TIMOTHY NIJHOF AND CATHARINA DE BAKKER
The Dutch Community in the Kildonans (1893-1911), The English Churches and the Boer War

Introduction

On April 22, 1893, sixty-eight Dutch immigrants arrived in Winnipeg and settled in East and West Kildonan, two villages north of that city (now part of it).[1] Their arrival in Canada was part of an enterprising experiment underwritten by a Christian immigration society in the Netherlands. The *Comité voor Emigratie* had been formed to alleviate the suffering of displaced agricultural labourers from depressed regions in the Netherlands, particularly in the Province of Friesland.[2] The society hoped to use this first group of Dutch settlers as a spearhead for a more substantial emigration from the Netherlands to the Canadian West.[3]

In the academic literature, there has been very little mention of the social and religious adaptation of this initial group of immigrants into Manitoban society. Much of the literature on Dutch immigration that exists focuses on the post-World War Two era and is primarily concerned with describing the motivations and factors of the immigration.[4] Studies of this period which do examine the acculturation process of Dutch immigrants, tend to concentrate on Ontario, where by 1945 society was more liberal than Manitoba in the 1890's.[5] Manitoba at that time was an extension of Calvinist Ontario and thus very similar to the religious culture of the Dutch immigrants. Therefore it is curious that no attempt has been made to explain why this small community persisted against great odds in maintaining a distinctive religious identity.

In fact, very little is known about the evolution of this process. In Manitoba, even among the descendants of these immigrants, the collective memory seems to focus on a vague recollection of their market gardening skills rather than on the retention of their ethnic and religious identity. Why did this small group struggle to establish its own Dutch Reformed Church in a frontier society that defined itself as a projection of Protestant Ontario and in which Dutch Protestants were the most welcome of immigrants?[6] The answer to this question lies in their reaction to the Boer War of 1899-1902.

This paper is the first part of an examination of the Dutch community in the Kildonans; it focuses on their religious identity. The archival material for this period is limited but we do have two books by one of their religious leaders, Klaas de Vries.[7] The signifi-

cance of his writings is twofold. At one level, they provide an important anecdotal record of the experiences of these initial Dutch settlers to Manitoba. At another level they constitute an eyewitness account of the development of the West from the perspective of a recently arrived Dutch immigrant. Both of these are interesting from a historiographical perspective, to be sure, but their real importance is for social history.

Klaas de Vries' writings provide an excellent opportunity to delve into religious identity and how it is expressed in terms of Dutch Calvinism. These immigrants were virtually abandoned by the *Comité voor Emigratie*.[8] The Presbyterian Church, although formally asked to provide for the spiritual needs of these settlers, does not appear to have made any special efforts to accommodate the request.[9] Although the Christian Reformed Church tried to organize a congregation in 1896, it was too small and the new immigrants were left to their own devices.[10] Why did the Presbyterians not absorb these immigrants?

Finally, the paper describes how the process of selective integration and religious crystallization was realized in dynamic tension with the dominant British Ontario culture in Manitoba, especially as it developed in the context of the Boer War.

The Social-Political Landscape of Manitoba

The Province of Manitoba has been subjected to great shifts in its demographics, which have resulted in significant changes to its social and political structure. It was originally inhabited by aboriginals who pursed a traditional nomadic lifestyle.[11] In the 17th century fur trading companies established settlements to harvest and export the rich fur resources of the territories. After many skirmishes between the rival fur companies, the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company faced a new challenge from the establishment of the Red River Settlement. Lord Selkirk, founder of the settlement, set aside substantial tracts of land around the fertile confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. This settlement was populated with "crofters" from Scotland, who had been forced off the land as part of the Highland Clearances which followed the repression of the Stuart rebellion in 1745. Over time the settlement in Manitoba became equally populated by English- and French-speaking settlers.

In 1869 the settlement was torn apart by the Métis' resistance to an immigrant wave from the Province of Ontario. The Métis felt threatened by the new migrants, who had no respect for the delicate cultural co-existence between French and Indians established in the settlement, and did not want a new culture imposed on them. Tensions escalated until the Métis under their leader, Louis Riel, established their own provisional government and attempted to place demands before the Dominion government for resolution. The "rebellion" was defeated and Riel fled to the United States. The Dominion government, under pressure from the French element, did make concessions to the French settlers when they established the Province of Manitoba in 1870. These concessions included the creation of a separate school system and a legal system, which officially recognized both French and English in their proceedings.

