

# J. W. Bengough and the Millenium in Hogtown : A Study of Motivation in Urban Reform

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J. W. BENGOUGH AND THE MILLENIUM IN HOGTOWN:  
A STUDY OF MOTIVATION IN URBAN REFORM

The ending of Victoria's century saw urban Canada experience a variety of changes. In cities west of the Maritimes, commercial activities made way for industrial concentrations, populations soared, and the compact pedestrian city changed into a socially differentiated order as streetcar tracks imposed their metallic will on the social geography of the city.<sup>1</sup> Agitation for pure milk, public ownership of utilities, housing codes, city planning, playgrounds, and efficient provision of essential services represented a response to this urban revolution. This response, arising from a belief that the process of change could be directed, was, from the perspective of many of those involved, an attempt to make the city into what they felt it should be.<sup>2</sup>

To understand this reform activity it is necessary to differentiate between goal-oriented actions entered into for a "specific limited purpose, a specific exchange of goods and services, or a specific immediate end held in common,"<sup>3</sup> and a wider, underlying unity which is general, indefinite, comprising a multitude of specific ends, and characterized by a "voluntary pooling of interests over a hazely defined general area of life."<sup>4</sup> The distinction is vital. Action viewed from the first perspective tends to be explained in utilitarian terms. Tension between normative and conditional elements is seen only in terms of empirically defined conditions.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, the activity is viewed as rational and selfishly defined. However some actions may be viewed not primarily as the result of definite, objectively inspired ends, but as the result of values and attitudes. Indeed, as Talcott Parsons has indicated, many acts "may be interpreted as modes of expressions of attitudes rather than as means to specific ends."<sup>6</sup> Without an understanding of the attitudes actors bring to their activity no complete explanation of the nature and strategy of their involvement can be realized.

Certain Canadian interpretations of urban reform have tended to reflect the rational approach. H. V. Nelles' discussion of the Ontario campaign for hydroelectricity in The Politics of Development brought together disparate elements of the reform movement and, because they all seem to favour public control of an essential utility, he identifies the movement, in goal-oriented terms, as the product of the self-interest of businessmen.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, Nelles determines that the religious values held by "power by-law" supporters comprised a "fictional world", not essential in the drive for public power. While this approach fails to fully consider the effect of attitudes and values on the motivation and strategy of reform, another set of explanations, claiming social control and status anxiety as the impetus for reform measures, also has its limits. Introduced into discussions of American reform by Richard Hofstadter in his Age of Reform, the interpretation has had application by Canadian historians.<sup>8</sup> The approach, however, is based on a simplistic analysis of behavioural determinants, the validity of which is now the subject of serious debate amongst psychologists from whom the concept was borrowed.<sup>9</sup>

Intricate relationships of ideology to action can be determined by an examination of the social thought of an individual involved in many reform activities. John Wilson Bengough (1851-1923), cartoonist, author, lecturer and Toronto alderman, serves to illustrate the limitations to a "goal-oriented" analysis of reform.

Editor of Grip magazine, Canada's premier cartoonist, a prohibitionist, single taxer, suffragist, poet, lecturer and popular journalist, Bengough brought his sharp wit, indefatigable energy, and international reputation to the field of municipal reform. A "prepossessing man of medium stature, with grey eyes that [looked] as tho' they could take in all sides of a question, dark hair and a manner that [implied] great activity in mind and body,"<sup>10</sup> Bengough was best known for his didactic caricatures. Identified as "one of the ablest cartoonists in the world"<sup>11</sup> by William Stead, author of the controversial

book If Christ Came to Chicago,<sup>12</sup> Bengough's facility with artist's pens and moralist's phrases brought him the title "Artist of Righteousness." His work appeared in Grip, The Globe, Single Taxer, Farmer's Advocate, Montreal Star, Weekly Templar, The Review of Reviews, Sydney Herald (Australia), Chicago Public, Daily Express (England), and many others.<sup>13</sup>

A satirist and spokesman to be reckoned with,<sup>14</sup> Bengough reached a large audience through cartoons, but he also had a reputation as an immensely popular public speaker ("chalk talker") and less renown as an author of undistinguished verse. Sympathetic observers declared that his work exerted "a healthy political and moral influence" as his sentiments lay "close to the purest and simplest passions of the human heart."<sup>15</sup> This simplicity of sentiment and analysis pervaded Bengough's work. As social critic, he judged men's actions in terms of moral absolutes--unqualified rights pitted against abject wrongs. Activities were either just or unjust, fair or unfair, Christian or un-Christian. There could be no middle ground.

