot, the pivotal question now was: what could be done to allow them to operate as a Christian union "without disguise?"⁶⁷

One answer to that question was put forth during the C.L.A.C.'s sixth national convention at McMaster University in Hamilton on April 12, 1958. At that convention, Norman Matthews, the C.L.A.C.'s lawyer, recommended the deletion of article II of the C.L.A.C.'s Constitution. This article, known as the 'basis' article, stated that the C.L.A.C. "bases its program and activities on the Christian principals of social justice and charity as taught in the Bible." It was Matthew's contention that unless the C.L.A.C. dropped the reference to the Bible and other Christian principles and practices, the C.L.A.C. would not be certified.⁶⁸

Although Mr. Matthews stated that he was just their "advisor" and that it was up to the membership to decide what to do with his advice, his arguments proved convincing to the National Executive and they agreed to place this proposal before the National Board. The majority of the National Board also agreed to make these changes, but they were stubbornly opposed by a small minority that wished to have an investigation to see if there was perhaps an alternative route to take. With the National Board split, it was agreed that the matter would have to be placed before the entire membership of the C.L.A.C.. The convention was temporarily dismissed, and the locals were instructed to discuss this issue and send delegates back to a reconvened convention at which they would vote according to the decisions reached at the local level.⁶⁹

During the interval between the dismissal of the convention in April, and its reconvening on September 27, both sides in the debate took the opportunity to advance their positions in regard to the upcoming decision. Shortly after the convention had adjourned in April, the National Executive sent a Declaration in a circular letter to each of the locals asking them to "prayerfully" consider the advice of their lawyer and his recommendation to change the constitution. It was the national executive's opinion that the Christian character of the Association was protected under article III of the Constitution which stated that the C.L.A.C.'s aim was directed towards:

"... promoting the economic, social, and moral interests of the workers through the practical application of Christian principles in collective bargaining"⁷⁰

The National Executive also went on to point to articles IV, and V of the constitution, which they felt also exhibited the Christian principles underlying the Association's existence.⁷¹

This circular letter was quickly followed up by a strongly worded article in the June Guide. In this open address to the general membership, F.P. Fuykschot alleged that too much emphasis was being put on the religious side of the Article II question, and not enough was being put on its social aspect. In Fuykschots' estimation, there were but two choices which confronted the Association: either they keep article II of the constitution, "discarding our Christian social calling and leaving our brothers captive of other unions," or drop article II, and "follow our Christian social calling believing; 'Faithful is he that calleth you who will also do it.'"⁷²

In response to the National Executive Committee's position, several strong

rebuttals were published in the next edition of The Guide. In one letter Gerald Vandezande, J. Hofstee and A.W. Vente attacked the National Executives "Canadian way" of thinking as "a denial of Christ." They argued that the reference to the Bible in article II and the application of Christian principles in collective bargaining in article III could not be separated since it was only through the Bible that the "will of God" is known, "in regard to the duties of men."⁷³

"The Christian trade union we have in mind stands and falls with the Christian principles of social justice and charity as taught in the Bible only ... We believe that we cannot expect this blessing (success) if we disguise ourselves and leave the Bible (which is God's special revelation) out of our constitution."⁷⁴

On September 27, the Sixth National Convention of the C.L.A.C. was reconvened at the Y.M.C.A. in Hamilton. At this assembly the National Executive Committee's recommendation for constitutional change was put to the vote and defeated, with 32 delegates from the locals voting against the changes, and 17 voting in favour of them.⁷⁵ This result was seen by the National Executive as an indication of non-confidence in their leadership and on November 1, 1958, all the members of the National Executive save one, Mr. Muizelaar the treasurer (who did not support the proposal), resigned.⁷⁶

In their "Declaration" published in the November Guide, the departing members of the National Executive indicated the negative effect this debate was having on the Association, when they stated that they did not believe that "unity and peace" could now be restored.⁷⁷ They maintained that this "destruction" was caused by infighting over two different convictions as to what kind of "Christian character" the C.L.A.C. should have.

"Church opinions and theological motives," they noted, were being promoted in the C.L.A.C. and these issues "darkened the real trade union issue." The National Executive was of the opinion that if they expelled the board members they considered troublesome in order to force union unity, it would in the long run further weaken the Association; so in the interest of unity, they felt compelled to resign.⁷⁸

This volatile debate over what type of Christian character the C.L.A.C. would have had been going on underneath the surface for sometime. According to Joseph Gritter (C.L.A. of the U.S.) "great differences" had arisen in the National Executive around this question by March 1957. At that time the majority of the members on the Board wished to retain the principles of the early C.L.A.C. with its strong Calvinistic emphasis (a reliance on the Bible as the only way of knowing God's will, etc ...). Others, most notably the 'Canadian born' Herschel Aseltine, took exception to this heavy Calvinistic accent and wanted a "broader Christian emphasis which that would cut across all denominational lines." But, as Gritter went on to say, "this was too much to expect," as the C.L.A.C.'s efforts were almost exclusively directed at recruiting the members of a Church, (the Christian Reformed Church), that had "embraced Calvinism."⁷⁹ With the subsequent failure of the Woodbridge certification bid, the debate resurfaced with a greater ferocity. This time Fuykschot, whom Gritter records as having supported Aseltine's earlier position,⁸⁰ led the move to change the constitution; but, as previously noted, that proposal was defeated by the membership and led to the resigning of the National Executive.

There is no way of knowing it with any certainty, but one reason why the majority

of the C.L.A.C. may not have supported Fuykschot's advise or leadership may be due to the fact that he did not join the C.R.C. but the Presbyterian Church. And in contrast to many within the ranks of the C.R.C., Fuykschot liked to socialise with 'Canadians,' particularly Presbyterian ministers.⁸¹

With the resignation of the Executive Board an open letter advocating the creation of a Christian Trade union at the "bread and butter level" was mailed to members and supporters of the C.L.A.C. on November 3, 1958. Despite several attempts to prevent this fracturing movement, on November 22 a number of disgruntled former C.L.A.C. members came together at the Y.M.C.A. in Hamilton and founded the Christian Trade Unions of Canada.⁸² Upon the completion of his role as trustee for the National Executive Committee, F.P. Fuykschot left the C.L.A.C. and assumed the role of executive secretary for the new C.T.U.C., a position he was to retain until his death in a car accident in 1961.⁸³

The wounds inflicted on the C.L.A.C. during the conflicts of 1957 and 1958 would continue to plague the organization for a long time to come. (in the Hamilton area they are still evident),⁸⁴ but by the time of the 1960 National Convention, the organization had recuperated and was described as being in reasonably "good health."⁸⁵ This Convention is significant for the fact that during it a new constitution was drawn up which changed the wording of article VI, while at the same time maintaining the Reformed emphasis on the Bible in the controversial article II.