However, the immigration from Ontario continued unabated and forced the Métis to vacate their traditional hunting grounds

and follow their food source, the bison. As a result, by the end of the 19th century Manitoba's French element was in the minority. In 1896 the Liberal government of Manitoba introduced legislation that abolished the separate school system and removed the rights of the French to access the legal system in their own language. The revocation of the provision of separate schools affected not only the French-Canadians but other ethnic groups such as the Mennonites.

The Arrival of the Dutch Immigrants

The number of Dutch settlers in Manitoba before the arrival of the 1893 group was extremely small. Based on figures from 1886, Benjamin Dixon, the Dutch Consul General, estimated that there were only thirty-five Dutch immigrants living in Winnipeg, with an additional 40 settlers of Dutch origin scattered on farms throughout Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.[12] Alan Artibise's review of census data from 1881 – 1916, although limited to Winnipeg (Table 1), illustrates that the Dutch population was never large – indeed, when compared to the populations from the British Isles, it was insignificant.[13]

The *Comité voor Emigratie* initially approached the Canadian government in order to establish a group settlement for the prospective settlers. Robert Insinger, MLA for Wallace in the North West Territories and the Canadian correspondent for the committee, called upon the Minister of the Interior, the Honourable E. Dewdney, "to discuss the ways in which they could induce a valuable class of settlers to Canada."[14] Insinger specifically requested that the Canadian Government provide the Immigration Society with a free grant of land, to be used to establish a settlement based on the successful "Colony" model of the Dutch settlements in the United States. The Minister of the Interior informed Mr. Insinger, through his Deputy Minister, that the policy of the government no longer allowed such grants since

> The experiment has been tried extensively and has invariably been found to be a failure, principally because other immi grants seeing land withheld... at once, conclude that there is something superior to these lands and large numbers squatted on the reserves.[15]

Table 1 Origins of Winnipeg's Population 1881-1916

	1881	%	1886	%	1901	%	1911	%	1916	%
Dutch	5	.5	50	.2	92	.2	535	.4	795	.5
French	450	5.6	610	3.0	1,379	3.3	2,695	2.0	3,115	1.9
German	186	2.3	545	2.7	2,283	5.4	8,912	6.6	5,632	3.5
English	2,332	29.2	6,946	34.3	14,559	34.5	42,408	31.2	57,190	35.1
Irish	1,864	23.4	4,391	21.7	7,342	17.3	15,432	11.4	19,466	11.9
Scots	2,470	30.9	5,380	26.6	9,190	21.7	25,789	19.0	31,392	19.3
Total British	6,679	83.6	16,795	83.0	31,230	73.9	84,552	62.3	109,238	67.0

Although this was the "official line" given to the committee, the real reason the Canadian government abandoned group settlements was the potential political influence they could wield, and the social separatism they tended to display through language retention and the preservation of their native culture, customs and institutions when they settled in larger groups.

In the same meeting, Mr. Insinger also informed the Minister of the Interior that "nearly all the emigrants from the Netherlands belong to the Dutch Reformed Church, which in Canada forms part of the Presbyterian body."[16] The Deputy Minister of the Interior, A. Burgess, corresponded with Rev. W. Reid, D.D., Clerk of the Presbyterian Synod,[17] requesting "assurance" that the Presbyterian Church in Canada would make "very liberal provision for the spiritual care of its members in the North West." This would be particularly important, Burgess explains, since these "immigrants regard access to church privileges as of very great consequence." Mr. Burgess also urged Rev. Reid to contact the Rev. L. de Geer, Secretary of the Christian Immigration Society, in order to inform him that this matter was being addressed.[18]

Almost a year ahead of the larger grouping, Klaas de Vries and his brother Reindert were sent to Yorkton, SK to scout out the terrain and report to the Netherlands.[19] Klaas de Vries had his first reported experience with the Presbyterians in 1892 when a missionary visited him. It is not known if the missionary was sent to see de Vries in response to the special request of the Committee, or as part of an effort to track down a reported colony of Dutch immigrants in the North West Territories, or coincidentally as part of the missionary's regular circuit. The Deputy Minister of the Interior requested the assistance of R. Insinger and the Dominion Land Agent to confirm a rumor concerning 60 –70 Dutch colonists who supposedly had mysteriously arrived in Wapella, SK. The Land Agent indicated that he had made inquiries and no such settlement existed.[20] The incident could have been the result of talk about a larger grouping of Dutch settlers arriving in Yorkton, and may have been plausible considering the proximity of these two towns. In any event, the Presbyterian missionary visited Klaas de Vries, who later recalled:

