WORLD VIEWS AND SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT
A Proposal for Classification of Canadian Neo-Calvinist Social Involvement 1945 - 1980

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Philosophical Foundations

Institute for Christian Studies
1988

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WITH RESPECT for those who have been there
WITH HOPE for those who are arriving

PREFACE

This thesis is an attempt to assess a community in which I have my own roots, acquaintances, and friends. Thus my research was both an exhilarating and discouraging experience. Exhilarating because it showed the deep love the Neo-Calvinist community has for God and for its neighbours in Canada. Discouraging because it showed me many faults that the community has--bitterness, jealousy, in-fighting, triumphalism, fear, and defensiveness.

Some years ago, as he assessed this community, Nick Wolterstorff wrote:

> Both the analysis and the critique are made somewhat delicate by the fact that personalities enter deeply at almost all points and cannot--indeed, must not be ignored. Our controversies are, after all, the controversies of whole, concrete, sinful people--not of abstract, bloodless, ideal robots.[1]

I share this concern and hope that my thesis can contribute to an on-going dialogue, within this community, and with the larger Canadian community.

I had two purposes in mind in choosing this topic for my research. On the one hand I wanted to foster understanding between the seeming incompatible sides of the Neo-Calvinist community. To that end there must be "painstaking

self-examination." As Adrian Guldemond wrote over 15 years ago,

> we must reacquaint each other not just with the theological roots, but also with a multitude of habits of character and traditions of relationships. Only in this way can we keep the good and discard the bad. It must above all be a public, informed, selection and orientation.

He goes on to call for discussion, because "when people can no longer discuss their differences, they can only resort to fighting by other and usually baser means."[2] Robert Bellah and his colleagues, in Habits of the Heart, have also written in this vein:

> Even in the debate about our future, our cultural tradition, in its several strands, is still very much present, and our conversation would probably be more to the point if we were aware of that fact.[3]

On the other hand, I wanted to contribute to a community of memory. Again from Bellah and colleagues we learn that

> in order not to forget that past, a community is involved in retelling its story, its constituitive narrative, and in so doing, it offers examples of the men and women who have embodied and exemplified the meaning of the community. These stories of collective history and exemplary individuals are an important part of the tradition that is so central to a community of memory.[4]

Neo-Calvinists have been active in Canada for more than forty years, but younger generations know little of the history and less of the motivations of people active in many of our organizations. In addition, the larger Canadian society knows little about the Neo-Calvinist community, its rationale for participation in Canadian life, nor its influence. Perhaps this thesis can contribute to that knowledge.

I have dedicated this thesis with respect for many in an older generation who had a vision and worked to serve the Lord with it, and with hope that a younger generation will catch the vision and continue to serve the Lord with it.

Thanks to the Institute for Christian Studies for the opportunity to complete and improve this thesis.

Special thanks to Marian without whose support and help, beyond the call of duty, this thesis would not be.

INTRODUCTION

The Christian religion has been integral to the development of Canadian society and culture. J. W. Grant goes so far as to write of Christianity as the unofficially established religion of Canada.[5] Recently in Canada issues of seven-day shopping, funding for independent schools, abortion, and American right-wing Christian politics have come to the fore, with Christians leading the debate but disagreeing amongst themselves. In addition there has been a proliferation of Christian "social justice" groups, along with commentary and action on social issues by various churches in Canada and, most recently, the founding of Christian political parties.

Questions raised in these debates include:

> How should Christians who live in a country with many religious traditions express their conviction that nations stand under the sovereignty and judgement of God? In what ways and on what foundation can they cooperate with citizens who belong to other religious faiths and with those who reject all traditional religions? How can Christians express their commitment to biblical ideals in the institutions, laws and practices of society without infringing on the rights of citizens who do not share their religious convictions?[6]

These questions deal with matters of religious pluralism and the implications of Christian world views for Christian social involvement.

In Canada, Orthodox[7] Dutch Calvinists, largely post-war

immigrants, have, consistent with their world views, created their own churches[8], schools and other organizations. In concert with others who have joined them, they have brought to Canadian society a unique approach to social involvement.[9] Their influence has been felt in issues of abortion, independent school funding, energy development, social assistance, labour relations, and farmland policy.

Orthodox Dutch Calvinism has its roots in the revival of Calvinism in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century. It began with a revival in the Reformed churches and resulted in splits from the major Dutch Reformed Church. Further developments in this revival found Orthodox Calvinism contributing to a shift in the social makeup of the Netherlands. That part of Orthodox Calvinism which believed in societal involvement is known as Neo-Calvinism. Neo-Calvinists have been the most active of the Orthodox Calvinists in influencing Canadian society. Within Neo-Calvinism there are various perspectives on social involvement which have resulted in conflicts and controversies of various kinds as the Dutch immigrants became an active part of Canadian society.

In this thesis it is argued that world views, or basic assumptions about the nature and destiny of the world, influence social involvement. Therefore a classification for different world views in Dutch-Canadian Neo-Calvinism is proposed and the resulting differing emphases in social involvement are discussed.

The thesis begins with a chapter describing a world view as a theoretical construct useful for classifying various motives for social involvement. The proposed classification for the Neo-Calvinists in Canada is contrasted with other available classifications. The second chapter outlines the historical development of Neo-Calvinism beginning in the Netherlands, its transfer to Canada, and developments in Canada from 1945-1980.

The third chapter summarizes the four primary world views found in Dutch Canadian Orthodox Calvinism and the resultant approaches to social issues. The first, though not a Neo-Calvinist world view, functions as a foil and the prime protagonist for Neo-Calvinism, especially in the early years of life in Canada. The other three world views are Neo-Calvinist, advocating active social involvement, but in three different ways.

The sources for this thesis are primarily the periodicals and newsletters of social action organizations as well as published pamphlets and books. The thesis has dealt little with submissions to government, minutes of meetings, research papers, media notices, interviews, etc.

Since the primary purpose of this thesis is to propose a classification of world views and their implications for social involvement some note must be taken of its limits. Beyond its scope is a detailed history of Neo-Calvinism, Dutch immigration, and Dutch settlement in Canada. This thesis also has not dealt

with the Neo-Calvinist impact on Canadian society nor the impact by Canadian society on Neo-Calvinism.[10] Also beyond the scope of the study, though intensely relevant, are the sociological undercurrents and experiences crucial to the development of the world views described. This thesis forms a middle step in a possible complete study of Neo-Calvinists in Canada. The roots of the world views still need to be uncovered and the fruits of the world views need a more in-depth analysis.

Perhaps the limitations of this thesis may challenge others to take up the task of understanding the Neo-Calvinist community in Canada and its potential for service in the future of Canada.

NOTES FOR PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION

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1. "The AACS in the CRC," Reformed Journal (Dec. 1974): 9.

2. "Neither Reformation ... Nor Revolution," Vanguard (Oct/Nov. 1971): 11.

3. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 27.

4. Bellah et al., Habits of the Heart, p. 153.

5. The Church in the Canadian Era: The First Century of Confederation (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 202.

6. From Gary Scott Smith, The Seeds of Secularization: Calvinism, Culture, and Pluralism in America 1870-1915 (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1985), p. 53. See also John Bennett, Christians and the State (New York: Scribner's, 1958), p. 3.

7. Orthodox Dutch Calvinism refers to the perspective held by those who originally belonged to the Gereformeerde Kerken of the Netherlands and its splinter groups.

8. The Christian Reformed Church is the largest denomination in Canada with roots in Dutch Orthodox Calvinism and provided the context for much of the social involvement dealt with in this thesis.

9. The Canadian Encyclopedia recognizes their uniqueness in its article on Calvinism. "Calvinism" by John S. Moir. The Canadian Encyclopedia, Vol 1, p. 259, Edmonton, Hurtig, 1985.

10. See Bill van Geest, "Aspects of Interaction between the Dutch Reformed and Canadian Society, 1950-1985," paper presented at the Free University, Amsterdam, August 1985.

CHAPTER ONE

WORLD VIEWS AND SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

All social theory and social involvement is at heart religious. Alexis de Tocqueville wrote about habits of the heart which, he believed, were foundational to the make-up of the society he was observing. They involved ideas, opinions, and "habitual practices with respect to such things as religion, political participation, and economic life."[1]

World views are "habits of the heart" which are given their direction by basic religious commitments. They in turn give direction to human response to social issues and to the understanding of social structures and processes. This chapter will outline the nature of world views, their implications for social involvement, and propose a classification of Neo-Calvinist world views and social involvement.

WORLD VIEWS -- World views are basic assumptions about the nature and destiny of the world. As Walsh and Middleton have noted, animals live by instinct, but human beings need to have a vision or guide for their life. A world view constitutes such a perspective or orientation in and for life.[2]

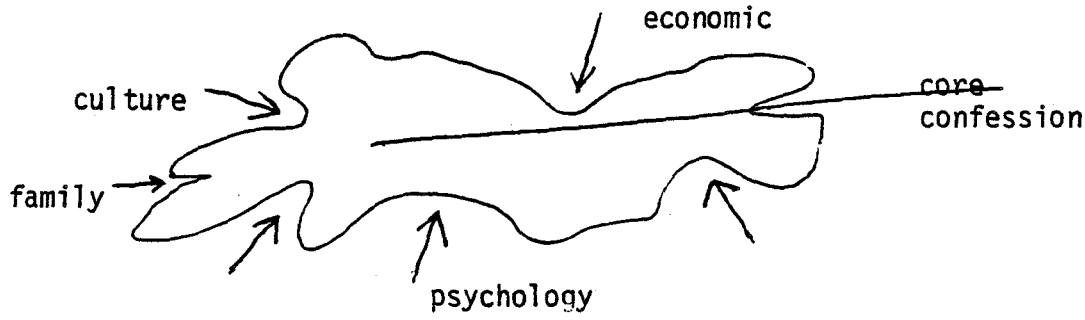
A world view is characterized by a model of the world and a vision of the future which guides its adherents in the world. In a pervasive way a world view presents a way of seeing what is and

what ought to be.[3] It is a religious vision because, as Wolters puts it, a world view is a "comprehensive framework of one's basic beliefs about things." It is a patterned set of convictions and committed beliefs which answers ultimate questions. Closely related are the concepts of principles, ideals, or systems of values.[4] The genesis of a world view is prephilosophical, pretheoretical, or naive -- there is no systematic planning or theoretical intent.[5] It is born of wisdom and "common sense," not education or training.[6]

World views are given shape by basic religious assumptions or confessions which answer the following questions:[7] 1. Who am I and who are the other people around me? 2. Where am I? How is the world and society made up? What structures are in evidence? 3. What's wrong? What is the source of evil? Where does the antithesis lie between good and evil? 4. What is the remedy? Where is salvation or hope to be found? How is evil combatted? These confessional assumptions are the "overriding and decisive factor" in how one views the world.[8]

While confessions are decisive, they alone do not form a world view.[9] The particular contours of each world view are built around the core confession by a whole range of psychological, sociological, and experiential factors which come together in one's life. Economic, political, and social conditions, cultural experiences, family traditions all affect our perceptions of life.[10] Changes in these factors can also contribute to changes in the <u>particular formation</u> of a world view

over the life of a person. The confessional core of one's world view, however, will only change with one's faith conversion.



World views can be grouped together by their similarity of confession. For example, Christianity, Hinduism, Marxism, and Liberalism form different world view families. Within the family of Christian world views are Calvinism, Catholicism, Lutheranism, etc.. Even within Calvinism, as we shall see, we can find different world views.

Though world views take on certain forms in history, the confessional core, or "unifying perspective" according to Holmes, must be distinguished "from the variables that give it a particular formulation at a certain juncture in history, or in a more specific philosophical milieu."[11] He goes on to say that, "we must ... distinguish between claiming that the unifying perspective is true and claiming that every part of a specific elaboration is true."[12] The common confession ensures that the world views form a family. When disagreements and differences arise within a world view family, the world view differences must be distinguished from the core confessional differences. Within

Christianity, for example, a recognition that the core confessions are similar, can help Lutherans, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and Catholics to feel kinship even though their world views may be different.

The spiritual or religious nature of world views sets them off from similar concepts which do not have the same comprehensiveness or depth. An ideology,[13] for example, is passionately held and gives direction to one's action, but is not a world view because it is usually limited to the socio-political and is intended only to bring about change in that area. A mindset or mentality[14] is too intellectual or idea-oriented to function as the wholebodied basic perspective of a world view.[15]

Since world views are perceptual frameworks and ways of seeing they are also different from systems of thought and specialized academic disciplines like theologies or philosophies.[16]. Theology and philosophy (for which one can be trained) give a scientific and theoretical elaboration of world views.[17] They provide an elaboration of the pre-theoretical answers to the four ultimate questions described earlier.