In its original wording article VI read:

All employees ... who express agreement with the basis, aims, principles

and objectives of the Christian Labour Association and pledge support of the Constitution and By-laws shall be accepted as members of the C.L.A. of C.⁸⁶

In its revised wording it was changed to read:

All employees ... who by signing a membership application form pledge to uphold the Constitution and By-Laws of the Christian Labour Association of Canada and to faithfully fulfil their membership obligations, shall be accepted as a member.⁸⁷

In article VI's new revised form, potential C.L.A.C. members did not have to agree with the basis (Bible), aims, principles and objectives of the C.L.A.C., but just sign a membership form which pledged them to uphold the Constitution. This was a subtle difference, but it was one that did not offend the Reformed membership, and at the same time seemed to offer the possibility of being accepted as non discriminatory.

The C.L.A.C. Wins Certification (J)

The final chapter in the C.L.A.C.'s struggle to gain official certification began on September 26, 1960. On this date the C.L.A.C. applied for certification rights for Trenton Construction Workers Local No. 52, an affiliate which had recruited the employees of Tange Construction Ltd. It took the Labour Board the greater part of a year to table its decision on this case, but when it was submitted in November, 1961 it had arrived at the same decision as in the earlier application attempts, the C.L.A.C.'s bid was dismissed.⁸⁸

In its twenty-four page report the Labour Board recognised that the C.L.A.C. had amended some of its membership provisions, but it also noted that it had retained its reference to the "Bible" to the "Creator," to "Divinely given law" and to "the requirement

and practice of prayer, psalm-singing, and scripture reading" at its meetings. The Board felt that these references left open the construction that a member of the C.L.A.C. could still be suspended for reasons based on creed. In addition to this, the Board reiterated that the "existence of clear evidence" of discrimination in the Bosch and Keuning case placed a "heavy onus" on the Association to present concrete evidence that it did not discriminate against non-Christian workers. This, the Association did not do to the Board's satisfaction, and so they decreed that "the case of the C.L.A.C. remains the same as it was in the Woodbridge Case."⁸⁹

Not at all satisfied with the Labour Relations Board decision, the National Executive Committee instructed its lawyer, B.J. MacKinnin, to appeal the decision to the Supreme Court of Ontario. A highly respected and competent lawyer, Mackinnin structured a case around the argument that the Labour Relations Board itself had discriminated in its handling of the C.L.A.C.'s application. "inverting the legislation to use it against the very principles which gave rise to it and upon which the legislation is based." In presenting his argument to Chief Justice J.C. McRuer, MacKinnin contended that the Labour Relations Board refused to act on the uncontradicted evidence of the applicant that there was "no discrimination in fact," nor was there any "known instance" of any person being discriminated against because of their creed.⁹⁰ At the climax of his three-hour defence, MacKinnin pointed to section 10 of the Labour Relations Act, noting that it did not read that "the Board shall not certify a trade union that 'may discriminate' or which 'might discriminate,' or which could have a 'tendency to discriminate,' or which in 'the opinion of the Board could be discriminatory.' This

section. read only "... if it discriminates."⁹¹

On May 2, 1963 Chief Justice J.C. McRuer tabled his decision and quashed the earlier judgement of the Labour Relations Board. In his forty-four page report, the Chief Justice maintained that the Labour Board is not concerned with what under the statues, "is 'likely' to be done, but what is done." thereby insinuating that the Labour Board should concern itself with actual cases of discrimination and the evidence presented by reputable witnesses.⁹²

In examining the C.L.A.C.'s Constitution to see if there was anything in it to support the Labour Board's finding that the union discriminated, the Chief Justice deduced that the Labour Board "misconducted" its language and the law. The Chief Justice stated that:

It cannot be said that in law a requirement that the meeting of a trade union must be opened with prayer makes the trade union discriminatory within the meaning of section 10 of the Labour Relations Act or section 4 of the Fair Employment Practices Act. Prayer is a supplication for divine guidance. It is true that it is a recognition of a supreme being. However, the legislature that passed the Labour Relations Act opened the sessions the day the Act was passed with prayer. Likewise, the Parliament of Canada opens its daily sessions with prayer. The British National Anthem, used as the Canadian Anthem is a prayer and the Bill of Rights, Status of Canada 1960, ch. 44 affirms "that the Canadian nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God."⁹³

In direct reference to the C.L.A.C. Justice McRuer stated that:

If I supported the Board's refusal to certify the union on the grounds that its members engaged in prayer, read passages from the Bible and sing psalms at their meetings, the result would be that a union that requires no standards of ethical or moral conduct and opened its meetings by reading from Karl Marx and singing the Red International might be certified but one that permits the practices here in question could not be. I do not think this was the intention of the legislature."⁹⁴

In concluding, Justice McRuer held the Board erred in three main respects. First, in coming to its decision it resorted to evidence given at the hearings in 1954 and in 1958 when "the union was differently constituted and the Board was differently constituted." Second, the Board "misinterpreted the meaning of the statute as applied to the Constitution and by-laws of the union;" and finally, the Chief Justice ascertained that there was no "legal evidence" on which the board could base its findings that the union discriminated.⁹⁵ Shortly after Justice McRuer's decision, on Tuesday, 4, 1963, the Ontario Labour Relations Board ruled that the Trenton construction Workers Association, Local No. 52, "is a trade Union within the meaning of section 1 (1) (j) of the Labour Relation Act" and granted it certification.⁹⁶

With the granting of certification in Ontario, a new era began for the C.L.A.C.. Shortly after they had obtained certification in Ontario, the Labour Relations Boards of Alberta and British Columbia also granted the C.L.A.C. rights in those two provinces. With certification the formative 'immigrant period' in the C.L.A.C.'s history drew to a close. There would of course be many other developments and changes in the C.L.A.C. as it continued to mature, but in most instances, the C.L.A.C.'s composition and direction for the future had been firmly established in the eleven - year period leading up to certification.