Bengough's social commentaries arose from his commitment to a consistently worked out Christian vocational ethic<sup>16</sup> which he founded on a single assertion that both acknowledged the role of God as creator and emphasized that man, as His creation, was ever dependent upon Him. "The will of God", Bengough postulated "is back of all, and from Him all things come."<sup>17</sup> God, Bengough argued, was both the Creator and fulfiller of all man's needs, and therefore all human activity should follow His ordinances. Man was obliged to live by God's laws, both to ensure his own survival and to continually glorify the One Creator. "God's Will", as Bengough paraphrased, "shall be done on earth."<sup>18</sup>

To fulfill God's ordinances and to ensure his survival, man had to labour. Work was both physically necessary and Divinely ordained. In his work, man emulated God, the greatest and original "Craftsman". In his performance of Divinely ordained labour, man entertained the presence of his Maker. "Toil", as Bengough defined it, "is that... by

which the Soul of Man comes in touch with the world God has made: and in that he makes things, he shows that he is a Son of God."<sup>19</sup> As Bengough reiterated, man worked for God rather than for himself. A man's labour was, above all, a service to his Maker. Bound by his dependence upon God, man could realize His blessing only if he directed toil to the Divine glory. The precise link between this mystical union of Man and God through work and Bengough's reform values came from another proposition. The ultimate focus of man's activity was the worship of God through service of mankind. "The only way in which we serve God," Bengough wrote, "is by serving our fellow-men."<sup>20</sup> Work, as ordained by God, entailed social obligations.

Thou art not they brother's keeper?  
At that answer deeper, deeper  
Glows the mark -- thou knowst thou art.<sup>21</sup>

Bengough's call for the brotherhood of man implied a common relationship among men to "maintain the doctrine of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of humanity" in a constant activity of service to each other.<sup>22</sup> Work, as Bengough understood it, constituted a calling, a sacred necessity of life, ordained by God and directed by His laws. Service meant the performance of man's duty to the Lord as the activity in which he worshipped his Maker by ministering to the needs of men.

These social gospel tenets stressing service, duty, brotherhood and justice, became the yardstick by which Bengough judged contemporary life. Especially concerned with social conditions, he argued that poverty in the midst of plenty, political chicanery, religious dogmatism, intemperance and indeed all social ills, resulted from unethical, anti-social beliefs which stressed materialism above community.

The golden rule is "Do unto others as you would have others to unto you." The rule upon which society seems to act at present is: "Look out for your own welfare, and if, ... it is necessary for you to take advantage of laws that bear hardly against your fellow-men, why business is business, you must do it."<sup>23</sup>

That conditions needed changing was obvious, but to Bengough this could not occur without a profound restructuring of community sentiment and a common commitment towards realizing the millenium. Only by founding social morality on Christian principles could contemporary problems be solved: any amelioration of injustice came only by a diligent application of a vocationally applied, Biblically sanctioned and socially directed Christianity.

What avail our ceremonies and organizations unless founded on the eternal principles of justice? ... there are things God will not do for us, things the accomplishment of which He has left for us to do, for which He holds us responsible. As we sow so shall we reap. Do men gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles? Sowing injustice can we reap the fruits of justice, sowing unrighteousness can we reap righteousness? Building on the foundation of the kingdom of evil, how can we establish the kingdom of God?<sup>24</sup>

Since strong social institutions could not be built on weak foundations, men needed to be taught proper values and encouraged to apply them in daily activity.

Motivated by his ethical convictions, Bengough took to the task of moral uplift with great fervour. He was deeply concerned about urban problems in Toronto and he set out to tackle them. As journalist, orator and poet he preached the lessons of a new moral order. As alderman, he tried to hasten the millenium in Hogtown.