WORLD VIEWS AND SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT -- World views "have spiritually formative and cultural power in the lives of individual people" according to Walsh and Middleton.[18] Similarly, Wolters argues that since a world view functions as a guide to life and an orientation in reality, it "shapes, to a

significant degree, the way we assess the events, issues and structures of our civilization and our times."[19] In fact, world views become most obvious when "we see them incarnated, fleshed out in actual ways of life."[20] They emerge when people are confronted by an emergency, or by issues to be dealt with, or convictions which clash with their own.[21] Nicholas Wolterstorff in summarizing Walsh and Middleton's book, states their argument this way:

> if we probe any society for what it is that primarily forms that society, we discover it is the world view of those who compose that society. This shapes their existence.[22]

Since a world view gives a guide for all of life, it will also shape one's activities in culture and society and give answers to the following questions. Which societal institutions are most important? How can change be brought about to remedy social evils? What are the goals of societal change? What historically sensitive strategies can we implement in bringing about change? Assumptions and answers to these questions are evident in patterns of social involvement.

Christians have had a variety of means of relating their religious credo to their presence in society. While all Christians base their views on the Bible and some common, basic confessional statements formulated by the early church, they work out the implications of these statements in different ways. In other words, various Christian world views have different implications for culture and society.

H. Richard Niebuhr's Christ and Culture[23] describes five different world views within Christianity which result in five different approaches to culture. Niebuhr writes that "Christianity ... moves between the poles of Christ and culture. The relation of these two authorities constitutes its problem." Being a Christian involves choices between the revelation of Christ and the reason of culture; between the understanding of right and wrong developed in culture and the good and evil illuminated by Christ.[24] Niebuhr's descriptions show how the same confession can be the core of at least these five views of the world and culture.

The "Christ Against Culture" position[25] "uncompromisingly affirms the sole authority of Christ over the Christian and resolutely rejects culture's claims to loyalty."[26] The Christian, along with Christ, must oppose the customs of society and human achievements, because the world, defined as everything outside of the church, is under the power of evil. Believers must live in this world but their loyalty must be "directed entirely toward the new order, the new society and its Lord."[27] They must distinguish sharply between the Christian community and the pagan world.[28]

Niebuhr's "Christ Of Culture" position includes those Christians who see no conflict between the Christ whom they confess and the culture in which they live.[29] In fact, they can often point to evidence of Christ guiding their culture. The good evident in the world (however ideologically defined) is

equated with the work of God and the gospel in the world. Whatever opposes the approach one is advocating is labelled sin. The Christian uncritically endorses a variety of kinds of societal involvement, theories, and goals which run the whole range from "right" to "left", "conservative" to "radical." At its most extreme, this position leaves no room for the Gospel in its cultural approach.

The next three positions maintain only a distinction between Christ and culture; they do not radically separate them nor harmonize them.

The synthesis position, "Christ Above Culture," according to Niebuhr,[30] affirms both Christ and culture, but sees no intrinsic connection between Christianity and any cultural involvement. Christians must engage in culture and society, and cooperate with non-Christians, on the basis of a common reason and natural law. In terms of social involvement, Christians can work with non-Christians in order to bring justice, because they share a common rational nature which can determine what is needed for a just and healthy society. They do not however do so as Christians. Like the previous position, the practice of such a synthesis can take place anywhere on the spectrum, from conservative to radical.[31]

Those of the "Christ In Tension With Culture" type, the dualists,[32] acknowledge that Christians must be a part of culture, but, in contrast to the synthesists, they take a dim

view of that culture. Christians are subject to two moralities, two worlds opposed to each other. For them it is not possible to truly withdraw from evil culture as the first position claims; instead they call for endurance in the expectation of a trans-historical salvation.[33] Societal structures have a preserving and restraining function against the onslaught of sin, but have no positive function. The Christian must participate in social structures to ensure this preservation and, as a result, many Christians in this position tend to be conservative.

> Conservatism is a logical consequence of the tendency to think of law, state and other institutions as restraining forces, dykes against sin, preventers of anarchy, rather than as positive agencies through which men in social union render positive service to neighbours advancing toward true life. Moreover, for the dualists such institutions belong wholly to the temporal and dying world.[34]

In this position, the demands of Christianity and cultural involvement are paradoxical.

Those who hold to the "Christ Transforms Culture" position[35] believe that, though the opposition between Christ and all sinful human institutions and customs is to be recognized, Christ is able restore culture and society. These transforming Christians take their place in creation along with all humanity and work with them toward understanding the world God has created. They acknowledge the sin that has corrupted society, but seek to discern the structural laws for society which can guide restoration from the effects of sin. Christians can thus develop a distinctive Christian social action and

attempt to put forward distinctive Christian social positions and policies.

Niebuhr has provided us with a description of several Christian world views which give direction to the different approaches Christians take to the culture within which they live. There are, however, two problems which limit the usefulness of Niebuhr's analysis. First, there is a problem in the way he has set up his dynamics, assuming that the two opposing elements are Christ and culture. Culture itself is dealt with as a mass or a block or single entity. There is no discussion of the various elements of culture to which Christ relates differently. For example, many evangelical Christians pose Christ _against_ smoking, drinking, and dancing, and place him in _tension_ with politics, but see him as _transforming_ marriage and family. Second, no distinction seems to be made between on the one hand, a particular culture in a particular historical time and, on the other hand, culture _per se_.

Niebuhr also did not discuss the variety of methods of social involvement which may be undertaken. Many Christians wish to transform culture, for example, but have different ways of undertaking that task. Evangelical Christians often argue that individual Christians must infiltrate and penetrate culture in order to bring about normative change. Anabaptists wish to effect change through separate culturally obedient communities. Neo-Calvinists try to do so through the work of separate Christian organizations. Members of so-called mainline churches

try to transform culture by means of social involvement by denominations or organized churches.

Despite these limitations, it is possible to make partial use of Niebuhr's characterizations when we focus on distinguishing different world views among Orthodox Dutch Calvinists which have given rise to different approaches to social involvement. Although Niebuhr, and Calvinists themselves, believe Calvinists to be "transforming" Christians (position 5), it will become clear that they actually accept a variety of the five basic themes.

CLASSIFICATION OF DUTCH CALVINISTS -- Dutch Calvinists in North America have already been classified in various ways by several authors. Before proposing a classification of Neo-Calvinist approaches to social involvement it is useful to briefly discuss several of these options for possible helpful categories.

Henry Zwaanstra, in his intellectual history of the Christian Reformed Church from 1890 to 1918 explores the relation of the CRC to its American environment.[36] Zwaanstra finds three distinct "minds" or "mentalities" which, while agreeing on the fundamental questions of Christian doctrine and life, differed

> as to just what the principles of Reformed church life were and how the Reformed Christian should discharge the task assigned him in the world.

Zwaanstra simply describes these groups as three mindsets or mentalities, but doesn't give an explanation for his use of

"mindset" or "mentality."

The "confessional reformed," he argues, held to a literal interpretation of the Reformed confessions and were not sympathetic to the Calvinist social action occuring in the Netherlands. The "separatist calvinist," Zwaanstra portrays as believing that

> under any and all circumstances Christian and Calvinist principles demanded separate Christian organizations and independent action in all areas of life.

The intention, however, was not to just separate, but to make a positive impact on the world. The "american calvinists," as the third mentality, showed a remarkable openness to American life, customs and institutions. Zwaanstra shows them to have been the most americanized Calvinists who accomodated and adapted to America.[37]

In a similar, though more extensive, study James Bratt[38] speaks of four "generative mentalities" among Dutch Calvinists who immigrated to North America between 1840 and WWI.[39] He states that his intellectual history of Dutch Calvinists in America "describes the substance of their thought -- the ideas, the opinions, the issues of consequence -- but especially the mentalities that shaped it."[40] He considers it crucial to study these "generative mentalities" since

> they, more than and independently of country of birth, age of immigration, or even language signified which views a person and ultimately the community would hold."[41]

He therefore differs from Zwaanstra when he names one of his categories "antithetical" rather than "separatist" so that he can emphasize its generative principle rather than its social tactic.[42]

Bratt's generative mentalities are intellectual and theological. He writes that for his subjects, "theology supplied the terms, the church the forum."[43] For the Dutch Calvinists, the church was the binding force for all cultural activities,[44] and the different mentalities among them began in what Bratt calls the "traditional seedbed of Calvinistic dispute," the theological doctrine of predestination.[45]

Bratt also at one point uses the term ideology (though without comparing it to the "generative mentality") as a substitute for the calvinist phrase "world-and-life-view." The latter he defines as

> an integrated set of assumptions, ideas, and values encompassing the philosophical, cultural, and religious as well as the social.[46]

It is not clear how this "world view" compares to the "generative mentality."

In a chapter entitled "Varieties of Reformed Experience" Bratt describes the four mentalities he observes. One group, the "Reformed Church 'West'," sought a normative Americanism to complement general reformed orthodoxy. These people were outgoing pietists who were concerned with proper morals and virtues in society. The "Confessionalists" focused on theology

and salvation and tended to avoid culture and cultural activity. Bratt writes that they

> narrowed all intellectual effort toward traditional doctrine, so they tended to confine social concern to the the ecclesiastical sphere strictly defined.

The "Antithetical Calvinists" too were introverted, but they focused on theoretical and abstract principles and on the antithesis between those who served God and those who did not. They advocated a separate holy community, with separate societal institutions, within and against the larger society in order to condemn the world, not save it. The "Positive Calvinists," in contrast, attempted to develop a Calvinistic world and life view in order to correct and be better than the world. Separatism for them was a matter of tactics only.[47]

Nicholas Wolterstorff has observed three "important patterns of Christian life and conviction" in North American Dutch Calvinism. For the "pietist" the gospel demands personal piety and use of the Bible as a devotional book. For "doctrinalists" the gospel demands certain true doctrines to which one must assent; theology is therefore of prime importance. The third pattern, "Kuyperianism," doesn't deny piety and doctrine, but finds the heart of the gospel in seeking God's will in all of life, and in reforming society and culture according to the laws of God. Within each of these three patterns Wolterstorff observes both a conservative and a revisionist version.[48]

Aileen Van Ginkel, in her thesis on Dutch Canadian

Calvinists between 1946 and 1960, argues that two models of integration into Canadian society were espoused by two different groups of Christian Reformed Church ministers based on their views of the role of the church and of Christians in society. Recent immigrants from Holland believed social involvement and Christian education to be just as important as church development. In contrast, the "home missionaries" from the United States advocated concentration on church development and left the responsibility of societal participation to individual Christians.[49]

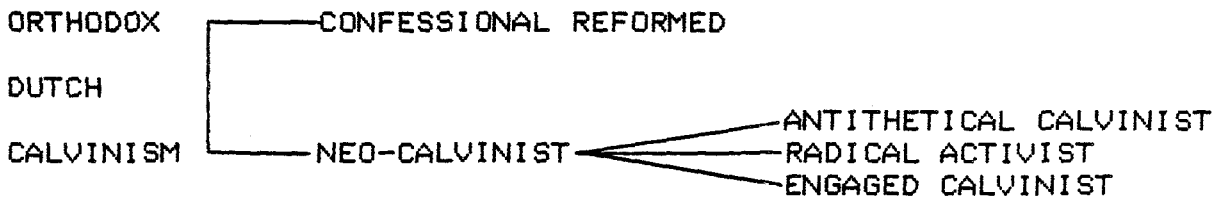
Adrian Peetoom's thesis on Dutch-Canadian Orthodox Calvinist immigrants and their schools, uses the concept of "mythology" to analyze his subject. He argues that "a historical mythology is deeply embedded in the peoplehood of this ethnic group." Churches and schools were important to these people because "they reminded them of their glorious past and they provided a sense of belonging." Their "perceived history", something "deep inside themselves", their "very makeup" caused them to build Christian schools when they immigrated to Canada even though there were different rationales for having such schools. Some wanted Christian schools to protect their children from influences counter to home and church, while others wanted them to "equip children to take up their task in the world." Peetoom also describes a later, more radical, movement in Canadian Dutch Calvinism. Its approach to Christian education clashed with the two previous patterns when it advocated changes in the curriculum

and functioning of the school.[50]

Harro Van Brummelen also describes several basic approaches and expectations of Calvinist Christian schools in North America. The pietist and individualistic supporters emphasized Calvinistic doctrines and strict personal and moral uprightness. They wanted to isolate and shield children from evil culture. Others wanted the Christian faith taught alongside of neutral subjects -- a Christ above culture approach. Others, whom he calls "Kuyperians," "without denying the doctrinal and moral facets of Calvinism" attached much greater importance to God's call to Christians to be actively engaged in politics, commerce, science, education and the arts. Kuyperians wanted Christian school pupils to analyze and respond to societal phenomena and issues. Within the latter group he finds some who stressed the social relevance of schooling and others who emphasized personal relevance.[51]

A PROPOSED CLASSIFICATION -- The Dutch-Canadian Orthodox Calvinist world views are all rooted in the revival of Calvinism in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. Different waves of immigration to Canada, different experiences in the Netherlands and Canada, different backgrounds in theological and theoretical debates in the Netherlands all contributed to diverse world views in Canada. This diversity has resulted in different approaches to social involvement by their adherents. It has also resulted in sometimes heated debates and discussions within the community.