"A Creeping Disease" (K)

Since 1963 the C.L.A.C. has drawn considerable attention from the A.F.L.-C.I.O.-C.L.C. affiliated craft unions. The major unions have labelled it a "headache," a "fascist

organization." even a "creeping disease that should be snuffed out."⁹⁷ Before 1963 however, the C.L.A.C. was in most instances ignored by the major unions. As Herbert Vissers recalls, it was only in 1954 when the C.L.A.C. won its first certification bid in British Columbia that the affiliated craft unions "awoke" to the threat the C.L.A.C. posed.⁹⁸

The C.L.A.C.'s problems with the other unions were rooted in its different philosophy, and how it has worked the philosophy out in its official policies. In practical terms, the C.L.A.C. believes that labour relations should be characterized not by the adversarial approach as they generally are in North America, but by "responsibility" on the part of both labour and management. "The C.L.A.C. believes that both parties should be involved in decision making ... consensus, not opposition, is all important."⁹⁹ As with their Christian counterparts in Europe, the C.L.A.C. believes in the concept of multiple bargaining agents which would allow several unions to represent workers in one plant or business. It claims: "That no man should be forced to join a union against his will," and in conjunction with this belief, the C.L.A.C. early in its history targeted the closed shop system, and the compulsory check off or Rand formula as infringements on the rights of the individual.¹⁰⁰

These radical proposals for the restructuring of labour relations induced the major unions to criticise the leaders of the C.L.A.C. as "born separatists," who wanted to "transplant Holland" into Canada. As a spokesman for one of the major unions interjected: "They want their own church their own schools and now their own union."¹⁰¹ For the big mainline unions, the greatest fear has been that a divided labour movement

and the resulting increase in rivalry between the unions would lead to a overall decline in the bargaining power of the workers. "If a multitude of unions has members in one plant, workers will be insecure and management will never know exactly where it stands."¹⁰²

In addition to the problem of facing management with a united front, many union representatives have felt that the C.L.A.C. was using religious principles as a "front" for obtaining changes in labour legislation and for gaining support for its ideas. As Frank Drea, a spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America, said in 1965:

There are other religious groups in Canada such as the Jehovah's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventists, who because of their faith cannot agree to join a union, but with these people agreements can be worked out which in the case of the C.L.A.C. is almost impossible, because that union wants things done in its own way without compromise.¹⁰³

Union leader William Foley, a Catholic and co-director of the United Textile workers of America, addressed the fact that the C.L.A.C. was accusing the other unions of being anti-God. Mr. Foley stated that:

. Many leaders in the Canadian Labour Congress are very religious men. Quite a few local unions open their meeting with prayer. As with all things, however, decisions on how to operate their union rests with the membership.¹⁰⁴

In general, the major unions acted in a hostile manner towards the C.L.A.C. and almost unanimously rejected their proposals for the restructuring of labour relations. In doing so, they have opted to maintain the British and American labour tradition as the most viable form of collective bargaining for Canada. In a "Letter to the Editor" written in 1963, the year the C.L.A.C. was first certified in Ontario, Murray Cotterill, the Publicity Director of the United Steelworkers of America, perhaps best explained the early

position of the other unions towards the C.L.A.C.'s proposals.

Anyone will agree that our present industrial relations picture is confused. Anyone will agree that violence and lawlessness must be stopped. Anyone will agree that, if internal union policies are preventing the development of a mature and effective collective bargaining relationship in Canada, society has the right to insist upon reforms by both unions and management. But does this mean that we should discard the entire British-Scandinavian tradition of non-denominational and non-doctrinal unions and direct union-employer bargaining which has been accepted in both English and French speaking Canada in favour of the multi-denominational, multi-doctrinal unionism of non-British and non-Scandinavian Europe and the increasing state regulation which has resulted in every country where such divided unionism has been traditional?¹⁰⁵

Summary (L)

In its early 'immigrant' period, the C.L.A.C.'s history revolved around the struggle to adjust and adapt the Calvinist labour traditions of the Netherlands to the Canadian work environment, and more particularly, to existing Canadian labour legislation. When Chief Justice J.C. McRuer quashed the earlier 'discriminatory' ruling of the Ontario Labour Relations Board, he signalled that those adjustments had reached a level acceptable to the Canadian judicial system. McRuer's ruling can thus be seen as ending the 'immigrant' period in the C.L.A.C.'s history. This does not imply that either the leadership or membership of the C.L.A.C. was no longer composed of immigrants after 1963: the immigrant make-up of the C.L.A.C. would remain a constant for years to come.¹⁰⁶ Rather, this suggests that Justice McRuer's ruling should be interpreted as an official sign of recognition that the Reformed immigrants had finally come to terms with the unique 'form' their union would be required to adhere to in Canada. For the

Reformed immigrants who founded the C.L.A.C., this 'coming to terms' had been a long and difficult process. With several certification bids dismissed and their Calvinistic precepts continually threatened, more than once they had been prompted to ask, "is Christian action outlawed" in Canada?¹⁰⁷ Culture, and their particular labour tradition, demanded that a direct reference be made to the Bible in their Constitution. On this clause the immigrants were determined their union would "stand or fall."¹⁰⁸ However, being practical, they also came to the conclusion that something had to be done to obtain certification. Thus, while initially resisting any attempt to 'water down' any part their Constitution, the leaders and members of the C.L.A.C. finally adjusted their expectations to meet the different conditions which existed in Canada.¹⁰⁹

By the time of Justice McRuer's decision, the C.L.A.C. had undergone a series of substantial Constitutional changes, and was not, in some regards, the same union. Despite later claims by the C.L.A.C. that the accusation of discrimination against them "was, and is, without foundation,"¹¹⁰ it would appear that the C.L.A.C. as it was originally constituted was in fact discriminatory - being organised exclusively for Christian workers. Witness F.P. Fuykschot's statement in the 1954 Bosch and Keuning Case: In reply to a question from the Board as to whether under the existing membership provisions of the C.L.A.C. a Moslem would be admitted to membership, Mr. Fuykschot replied that "such a person would not be admitted."¹¹¹