Toronto, prior to passing into "Canada's century", had already experienced the effects of rapid growth. As wealth and prosperity increased and "doing King Street" became a measure of fashionable activity, poverty grew and the run-down dwellings of St. John's Ward, Cabbagetown and Bathurst Street stood in stark contrast to the elegance of Bloor, Spadina and Jarvis.<sup>25</sup> Burgeoning population and the explosive expansion of the city limits led to conditions chaotic at best: "Whole streets seemed to rise like mushrooms; sewers, city water, pavements, sidewalks, gas mains, electric street lamps and telephone connections were wanted immediately and the City Council. . . was hard pressed to

overtake the demand."<sup>26</sup> Toronto was, as a contemporary described it, a colourful mixture of the new, the old, and the decrepit:

Toronto had many fine buildings, stores and theatres. ... Steam was used to propel many beautiful boats and trains in and out of the city.... Although there were a few arc electric lights, most streets were lit by gas lamps and most homes by oil lamps.... Many homes had backhouses from which huge barrels were removed regularly and loaded on wagons for an unknown destination and these drays, as they passed, left a stench that lingered.... Toronto used to dump its raw sewage into the bay, but get its drinking water from the lake. The pipe from the lake came through the bay, and when it broke, sewage got into the tapwater.<sup>27</sup>

Bengough published his satirical weekly Grip during the period in which Toronto began its rise.<sup>28</sup> For the twenty-one years of its existence, Grip often professed political non-partisanship though leaning towards the Liberal party as a political combination less tainted with scandal. Grip pledged itself to protect the public weal, asserting that it would "never be neutral where his voice may serve the right."<sup>29</sup> Fifteen years after the first issue, it repeated that its "mission" was to serve as watchdog of the public interest and thus to teach the lessons of a proper Christian morality.

Grip has sought to play the part of an educator though dressed in motley; and upon questions with a distinct moral bearing, he has always striven to be on the right side.<sup>30</sup>

Believing, perhaps naively, that journalistic exposure of civic corruption would keep politicians honest by evoking popular censure, Bengough filled Grip with exposés of government improprieties, accounts of institutional mismanagement, and examples of fiscal waste. Supporting programs which he believed would benefit all citizens as opposed to those which might serve only a few, Bengough campaigned for public ownership of the street railway company, distribution of free school texts, development of city parks, provision of essential services, purification of the water supply, the abolition of the Toronto Coal Trust, and against Sunday streetcars.<sup>31</sup>

From its position as an essentially non-partisan journal, Grip criticised a City Council which refused to build a needed city park while simultaneously supporting the Mayor's trip to a municipal convention in Britain: "a pilgrimage to the Lord Mayor of London's banquet to illustrate what the Western Hemisphere knows about eating turtle soup."<sup>32</sup> Bengough was quick to point out not only the injustice of the situation but who the unethical culprits were.

It happened that the city,  
Had grown so much apace  
That its pleasure park was voted  
By far too small a place;  
The Council thought to buy more land  
For the people did demand it  
But Baxter said the civic purse  
Could never, never stand it.

Next day the Mayor, a friend of John's [Baxter]  
Received an invitation  
To go and dine across the sea  
For the glory of the nation  
Now Baxter was a loyal man,  
So he voted civic cash  
To the tune of some three thousand  
To buy the mayor his hash.<sup>33</sup>

Ever alert for signs of civic scandal, Grip kept a close watch on City Council, noting inconsistencies in the stationary budget,<sup>34</sup> blustering with indignation about construction "kick-backs",<sup>35</sup> and publicizing improprieties in civic fiscal policy.

And Grip would like to know if here there now is such  
a thing  
As there was lately in New York -- they called it there  
a Ring  
And Grip would say that if there is, why then he'd  
like to see,  
This sort of thing that stopped the Ring -- 'Twas  
called a Committee.<sup>36</sup>

While other journalists exposed corruption when it suited their newspaper's party or backers, Bengough actually believed that politics had to be moral. That sentiment first propelled his cartoons to popularity during the Pacific Scandal. Institutional changes were



not sufficient. What government needed was men "of clean hands and pure hearts -- men who believe in the God of nations and are not ashamed or afraid to acknowledge His laws as the rule of their political action."<sup>37</sup>

On these grounds Grip attacked incumbent mayor Francies H. Metcalf during the election of December, 1874. Metcalf was "politically dishonest" and, when Metcalf scored a victory, Grip sarcastically described the Hogtown political ethos: "scratch my back and I'll scratch yours for still another season."<sup>38</sup> Similarly, Bengough's pen castigated Toronto's Police Magistrates, charging them with serving vested interests instead of the public weal.<sup>39</sup> For the Water Works Commissioners, Grip showed nothing but contempt. The directors of the waterworks were "Jolly Commissioners" who discreetly misappropriated public funds to the tune of a "cool hundred thousand"<sup>40</sup> while all the time ignoring public needs.