> It was on one of these evenings that I had just finished my supper and had read a chapter in the Bible, when all of a sudden there was knock on the door....I flung open the door and he introduced himself to me: "I am a missionary of the Presbyterian Church...and have been sent to visit the scattered members of the Presbyterian Church to bring them the gospel." [21]

The All Peoples' Mission

The group of Dutch immigrants who arrived in Winnipeg on April 21, 1893 would have been given support in acclimatizing to their new land by the workers of the All Peoples' Mission.[22] It served people of Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, French, German, English and other nationalities, as well as indigenous peoples, and was located on Austin Street near the CPR Station.[23] A sign was affixed to the side of the building facing the station, with the words "A house of prayer for all people," written in eight languages including Dutch. It was from this sign that the Mission acquired the name "All Peoples' Mission," although it was also known as the Dolly Maguire Mission

in recognition of the woman who had laboured to create it. It is not known if the sign would have greeted the Dutch immigrants who arrived in 1893; the Dutch translation of the mission's calling is the last entry, so it may have been added at a later date. In any event, we do know for certain that the Dutch immigrants availed themselves of the Mission

> and held services for a short time, on Friday evenings, and later, on Saturday mornings at 11 o'clock. These are notable as being the first to be carried on in the Dutch language in Manitoba.[24]

Klaas de Vries, although highly critical of Methodist theology, particularly its reliance on Arminianism, [25] had special words of praise for Mr. and Mrs. Hughes (Dolly Maguire being her maiden name) since they "did much to bring the word of the Gospel to the Dutch population."[26]

With no established Dutch church, whether Reformed or Christian Reformed, the newly arrived Dutch immigrants went to Church haphazardly, "sometimes here, sometimes there, or not at all." While de Vries recognized that there were many good churches of different denominations, they all made him feel like a stranger or a foreigner. In 1903 he and his wife returned from Oak Harbour, Washington to East Kildonan and joined the Kildonan Presbyterian Church. He found the minister of the Church, Rev. J.H. Cameron, to be "reasonably sound of doctrine," had two of his sons baptized there and "would not dare say that the Gospel was not soundly proclaimed there," and "yet [we] did not feel entirely at home in the general Presbyterian Church."

The specific issues Klaas de Vries became aware of in that Church included the lack of church discipline for those who lived "inappropriate lives", as well as what seemed to him their tendency to pay more attention to Santa Claus than to the Advent of Christ. One transgression that he found particularly offensive was the issue of dancing, or more correctly what he perceived as the hypocrisy of the Consistory regarding this issue. On one occasion the young people had attended a dance party on a Saturday evening and then participated in the Lord's Supper on Sunday morning. Consequently he declined the position of Elder, to which the congregation had elected him. The Dutch community was starting to establish itself, and despite the subsequent material improvement as a result of the growing economy, he noted that something was still lacking for many in the community: "namely it was church-life; or perhaps to be more exact, it was congregational life, being part of a church community. On Sundays, we felt it most."[27]

Dutch Reformed Religious Identity in North America

James D. Bratt, in his historical analysis of Dutch Calvinist theology in the United States, describes the process that shaped Dutch Calvinist religious distinctiveness in the American context. He uses the observations of Foppe Ten Hoor, a former professor of systematic theology at Calvin Theological Seminary, to describe this evolution. Ten Hoor, who arrived in 1898 from the Netherlands, was struck by the vast cultural differences between the Dutch and Americans, and traced the origin of these differences to their ecological responses to the environment. The Americans, with their abundance of land

and resources, tended to move quickly and were results-oriented and pragmatic in judgment, whereas the Dutch, with their confined territory, were of necessity concerned with distinction and boundaries and inclined towards being cautious, a tendency which was ultimately reflected in a preoccupation with principle, theory and traditions. These differences, in Ten Hoor's estimation, were most acutely felt in the realm of religion.[28]

H. Brinks makes similar observations in his analysis of the process of absorption of the Dutch Reformed in the United States. He felt that the absorption of the host country's cultural "externalities" such as dress, food, and language was unavoidable, but that "Americanization would not invade the vital regions of ideology and faith." His analysis of immigrant letters describes a process of "peeling away the layers of foreign identity," but he concludes that "cultural assimilation either was arrested or proceeded with utmost caution at the door of the church." [29]

The situation for the Dutch immigrants in Manitoba, although appearing similar on the surface to that in the United States, proved to be vastly different. Although there was an abundance of land and resources in the Canadian Prairies, there were significant differences in culture as well as in the approach to the assimilation process. The Americans assimilated the immigrants within the framework of a "melting pot" - to be an American was to adopt the virtues of the Republic as one's own. Canada, on the other hand, had two founding charter groups, the English and the French. The relations and tensions between them were particularly evident in the linguistic battles which took place in Manitoba, and also in the settlement policies, which moved from favouring group settlements to the homesteading model that had as one of its consequences the curtailment of sectarianism.