This constitutional discrimination on the part of the early C.L.A.C. was not done with malice aforethought. Taking into consideration the background of the first C.L.A.C. members, it would appear that this discrimination emerged out of deeply ingrained

patterns of covenantal exclusivity, which were coupled with a militant Kuyperian aggressiveness. This combination of factors was further influenced by an almost complete lack of knowledge on the part of the immigrants of the Canadian labour system. As Herbert Vissers later admitted, the Dutch immigrants who started organizing the C.L.A.C. in British Columbia had "no knowledge of provincial laws, (Canadian) labour union power, or conditions."¹² Coming from the Netherlands where every major ideology had a union which complemented its perspectives, the C.L.A.C.'s founders simply did not understand why someone who did not share their beliefs would be required to join their union. None of their past experiences in Holland had prepared them for the labour scene as it had evolved in Canada.

Canadian law pushed the doors of the Christian labour association wider than it would be otherwise. What they originally wanted and what they ended up with were two different things. By having the flexibility to compromise on the question of membership, the C.L.A.C. ensured its continued existence in Canada. This compromise, however, has left a legacy of dualism and tension within the C.L.A.C. which its immigrant founders could never have foreseen existing in the union as it had originally been envisioned at the start of the 1950's. With the entry into the Constitution of a reworded membership clause which allowed non-Christians to become a member, the spectre was raised that the Christian character of the C.L.A.C. could be threatened from within. The Reformed leadership foresaw this problem and moved to protect the C.L.A.C.'s Reformed integrity by inserting Article 8.03 into the Constitution. This article, which addresses only office holders within the C.L.A.C., reads: "No one shall be nominated (to an executive

position) who is not ...qualified to give leadership which is in harmony with this Constitution."¹¹³ On a practical level, this meant that in most circumstances C.L.A.C. officers and Board members did not come from the growing 'Canadian' trade locals which now make up 80% of the C.L.A.C. membership, but instead, come from the general worker locals, where the bulk of the membership remains first - or second - generation Dutch Reformed.¹¹⁴

Historically, few contacts have existed between the members of the general worker locals who continue to provide the C.L.A.C.'s contact with its 'spiritual roots,' and the members of the trade union locals whose religious persuasion is unknown due to the Constitutional changes of 1960. In order to address this situation the C.L.A.C. has pursued two dissimilar courses. The first course has been directed towards educating the C.L.A.C.'s trade union membership through educational seminars and publications such as The Guide. In this instance, it is felt that individual knowledge of the Christian (Calvinist) principles which underlay the C.L.A.C. will bring a greater understanding and appreciation of the C.L.A.C.'s 'non-adversarial' approach to labour relations.¹¹⁵ The second course of action followed by the C.L.A.C. has been to resurrect elements of the plurality of the Dutch trade union practice within the Canadian closed shop system. Here, the C.L.A.C. has initiated a practice called the 'multiple choice check off system.' This system allows workers who are covered by C.L.A.C. collective agreements to remit their union dues to the trade union of their choice, even if that union is not the C.L.A.C.. Those workers who have conscientious objections to supporting trade unions may ask for their dues be remitted to a registered charity also of their choice. While this system obviously

differs from that which exists in the Netherlands. the source of this concept, the C.L.A.C., has in a limited way tried to modify the closed shop system to allow a greater freedom of choice to those workers who have different beliefs with respect to trade unionism.¹¹⁶

Although the C.L.A.C. may lose union dues under this system, it does receive the moral benefit of knowing that while many of its members may be non-Christian, they are members of the C.L.A.C. by choice, and not by reason of coercion.

In our brief look at Christian Education and the Christian Labour Association of Canada we can recognise within these organizations tendencies similar to what we observed in our earlier discussion. We recognize an emphasis on scripture, on upholding the central role of the Bible and to a certain extent, we also see a biological imperative.

Although the C.L.A.C. - like the Christian schools - was by constitution and practice independent of the Christian Reformed Church, in reality the membership of the two organizations was drawn out of the same small immigrant circle. As each organization also shared the same theological/philosophical foundation, many Christian Reformed ministers and their congregations actively supported them. This church support could take many forms, from consistory support to Christian Reformed Ministers speaking on behalf of these organizations at meetings.¹¹⁷ In addition to these displays of solidarity, financial support was also garnered through special church collections.¹¹⁸ Still, it would be a mistake to assume that this support was homogeneous throughout the denomination.

In looking at these organizations it would appear that support for them varied with the more Kuyparian organization, the C.L.A.C., receiving less support from the

Reformed population. For example only a small minority of the C.R.C. community actively supported the C.L.A.C. by becoming members of a General Workers Local.¹¹⁹ On the other hand Christian education - which I argued above had a covenantal aspect to it - received much broader support.

I believe there are several factors which we need to reflect upon here, beginning with the lack of a distinctively Christian curriculum in the Christian schools. It would seem with the emphasis being placed on the teacher while essentially accepting the public school curriculum (reinforced by material from the N.U.C.S.), the Kuyperian vision for Christian education was not really understood. If we go further and look at the firing of the teachers at the Toronto District Christian High School, it is clear that there was opposition to the Kuyperian goal of critically engaging culture. We also see this with how the most 'Kuyperian' organization, the Christian Labour Association was perceived within the Reformed community; it failed to gain any type of widespread acceptance or support. What are we to make of these events? Although not conclusive in themselves, some of these circumstances raise questions about the role played by Kuyperianism in the establishment of Christian organizations. All this suggests that the Kuyperian world view was not as much of a factor as had been suggested. Or, at the very least, what was meant by Kuyperianism had not penetrated the mind of the Reformed community as deeply as had been assumed.