Don't talk to me of golden mines or silver pouring  
fountains  
Go seek for them, all those who like, among the hills  
and mountains  
There's nought on earth that shall make me abandon  
my condition,  
Toronto leave, while I can stay a Water Works  
Commissioner.<sup>41</sup>

While typhoid stubbornly refused to quit the city,<sup>42</sup> and the bay under hot summer sun became a "cess pool" and then a "cholera puddle",<sup>43</sup> those charged with providing an essential service looked out for themselves and City Council did nothing to correct the situation. Even Mayor Alexander Manning (1885), who had promised a civic drive for better sanitation, came under the influence of shady associates and neglected commitments.<sup>44</sup> Since the first duty of men in public office, as Bengough saw it, was to the public well-being, not party nor friends nor self-interest, what Toronto needed most was a morally committed mayor. Grip's obvious choice for 1886 was William P. Howland.

Toronto's political life in 1886 and 1887 was enlivened by the enthusiastic idealism of its mayor -- W. P. Howland. First elected in

1886 by a popular groundswell directed by a temperance-labour coalition,<sup>45</sup> the once fiery Canada First radical and former insurance company president personified the characteristics reformers of his day deemed most important in a civic leader. Following a spiritual conversion in 1878, Howland had forsaken his activities with the Toronto Board of Trade and the Ontario Manufacturing Association to engage in evangelical philanthropic work. Involved in the Temperance Electoral Union and the founder of the Christian Missionary Union he carried a God fearing pragmatism into his work with slum dwellers in St. John's Ward, the Mercer Reformatory and the Mimico Boy's School. Coming from such a background and having no compromising experiences in municipal politics, his mayoralty campaigns became charged with the slogans of righteousness. "Let us keep the city with the character of an honourable city, a God fearing city," he thundered to a packed election meeting. "I would rather see it thus than the greatest and richest city on the continent."<sup>46</sup>

John Wilson Bengough had found his ideal civic servant in William Howland. Although Grip had once satirized Howland's Canada First involvement,<sup>47</sup> Bengough now endorsed "the citizen's candidate." Howland, "an honest, upright gentleman, above the suspicion of partisanship and scheming," was sure to "advance the city's honour and prosperity."<sup>48</sup> Added to personal virtues, Howland's sincere determination to introduce temperance and sanitary reforms struck up the melody Grip had played for years.<sup>49</sup> His opponents, Manning (1886) and Blain (1887), according to Grip, were irresponsible and motivated by selfish desires.<sup>50</sup> The choice was obvious, public responsibility or self-interest, and Toronto, by margins of 1718 and 2195, agreed with Bengough and gave the nod to the municipal "Christian Gentleman".<sup>51</sup>

Essentially, Bengough believed that just government was possible only when directed by moral men. Structural changes in government would not be sufficient. Grip supported Howland's mayoralty then, not simply because of promises and policies, but because of his stainless character. Bengough demanded this at all levels of government.

If it is true that righteousness exalteth a nation,  
we had better cease putting our whole dependence on  
the National Policy and go in for a little common  
decency amongst our rulers.<sup>52</sup>

Through his writing, cartoons and public speaking, Bengough reiterated the message. He perceived his role as that of critic and educator and believed that his message would inspire others to higher ideals.

Although Bengough looked for strong moral leadership, he recognized what thoughtful friends of democracy have long stressed, the importance of a vigilant public. Apathy contributed to civic corruption:

Oh, the aldermen knew very well what was what,  
And the aldermen they boiled their pot,  
For well they knew the way.

But the folks cared not, for a quiet lot  
And a quiet lot were they.

They laid down the streets both with care and with pain  
They straightway destroyed them completely again  
For both the town must pay

But the folks cared not, for a quiet lot  
And a quiet lot were they.<sup>53</sup>

Decent government required educated and involved citizens alert to ethical standards, only an intelligent and moral public could create a moral government. Hence Bengough regarded the education of voters as an essential duty. It was not sufficient for people to vote, they must be taught how to vote properly. Above all, they needed moral instruction to recognize evil and to identify their duty.