In order to understand the various facets of this world view family and the inter-family squabbles which arise over modes of social action this thesis proposes a classification of their world views. It makes use of and focuses the previous classifications for the Canadian situation. Without describing their genesis (roots), nor detailing their outworking (fruits), this world view classification provides a basis for analyzing some of the debates and discussions among Dutch Calvinists in Canada.



Since Neo-Calvinists are by their world view socially active they are of primary interest in this thesis. However, immediately upon their immigration to Canada and throughout the past forty years, they have had to contend with a world view, within the same Orthodox Dutch Calvinist family, which objected to the energies the Neo-Calvinists devoted to social involvement. This Confessional Reformed world view among the earlier Dutch immigrants to Canada and the American home missionaries, as Van Ginkel describes them, functioned as a foil for the Neo-Calvinists.

The Confessional Reformed world view focuses on the societal institutions of church, home, and school. It considers one's

confession and theology to be primary and tends to avoid contact with culture and society. This world view corresponds to Niebuhr's "Christ against Culture" model. It is the same as Zwaanstra's "confessional reformed" and Bratt's "Confessionalists," as well as Wolterstorff's "doctrinalists." Those whom Peetoom and Van Brummelen portray as advocating Christian schools to protect and shelter their children were also Confessional Reformed.

Neo-Calvinism holds that one's faith has something to do with all of one's life and activities, including one's social life. Wolterstorff's "Kuyperians" and Van Ginkel's Dutch pastors, along with those whom Peetoom and Van Brummelen describe as wanting Christian schools to be a training ground for future participants in society, are all Neo-Calvinists. Yet within Canadian Neo-Calvinism there were three different ways of applying the Calvinist faith to social involvement. Other authors make little of the distinction between these three Neo-Calvinist world views.

The Antithetical Calvinist world view posits the need for separate Christian organizations in all areas of life, in order to reflect the antithetical difference between those who serve God and those who do not. The Antithetical Calvinists who believe that they can <u>positively</u> influence society in this way are "transforming" Christians, while the more <u>pessimistic</u> see Christ "in tension with Culture". The "separatist calvinists" of Zwaanstra and the "Antithetical Calvinists" of Bratt correspond

to the Canadian Antithetical Calvinists.

The Activist Radical world view which advocated instant reform and severely criticized slow change and resistant traditions has no parallel in the descriptions of Bratt, Zwaanstra, and Wolterstorff. Van Ginkel's thesis did not cover this time period and so does not deal with them. Peetoom, but not Van Brummelen, mentions the radical movement in the late 1960's and early 70's as a particular grouping of people. The radical activist world view either blessed the existing radical culture (Christ of Culture) or attacked the existing traditional culture (Christ against culture).

The engaged Calvinist is a transforming Christian intent on bringing positive Christian and Calvinist changes to Canadian society. They are similar to Zwaanstra's "american calvinists" and Bratt's "Positive Calvinists" but the Canadians seem to be less accepting of the existing culture of their new land than their American counterparts. None of the other authors mention a distinct group of Engaged Calvinists within Neo-Calvinism.

Within Orthodox Dutch Calvinism, therefore, can be found four world views which have and are functioning in Canada as a world view family. The particular configuration each gives to their common confession results in different approaches to social involvement.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

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1. See Bellah et al. *Habits of the Heart* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), p. 37.

2. Brian J. Walsh and J. Richard Middleton, *The Transforming Vision* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1984), p. 31.

3. Walsh and Middleton, *The Transforming Vision*, p. 16, 32.

4. Albert M. Wolters, *Creation Regained* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), p. 2, 3.

5. Arthur F. Holmes, *Contours of a World View*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), p. 31.

6. Wolters, *Creation Regained*, p. 8.

7. See Walsh and Middleton, *The Transforming Vision*, p. 35.

8. Wolters, *Creation Regained*, p. 5.

9. See James H. Olthuis, "On World Views," *Christian Scholars Review* (XIV): 153-164.

10. Holmes, *Contours*, p. 44. Walsh and Middleton, *The Transforming Vision*, p. 33.

11. Holmes, *Contours*, p. 31.

12. Holmes, *Contours*, p. 49.

13. Holmes, *Contours*, p. vii.

14. As used by Henry Zwaanstra, *Reformed Thought and Experience in a New World* (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1973) and James Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in Modern America* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1984).

15. Even Bratt's "generative mentalities" are theological; a systemization of beliefs, rather than naive or pretheoretic world views.

16. Walsh and Middleton, The Transforming Vision, p. 16. Wolters, Creation Regained, p. 8.

17. Wolters, Creation Regained, p. 9.

18. Walsh and Middleton, The Transforming Vision, p. 29.

19. Wolters, Creation Regained, p. 4.

20. Walsh and Middleton, The Transforming Vision, p. 16.

21. Wolters, Creation Regained, p. 4. Dutch Reformed people speak of "gereformeerde voelhoorns," by which they mean an intuitive reformed perspective which guides them in their evaluation of a situation or issue.

22. Walsh and Middleton, The Transforming Vision, p. 9.

23. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1975. Originally published by Harper and Row, 1951.

24. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 11.

25. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, pp. 45-82. See also Jonathan Chaplin, "The Gospel and Politics: Five Positions," unpublished paper distributed by the Institute for Christian Studies, Toronto, 1985, p. 1,2.

26. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 45.

27. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 48.

28. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 150.

29. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 83-115. See also Chaplin, "The Gospel and Politics," p. 6-8.

30. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 116-148. See also Chaplin, "The Gospel and Politics," p. 4-6.

31. As in, for example, American fundamentalist civil religion and some forms of liberation theology.

32. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 149-189. See also Chaplin, "The Gospel and Politics," p. 2-4.

33. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 43.

34. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 188.

35. Niebuhr, Christ and Culture, p. 190-229. See also Chaplin, "The Gospel and Politics," p. 9.

36. Zwaanstra, Reformed Thought, p. 1, 2.

37. Zwaanstra, Reformed Thought, p. 69, 70.

38. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism.

39. Compare his article in Herman Ganzevoort and Mark Boekelman, eds., Dutch Immigration to North America (Toronto: The Multicultural History society of Ontario, 1983), p. 167 - 185.

40. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. ix.

41. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 54.

42. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 245n63.

43. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism; p. ix.

44. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 37.

45. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 46.

46. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 38n7.

47. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 46-54.

48. "The AACS in the CRC", Reformed Journal (Dec. 1974): 9-11.

49. "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada,1946-1960." M.A. Thesis, Dept. of History, University of Toronto, 1982.

50. "From Mythology to Mythology: Dutch-Canadian Orthodox Calvinist Immigrants and their Schools," M.A. Thesis, Dept. of Education, University of Toronto, 1983.

51. Telling the Next Generation: Educational Development in North American Calvinist Christian Schools (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986).

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF CANADIAN NEO-CALVINISM

Calvinism has had a long history in the Netherlands and has placed its mark on the history and makeup of that country. Neo-Calvinism grew out of a reaction to the establishment of Calvinism in the Netherlands and the ensuing deterioration of Calvinist confessions and refers to the *revival* of Calvinist thinking and involvement in social and political life in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century. It was first used this way by Max Weber[1] though others have meant by "neo" a departure from original Calvinism.[2] Neo-Calvinism took part in reshaping the makeup of modern Dutch society.

This chapter describes briefly the roots of Canadian Neo-Calvinism in the Netherlands, Neo-Calvinism's movement to Canada, as well as some of its major features and history in Canada.

DUTCH NEO-CALVINISM -- The side of the Christian reformation which has come to be called "Calvinism" takes its name from the French Reformer John Calvin (1509-1564). Calvinism maintains a basic set of common beliefs about God's sovereignty, all of creation's subjection to God, the fall into sin of all creation, including humanity, and the salvation and renewal possible through Jesus Christ. However, the implications of these beliefs differ widely in various Calvinist traditions, depending upon

which doctrines and beliefs are stressed. Scholarly treatments of Calvinism, such as H. Richard Niebuhr's, also often stress one side or another of the tradition.

Calvinism entered the Netherlands in the early years of the Reformation. It continued to find adherents in response to the writings of Calvin and his personal contacts with the Low countries of Europe.[3] Calvinism dominated Dutch cultural and religious life in the ensuing centuries, even though its adherents formed a minority of the population.[4] It formed an important part of the Dutch national identity when it became a focus in the war against Catholic Spain in the early 1600s. With time though, Orthodox Calvinism declined in the face of the rise of liberal and scholastic theology and the secularization of Dutch society.

In the 1800s a movement of religious revival and awakening called the Reveil, and a second movement of lower class, more theologically orthodox Calvinists, objected to state control and to the liberal theology arising in the Hervormde Kerk (the State Reformed Church).[5] After several years of raising their objections within the church, thousands of Hervormde Kerk members left the church in the secession or Afscheiding of 1834 to begin their own church.[6]

With their stress on piety, doctrine, and the role of the church, the Reveil and the Afscheiding formed the roots of the Confessional Reformed world view. They also began the

Neo-Calvinist resistance to the dominance of the state in society. Out of these renewal movements grew today's Neo-Calvinist world view.

Robert Godfrey describes the earliest elements of Neo-Calvinism in the following way:

> The growing pluralism, secularism, and fragmentation of society were all products of the spirit of modern, postrevolutionary Holland. In this new cultural environment a Calvinist thinker emerged who faced the problems of the modern world squarely and opened a new era in the development of Reformed thought and life.[7]

The thinker was Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer (1801-1876) (hereafter Groen) who was a convert to the Reveil movement and strongly supported the Afscheiding in its struggles.

Groen, the first social theorist of Neo-Calvinism, began the renewal of a social conscience among Dutch Calvinists. To Neo-Calvinism he contributed the antipathy to revolutionary thought and liberalism. In a new way he articulated the antithesis between trust in God and the trust in human reason which leads to revolution. He expounded the concept that the state had a limited sphere of authority. Through his advocacy of separate schools and political parties, he contributed the tendency for Neo-Calvinist isolation and separation and their antithetical opposition to non-Christian peoples and ideas.[8]

Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920) was a politician/ preacher/journalist who, following in the path laid out by Groen, had the greatest Neo-Calvinist impact in Dutch society. He

spread the ideas of Neo-Calvinism by insightful theoretical work, by organizing Christian day schools, a university, and a political party, and by communicating by means of newspapers, preaching, and devotional writing.[9] Under Kuyper's leadership, Neo-Calvinism became a "vigorous religio-cultural movement." He promoted it as a "Calvinistic world and life view" which had implications for all areas of life.[10] It was this Neo-Calvinist world view which, according to Wolters, "provided the transforming vision that undergirded, motivated, and inspired Christian action on every front."[11] This pervasive world view developed into a cultural and social network in which one could live one's whole life.[12]

By 1869, under the prodding of his mentor Groen, Kuyper began to formulate Neo-Calvinist principles for politics. In 1878 he reorganized Groen's anti-revolutionary movement into the Anti-Revolutionary Party. He went on to hold several posts in government from 1874 until the end of his life, including Prime Minister of the Netherlands from 1901 until 1905.

Kuyper led the second break-away movement from the Reformed State church in 1886 to form the Doleantie (mourning, grieving) church. The Doleantie church joined with the earlier Afscheiding church in 1892 to become the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (Gereformeerde Kerken in het Nederland).

Kuyper's pioneering work was developed more thoroughly by many Neo-Calvinists in 20th century Holland. Of particular

importance was Herman Dooyeweerd (1894-1977) a leading legal theorist and philosopher who, together with his philosopher colleague D.H.T. Vollenhoven (1892-1978), more fully developed the philosophical and social theories of Neo-Calvinism. Born and raised in the Neo-Calvinist culture of the Netherlands, Dooyeweerd "spent his entire life propogating and working out its basic world view."[13]

Dooyeweerd's major work, A New Critique of Theoretical Thought,[14] was an attempt to develop an integrated philosophical system of thought. He wished to produce, as McIntire puts it, "a philosophy in which Christian insights were not an addition but an integral and identifying characteristic of the thought."[15] Neo-Calvinism's "Philosophy of the Cosmonomic Idea," born in the inter-war period and based on the earlier theoretical work of Groen and Kuyper, "can be considered the dominant scientific tool of Dutch Neo-Calvinism."[16] This philosophy became the core of the philosophical work done at the Toronto based, Neo-Calvinist, Institute for Christian Studies.