Notes for Chapter Eight

8. Christian Organizations

1. In her research Aileen Van Ginkel registers several things. First of all, Van Ginkel lumps all the Post World War Two immigrants together under the title Neo-Calvinist or Kuyperians and second that it was the Dutch ministers (the Kuyperians) that pushed for the establishment of Christian organizations, often over against the opposition of the American 'pietist' ministers. She does however concur that "a minority of American ministers was as Kuyperian and as devoted to the establishment of Christian organizations as the majority of Dutch pastors." In short, Van Ginkel infers that the majority of the immigrants were Neo-Calvinist and that these organizations were formed for Neo-Calvinist reasons. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition," 77.
2. Kits, "World Views and Social Involvement," 39; Despite their emphasis on Kuyperianism, both Van Ginkel and den Boggende indicate that the covenant was a factor - if minor - in the establishment in the Christian schools. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition," 150; Den Boggende, "Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Hamilton," 79-80.
3. To become a members requires that you subscribe to the three forms of unity and to the statues of the given church.
4. Prof L. Berkhof, "Being Reformed in Our Attitude to the Christian Schools," in An Inventory of the Christian Schools Movement in America (Oct., 1930), 12-13.
5. George de Zwaan, "Christian Education in the Holland Marsh," (Unpublished Paper, March 1988), 8.
6. Holland Marsh District Christian School Anniversary Book 1943-1983, 14-20.
7. Zwaan, "Christian Education," 8.
8. S.A. Winter, "Holland Marsh, Ontario Canada," The Banner (March 12, 1943), 255.
9. Ibid., 255.
10. den Boggende, "Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Hamilton," 79.
11. Ibid., 122-123.
12. Ibid., 84.
13. Ibid., 122-123.

14. Telephone interview with Jim Vreugdenhil, Ancaster, Ontario. June 1. 2000.
15. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
16. *Op Last Van De Hoog-Mogende Heeren Staten-Generaal Der Vereenigde Nederlanden Bijbel: Dat id De Gansche Heilige Schrift Bevattende Alle De Canonieke Boeken Des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments.* (Amsterdam: Uitgegeven Door Het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap), 55.
17. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
18. This question is pointed to as providing the motivation for Christian schooling.
19. D.H. Kromminga, "The Reader Asks." The Banner (June 8, 1945), 532.
20. Arie Verduijn, Sojourners, 372; Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
21. Gijsbeert den Boggende has convincingly shown that at least in the case of the Hamilton Christian School it clearly took over the time table and curriculum of the public school system. den Boggende. "Dutch Calvinist Immigrants," 8.
22. Interview with John and Hennie Dykstra.
23. The American position - can perhaps be best summed up in a N.U.C.S. - text book which was published in 1966. The author assumes without question that the American Declaration of Independence and Constitution, harmonized with Christian beliefs, and that the institutions of the American government such as the defence and prison system served a Christian conception of justice. Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation, 214.
24. Ibid., 191.
25. Ibid., 215.
26. Ibid., 216.
27. Abraham Kuyper, Christianity and the Class Struggle trans. Dirk Jellema (Grand Rapids: Piet Hein, 1950), 37; I would describe Kuyper's opening address as the Calvinist equivalent to Pope Leo XIII's famous Rerum Novarum which had been published earlier the same year. In the late 1880's the members of Patrimonium, restless over the lack of social action on the part of their own organization and disaffected by the exclusion of worker representatives from the parliamentary caucus of Kuyper's Anti-Revolutionary Party, called for better economic conditions and fairer political representation. In response to their demands Kuyper prevailed on the Anti-Revolutionary Party and on Patrimonium to jointly hold a Christian Social Congress in 1891. Fogarty, Christian Democracy, 301.
28. Kuyper, Christianity and the Class Struggle, 16.

29. Ibid., 47.
30. The first strike of its kind in Holland, this socialist inspired strike which began at the dockyards in Amsterdam soon involved the railway workers and threatened to paralyse the country.
31. Windmuller, Labor Relations, 24-30.
32. McKendree, The Practice of Spirituality, 143-145.
33. Windmuller, Labor Relations, 149.
34. Fogarty, Christian Democracy, 301; Windmuller, Labor Relations, 21.
35. Windmuller, Labor Relations, 21.
36. Ibid., 21.
37. Joseph Gritter, "Intervention In C.L.A.C.- Affairs." The Guide 2 (March 1959), 2; The Christian Labour Association of the United States was founded on April 27, 1931 by members of the Oakdale Christian Reformed Church in Grand Rapids Michigan. The man most responsible for its organization was Berend Roeters a construction worker from the Netherlands. See Bob Repas, The History of the Christian Labor Association (New York: Tamiment Institute, 1964).
38. F.P. Fuykschot, "Where Do We Stand Now?" The Guide (February 1954), 2.
39. Ibid., 2.
40. Vissers, "An Announcement," 10.
41. Vanderkloet, "Twenty-five Years," 20.
42. F. P. Fuykschot, "Membership," The Guide 45 (February 1957), 1.
43. F.P. Fuykschot, "Where do We Stand Now," 2; In his 1974 Master's Thesis Harry Ayer writes that the C.L.A.C. took the steps I have just described at a meeting in January, before the official founding of the C.L.A.C.. He bases this belief on one source. In examining that source and several other sources that contradict it, I believe that the original author simply had his dates confused. See, Harry Ayer "A Study of The Christian Labour Association of Canada," (Masters Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974).
44. "In Memoriam: F.P. Fuykschot." The Voice 2 (February 1961), 2.
45. F.P. Fuykschot, "Where Do we Stand Now," 2; For more information on the early Guide see Appendix C.

46. "Meeting of the National Board" The Guide 8 (February 1953), 3.
47. Fuykschot, "Where Do we Stand Now," 2.
48. "C.L.A. Obtains Certification in British Columbia." The Guide 18 (July and August 1954). 2; See also "Contract Negotiated with Velden Construction Co. Ltd." The Guide 21 (December 1954). 3.
49. Christian Labour Association of Canada. Hamilton Local (Applicant), and Bosch and Keuning (Canada) Limited, (Hamilton), (Respondent). 54 CLLC par. 17,086, 1503.
50. Ibid., 1503.
51. Ibid., 1503.
52. In the Gaymer and Oultram Case only twelve of the twenty-one workers in the employment of the respondents company were acceptable for membership in the applicant union. The union which received only fully qualified journey man painters into membership denied entry to those less qualified. See, London Association of Painting and Decorating Journeymen, (Applicant), and Gaymer and Oultram, C.C.H. Canadian Labour Cases 1944-1959 Vol 1. par. 17.073 (Ont. L.R.B.), 1479.
53. Bosch and Keuning., 1504.
54. Ibid., 1504.
55. "Our Position in B.C.," The Guide 36 (April 1956). 1.
56. F.P. Fuykschot, "Annual Report 1955," The Guide 37 (May 1955), 4.
57. Ibid., 4.
58. "Certification Redundant," The Guide 54 (December 1957), 3.
59. F.P. Fuykschot, "What Do You Want to Be." The Guide 6 (June 1958), 1.
60. Concrete Block and Brick Workers' Association. The Christian Labour Association of Canada, (Applicant) and Woodbridge Concrete Products Limited, (Respondent), Canadian Labour Law Cases 1944-1959 Vol. 1 par. 18,105, 1697.
61. "News Supposedly Bad, But....," The Guide 2 (February 1958), 1.
62. Woodbridge Case, 1700.
63. WoodBridge Case, 1697-1700.