This [the act of voting] they cannot do 'til they  
see just what is wrong and how it is to be made  
right. What they need is light.<sup>54</sup>

Bengough's approach to social reform was not issue-oriented. Certainly, he supported various programs, such as the single tax and prohibition, but primarily he aimed at regenerating moral sentiment. Bengough did not believe that structural changes alone would lead to a "good society". Not unless men realized their community commitments and began to act from ethical instead of materialistic motives could society realize a just order. Yet, Bengough's Christian idealism, while it

defined his perspective on social issues, also limited it. His almost naive belief in the transforming power of education, his faith in the collective voice of a responsible public opinion, and his assurance in the transcendence of "good", may have prevented him from realizing the complexity of social issues. His idealism was tested politically when in 1906, Bengough entered civic life as an aldermanic candidate.

Although it was his first try for civic office, Bengough was no stranger to public affairs. Not only had he been involved for half a lifetime as a sideline commentator, but, as a director of the Toronto Exhibition, auditor for the Canadian Peace and Arbitration Society, vice-president of People's Forum, and president of the Toronto Single Tax Association he had some experience with procedures and decision-making. Nonetheless, his first attempt at office ended in failure.<sup>55</sup> The 1907 election saw him vigorously contesting an aldermanic seat in Ward Three.<sup>56</sup>

In the 1907 campaign, Bengough received backing from major Toronto newspapers. The Toronto Star gave him support urging readers to vote for Bengough in a front page endorsement, and noting that his "chalk talk" experience would be a definite asset in council chambers.

Mr. J. W. Bengough, the cartoonist, looks like a good choice for Ward Three. Anything his Worship couldn't understand by word of mouth, Alderman Bengough could draw for him on the blackboard.<sup>57</sup>

The Globe approvingly mentioned that Bengough favoured building more playgrounds and applauded his candidacy.<sup>58</sup> On his victory, the press which had supported him demanded that he give a good account of himself. The World ran a front page picture of the alderman elect and the Globe noted:

Among the new members, J. W. Bengough has already made a name for himself in other fields, and his work among the practical details of municipal administration will be watched with interest.<sup>59</sup>

With tables turned, the critic now had to practice what he had preached!

Bengough wasted no time in serving notice that he was determined to advance a program of social reform. From his election to the Board of Directors for the Victoria Industrial School (a position he held for three years) and his appointment to a select committee charged with alleviating "the difficult conditions under which citizens in receipt of small salaries are now labouring in their efforts to get suitable home accommodation"<sup>60</sup> to his resolutions calling for a single tax scheme in Toronto, Bengough followed the dictates of his social conscience.

Within a month of election, Bengough had introduced three social measures. The first was designed to enable homeowners to realize a respite from home improvement taxes, because these taxes, he argued unjustly appropriated the value of honest labour.<sup>61</sup> His remedy took the form of a proposed application to the legislature of Ontario to allow the City of Toronto to introduce a by-law "exempting dwelling-houses from taxation to the extent of \$700 of their assessed value."<sup>62</sup> The second was an amendment to the Liquor License Act reducing the number of licenses in the city. The third, concerning the welfare of tenants, was a direct attack on those landlords who maintained unfit accommodations. By-law number 4329 should be amended, declared Bengough,

So as to provide a means of compelling landlords and owners of homes to keep the same in a proper and reasonable state of repair, with a view to the protection of tenants from suffering in cold, wet and inclement weather.<sup>63</sup>

All three of these early legislative proposals "got lost" in the red tape of committee procedure, and none, until later years, came to a vote.

The experience made an impression on Bengough. He soon turned to dexterity and acquired a political sense necessary for promotion of his programmes. Allying himself with Alderman John Hales, a man whom the Globe had recommended to voters as "one of the new men whose election would be a satisfaction to all citizens who desire honest clean civic government,"<sup>64</sup> and Controller Horatio C. Hocken, who later became known

as a reforming Mayor,<sup>65</sup> Bengough found himself part of a small group of men who supported social reforms in a Council more interested in other matters.