IMMIGRATION -- Though recently Neo-Calvinism has become less prominent in the Netherlands,[17] it was this legacy which many Dutch immigrants brought with them to Canada.

Netherlanders have been moving to North America ever since Henry Hudson's famous voyage in 1609, which gave the Netherlands claim to present-day New York and New Jersey. Neo-Calvinists form only a portion of that migration. Their emigration and

immigration, however, are important for understanding their activities in Canada.

There was no substantial Dutch immigration to Canada before 1890. There were some Netherlanders, but they did not form any colonies and only a few churches. The colonization of the western provinces in the 1890s, however, provided homestead land for some Dutch farmers.[18]

Emigration from the Netherlands was therefore relatively minor up to the end of World War II with only 35,000 Dutch immigrants coming to Canada.[19] It increased dramatically, however, after 1946 and continued this way through 1958. During that time close to 150,000 people immigrated to Canada, constituting 38% of the total migration out of the Netherlands.[20] These were the peak years of the post-war emigration of Netherlanders to Canada. The highest yearly total was in 1952 with nearly 21,000 immigrants making their home in Canada.[21]

The decision to emigrate for the post-war Netherlanders was a combination of economic, demographic, social, political and religious factors.[22] It is likely that no single motive was sufficient in itself, but a combination of these factors led to immigration.[23] In addition, the Dutch faced little hostility from other Canadians in their attempts to immigrate to Canada and become Canadian.[24]

CANADIAN NEO-CALVINISM -- The wave of immigration after WWII

gave the largest boost to the Dutch Calvinist population in Canada. The number of Dutch Orthodox Calvinists who immigrated to Canada at that time was disproportionate to their percentage of the Dutch population.[25] Henry van Stekelenburg quotes figures which show that 32% of the immigrants between 1948 and 1964 were "Gereformeerden," while only 9.7% of the Dutch population was "Gereformeerd."[26] Church figures also show the immense growth, for though by the end of WWII there were 14 Christian Reformed Churches in Canada, by 1961 they had multiplied to 137 with over 56,000 members constituting 25% of the denomination's membership.[27]

The beginning of postwar Dutch Calvinist development in Canada consisted of immigration, settling in, a striving to achieve the goals of immigration, and an attempt to feel at home in Canadian culture. Much energy was expended on getting financially stable and establishing churches and Christian schools. Prior to this phase of immigration there is little evidence of Neo-Calvinist social action in Canada. The Dutch Calvinists had established fourteen CRCs and three Christian day schools, but there is no evidence of moves to develop other Christian organizations or to be involved in society in a Neo-Calvinist manner. With the boost in population in the Dutch Calvinist community after the war, we see a sharp increase in the development of churches and schools. From the earliest years there were also voices calling for increased social involvement in Canada. As a result, we see the fledgling beginnings of

several Neo-Calvinist organizations.

In an effort to welcome fellow Calvinists and encourage them to join the denomination, the United States-based Christian Reformed Church sent home missionaries to Canada. The CRC congregations already existing in Canada by 1947 formed the core of the welcoming committee for the new immigrants, but the denomination also provided immigration societies with field agents who could assist the immigrants with housing, employment, cultural adjustment, etc. It set up several funds to help establish the immigrants financially and build more CRC congregations in Canada.[28]

Tensions soon arose, however, between the American home missionaries and their charges, between the recent and earlier immigrants, and between the Canadian part of the CRC and the U.S. part. The congregations were served by American ministers until 1952 when the Dutch immigrant pastors began to arrive.[29] 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 "old-timers" resisted these moves,[30] because they believed that Christian life was subsumed under the church (institute) and any other Christian activity was to be done by Christians individually.[31]

Many Neo-Calvinists immigrated to Canada after World War II with the intention of reforming Canada. These Neo-Calvinist immigrants saw Canada as a young country with no strong identity as yet. It was thus malleable and open to a Dutch Calvinist, anti-secular influence. Books, written by those in the immigration society in the Netherlands and recently arrived Dutch ministers, encouraged this perception.[32] Many Dutch ministers came to Canada in order to make "Calvinism a major force in moulding Canadian culture" with a goal of nothing less than the "Christianization of canadian society".[33] Drawing on their Neo-Calvinist roots in Holland, they were ready to transform culture in Canada.

Several studies have shown that, while the post war Dutch immigrants were quite willing to assimilate in Canada behaviourally, most were unwilling to do so structurally.[34] They were willing to be Canadianized or rather Dutch-Canadianized, but only in keeping with the religious way of life which they had experienced in Holland. They wanted to "maintain Dutch orthodox Calvinism in a Canadian setting" in order to reform Canada. They wanted to "find a way of integrating

into Canadian society which would not threaten their orthodox Calvinist identity."[35] Therefore, in terms of language, citizenship, and social mores they often readily lost their Dutch ways and became Canadian, but in the societal structures in which they participated they resisted Canadianization.

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 dayschools were strongly supported by the Neo-Calvinist community, but also drew in the Confessional Reformed.[36]

The Dutch Calvinists understood schools to be religiously directed, and believed it was essential to set up schools that taught in a way that was consistent with their beliefs. They believed that parents were to be the initiators of education for their children and objected to the role the state played in the public schools. The state was to facilitate education through financing and some regulation, but should not determine its direction. The Dutch Calvinists did little to press for government recognition and funding for their schools until the 1960s, though Rev. Remkes Kooistra did visit the Alberta Minister of Education in 1957.[37] The Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools (OACS) was developed in 1954 with a primary goal of establishing the schools, but it undertook little political activity until the 1960s.[38]

For the Confessional Reformed the schools were a protective place for children to be taught, in concert with home and church.[39] For the Neo-Calvinists, the schools were part of the "Calvinist mission" in Canada.[40] The immigrants felt that, if their children were to be taught properly in the schools and trained to be leaders in the Christian community and in the reformation of Canada, schools at all levels were needed, including a Reformed University in Canada. In 1956 the Association for Reformed Scientific Studies was constituted, with the goal of developing such a university.

In other areas, too, the Dutch Calvinists set up their own organizations. From the beginning they developed Christian credit unions, life insurance associations, hospital insurance, radio stations. They published newspapers to serve the growing Orthodox Calvinist community. From Edmonton came the Canadian Calvinist which was considered a newspaper espousing Calvinist principles. From Chatham came Contact which concerned itself with immigration issues. In October of 1951 the two joined to form Calvinist Contact, published in Ontario.[41] In 1956 a number of pastors began Church and Nation, a Canadian CRC paper which was supposed to be independent of the church structure.

In the early 1950s Mr. Peter Speelman began Pro Rege Press and bookstore. In 1953 he announced the publication of reformed correspondence courses. For many years he published and sold all the "right" books for Neo-Calvinists in Canada.

Because of Canadian immigration restrictions, the majority of Dutch immigrants prior to the mid 1950s were rural, but at that time the government lifted some of its restrictions to allow others to enter Canada. They settled in urban areas and entered industrial, unionized workplaces. True to their Calvinist heritage they judged the unions which they had to join to be secular, or even communist, not neutral. The unions did not allow the "expression of Christian principles," and often misused their power.

While the Confessional Reformed American ministers encouraged the formation of a Christian Labour Institute to help individual Christians witness within the secular unions,[42] the Neo-Calvinists responded in a different way. Beginning in 1951, several groups of men in Vancouver, Sarnia, Aylmer, Hamilton, and St. Catharines organized meetings to discuss biblical principles for labour. On November 16, 1951 the first union local with a collective agreement came into being in Vancouver. In 1952 the Christian Labour Association of Canada (CLAC) was formally established and grew quickly in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario. Most of the members were part of general workers locals, locals which undertook study and support of CLAC, but which did not work towards collective agreements. The only certified locals were in Vancouver and Terrace B.C. By 1954, 30 local groups had affiliated with CLAC and in 1955 there were over fifty locals in four provinces in Canada all affiliated with CLAC. The CLAC published *The Guide* and, for a time in the 1950s, *De Gids*

which contained Dutch language gleanings from The Guide.

In 1954, the employees of Bosch and Keuning in Trenton, Ontario, wanted to be represented by the CLAC and applied for certification. The Ontario Labour Relations Board (OLRB) refused to certify the union on the basis of their understanding that the CLAC discriminated against a person who could not subscribe to the Christian faith.

A further application in 1958 resulted in another rejection. At this point, legal counsel advised the CLAC to drop the article in its constitution which described the Biblical basis of the union. CLAC was also advised to drop the requirement of opening meetings with Scripture and prayer. The National Executive Committee (NEC) unanimously agreed to this advice and proposed the changes at the next national convention of September 1958. The proposal, however, was defeated at the convention by the membership.

While the debate raged in the Guide over this decision, the president of the board of CLAC, Alan Matthews, wrote that there were two types of members of the CLAC: the theoretically admirable, but not practical, members who were supportive purely on principial grounds, and those who joined "in hopes that they'll provide a Christian alternative to the present organizations and act as a Christian corrective in our society."[43]

In November 1958, after the defeat of its proposed changes,

the NEC resigned.[44] Several locals in the Hamilton area broke away and began their own union, the Christian Trade Unions Of Canada. Those who wanted to retain the biblical basis clause in the Constitution maintained their position and, with the defection of the NEC and Hamilton locals, took control of the CLAC. They began to rebuild it to prepare it for the next phase of its task in Canada.

Other social action groups that arose in the 1950s include the Christian Farmers Federation of Ontario which began in 1954 with the merger of several local farmers' associations. In 1956 Neo-Calvinists set up a Calvinistic Action Association in Alberta which held Calvinistic rallies and study conferences. It was also called the Alberta Association for Reformed Faith and Action (AARFA).

The second Neo-Calvinist phase in Canada saw continued development of the work already begun. The main task of the 1960s was the articulation of the need for Christian organizations. Much writing and public speaking went into this effort.

The Christian Reformed Church, to which many Neo-Calvinists belonged, continued to receive leadership from the Dutch Ministers. They began various local church papers such as the Bridge in Edmonton in 1959. They also continued to agitate for a national Canadian body of the CRC and in 1967 the Council of Christian Reformed Churches in Canada (CCRCC) held its first

meeting and began a Committee for Contact with the Government (CCG).

Christian education continued to develop among Neo-Calvinists during the 1960s. In 1959 the Association for Reformed Scientific Studies (ARSS), later the Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship (AACS), held its first study conference with Dr. H. Evan Runner as main speaker.

Runner[45] was, in many ways, the spiritual father of many of the younger leaders of Neo-Calvinism in Canada. He inspired them and portrayed for them an Antithetical Calvinist vision which dovetailed with their own intuitive Neo-Calvinism. He articulated Neo-Calvinist philosophical and world view insights and their implications for a whole generation of young Canadian Neo-Calvinists. As Bernard Zylstra wrote:

> in the midst of intense personal and cultural dislocations which immigrants bring with them, Runner took it upon himself to give spiritual direction to the postwar Dutch reformed settlers in Canada.[46]

Runner's influence began through a lecture in Calgary in 1957, and continued through his Calvin College Groen Club[47] and his philosophy classes, to which flocked young Canadian Neo-Calvinists. In 1959, at the first ARSS Unionville Conference, he delivered three very influential speeches which were published and widely distributed. For most of the 1960s and 1970s Runner was a much sought-after speaker at various Canadian Neo-Calvinist functions. His early followers included the new generation of clergy, future professors of the ICS, and the supporters and

leaders of the new Neo-Calvinist social organizations.

Following the lead of Runner and the ARSS, students at public universities began a Federation of Calvinistic University Clubs in 1962 which later became the Federation of Christian University Societies (FOCUS). The societies were designed for student fellowship, for developing Neo-Calvinist Christian perspectives in the students' studies, and for producing a christian student newspaper.

The year 1959 saw the continuing restoration and rebuilding of the CLAC. "Propaganda meetings" were held in Ontario to re-explain and reaffirm the value of CLAC. It revised its constitution and bylaws, keeping the biblical basis, but allowing non-Christian membership more easily. With the reorganization, three CLAC men from Sarnia, Gerald Vandezande, Ed VanderKloet, and Harry Antonides became the new editors of The Guide. These three were among the most influential Neo-Calvinist advocates of social action in central Canada, and Antonides also spent a number of years in British Columbia. In 1961 Vandezande became the first full time union agent; Antonides followed in 1964, and Vanderkloet in 1966.