64. Fuykschot, "What do You Want to Be." 1.
65. Fuykschot. "What do you Want," 1; These fears expressed by F.P. Fuykschot seemed well founded. Writing about the state of the C.L.A.C. in British Columbia in 1958. Herbert Vissers noted that since it was no longer getting certified, two locals had opted out of 'local' status to become study groups. Herbert Vissers. "A Voice in the West." The Guide 7 (July-August 1958), 1.
66. Fuykschot. "What Do You Want to Be." 1.
67. F.P. Fuykschot. "Two Fact Should Stand," The Guide 7 (July 1958), 2.
68. F.P. Fuykschot. "Our Sixth Convention - A Great Day." The Guide 5 (May 58), 2.
69. "Let Us Go On." The Guide 1 (February 1959), 1.
70. F.P.Fuykschot. "Declaration of the National Executive." The Guide 5 (May 1958). 2.
71. Ibid. 2.
72. Fuykschot. "What do You Want to Be." 1.
73. Gerard Vandezande, "Which Way," The Guide 7 (July-August 1958), 1-2.
74. Ibid., 2.
75. "Continued Sixth National Convention." The Guide 9 (October 1958), 1.
76. Ibid., 1.
77. F.P. Fuykschot, "Declaration," 1.
78. Ibid., 1.
79. Gritter. "Intervention," 2.
80. Ibid., 2.
81. Interview with Frans Schryer.
82. "What Happened," The Guide 1 (February 1959). 1: Despite the very real threat of a major schism developing in the C.L.A.C., it never came to be. The C.T.U.C. remained a small union based mainly in the Hamilton area (it did have one affiliate in British Columbia) whose membership never climbed above 443 members. In 1979 after a period of more than twenty years it was reunited with the C.L.A.C.. "Christian Labor Unions Merge," The St Catharines Standard (February 16, 1979); See also Harry Ayer, "Study," 42.

83. "In Memoriam." 2.
84. Interview with Stan Bakker, Secretary of the C.L.A.C., Hamilton, Ontario, December 16, 1990.
85. Gerald Vandezande, "1960: A New Year - An Old Challenge." The Guide 1 (January 1960), 1.
86. Trenton Construction Workers Association, Local No. 52 and Tange Company Limited. (May 2, 1963), 63 CLLC par. 15.459, 657.
87. C.L.A.C: Constitution and By-Laws. C.L.A.C., 1959. 2.
88. "O.L.R.B. Dismisses C.L.A.C.'s Application for Certification." The Guide 12 (December 1961), 1.
89. Ibid., 1-2.
90. "C.L.A.C. Counsel Argues for Right to Certification Before Supreme Court." The Guide 4 (April 1963), 1.
91. Ibid., 1.
92. Trenton and Tange, 660.
93. Ibid., 663.
94. Ibid., 663.
95. Ibid., 665.
96. Gerald Vandezande, "Ontario Labour Relations Board Certifies C.L.A.C. Trade Local," The Guide 6/7 (June/July 1963), 1.
97. Ron Eade, "'Headache for Rest of Us,' Teamsters Agent Says," The Kitchener - Waterloo Record 12 August 1978; "What's All The Fuss? - Reiersen." The Albertan 13 April 1964; Neil J. Roos. "Work in the West." The Guide 4 (April 1977), 43.
98. Vissers, "An Announcement," 11.
99. "Christian Labour: Other Unions Hate It," Alberta Report 2 November 1979; The C.L.A.C. has only been involved in two strikes in its thirty-eight year history. The first involved six employees of the Seminole Management and Engineering Company in 1978 and the second was undertaken by seventeen waterblasters and vacuum operators employees of C.H. Heist in 1980.

100. "Rough Going For the C.L.A.C.," Hamilton Spectator 11 June 1965; The C.L.A.C. was largely responsible for Bill 167, the "charity clause" amendment being inserted into the Ontario Labour Relations act in 1971. This act (within certain stipulations) gave employees the right on religious grounds, to refuse to join a union shop agreement and to pay the equivalent of union dues to a charity instead a union. Wilfred List, "Proselytizing by Union is Criticized," Globe and Mail (10 February 1972).
101. Bas Korstanje. "Christian Principles at Stake?" Hamilton Spectator 10 June 1965.
102. Bas Korstanje. "Rough Going."
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Murray Cotterill. "Industrial Relations, Flags and Pesticides." The Kingston Whig-Standard 10 December 1963. The "No!" is implied.
106. While the men who assumed the leadership positions in the C.L.A.C. during these years were, like their predecessors, immigrants, there was a subtle difference between the two groups. The second generation of leaders were much younger and had come to 'maturity' in Canada, not in Holland.
107. "Let Us Go On." 1.
108. Vandezande. "Which Way." 2.
109. The adjustment I am referring to here, is the 1960 rewording of article VI, the membership clause, (see page 48).
110. Vandezande, "Ontario Labour Relation Board." 1.
111. Woodbridge Case, 1698; In his 1963 decision, Justice McRuer stated: "at the of the time of the Bosch and Keuning Case the C.L.A.C. was intended to be, and was, a sectarian organization restricted to members of the Christian faith." See Trenton and Tange, 661.
112. Vissers. "An Announcement," 10.
113. "Christian Labour Association of Canada: Constitution." 9.
114. Telephone Interview with Ed Pypker, C.L.A.C. Field Representative Niagara region, December 10, 1990.
115. Ibid.,

116. Harry Antonides, Renewal in the Work Place: A Critical Look at Collective Bargaining (London Ontario: Christian Labour Association of Canada, 1982), 72-73: By 1980 the C.L.A.C. had organized 214 companies representing just under 5,000 workers. Of this figure, only 8 workers directed their dues to another union, while 31 chose to send their dues to a charitable organization. "There is More to Work Than 'Punching in.' Dickey Tells C.L.A.C." Calvinist Contact 15 (May 1981), 4.