Bengough's next attack on liquor licenses was better prepared. Seconded by Alderman Hale, Bengough's motion stated that the

Board of License Commissioners refuses to entertain any application for license to sell liquor in any public amusement park of the city of Toronto.<sup>66</sup>

Following a drawn out fight, the motion, after amendment by Aldermen McBride and Wilson which added the words "not hertofore been granted a license" was carried. The reformer had learned to play the game. Yet he had to accept that the idealism of his legislative resolutions would never be realized to his complete satisfaction. The dilemma of striving for reform from within the existing system with its compromising eventually made Bengough feel uncomfortable. However, he struggled as best he could, taking up a wide variety of causes, all generally falling under the catch-all phrase of "social reform." He championed his pet peeve, sanitary reform, insisting that the City Engineer be compelled to report on the feasibility of a Trunk Sewer to end "the present method of depositing sewage in the Bay."<sup>67</sup> This resolution, primarily because it did not call for immediate action, passed easily; but, his demands for the establishment of supervised city playgrounds, his appeal for standards defining and controlling the quality of milk sold in Toronto, and his call for a Council study of "practical results of the system of taxing land values now in operation"<sup>68</sup> in Australia and New Zealand, the single tax scheme, were turned down.

Recognition of his idealism and honesty by the public led to a second victory in 1908, and Bengough was selected to serve on the Harbour Trust and appointed to head a special committee to investigate irregularities in the Department of the Commissioner of Parks, with instructions to organize and direct another committee to control and manage the City Parks System during the investigation.<sup>69</sup> Although preoccupied with these responsibilities, he still managed to help secure

the further reduction of liquor licenses and to continue his campaign for a single tax.<sup>70</sup>

By his third successful contest, in the election of 1909, Bengough had achieved stature as an aggressive municipal reformer. Public interest in the election ran high as various candidates for municipal honours presented their positions on the major issue of the campaign — reduction of liquor licenses. After a long and hard battle, he and his reform allies, including Council members H. C. Hocken, J. Hales, and Frank S. Spence, managed to persuade Council to limit the liquor outlets in the city to 110.<sup>71</sup> Yet, City Council, uncertain of the popularity of this move, decided to put it to a public vote. And, since plebiscites were held during the civic contest, the 1909 election took on all the fervour of a prohibition campaign.

Bengough left voters with no doubts as to where he stood. Already known as an advocate of total prohibition for some thirty years, he continued his condemnation of liquor as a community evil into the campaign to restrict liquor sales. Endorsed by the License Reduction Organization, he joined temperance leader and City Controller F. S. Spence, socialist and lay preacher James Simpson, and the Roman Catholic activist priest Rev. Father Minehan in all out attack on demon rum, illustrating his lectures at packed meeting halls.<sup>72</sup> Bengough would sketch a picture of a decrepit drunk and thunder that "Liquor is the only thing on earth capable of transforming the image of God into that sort of wreckage."<sup>73</sup> With justification an opponent charged that Bengough was "elected on the temperance ticket framed up in a Sunday school room."<sup>74</sup> Both Bengough and the reduction by-law carried the day.<sup>75</sup>

During the 1909 term, Bengough asked for and received a leave of absence from Council. Departing Toronto in late March, he travelled to Australia on what became an extremely popular lecture tour. Upon his return, Bengough failed to re-enter politics. Although he had fought hard for his social programs and had enjoyed a fair measure of success,

his real interest did not lie in the daily round of administrative activity. His was the self-asserted duty of judge and prophet. Ultimately, the compromising required to achieve limited reforms and the often frustrating role of practical politician held little lasting appeal. J. W. Bengough was, above all, a man who endeavoured to stir public conscience. His talent for the pathetic phrase, the glorious challenge, the devastating caricature was too passionate and emotional to be restrained by the particulars of everyday political manoeuvring. Bengough's real worth lay in his independent position outside the political arena. In his non-partisan stance he could help keep public men honest; he could fulfill his duty as "watchdog of the public interest."

John Wilson Bengough's career as a social activist, while not a signal height of the Canadian reform movement, identifies an important element of that movement. Bengough's activities grew from values which stressed community, responsibility, and duty. These values led him to agitate for programs as varied as purity in politics, sanitation, pure milk, prohibition, single tax, and penal reform, while subordinating any one program to the wider goal of a regeneration of moral sentiment. Bengough saw all his reform activities as means to a great end. He thought in terms of a utopian society, a land of "Things as theyoughttobe"<sup>76</sup>, a millenium which could only be realized by popular application of the principles of brotherhood, duty and love for one's fellowman.

Infused with an evangelical fervour that came from his Christian viewpoint, Bengough saw his role as primarily that of critic and educator. He could not function in the daily give and take of practical politics. He could not condone the compromises that he had to make in the political arena. As such, his involvement identifies both the direction and limitations of his particular branch of the reform movement. Although motivated by high ideals, Bengough was unable to recognize the complexity of social issues, for he was as much a prisoner of his ideology as a prophet of reform. Yet, his career does indicate



the essential role of values in the reform movement. Whatever might be said of Bengough's understanding of social issues and his effectiveness in dealing with them, it is important to recognize that, in his case at least, it was an ideological imperative that more than any other factor determined activism.