Klaas de Vries questioned his decision to immigrate to Canada and, while accepting partial responsibility for his decision, felt that the Christian Immigration Society had made a grave error. He felt that the Society was not concerned with "the spiritual interests of the emigrants" they sent out, only with their material needs. He concludes that it was irresponsible

> to send [them] out of a Christian environment to live in a foreign land, deprived of any Christian fellowship, with no guidance whatsoever. There has to be a minister or spiritual leader who can give guidance, who can save people from a loss or from spiritual deterioration.[30]

It is from this despair and self-doubt that the religious core of de Vries and others of the community was exposed as being not only Calvinist but also Dutch. This religious self-identity could not be analyzed, it needed to be maintained in a holistic being. That is why, even though the Presbyterian Church had accepted them into their communities, and in the case of de Vries honoured him by offering a position of church leadership, there was a chasm which most of the Dutch were not able to cross in order to become fully integrated into the "English" church community. This chasm was to become insurmountable as the tension between these communities intensified in the crucible of the events surrounding the Boer War.

Reactions to the Boer War

The onset of the conflict in South Africa did not come as a surprise to the Dutch settlements in North America. The tension between the Boers and the English in South Africa had been followed with great interest, and when the conflict finally erupted it released deep emotions. Dominee H.S. Bosman, a long serving minister from Pretoria and a visiting delegate to the Pan-Presbyterian Congress in the United States, made such an impression at an address in Holland (Michigan) that he inspired H.E. Dosker and Gerrit J. Kollen to send a telegram to Queen Victoria with the following plea: "The Holland colonists in Michigan earnestly prayer your Majesty to turn from war with the Transvaal. The Christian world prayerful watches the course of events." (*sic*) [31]

Other Dutch-American responses included attempts by volunteers to enlist in the conflict (but the necessary protocols had not been established between the Boer Republic and the United States to allow this). The Dutch communities were encouraged to set up committees to collect money to assist the Boer resistance. One of these committees, the Holland Transvaal Relief Society of Detroit, passed a resolution condemning Canada for its support of the English and for mobilizing an expeditionary force. [32]

Practical and symbolic forms of solidarity with the Boer cause included local merchants holding Transvaal Days in which customers were provided with enticements. Badges of the war hero Oom Paul Kruger were sold and worn on the lapel of coats. Many children born during the conflict were named after Kruger, Piet Cronje and Piet Joubert. Some farmers were even known to name their horses after Boer generals.[33]

More formal measures of support were also taken. Ministers of both the Reformed and Christian Reformed Churches provided strong commentary from the pulpit on the justice of the Boer cause. Rev. Foppe Fortuin, a minister in the Christian Reformed Church, made an impassioned plea at a well-attended public meeting, stating that not only was the Boer cause "right" but those in attendance were "bound to them by the ties of Blood." The city councils of many of the settlement communities in both Michigan and Iowa made formal resolutions in support of the Boers, which were sent to Senators and members of the House of Representatives. A formal resolution was forwarded to President McKinley requesting that the "friendly offices of the United States be used in mediating for peace."[34]

In Canada, the Laurier government found itself involved in a war in which "no Canadian interest was at stake"[35] and which had the potential to be very divisive and ultimately to imperil the precarious balance of Canadian unity. The government was under extreme public pressure from the pro-war coalition, which was backed by the English Canadian church and press. The leaders of all Protestant denominations, whether Presbyterian, Methodist or Church of England, placed themselves in a perilous situation if they spoke out publicly against Canada's involvement in the war.[36]

Opposition to the war, while small, came from the rural community, radical labour, some Protestant clergy, and Anglophobic groups of Irish and German descent. Their

rationale for opposition to the war was diverse and was based on the various groupings' own criteria, whether socialist, pacifist, Anglophobe or some other consideration. Interestingly enough, the opposition in the farm community, especially among farmers in Western Canada, resulted from their tending to identify with the Boers as a God-fearing, sober, simple folk much like themselves.[37]