117. Interview with Jake Lesage.

118. "List of Gifts for our Defense Fund," The Guide 38 (June 1956), 4.

119. Unable to form certified trade locals throughout the fifties and early sixties, the Christian Reformed supporters of the C.L.A.C. commonly formed general workers locals. Typically, a general worker's local was made up of five or more people of any trade or vocation, who paid a regular associate members due. Typically, a general worker's local was made up of five or more people of any trade or vocation, who paid a regular associate members due. Locals had considerable freedom in planning their meetings, but if we look at a suggested agenda printed in the Guide from November 1956 we can perhaps see how an average meeting may have been run. First, call to order. Second, opening hymn ex., "Rise up O Men of God." Third, prayer. Fourth, scripture reading. Fifth, roll call. Sixth, reading and confirming of minutes. Seventh, correspondence. Eighth, reports, announcements, business. Ninth, speaker. Tenth, recess. Eleventh, discussion. Twelfth, adjournment. General workers locales customarily worked to build up a spirit of camaraderie and purpose by organizing group educational meetings. At these meetings which all began and ended with prayer, the members generally studied and discussed the current Canadian economic and social conditions in the light of Christian principles. Such meetings were also an ideal time to work at making the C.L.A.C.'s "propaganda" more appealing, and to try to recruit new members. Christian Labour Association of Canada: Constitution, (April 19, 1986), 8; "Methodical Meeting," The Guide 41 (November 1956), 2; Hull, "Are Unions Anti-Christian?" 20.

Chapter IX

Conclusion (A)

As with their fellow Dutchmen, the orthodox Reformed that came to Canada in the postwar period, sought a more prosperous future than that which their homeland seemed to offer. Although Netherlander migration cut across class lines, most of the immigrants, particularly those that arrived in those early formative waves, were small farmers and agricultural workers. In the Netherlands, the combination of a population boom, scarce land and the devastation left in the wake of the Second World War had convinced many that their only hope of lifting themselves above their station lay in emigrating to a new land. Following the war, Canada experienced a severe shortage of agricultural workers. By taking advantage of their 'favoured status' of being first on the land, and by simple hard work, many of these newcomers were able to reach their dreams in Canada.

For a significant number of the orthodox Reformed, economic integration and economic success did not necessarily mean social integration. Considering themselves to be a covenant people whose first allegiance was to God, many orthodox Reformed did not quietly merge into mainstream Canadian society as many government officials had assumed they would. Instead, animated by their own unique worldview and following their own understanding of what the 'demands' of their covenant relationship placed upon them, these people held themselves separate from the larger Canadian community and in some cases each other. Moreover, as their numbers grew and their economic condition improved, several of these newly sprouting Reformed communities began to construct

their own largely separate 'Christian' infrastructures.

The largest and most extensive of these infrastructures is the one many scholars have routinely associated with the Christian Reformed Church. Highly motivated to assist their covenantal brothers and sister, this small American denomination centred in Grand Rapids, Michigan, pumped significant financial and physical resources into Canada throughout the early, critical stages of immigration. Largely through this effort the Christian Reformed Church was able to gather the arriving immigrants into communities creating a critical mass and giving them a focal point and cohesiveness they might otherwise not have had. With sacrifice on both sides this combination of the Christian Reformed Church and orthodox Reformed immigrants was able to create a large network of educational, health and social institutions.

Although the present day characteristics and structures of the Christian Reformed community still reflect to a great extent the structural patterns adopted between 1946 and 1963, it is clear to anyone familiar with the community in the late 1990's that the covenantal Reformed mindset of the earlier immigration period is no longer functioning along the strict isolationist and separatist lines of the earlier patterns. These changes are not restricted to any particular realm; to use the terminology of the Reformed, they cut across the various spheres such as social relationships, education, labour, and politics. For example, while in comparison to mainstream Canadian society, we might consider the Reformed tendency to marry within their faith community to be extreme, exogamy is no longer uncommon. Whereas things might rest easier in the case of a 'mixed marriage'¹ if the 'Canadian' joined the Christian Reformed Church, what is often held

up to be of primary importance is the commitment of the Canadian to the Christian faith.

In the schools run by the Canadian Reformed, Netherlands Reformed Congregations, and Free Reformed, you must still be a member of that denomination to hold a teaching position in those Christian schools associated with the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools, but it is not uncommon for non-Reformed Christians to hold teaching positions. For example, in the case of Timothy Christian School in Barrie, Ontario, there is a Baptist principal in a 'Reformed' Christian institution.

According to Donald Akenson, when one studies belief systems, the most important task of the scholar is "to see how the system works." This, Akenson goes on to say, "has to be done on the terms of believers themselves: do the pieces, however bizarrely shaped, fit together? Does the belief system speak to the emotional as well as to the intellectual needs of its adherents? Does the myth system explain to its believers how the world works."² For the orthodox Reformed immigrants that came to Canada in the postwar period, their covenant relationship with God and each other spoke to their emotional, intellectual and spiritual needs. This relationship provided them with a firm foundation from which to view a strange, new land. It gave them a purpose and direction, providing them with a comprehensive guide in their struggle to adjust to life in a new environment. In such a situation, being a covenant people of God took on a new significance. In summary, the Orthodox Reformed that came to Canada set themselves apart because of the relationship they felt they had with God. Or, to put it another way, they did what they did because of the responsibilities and demands placed upon them as a covenant people of God.

Historical explanations are always tentative, not because such patterns do not exist, but that they are often “more apparent than real”³ My own cause for constraint is that I recognise that not everyone readily fit themselves into the pattern I am presenting here. We need only to note that two people who have garnered much media attention lately - convicted Alberta, eco-terrorist Wiebo Ludwig and award winning film maker Patricia Rosema - are both products of the Christian Reformed Church. Even within such a small faith community variety abounds and not everybody conforms to expected patterns.