In 1961 the Ontario Labour Relations Board once again dismissed an appeal by the Trenton Local of the CLAC for certification. CLAC appealed the decision, hiring lawyers MacKinnon and Kelsey to help them to gain certification. On March 25, 1963 B.J. MacKinnon argued CLAC's cause before Chief

Justice J.C. McRuer of the Supreme Court of Ontario. On May 2, 1963 McRuer handed down his decision, quashing the ruling of the Labour Board. Soon after, CLAC was certified for the first time in Ontario. Certifications and collective agreements rapidly increased after that in Ontario, B.C. and Alberta.

The CLAC split in 1958 led to a new type of Christian social involvement by the Neo-Calvinists. Many of the disenchanted locals and provincial boards began to consider activities separate from the national CLAC. In February of 1959 the board of the Alberta District of CLAC decided to establish a new organization called the Christian Labour Association of Alberta (CLAA). It was broader than a trade union, welcoming anyone interested in Christian social activity, but included the aim of encouraging Christian trade unions and employer associations. Among those active in the organization were Jim Visser, John Olthuis, and Louis Tamminga. In B.C. the disenchanted provincial board of CLAC formed the Christian Culture Association of B.C. (CCA).

As a replacement for The Guide of the CLAC, the CLAA began publishing the Western News. Its first issue was published in the March/April of 1959. In October of 1959 it became a common paper of the CLAA and the CCA of B.C. For the May issue of 1961 the paper was renamed the Christian Social Vanguard.

In November of 1962, the CLAA and the AARFA/CCA amalgamated to form the Christian Action Foundation (CAF). With the growing

momentum of the 60s the CAF began to expand, hiring staff, and beginning to actively work more with other organizations, such as the CLAC, CJL, and the OACS. It held conventions, political rallies, and presented briefs. The main concern of the Christian Action Foundation was the need for principled Christian action in labour, and after 1962 or 1963, politics and education. Its main project was the publication of the Christian Social Vanguard, renamed The Christian Vanguard, which dealt with many subjects. At first the articles dealt with the rationale for separate Christian organizations, but it soon began to speak to what it considered important issues of the day, including commercialization of Sunday, lotteries, unions, communism, a bill of rights, the need for joining in Christian education, missions, alcoholism, literature, nuclear arms, the dangers of television, the role and task of government and the place of education, the role of Christian credit unions, alcoholism, the dangers of comic books, the need for Christian media, abortion, and the reformation of music. First published in Edmonton, Alberta, The Christian Vanguard was later published in Ontario and was taken over by Wedge Publishing in 1971 when it was named simply Vanguard.

In September of 1965, Rev. Louis Tamminga, one of the mainstays of the CAF in Edmonton, left to move to Iowa. There he began a U.S. branch of the CAF which quickly grew, later changing its name to the National Association for Christian Political Action (NACPA) and, later still, the Association for Public

Justice (APJ).

In Ontario during 1961 the CLAC began the Committee for Justice and Liberty (CJL) and officially incorporated it in 1963 to defend just labour relations in the courts and the legislature. While the CAF of Alberta dealt with a wide diversity of problems in society, the CJL of Ontario limited its task to the fight for justice and liberty in labour relations in general, not just specifically for CLAC causes. It opposed compulsory unionism and attempted to gain equality of opportunity for all workers. CJL, like the CLAC, made submissions to the government and government commissions asking for freedom of association and an end to cumpulsory unionism. In 1962 they introduced the concept of the right of a union member to send his dues to a charity instead of the union he found unacceptable.[48] This legislation was introduced in Manitoba and Ontario in the late 1960s. CJL also tried to argue for the possibility of two or more unions in one bargaining unit.[49]

CJL fought several court cases, sometimes to the Supreme Court of Canada, in their desire for just labour relations. The names of Mostert, Hoogendoorn, and Van Manen were splashed across newspapers in Canada as the CJL defended their right to just labour relations.

The third phase of Neo-Calvinist social involvement witnessed the most controversy and conflict within the Dutch Calvinist community.[50] The rise of the Radical Activist world

view and the strengthening of Engaged Calvinism made more clear the diverse approaches to social involvement.

Much of the controversy of the 1970s arose in education circles. The entire staff of the Toronto District Christian Highschool resigned in 1969-1970 in a conflict over methods, materials, and decision-making matters in the school. A number of Neo-Calvinist authors wrote *To Prod the Slumbering Giant* in 1972, partially in critique of the Dutch Calvinist Christian schools.[51] The Curriculum Development Centre[52] and alternative Christian schools[53] were set up in reaction to the traditional Dutch Calvinist schools. Later in the decade the CJL, along with a number of other concerned minorities in Ontario, not all of whom were Christian, helped begin the Ontario Association for Alternative and Independent Schools (OAAIS) to develop strategies for gaining funding for independent schools from the provincial government.[54]

The Institute for Christian Studies (ICS) was opened in 1967 by the AACS and functioned as a boisterous institution in its early years. Some of the people connnected with it in the early years published such highly controversial books as *Out of Concern for the Church*.[55] These books were critical of the churches of the day, particularly the CRC, and sometimes contained public criticisms of individuals. ICS also attracted Radical Activist students in its early years. Some students wrote position papers which were incorporated into an underground newspaper at an Intervarsity Christian Fellowship Urbana Conference in Chicago in

1971.[56] The students produced a Survival handbook for radical Christians today for students active in the world.

ICS students were also active in writing for, and editing, the revised Vanguard. Different world views seem to be manifest in different editors and editorial committees of Vanguard from the early 1970s to its demise in the early 1980s.

In the 1970s, the Neo-Calvinists, experiencing a renewed desire to be active, started several other Christian organizations. Wedge Publishing Foundation and Tomorrow's Book Club produced many titles. Credo magazine and Shalom Productions in British Columbia, and Pulse, in Edmonton, a music and multi media organization inspired by Shalom Productions, expressed Neo-Calvinism in the arts. In addition, Patmos Art Gallery, which grew out of the earlier Institute for Christian Art in Chicago, opened in Toronto in 1971.

Conflict also arose in the Neo-Calvinist community regarding labour and social involvement. The tensions formed in the late 60s and early 70s and seemed to culminate at the end of the 1970s when more conservative times tempered the utopian reconstructionism of some of the Neo-Calvinists.[57]

In the later 1960s and early 1970s several Christian Social Action Congresses were held in the United States, with representatives from social action groups in Canada, as well as the U.S. Because of these congresses, the CJL and the CAF began to discuss the possibility of merging to form a distinctive

political movement in Canada. The proposed organization would

> function as a Christian civil rights movement which should increasingly concern itself with and as soon as possible speak out on a wider range of issues from a Christian view of the governments's duty to promote and establish justice and liberty for all in every area of life.[58]

The new CJL Foundation, formed in 1971, continued to be involved in labour issues, but in keeping with the CAF, it also expanded its interest to criticisms' of progress and economic materialism.[59] When the Canadian government began to consider allowing the construction of the MacKenzie Pipeline, the CJL Foundation became heavily involved in energy issues. It helped to remove Marshall Crowe, Chairman of the National Energy Board, from his position in the hearings, due to the perceived potential for conflict of interest. In addition, it gained intervenor status in the hearings regarding the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline, and along with several other groups, successfully proposed a ten-year moratorium in 1975 on the Pipeline. As its next major project in the late 1970s, CJL began work on social policy.

CJL maintained its principled study of public issues, but gradually became more actively involved in lobbying and proposing policy options for the government. With these new moves by CJL, questions began to arise in the minds of some about the direction of CJL. During the energy debates questions arose regarding cooperation with non-Reformed Christians and non-Christians[60], the propriety of church involvement in public life[61], and the CJL Foundation's lack of clarity on concepts of liberation,

oppression, love of neighbor, and self determination.[62] Further concerns arose later in the decade on CJL's perspective on the role of government in society, the perceived causes of social disharmony, oppression and poverty, and the nature of economic life.[63]

In the meantime the CLAC also continued its submissions to government, arguing for freedom of association, and against compulsory unionism. For a time, however, it too experienced troubles when it began a short-lived International Christian Centre for the Study of Public Issues in the early 1970s. Its researchers, though prolific in their work and writing, took a direction which the community was not prepared to accept and they were subsequently let go.

These difficulties became exacerbated in 1977 and 1978 and seem to have been most pointed during the CLAC organized Social Action Conference of 1978 in Ontario. The conference, attended by the leaders of several Christian action groups, was the last time that the leaders of these organizations have discussed together their approaches to social involvement in a public conference.

The Dutch background of Neo-Calvinism helps to place it in a context and begins to explain some of the roots of the various facets of the Neo-Calvinist world views. The immigration patterns show how the Dutch Calvinists were able to form a powerful community in Canada through which they could bring unique and influential approaches to social involvement to Canada.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

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1. Bob Goudzwaard, "Christian Social Thought in the Dutch Neo-Calvinist Tradition" in Walter Block and Irving Hexham, eds., *Religion, Economics and Social Thought* (Vancouver: The Fraser Institute, 1986), p. 251.

2. Particularly Ernst Troeltsch according to Louis Praamsma, *The Church in the Twentieth Century: Volume VII* (St. Catharines: Paideia Press, 1981), p. 25- 28 and *Let Christ be King* (Jordon Station: Paideia Press, 1985), p.116-134.

3. W. Robert Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism in the Netherlands" in W. Stanford Reid, ed., *John Calvin: His Influence in the Western World* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1982), p. 97-101.

4. Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism," p. 101-109.

5. Cornelis Smits, "Secession, Quarrels, Emigration and Personalities," in Herman Ganzevoort and Mark Boekelman, eds., *Dutch Immigration to North America* (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983), p. 97.

6. Praamsma, *Let Christ*, p. 13-15. Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism," p. 115. Goudzwaard, "Christian Social Thought," p. 251.

7. Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism," p. 116.

8. One of his favourite slogans was "in mijn isolement ligt mijn kracht," i.e., my strength lies in my (religious) isolation. The need for religious isolation from an unbelieving society was necessary in the struggle between revolution and reformation. Godfrey, "Calvin and Calvinism," p. 116.

9. See the sympathetic biography by Frank Vanden Berg, *Abraham Kuyper* (St. Catharines: Paideia, 1978). Originally published by Eerdmans, 1960.

10. Albert M. Wolters, "The Intellectual Milieu of Herman Dooyeweerd," in C.T. McIntire, et al, *The Legacy of Herman Dooyeweerd* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America and Institute for Christian Studies, 1985), p. 2.

11. Wolters, "Intellectual Milieu," p. 4.

12. Adrian Peetoom, "From Mythology to Mythology: Dutch-Canadian Orthodox Calvinist Immigrants and Their Schools." M.A. thesis, Dept. of Education, University of Toronto, 1983, p. 50-53.

13. Wolters, "Intellectual Milieu," p. 2.

14. Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed, 1953-1958. This is the English version.

15. C.T. McIntire, "Introduction," in McIntire, et al, Legacy, p. xv.

16. Goudzwaard, "Christian Social Thought," p. 252,253. For the further development of this school of thought see Bernard Zylstra, "Introduction," in L. Kalsbeek, Contours of a Christian Philosophy (Toronto: Wedge, 1975), p. 14-33.

17. Goudzwaard, "Christian Social Thought," p. 259-260.

18. Henry S. Lucas, Netherlanders in America (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1955), p. 459,460.

19. Albert VanderMey, To All Our Children (Jordon Station: Paideia Press, 1983), p. 45-48.

20. Aileen Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity in the Reformed Tradition: Dutch Calvinist Immigrants in Canada, 1946-1960." M.A. Thesis, Dept. of History, University of Toronto, 1982, p. 11.

21. Peetoom, "Mythology," p. 10.

22. Adrian Guldemond, "Conditions in the Netherlands Following World War II," in Gordon Oosterman, et al., To Find a Better Life (Grand Rapids: National Union of Christian Schools, 1975), pp. 17 - 24.

23. Henry van Stekelenburg, "Tracing the Dutch Roman Catholic Emigrants to North America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Herman Ganzevoort and Mark Boekelman, eds., Dutch Immigration to North America (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1983), p. 70, 71.

24. Robert Harney, "Preface," in Ganzevoort and Boekelman, eds., Dutch Immigration, p. viii.

25. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 14.

26. van Stekelenburg, "Tracing the Dutch," p. 58, 68.

27. Peetoom, "Mythology," p. 11.

28. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," pp. 41-45. VanderMey, To All Our

Children, p. 53-58.

29. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 54.

30. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 61,104.

31. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 113, 112.

32. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 116-118. See Remkes Kooistra, Jong Zijn in een Jong Land (Toronto: Pro Rege, 1957). Marten Vrieze, Werken in een Nieuwe Wereld (Toronto: Pro Rege, 1957).

33. "Zelfportrait," Church and Nation (September 18, 1956): 86, quoted in Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 72.

34. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p.121,122 and references there.

35. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 95-98.

36. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 145, 147.

37. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 145. Interview with Rev. Kooistra, July 22, 1987.

38. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 151.

39. Harro W. Van Brummelen, "Christian Schools in the Dutch-Calvinist Tradition: Isolation, Conformation, or Transformation?" paper distributed by the Society of Christian Schools in British Columbia, April 1985.

40. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 149.

41. Contact (Aug. 1949, Oct. 8, 1949); Calvinist Contact (Oct. 16, 1951).

42. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 136 - 138.

43. The Guide (Sept. 1958).

44. The Guide (Nov. 1958).

45. Professor of Philosophy at Calvin College, Grand Rapids, Michigan from 1951 - 1981.

46. "H. Evan Runner: An Assessment of His Mission," in Henry Vander Goot ed., Life is Religion (St. Catharines, Ont: Paideia, 1981), p. 11.

47. A philosophy club named after Groen Van Prinsterer.

48. The Guide (March 1962): 1,2.

49. The Guide (April 1963): 3, 4.

50. Conflict arose in the churches leading to a split in 1972 in the Toronto II Christian Reformed Church.

51. John Vriend et al., (Toronto: Wedge, 1972).

52. Harro Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation: Educational Development in North American Calvinist Christian Schools (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986), p. 217, 227.

53. For example Erin Lane in Toronto, Ontario; Immanuel in Scarborough, Ontario; and Toronto Central Christian School.

54. CJL Newsletter (Dec. 78): 15.

55. John A. Olthuis, et al., (Toronto: Wedge, 1970).

56. Robert L. Carvill, "The Vanguard at Urbana," Vanguard (Feb. 1971): 16 - 18.

57. Van Brummelen, Telling the Next Generation, p. 224.

58. CJL Newsletter (Jan. 27, 1971).

59. John Olthuis, "Can Less be More?" CJL Newsletter (Feb. 1974): 1,2.

60. CJL worked with a number of coalitions, and called as witnesses, during the energy hearings, various people who did not share CJL's religious stance.

61. CJL joined with church task forces in opposing the pipeline.

62. Particularly of concern were various articles in the CJL Newsletter and Vanguard and in the book by Hugh and Karmel McCullum and John Olthuis, Moratorium (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1977).

63. Stanley Carlson-Theis, "Groping Towards an Understanding of the Roles of Canadian Governments in Promoting and Distorting Wellbeing: Notes on some Historical and Systematic Aspects," 172 page paper written for the CJL Foundation, August 1977.

CHAPTER THREE

WORLD VIEWS AND CANADIAN NEO-CALVINIST SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT

Within Orthodox Dutch Calvinism can be found four world views. The particular configuration each gives to their common confession results in different approaches to social involvement. Since Neo-Calvinism refers to the revival of a Calvinist interest in, and an attempt to be involved in, culture and society, the Confessional Reformed world view is not part of the Neo-Calvinist family of world views. This world view was, however, dominant among the American home missionaries, and the early Dutch-Canadian immigrants who learned from them. The Confessional Reformed world view functioned as the primary foil and protagonist for the Neo-Calvinist world views. Their proximity in the family of Dutch Orthodox Calvinism made the acrimony more hurtful and more intense than if the debate would have occured outside the world view family.

Within Neo-Calvinism, however, there are also three strongly-held world views which have resulted in much debate and dissension regarding the role of the Christian in society. Though they all believe they must be active in society, they disagree on whom they may cooperate with, what role the government may play in society and the economy, what kinds of ideals and what kinds of changes Christians may promote. This

chapter will describe in more detail the four world views found in Dutch Canadian Orthodox Calvinism and the kinds of social involvement the Neo-Calvinist promoted.

THE CONFESSIONAL REFORMED WORLD VIEW

The Confessional Reformed world view in Orthodox Calvinism[1] holds the theological and confessional aspects of life as primary. Those who share this world view tend to focus their energies on church, home, and Christian school and isolate themselves from the rest of culture.

The Confessional Reformed person is most concerned about being Reformed, often Christian Reformed. His primary concern is a correct and sincere assent to Reformed doctrines and confessions.[2] These reformed creedal standards and forms of unity often function as Truth itself and issues are debated on the basis of whether they are Reformed or not-Reformed.[3] Much intellectual effort is expended on debating and defining the traditional doctrines of the church and any implications they may have for the Reformed Christian's life.

The focus on doctrines and confessions results in theology[4] becoming so important that it is considered to impart wisdom for most areas of a Christian's life. It informs any pronouncements on issues of concern, whether in the church or the rest of society. The confessions and theology give guidance for all of

life. As Allan Dykstra once wrote

> The 'church' speaks to the issues of life on the basis of revealed theology. The Word of God is decisive for Christian living, and the church is the purveyor of that Word.[5]

As a result of a confessional focus, the church (usually the Christian Reformed Church) is considered to be the primary institution of society.[6] The church's task is to preach and witness to the gospel of salvation. However, as P. Y. De Jong admits, this can lead to Christianity being limited to Sunday activities.

> Our friends in the AACS apparently fear (and not without a large measure of justification!) that many Reformed people make the church ... the end-all of man's religious responsibilities. They see many who apparently confine their "religion" to Sunday public worship, psalm-singing and the devotional reading of God's Word accompanied with a few prayers.[7]

The church, along with the family and the reformed Christian school, are the protectors and propagators of the reformed heritage.[8] Both home and school must maintain the same theological and moral characteristics as the church. Particularly important for the school is that its creed be the same as the ecclesiastical creeds in order for it to have a proper theological and biblical basis. As Peter De Jong argued,

> the difference between a school and a church by no means explains why the same Christian should make a different confession of faith in one area of life than in the other![9]

The main antithesis envisioned by the Confessional Reformed

person often seems to be between the Reformed and non-Reformed people in the world, though few would articulate it so narrowly. It is often articulated as a division between the church (generally the institutionalized Reformed churches) and "the World." "The World" is all that is evil and under the sway of secular forces; it rejects God's call to salvation.

Salvation, according to the Confessional Reformed world view, is to be found only in the grace and electing love of God which demands a response in an individual person's heart and ethical life. A life of piety, moral uprightness and defence of the Reformed Confessions is demanded. Maintenance of a Christian home, school, and church is essential for strengthening reformed convictions, aiding spiritual renewal, and ensuring confessional loyalty. Other Christian activity in society, Remkes Kooistra once argued, is simply to bring peace, enabling the church to do its work of evangelization.[10]

There are three sub-categories in the Confessional Reformed world view. The pessimistic and/or conservative adherents tend to stress the need for isolation and retreat. As Reformed Christians, however, they cannot quite justify a complete withdrawal from the world, so they take care of social concerns through ecclesiastical methods. For example, the diaconate helps to alleviate human misery, or the church makes pronouncements on perceived ethical/moral issues of import in society, such as

abortion, pornography, and capital punishment.

The pessimistic Confessional Reformed sees current cultural institutions as being either neutral in relation to Christ or too corrupt to change. The Christian apart from them, or even within them, struggles to keep his Christian integrity and heritage. He sees those who stress social involvement and activism as succumbing to a social gospel which denies the sovereignty of God, the reality of individual sin, and the impossibility of an earthly utopia or an earthly Kingdom of God. Louis Praamsma once wrote that

> The perfection of the Kingdom has still to come, and it is not the product of our Christian activities, but the free gift of God who has prepared it for us.[11]

Leonard Schalkwyk wrote,

> We must work for social justice, but that is not the central message of the gospel. Let us not make the mistake of the disciples who looked for an earthly kingdom.[12]

The pessimistic Confessional Reformed person tends to be conservative (fearful of change and innovation) in cultural and religious life. He casts himself in the role of defender of orthodoxy.

Those people who hold a more positive Confessional Reformed view tend to step out into the world in order to convert and Christianize individuals.[13] Such a person maintains an evangelical Christian view of society in which the individual

Christian is a moral witness or leaven in society. By their witness and godly walk, Christians can be a preserving salt to allow for an environment in which the church can call sinners to salvation.[14] Christians cannot, however, wield worldly power as a means of imposing Christianity by force.

Finally, the third group of Confessional Reformed are charismatic and renewal-minded. They have an optimistic hope for physical, emotional, and spiritual healing. The Kingdom of God shows its presence already now in personal healing.

The Confessional Reformed world view rarely appears in Neo-Calvinist publications. Its adherents were not even particularly concerned about the activities undertaken by the Neo-Calvinists until they began to affect the church and the schools. Debates flared up in the late 60s and early 70s when the Neo-Calvinists began to criticize the church and the Christian schools and complain that they were not truly Calvinist and Reformed because they did not concern themselves with society. The Confessional Reformed people in turn criticized the Neo-Calvinists for spending more effort and money on their social organizations than on the church.

THE ANTITHETICAL CALVINIST WORLD VIEW

The Antithetical Calvinist[15] world view finds and maintains a strong antithesis between a Reformed and Christian approach and

an apostate, humanist approach to the world and to society. This means, for them, that Christian societal institutions will be antithetically opposed to all other societal institutions.

The Antithetical Calvinist world view was dominant in Canadian Neo-Calvinism with the arrival of immigrants after WWII and continues today. It was summarized by Nick Loenen as follows:

> Twenty to twenty-five years ago Dr. Runner and others challenged us to seek an integral christian cultural witness by emphasizing the antithesis and avoiding every form of synthesis. Sphere sovereignty, both structural and confessional were the main planks in the program. We were told Christianity had been emasculated both by the pietism of the fundamentalists and the social gospel of the liberals. We were urged to commit ourselves to biblical christianity of a reformational stripe to avoid both those pitfalls. For this to be successful we were urged to ever fight along principial lines. The mode of operation was to be separate christian organizations which alone could safeguard purity of principle.[16]

The Antithetical Calvinist is particularly conscious of the difference between those who serve God and those who turn away from God and trust in human reason instead. Humans must respond, either obediently or disobediently, to the norms and principles for human life which God has laid out in His Word.

Modern man, according to the Antithetical Calvinist, has chosen a disobedient or apostate direction, away from God, and is thus "a rebel, a revolutionary, a reactionary who desperately agitates against the divine Law."[17] He continues, however, to foolishly attempt to build a society based on his rebellion [18], but the

rebellion results in national indifference to God's norms for society.[19] Modern man's advocacy of a common-denominator philosophy for life in society leads to intolerance of Christian distinctiveness in public areas, such as labour and education, although service to God is tolerated on a private level.[20]

For the Antithetical Calvinist all of life must be an obedient response to God's norms and principles. As one author wrote, it is indeed important to overcome "man's personal estrangement from Christ," as the Confessional Reformed and evangelicals believe, but that is not enough. Out of that Christian commitment "a whole new life was to bloom open, sociologically, economically, philosophically, politically, in short ... a whole new culture was to grow out of new roots."[21]

Aileen Van Ginkel writes, for the Dutch Calvinist Canadians, "reforming and enlightening the Canadian nation, doing what was necessary in Canada, eventually came down to the same thing--instituting orthodox Calvinist churches and their allied organizations in Canada."[22] What was needed was a positive program of separate social action in order to transform the culture of Canada, so that the nation could begin to live in peace and harmony.

A more pessimistic side of this world view believed that any cultural witness and separation was to condemn the world, not to save it. Like the pessimistic Confessional Reformed world view,

there was a fear of the world and a resulting focus upon the small body of the redeemed, a need to build up the faithful and maintain the purity of the Reformed community by strengthening the antithetical conscience. The motivation for establishing antithetical organizations was for promoting God's glory and preserving the Christian community rather than for improving societal life. Christ was presumed to be against the secular culture of Canada.

For the Antithetical Calvinist, therefore, the primary concern is to give cultural expression to one's faith in all areas of life, in opposition to the faith prevalent in society. In order to do so, the Antithetical-Calvinist relies on basic principles specific for every area of life. These principles are expressions of beliefs about the nature of humanity and the meaning of life. They thus show a religious direction and stance. These principles or norms guide behaviour -- they give direction to practice. As Bernard Zylstra stated in a speech to the CLAC, "principle precedes practice."[23] For the Antithetical Calvinist, unlike the Confessional Reformed, Biblical principles are more than merely ecclesiastical, confessional, or theological norms. They also are not necessarily mediated only through the institutional church. They are Biblical norms for every area of life which are discovered by Christians active in their life situations.

For the Antithetical Calvinist, these principles are of crucial importance because of the logical relationship between principles and practice. Wrong principles will result in wrong practice, and wrong practice is almost certainly a result of wrong principles. As Harry Antonides once wrote, even "good intentions with wrong principles will have a wrong effect."[24]

Since principles are so crucial, it is imperative for the Christian to discern the biblical principles and norms for various aspects of life and to discern the spirit of anti-Christ at work in the unbelieving world. The Antithetical Calvinist world view was evident in the dispute regarding the retention or deletion of the reference to the Bible in the constitution of the CLAC in the late 1950s. Those who held this world view argued that the Bible was to be the basis for all its activities because, they said, principles without the Bible were not Christian principles; they were only moral principles which all people could share.