The rhetoric in support of the war reached lofty oratorical heights. T.G. Marquis, a professor of English at Queen's University, found the Boer war analogous to the Riel Rebellion:

> The South African Chartered Company played the role of the Hudson Bay Company, the beleaguered Red River party became the Uitlanders of their day, and the Métis resistance assumed the role of the Boers resisting civilization and progress.[38]

The Rev. Fredrick Scott, in his farewell exhortation to the first departing contingent, encouraged them as troops of the Empire to destroy the tyranny of Dutch seventeenth-century despotism. Another minister stated that the South African War was simply a "God-given opportunity to rescue Africa from Dutch terrorism."[39]

These views seemed to have been shared in Winnipeg. At its meeting on March 13, 1900, the Presbytery of Winnipeg unanimously adopted a resolution concerning the war in South Africa, calling for the conflict to be speedily concluded in the British favour and for the Empire to be preserved in its integrity. Specifically, for the Boers, the resolution called for those that "we contend in battle with, that they may learn with us what the righteous will of God is." The resolution was to be placed on record and read from all the pulpits on March 25th 1900.[40]

An earlier draft of the resolution, or perhaps an unedited version of it, contained an additional clause, which was stricken from the version finally adopted:

> Especially that after the war in South Africa is ended those confronting one another in arms might be led to lay aside their jealousies, to cooperate in rearing a stable, orderly, prosperous community, in mutual trust and helpfulness.[41]

It is difficult to understand why the clause was omitted, since the wording is nothing more than a positive affirmation that improved normalized relations could resume after the war concluded. The deletion seems to be due to the enmity towards the Boers engendered by the war.

The Methodist church held similar viewpoints regarding the war in South Africa and the maintenance of Canada as an Anglo-Saxon domain. These views were expressed by its favorite son, W. Sanford Evans. The son of a Methodist minister, Rev. J.S. Evans, he was born in 1869 and was a member of the first Canadian-born generation. Along with his colleague Charles McCullogh, he founded the Canadian Club Movement in 1893 to "promote the greatness and uniqueness of the Canadian nation." The members of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg were men, primarily of the business or professional elite, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Applicants were required to declare themselves British subjects. Evans eventually became Mayor of Winnipeg and leader of the Conservative Par-

ty, and belonged to the right social clubs such as the Manitoba Club, the Assiniboine Lodge of the Masonic order, and the St. Charles Country Club. In his only book, written in 1901 on Canada's role in the Boer War, Evans "saw no contradiction [between] promoting a greater Canadianism and celebrating the British heritage, because he believed that being British was an important component of the Canadian character – British traditions were Canadian traditions." This though he strongly advocated a Canadian Department of External Affairs.[42]

Another prominent Methodist voice in Winnipeg was that of J.S. Woodsworth, who became superintendent of the All People's Mission and eventually leader of the national C.C.F. Party. In 1909, he wrote a report on the work of the mission entitled *Strangers within Our Gates*. In a paternalistic style, he analyzes the various racial groupings of the immigrants in Winnipeg. He gives his view of the Dutch immigrants in his section concerning German immigrants. The "patient Hollanders" and the "sturdy Germans," he writes, "possess those qualities which form the foundation of enduring success."[43]

Woodsworth's views of immigrants were that of an "actively involved and well-read English speaking Protestant Canadian."[44] In his emphasis on the necessity for assimilation to a uniform standard, and in his assumptions concerning the proper values and ideals for the Canadian nation, he reflected the dominant belief of his society that Canada was and should remain an Anglo-Saxon nation.

There can be no doubt about the animosity that Klaas de Vries felt towards the English. In his opinion, England was driven by "land hunger" and had savagely conquered the Boer Republics in a "cruel and bloody manner." This was part of England's ongoing "insatiable" and unjust policy of "subjection." Looking back from the First World War, but with the Boer War still "vividly in his mind," de Vries realized that every citizen had a moral obligation to defend his country, and also agreed that a citizen must be willing to have his property used and his sons conscripted, but there must be suitable justification. However, in World War One English motives were strictly commercial and no different from those of the Germans. The real difference was that Canada and the member states of the British Empire "had to join in to make the Great Britannia greater still," and "for that cause my sons would soon be called upon to face the fire." 45

Conclusion

The Dutch immigrants were thus confronted with a unique situation. The social milieu of Manitoba was decidedly British-Canadian in orientation, and this attitude permeated the major denominations in Manitoba, especially the Presbyterians and the Methodists. The Methodists, although viewed favourably by the Dutch immigrants, proved to be a difficult fit as a result of their theological stances. The Presbyterians were a good fit, but the impediment which seems to have played a crucial role was the superiority exhibited by the charter British-Canadians vis-à-vis other ethnic groups. This distinction was further exacerbated and amplified by the stance taken by the British-Canadians, whether Methodist or Presbyterian, in support of the Boer War.