Beyond my argument on the covenant, the other element central to this study is that ideas do indeed count. Akenson maintains that “the ideas that count most are religious.”⁴ This belief about ideas is fundamental and undergirds my study on the worldview of the Reformed and the ideas such as covenant and Kuyperianism that support it. The religious dimension cannot be discounted even in today’s technological society. As I write this conclusion in the summer of the year 2000, I need only to turn on my television to hear that the marching season has once again descended on Northern Ireland. And despite cries for peace, Protestant Orangemen of all ages and from a wide variety of backgrounds will once again reach for their bowler hats and orange vests to brave water cannon and world wide derision in order to commemorate past victories over their religious foes. Or, I need only to go to my office at the Chaplaincy Centre at McMaster University in Hamilton Ontario to be confronted with the role religion plays in the lives of women and men as they study and toil in Canadian academe. Personal or collective religious beliefs are the very strands that weave together the collective

fragments of society and give meaning in the lives of the Reformed and of many others.

To begin to understand a community like the Christian Reformed this is the element that needs to be recognised at the outset.

1. I am using the term 'mixed marriage' here as the Reformed have historically used it. A marriage between a Reformed individual and someone from outside the denomination.
2. Donald Akenson. God's Peoples, 55.
3. Ibid., 351.
4. Ibid., 353: Wolters has observed that two of the features of Weltanschauung that we have highlighted above, namely, that of being historically individual and non-scientific, also characterize the modern conception of religion. It is not surprising, therefore, that worldview has often been associated with religious faith, understood in the sense of a highly personal and pre-theoretical commitment. Wolters, On the idea of Worldview." 19.

Appendices

Canadian Immigration Laws Pertaining to Post World War Two

Dutch Immigration Netherland Farm Families

In 1947 the governments of Canada and Holland entered into a "gentlemen's agreement" to relieve the Dutch economy of their farm labour surplus. While there was no written agreement it was to be understood that "Netherland farmers are not to labourers. They are bonafide farm owners with capital sufficient to purchase farms in Canada. Owing to the exchange difficulties they are not for the present able to export their capital but eventually expect to acquire farms of their own." The first group of farm families arrived on June 27, 1947.

P.C. 2856, This law introduced on June 9, 1950 increased the classes of European eligible to immigrate to Canada. It is of special importance in regard to the C.L.A.C. as it was under this law that it's the future founders - the industrial workers immigrated. It states that "any immigrant having satisfied the minister that he is a suitable immigrant having regard to the climatic, social, educational, industrial, labour and other conditions or requirements of Canada; and that he is not undesirable owing to his peculiar customs and habits, methods of holding property or because of his probable inability to become readily adapted and integrated into Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after his entry." Specifically in the case of Holland, the law states under the title "Nationals" those eligible for immigration were, "agricultural workers, some artisans and workers selected under agreement with the Netherlands government."

Special Relief

The last law to make a strong impact on Dutch immigration was the special accommodation made for victims of the disastrous floods that ravaged the Netherlands in 1953. Under the Assisted Passage Scheme, immigrants were given help to come to Canada and "no occupational barriers were put in their way."

Alan G. Green. Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada and Maclean Hunter Press, 1978), 232-).

Table A

Immigration to Canada, 1946-1970

1945	22,722	1958	124,851
1946	71,719	1959	106,928
1947	64,127	1960	104,111
1948	125,414	1961	71,689
1949	95,217	1962	74,586
1950	73,912	1963	93,151
1951	194,391	1964	112,606
1952	164,498	1965	146,758
1953	168,868	1966	194,743
1954	154,227	1967	222,876
1955	109,946	1968	183,974
1956	164,857	1969	161,531
1957	282,164	1970	147,713

Source: 1970 Immigration Statistics, Department of manpower and Immigration, 4. Cited in Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration 372.

Table B

Emigration from the Netherlands to Canada

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Accum.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Accum.</u>
	<u>Total</u>			<u>Total</u>	
1946	2,432	2,431	1961	1,787	155,492
1947	3,499	5,930	1962	1,548	157,040
1948	10,169	16,099	1963	1,697	158,737
1949	7,782	23,881	1964	1,812	160,549
1950	7,404	31,285	1965	2,505	163,054
1951	19,130	50,415	1966	3,516	166,570
1952	21,213	71,628	1967	4,223	170,793
1953	20,472	92,100	1968	3,099	173,892
1954	16,340	108,440	1969	2,343	176,235
1955	6,929	115,369	1970	1,767	178,002
1956	7,956	123,325	1971	1,091	179,093
1957	12,310	135,635	1972	1,277	180,370
1958	7,595	143,230	1973	1,532	181,902
1959	5,103	148,333	1974	1,878	183,780
1960	5,372	153,705	1975	1,260	185,040

Source: Netherlands Emigration Service, Directorate for Emigration, The Hague. as quoted in the papers of A.H. M. Claus van Banning, Toronto. Multicultural Historical Society, Toronto.

Table C

Officially Sponsored Emigration from the Netherlands To Canada 1946-1982

1946	9	1964	1,911
1947	2,361	1965	2,505
1948	6,899	1966	3,516
1949	6,856	1967	4,223
1950	7,033	1968	3,009
1951	18,604	1969	2,343
1952	20,653	1970	1,767
1953	20,095	1971	1,091
1954	15,859	1972	1,277
1955	6,654	1973	1,532
1956	7,651	1974	1,878
1957	11,724	1975	1,260
1958	7,284	1976	1,069
1959	5,457	1978	1,115
1960	1,799	1979	1,201
1961	1,553	1980	1,492
1962	1,701	1981	1,724
1963	1,911	1982	1,920

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health in the Netherlands. Cited in Albert VanderMey, To All Our Children, 52.

Table D

Percentage of Agriculturalists among Dutch Immigrants to Canada 1948-1954

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1948	84
1949	87
1950	66
1951	40
1952	38
1953	32
1954	22

Source: Tuinman, A.S. "The Netherlands-Canadian Migration" in Tijdschrift Voor Economische and Sociale Geographie, August 1956, 181. Cited in Peetroom, From Mythology to Mythology, 56.

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