Only by application of Biblical Christian principles can true transformation occur in society and culture. For the Antithetical Calvinist, right principles, well understood, are necessary before one can act or draw up programs for social action. The CLAC, for example, was founded on the assumption that "labour problems and social disorders, such as are brought about by lock-outs and strikes, can only be solved by the

application of Christian principles in the field of labour." The CLAC's aim was "to build a society which is founded upon Christian relationships in the shops, in the factories, and in the fields."[25]

The proper perspective, a Christ-centered view, is the "all-important" first step also for Christian politics. Christians must be busy with the inner reformation of political life through attempting to "answer the fundamental questions about the nature and limit of governmental authority, in the light of the Biblical concepts of authority, freedom, and office."[26] Thus they must determine the distinctive nature of Christian politics as a first step and then develop a program for carrying it out.

Antithetical Calvinists believe that in order to achieve a Christian social order, individual action is not enough; social organizations, such as labour unions, need to be Christian.[27]

> The large labour unions follow a course and apply policies which, from a Christian point of view are in opposition to divinely instituted laws, and, therefore, do not bode any good for a sound development of labour relations and of the nation.[28]

Separate organizations, as marks of the Kingdom of God[29], are symbols of the religious disunity in society.

The need for separate christian organizations was paramount so that people could express their root religious beliefs in the way

that they lived in society. Christians must witness to the fact that they are driven by the hand of God.[30] Antithetical Calvinists were concerned that Christians were divided on the need for "Christian organization and action" and believed that they once again had to set forth "why Christians must form power organizations."[31]

Antithetical Calvinists believe that it is impossible for Christians to function in organizations which reject God. Christians can't be unequally yoked[32] in an unholy alliance[33] with those in rebellion to God. In light of the antithesis which "separates the community of believers from that of unbelievers," Christians may not even join organizations which reject God. As Louis Tamminga wrote, as soon as a discussion

> concerns areas of collective human activity where basic convictions and principles are translated to policies of action, believers in Christ must form a a separate Christian community where in togetherness all deliberations are squarely based on the Word of God, invoking the blessing of the holy spirit.[34]

Strong language was often used to argue against those who disagreed.[35] If fellow Christians would support the Neo-Calvinist battle in labour and education, they were on the Lord's side; if not, they were cursed.[36]

In their debate with American Calvinists, Harry Antonides and Gerald Vandezande argued that current political parties systematically deny the Word of God and thus cannot contribute to

an understanding of politics from a Christian perspective. They wrote:

> We should realize that Christian action is impossible through organizations controlled by un-Christian beliefs. We must get busy with the development of a Christ-centered view of politics.[37]

A Christian political party is thus necessary for political understanding more than for political policy and activity. Fred Cupido believed that

> it is not only the Christian's task to be politically, socially and economically active in obedience to God's command, but also to take note of and study the activities and convictions of the political movements of his day.[38]

Antonides and Vandezande asserted that

> the question is not whether men always agree on every detail of political action, for Christian politics has to do with the direction and meaning of life about which there may not be any difference of opinion among Christians. The development of a Christian political movement will be the natural result of such unity of conviction. Among Christians there may not be any difference about these basic issues.[39]

All this does not mean, however, that Christians cannot cooperate with unbelievers.

> God's hand often restrains the forces of unbelief to such an extent that, in many ways, believers and unbelievers can work together, even though they draw from a different source and direct their work toward different ends.[40]

But, says Seerveld, there is a marked difference between

> the indisputable co-operation of believers with unbelievers and the association, the intimate

> sharing-in-with, mingling partnering communion only believers have together.[41]

The Antithetical Calvinist focus on the distinction, at the confessional and principial level, between those who serve Christ and those who do not, led to very specific and strong arguments in the areas of labour and politics. The attempt by the state and society to dominate gave occasion to the use of sphere sovereignty arguments[42], the advocacy of freedom, and the fear of socialism.[43]

THE RADICAL ACTIVIST WORLD VIEW

The Radical Activist world view was a short-lived phenomenon of the late 60s and early 70s. The leading theme of this world view can be summarized in Gerald Vandezande's exclamation, "Let's be radical."[44] The call was for radical piety[45] in a radical Christian community.[46] In 1972, Gordon Spykman asked his readers "Just how radically, totally, Biblically reformed do we dare to live?"[47]

While still Neo-Calvinist, this world view took on a new radical stance in two forms: in the mood and attitude of those who held this world view, and in the kind of social activity advocated. The writings of Michael Welton are typical of the mood: he talks of a "new thing" and a "new way." He calls Christians to be "world shakers," to live a new and radical life style, to explode the old containers of denominations, political

structures, and life styles.

> You can't buy us off. We intend to explode old structures, offer free wine to all people, to fracture the society in a way never dreamed possible for the good of all men and the glory of Yahweh.
>
> How can you call yourselves people of the new wine if you are not in search of a whole joyful 100% life, radically involved in your culture?
>
> Come out from among them and be separate. Oh, Oh, Dutch isolationists, hear Paul. Read the Word in context .... Stop serving Baal in your business....[48]

The first issue of the new Vanguard reflected this mood when it carried an advertisement inviting students to ICS. It portrayed ICS as a house of subversion which granted students guerrilla credentials to change the world.[49] The style of writing in books such as Out of Concern for the Church[50] and In Prod the Slumbering Giant[51] raised the ire of many other Orthodox Calvinists, particularly the severely criticized Confessional Reformed.

The Radical Activists tended to place the antithesis between action and inaction. They opposed any institution and process which moved slowly and showed signs of conservatism. Their mood, according to Bill Van Geest "paralleled many of those occuring in our society's counterculture movements."[52] He continues, it was a "period of idealism, of confidence in the possibility of change and a demand for freedom from constraints of all kinds."[53]

The radicality was not, however, simply a mood. It was also a

conviction that actual social involvement and social change was necessary and part of the calling of radical Christians. Dutch Calvinists had become established in Canada and had lost their Neo-Calvinist ideals -- they needed to once more desire to change the world and institute radical Christian ways of life in Canadian society. As Van Geest writes,

> Our institutions were to be alternatives to those of our society, as well as occasionally alternatives to the Christian Reformed denomination itself. We hoped for the emergence of a powerful Reformed Christian counterculture. The term "Reformational movement" speaks volumes in itself. Although we never claimed that we could bring in the Kingdom of God, we had considerable confidence in our role in its coming.[54]

The Radical Activists called for fundamental reconstruction of all parts of society. The old had to be "exploded" to bring in the new. Criticism of institutions fell most heavily on the church, Christian education and the American way of life. The call for reconstruction was utopian and idealistic, a new life was possible already on this earth.

In order to begin this Christian revolution, some ICS students attended an Urbana InterVarsity Christian Fellowship conference where they published an underground newspaper and called for students to rise up as a "radical vanguard prophetically subverting (where necessary)." They wanted to form an international brotherhood of Radical Christians who were to do battle with other visions of life. With in this earth shaking task, they believed the battle would be strongest in the

university and industrial sectors.[55]

Other expressions of the drive to radically transform culture were found in the ICS too. The ICS's "Turning the Tide Campaign" for operating funds was conceived of as "the campaign that would once and for all reverse the tide of secularism and bring in the Kingdom of of God."[56] John Hultink, then a staff member of the AACS, wrote to the Board of Trustees on the occasion of the 15th Anniversary of AACS as follows:

> we must pull all the stops, full speed ahead, trusting that the Spirit-driven, life-giving Word of God applied among staff members and students will sweep our supporting community along in actualizing the coming of the Kingdom through total obedience to Jesus Christ right here and now.[57]

At about the same time as the emergence of the Radical Activists, Bernard Zylstra warned of a new radicality in the Netherlands. The characteristics he describes are similar to the Radical Activists in Canada. He argued that the young Dutch radicals were proposing a theology of revolution rather than anti-revolution. They tended to deny the primacy of love of God and focused on love of neighbour. Zylstra likens this to a Marxist perspective.[58]

L. Schalkwyk also reacted to the Radical Activist perspective of social involvement by calling it "a Christian version of Marxist utopia on this earth."[59]

By 1973 and 1974, much of the stridency of the Radical

Activists had died away in Neo-Calvinism . Some continued their radical course and left Neo-Calvinism. For example, Michael Welton resigned from the CJL Board of directors in 1972 because he found CJL had become an obstacle to realizing the "revolutionary demands of the Christ-message." Welton believed that the time had come to begin a socialist society which followed Marx and his non-Stalinistic followers.[60] Other Radical Activists, however, settled into the work of Neo-Calvinism, in less radical ways and with less radical perspectives on social involvement.

THE ENGAGED CALVINIST WORLD VIEW

The Engaged Calvinists are some of the most culturally active Calvinists.[61] In their attempt to make serious Christian contributions to Canadian culture, and make their Christian witness felt, those with this world view became far more concerned with action than with intellectual constructs and articulated principles. In this way they differ from the Antithetical Calvinists. In contrast to the Radical Activists, the Engaged Calvinists sought to be constructively at work in society, rather than focusing on overthrowing existing structures.

The Engaged Calvinists are characterized by their progressive, rather than conservative, outlook on life. They believe that sin and disobedience by both Christians and non-Christians causes all

kinds of hurt and destruction in the world. Because Christians have insights into the norms for every area of life, they can contribute to healing and obedient living as they call for repentance and acceptance of Christ as the way of salvation.

For the Engaged Calvinist, the "gospel is for something."[62] As a result, the Engaged Calvinist attempts to develop constructive new proposals based on a reformed and biblical analysis. This analysis, though, may not be written out in every document and is often not written in the confessional language used by the Antithetical Calvinist or the Confessional Reformed.

The Engaged Calvinist believes that "what we believe about the meaning of life and the needs of humankind determines how we carry out our different day-to-day responsibilities." [63] He agrees with the Antithetical Calvinist that principles do lead to practice. When the CJL shifted focus from determining "A Just Energy Policy for Canada" to developing "A Just Social Policy for Canada," the staff wrote that

> the beliefs that mold the present energy policy are the same beliefs which have given rise to the current socio-economic processes which are generating so much ill-being in Canada. Our attempt is to sort out and expose those underlying beliefs and to advocate healing alternatives which are faithful to our neighbor's cry for justice and faithful to what God requires of us in the way of political love.[64]

The Engaged Calvinists hold dear the Reformed Confessions and the Calvinist articulation of norms for every area of life, but

see injustice and ill-being in the world and want to step out and act. They attempt to develop principles out of concrete situations and toward practical effects.[65] As a result, there is less emphasis on theoretical purity than on praxis. The concern is more oriented to being a "faithful servant" in this world than thinking the correct things. Calvinism is less a system for "truth" than a system for action.

Early proponents of the Engaged Calvinist world view are found in the debate about the retention or deletion of the clause describing the Biblical basis of CLAC. The CLAC leader, F.P. Fuykschot, claimed that too much attention was being paid to the religious side of that question and not enough to the social side, the social responsibility of the union. After the split, he wrote that the real problem was that "church opinions and theological objectives were promoted in the CLAC and darkened the real trade union issue."[66] His argument is typical of the view of the engaged Calvinist.

Engaged Calvinists criticized the Antithetical Calvinist for becoming "stuck" on principles.

> Those of us who always criticize from a confessional point of view have failed, it seems to me, if they have even tried, to relate theoretical concepts to practice. ... I have the feeling that unless we attack the concrete issues facing us, we will never get away from the framework.[67]

The Engaged Calvinist also feels the need to be of positive

Christian influence in Canada. For example, the CJL Foundation from its inception was more than a civil rights group defending its own interests and claiming rights. They wanted to be active citizens presenting to government a total political option. As reported in the CJL Newsletter the "time has come to stop just claiming our rights, but now also to show the way, thus unmasking the religious character of secular government."[68]

Later, Bernard Zylstra said a similar thing at a CJL meeting of 1976,

> For a long time, for a decade, we didn't do much except gripe about humanism, gripe about compulsory unionism and shout some slogans from out of our Dutch reformational heritage. What's happening in the last four years within the CJL is: All right, not within the totality of the political spectrum ... but certainly within the context of the key issues of Canada, we are coming to grips with indigenous issues. And I would say, "Lets thank the Lord for that." Further we are coming to grips with those issues,... not in a negativistic way, but in the long run in a positive sense.[69]

With this positive outlook, phrases such as the following abound in the writings of the Engaged Calvinist. "In obedience, we express the vision and the healing of that Kingdom in the fullness of daily life.... Whenever we do that faithfully, the Kingdom of Christ is visibly demonstrated among us." "Where Christians live the Kingdom-style openly in society, there communal action unavoidably follows."[70] This was not the Kingdom of God on earth but visible signposts of the Kingdom.