In this social milieu the Dutch immigrants

were confronted with a choice. They could choose assimilation into the prevailing British-Canadian religious culture, or they could organize themselves as a distinct Reformed Church. The Dutch immigrant community boldly took the latter step, and despite small numbers and limited financial resources, decided to organize as a congregation under the Christian Reformed Church in 1908. In 1911 the Dutch moved closer to their goal of establishing their unique religious identity when they were finally able to secure the financing necessary to begin the process of building a church.46

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NOTES

[1] Krijff, 25.

[2] Ganzevoort, 9.

[3] July 15, 1892, letter from Benjamin Homer-Dixon, Consul-General of the Netherlands, to the Honourable E. Dewdney, Minister of the Interior. Department of the Interior (Immigration Branch), file 923 Part 1, Microfilm C-4698.

[4] Cf. notably Ganzevoort and Schryer.

[5] On Manitoba history, cf. Artibise, Friesen, Morton and Jackson.

[6] Woodsworth, 84.

[7] Cf. de Vries (Klaas) and de Vries (Klaas and Reindert).

[8] May 11, 1894, letter from L. Roosmale Nepveu of the *Comité voor Emigratie* to A.M. Burgess. Microfilm cited in note 3.

[9] April 19, 1982, letter from A.M. Burgess to the Rev. Wm. Reid, Secretary, Western Section, Home Missions. Microfilm cited in note 3.

[10] Dominee G. G. Han from the Christian Reformed Church visited for three consecutive Sundays in 1896. De Vries, Klaas and Reindert, 48.

[11] Cf. Friesen.

[12] Krijff, 13.

[13] The figure for the Dutch community in 1916 is probably inflated as a result of what Artibise calls a "statistical flight from the German ethnic group." We may suspect that some Germans "fled" to the Dutch ethnic category.

[14] April 19, 1892, letter from A.M. Burgess to Rev. Reid. Microfilm cited in note 3.

[15] July 20, 1892, letter to Benjamin Homer-Dixon. Microfilm cited in note 3.

[16] See note 14.

[17] The Rev. William Reid was born in Scotland on December 10, 1816, and educated at King's College, Aberdeen. He came to Canada as a Missionary of the Glasgow Colonial Society and was involved in the establishment of Queen's College and Knox College. Eventually he became editor of the Missionary Record, Clerk of the Synod, and General Agent of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Cf. Presbyterian Record, vol. XXI (February 1896), 44.

See note 14.

[19] Cf. de Vries, Klaas and Reindert.

[20] June 5, 1892, letter from R. S. Park Homestead Inspector Woseley, NWT, to A. M. Burgess, and May 25, 1892, letter from R. Insinger to Burgess. Microfilm cited in note 3.

[21] De Vries, Klaas, 30-31.

[22] Artibise, 191.

[23] History of the All People's Mission, p.3, undated, from the All People's Mission Collection Box A, United Church Archives, Winnipeg. Although the document is not dated, it refers to an election of officers in 1896.

Ibid. 10.

I must admit that the doctrine is rather superficial, especially the Methodists. Much is expected of the sinner, who can do a great deal. Thus God seems to be dependent on Man's free will." De Vries, Klaas, 63.

de Vries, Klaas and Reindert, 48.

The quotations in these two paragraphs are from de Vries, Klaas, 77-78.

[28] Bratt, 135.

[29] Brinks, *op. cit.*

[30] De Vries, Klaas, 63-65.

[31] Lucas, 565.

[32] *Ibid.* 566.

[33] *Ibid.* 567

[34] *Ibid.* 567.

[35] Miller, 313.

[36] *Ibid.* 315

[37] *Ibid.* 314.

[38] *Ibid.*, 317.

[39] *Ibid.* 320.

[40] Winnipeg Presbytery, United Church Archives –Winnipeg, March10, 1900.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Henry, 2-6.

[43] Wordsworth, 84.

[44] *Ibid.* xx.

[45] De Vries, Klaas, 76-77.

[46] *Ibid.*, 49-51.