As Gerald Vandezande once wrote,

> Our task is to respond as best we can to the liberating call of the Gospel by doing socioeconomic and political justice, by seeking concrete solutions to the personal and societal problems of today without fear for the future and the shocks it may have in store for us. We must seek biblically-normed directional and structural change, so that people can live and work meaningfully, be of healing service to each other and to future generations. We must seek to work out the meaning of the central love-command in relation to the basic issues of our time, where we are, and in community with our neighbours. We should simply do what our hands find to do. CJL wants to be a channel of blessing to this end.
>
> Fighting the good fight of the faith in our time clearly includes publicly doing the Truth, i.e. engaging in economic, social, and political action, performing good works normed by economic stewardship, social compassion, political justice, and neighbourly love. That is part of the true life!
>
> For Christian faith in action leads to healing and peace with justice.[71]

The need to act and to be doers of the Word of God was aimed at making the world a better place to live. While sometimes resorting to statements like "bringing in the Kingdom" and "reforming the whole world," the Engaged Calvinist still acknowledged sin in the world. He believed that common grace had not only the power to preserve, but also the power to improve the world. For him, the goal of the Christian in political action is to remove some social and economic ills in order to make the world a better and more just place for people to live.

In the 1958 CLAC debate this world view was evident in the argument that the social responsibility of the union was "to help

my less privileged fellow worker, my neighbor, and to realize in industry and labour something of the laws of the Kingdom of God." To be a viable union the Engaged Calvinist felt the CLAC needed certification; to get certification the Clause about the Bible should be deleted. If it was not deleted the CLAC would, they wrote, be "discarding our Christian social calling and leaving our brothers captives of the other unions."[72]

In order to be a positive witness in society, the engaged calvinist is willing to maintain dialogue and debate with all people, but he also maintains his own distinctiveness, particularly outside the reformed community. He is quite willing to participate in projects with task forces from other churches; he seeks to be very ecumenical. He always seeks points of agreement with other groups and is willing to work with all others who are following the norms for a particular area of life.

> This means that the Christian is one of a number of parts of a 'justice-doing' community, and we must be contributing our share. We must, as the people of God be doers of His Word. Without the contributions of Christians, we can never expect the state to really bring about the justice the Bible talks about. Also, if we do not contribute, we fail to give the witness that only Jesus Christ can bring: True justice for all members of the state.[73]

Gerald Vandezande took this cooperative stance already in 1962 when he wrote that "although there may be many who do nt agree with our basic views nor we with theirs, we believe that in the

area of freedom of organization we can cooperate in many ways."[74]

In the late 1960s *The Christian Vanguard* and *The Guide* began to feature articles from the Catholic Bishops of Canada as well as other Christians. CJL began to participate with and cooperate with more groups, both Christian and non-Christian, working toward similar political goals even though the groups arose out of different principles. During the energy hearings of 1976 and 1977 the CJL worked with other groups in proposing a moratorium on the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline and they called both Christian and non-Christian witnesses. Although some CJL members expressed concern about this kind of cooperative work, the CJL felt their victory in the pipeline activity "lies in the Christian witness -- as weak as that might have been at times -- that we were able to bring that Board."[75]

The engaged Calvinist believes that Reformed confessions and Biblical principles can shed light on actual solutions to societal problems. The Christian is obligated to work out these confessions and principles in the society in which he or she lives and not continue to debate the principles without practicing them.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

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1. Compare Zwaanstra, Reformed Thought, p. 69-95 and Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 46-50.

2. See for example Cecil W. Tuininga, "Theology or Christ -- A False Antithesis," Torch and Trumpet (July-August 1966): 12-14.

3. The confessions are so important, that often in debates they seem to be quoted more frequently and forcefully than the Scriptures.

4. Not in the broad sense of a "Christian approach," but a theoretical, doctrinal, confessional articulation of who God is and what relationship people have to him.

5. Allan Dykstra, "Viewpoint," Torch and Trumpet (October 1970): 16,17.

6. See Klaas Hart, "Een Belangrijke Diskussie," De Wachter (July 25, 1967): 8, and the discussion in Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity", p. 112, 113.

7. "Reply to my Friend," Torch and Trumpet (July 1970): 20.

8. See Harro W. Van Brummelen, "Christian Schools in the Dutch-Calvinist Tradition: Isolation, Conformation, or Transformation?" unpublished paper distributed by the Society of Christian Schools in British Columbia, April 1985.

9. Peter De Jong, "The Reformed Faith and the Danger of Subjectivism," Torch and Trumpet (April 1966): 22.

10. Remkes Kooistra, "Strikes and the Future of the Nation," Western News (April 1960): 1, 4. Wesley H. Wakefield, "Christian Witness to Labour," The Christian Social Vanguard (Dec. 1961): 5.

11. Reply to a letter to the editor, Calvinist Contact (Dec 24/31, 1970): 4.

12. "The Revolution is now!" Outlook (November 1971): 5.

13. The recent popularity of Coffee break evangelism programs is witness to this world view.

14. See for example Peter De Jong, "The Gospel's Way of dealing with Social Problems," Torch and Trumpet (March 1970): 8, 9.

15. Compare Zwaanstra, Reformed Thought, p. 69, 95-118, and Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 46-54.

16. Nick Loenen to Hendrik Hart, September 28, 1982, Institute for Christian Studies files.

17. Gerald Vandezande, "Must Christians form Power Organizations?," pamphlet distributed by CLAC, 1964, p. 4.

18. "We are anti-revolutionary," The Christian Vanguard (June-July 1959): 1.

19. Louis Tamminga, "Easy Abortion Laws?" The Christian Vanguard (Aug/Sept. 1967): 9, 10.

20. Louis Tamminga, "Tolerance and the 'Common Denominator Philosophy'," The Christian Vanguard (Oct. 1964): 8.

21. Louis Tamminga, "Billy Graham at Berkeley," The Christian Vanguard (June-July 1967): 9-10.

22. Van Ginkel, "Ethnicity," p. 95.

23. 1961 Convention Report in The Guide (May 1961): 1, 4.

24. Harry Antonides, "Sphere Sovereignty," The Guide (December 1959).

25. F.P. Fuykschot, "Preface," in Herschel E. Aseltine, "Churchmen and Workmen" an address delivered to the CLAC at the first National Convention held in Hamilton, Ontario, April 24, 1954. Distributed by CLAC.

26. Antonides and Vandezande, "More on Christian Political Action," Reformed Journal (Oct. 1963): 21-24.

27. The Guide (Jan. 1958).

28. F.P. Fuykschot, "Preface" .

29. Louis Tamminga, "What Is The Church? What is The Kingdom?" The Christian Vanguard (Jan. 1967): 15,16.

30. Peter Nicolai, "Editorial," The Christian Vanguard (June-July, 1967): 3, 4.

31. Vandezande, "Power Organizations," p. 3.

32. Richard Oostra, "The Sin of Denying the Antithesis," Western News (June 1960): 1.

33. John Olthuis, "The Death of a Political Order," The Christian Vanguard (March 1967): 12.

34. Louis Tamminga, "The Paradise Seekers," The Christian Vanguard (June-July 1966): 4.

35. Chris Gort, "Compromise: Yes or No?" The Christian Vanguard (May 1966): 4-5.

36. Simon Kistemaker, "The Inhabitants of Meroz," The Christian Vanguard (Sept. 1966): 8-10.

37. "Political Reformation or Paralysis?" Reformed Journal (March 1963): 18-21.

38. Fred Cupido, "Mr. Douglas is building a Socialist Party," The Christian Vanguard (March 1962): 11,12..

39. H. Antonides and G. Vandezande, "More on Christian Political Action," Reformed Journal (Oct. 1963): 21-24.

40. Tamminga, "Paradise," The Christian Vanguard (June-July 1966): 4.

41. Calvin Seerveld, "The Rub to Christian Organization or ... Christian Camel Drivers Unite?" Pamphlet distributed by CLAC, n.d.

42. In this concept each structure of society has a limited area of sovereignty and responsibility.

43. In the 1960s, The Guide summarized and reprinted articles about communism infiltrating Canadian unions in the form of a "red tide which threatens to engulf us."

44. Gerald Vandezande, "Let's become radical," The Christian Vanguard (Oct 1967): 12,13.

45. Michael Welton, "Beyond the Ruins," The Christian Vanguard (Aug. 1970): 12,13.

46. The Christian Vanguards of 1969.

47. Gordon Spykman, "Strikes, Bells, Pots and Pans," The Guide (October 1972): 2,3.

48. Michael Welton, "People of the explosive wine," Vanguard (Dec. 70): 12-15.

49. Vanguard (Nov. 1970): 5.

50. John Olthuis, et al., Out of Concern For the Church (Toronto: Wedge, 1970).

51. John Vriend et al., To Prod the Slumbering Giant (Toronto: Wedge, 1972).

52. Untitled paper presented at a Fundraising Conference at Redeemer College, Hamilton, June 1984, p. 3.

58. Van Geest, p. 5.

54. Van Geest, p. 5.

55. ICS students in Vanguard (Jan. 1971): 7-11, 20.

56. John Olthuis in remarks at the 25th anniversary of the AACS, Nov. 7, 1981.

57. Story told at 25th anniversary of the AACS, Nov. 7, 1981.

58. Zylstra, "A Theology of Revolution?" Torch and Trumpet (Sept. 1970): 2-4.

59. L. Schalkwyk, "The Revolution is Now!" Outlook (Nov. 1971).

60. Michael Welton to the Board of Directors of CJL, Jan 27, 1972.

61. Compare Zwaanstra, Reformed Thought, p. 70, 118-131 and Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 52-54. Zwaanstra's Positive Calvinists tended to be more sympathetic to existing american ideals than most Canadian Engaged Calvinists.

62. David Steen in a report on an annual meeting in the CJL Newsletter (Dec. 1974).

63. Gerald Vandezande, "It's time to make choices," CJL Newsletter (June 1976): 19. See also John Olthuis, "Conservor Society: An Agenda for Action," CJL Newsletter (Spring 1978): 15.

64. CJL Foundation, "Progress Report," May 1978.

65. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism, p. 50.

66. The Guide (May and Nov. 1958).

67. Gerry Clements letter to CJL, Feb. 22, 1978.

68. CJL Newsletter (April 21, 1972).

69. "Towards Justice and Liberty," booklet distributed by CJL Foundation, March 1976, p. 76.

70. CJL Newsletter (March 1973).

71. "It's time to make choices," CJL Newsletter (June 1976): 20.

72. The Guide (May 1958).

73. From Jack De Klerk's report on an annual meeting in the CJL Newsletter (April 21, 1972).

74. Gerald Vandezande, "The meaning of freedom," The Guide (Jan. 1962): 3.

75. CJL Newsletter (Fall 1977): 8,9,16.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has argued that world views give direction to social involvement and that Neo-Calvinist world views in Canada have resulted in different kinds of social involvement. World views were shown to be shaped primarily by religious convictions and given particular shape by sociological factors. World views, it was argued, function by giving one a basic perspective on the world. Different world views, even within one world view family, such as Christianity, lead to different kinds of social involvement. Clearly, world views play a crucial role in the development of societies, through the action and involvement of those who hold these views.

The thesis also specifically described the world views found in Dutch Canadian Orthodox Calvinism. It focused on the Neo-Calvinist world views and their major foil, the Confessional Reformed world view, also present in Dutch Canadian Orthodox Calvinism. The thesis described several ways of categorizing Dutch Calvinists that had already been presented by different authors. These categories were shown to be unsuitable for various reasons, such as, they were applicable to Americans, but not Canadians, they dealt with a different time period, and they

did not sufficiently distinguish between the three world views present within Neo-Calvinism in Canada. The thesis proposed a new system of classification that was based on the previously named categories, but was unique to Canada, related to social involvement, and applicable to the particular time period discussed. A historical survey of Neo-Calvinism from 1945 to 1980 showed the social involvement that was shaped by these world views. The breadth of the activity and some of the points of conflict which arose were described.

It is hoped that this thesis will help its readers understand how Christians relate to society and how religious convictions provide a basic perspective which shapes social involvement. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to an understanding of the role Neo-Calvinists have played in Canada and the different approaches they have taken to social involvement. Perhaps this thesis will also help Neo-Calvinists understand how they form a world view family based on a common confession, and that this is why the debates and differences seem so hurtful. It may also help them to see where some of the differences lie and allow them to understand each other more fully.

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