. . . . .

1. Canadian studies on this aspect of urban history are meager. The best are P. Goheen, Victorian Toronto (University of Chicago, Geography Department, 1970) and Davey and Doucet, "The Social Geography of a Commercial City, ca. 1853," in Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975).
2. Samuel P. Hays, "The changing political structure of the city in industrial America," Journal of Urban History, 1, 1(1974), 6-38, substitutes a spatial process for the term "reform". His treatment of the decentralization - centralization thesis suffers from its inability to treat motivations, it describes a process but does not address the forces which create it.
3. T. Parsons, The Structure of Social Action, Vol. II (New York: The Free Press, 1968), p. 689. The following discussion owes much to insights gleaned from Parsons.
4. P. H. Mann, An Approach to Urban Sociology (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 194-195.
5. Parsons, Social Action, p. 732. Parsons defines action as arising from a conflict between normative and conditional elements.
6. Ibid., p. 693.
7. H. V. Nelles, The Politics of Development (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1975), pp. 256-306, passim.
8. For examples of these approaches in Canadian historiography see G. A. Hallowell, Prohibition on Ontario: 1919-1923; G. Decarie, "The Prohibition Movement in Ontario: 1894-1916," Ph.D., Queen's 1972; P. Rutherford: Introduction to Saving the Canadian City, and P. Rutherford "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement in Canada, 1880-1920," C.H.A. Papers, 1971; John C. Weaver, "Tomorrow's Metropolis Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920," Canadian Historical Association's annual meeting, Quebec City, June, 1976.

9. D. Thelen "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," Journal of American History (September, 1969), 323-341.
10. Unidentified Boston newspaper clipping, "Scrapbook", Bengough Papers Vol. 14, Mills Memorial Library, McMaster University, Hamilton.
11. W. Stead, in H. J. Morgan, ed. The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, 1st ed. (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), p. 90.
12. For a narrative of Stead's activities in Chicago, see J. O. Baylen, "A Victorian's Crusade in Chicago, 1893-1894," Journal of American History (December 1964), 418-434.
13. Globe, Nov. 23, 1923: Rev. W. H. Withrow, "An Artist of Righteousness," Canadian Methodist Magazine, 1902, clipping, Bengough Papers, Vol. 7; E. S. Carswell, Canadian Singers and Their Songs, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1925), p. 227.
14. C.G.D. Roberts, and A. L. Tunnell, eds., A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: The Canadian Who Was Who, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Trans Canada Press, 1934), p. 45; H. Charlesworth, The Canadian Scene: Sketches; Political and Historical (Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1927), p. 128; Cartoons of the Campaign (Toronto: The Pool Publishing Co., 1900).
15. Morgan, Men and Women of the Time, p. 91; Christian Guardian, July 18, 1900.
16. For a detailed analysis of Bengough's ideological concepts see my "J. W. Bengough: Artist of Righteousness," M.A. Thesis, McMaster University, 1975.
17. J. W. Bengough, "The Gist of George," m.s., Bengough Papers, Vol. 4.
18. J. W. Bengough, The Whole Hog Book (Boston: American Free Trade League, 1908), p. 99.
19. Bengough, "The Gist of George."
20. J. W. Bengough, Chalk Talks (Toronto: The Musson Book Co., 1922), p. 66.
21. J. W. Bengough, "The Doomed Ship," Motley: Verses Grace and Gay (Montreal: William Briggs, 1895), p. 30.
22. J. W. Bengough, "Address from the Single Tax Association to the Ministers of the Christian Churches," The Social Reformer (Toronto: June, 1892). See also his poems "The Miracle," Motley, and "The Hero Fisherman," In Many Keys (Toronto: William Briggs, 1902).
23. Bengough, "Address," The Social Reformer.

24. Ibid.
25. By 1885, the total assessment, with all the inaccuracies that it entailed, stood at an impressive \$68, 905, 470. D. Morton, Mayor Howland: Citizen's Candidate (Toronto: Hakkert, 1973), p. 3; C. S. Clark, Of Toronto the Good (Montreal: The Toronto Publishing Co., 1898), p. 142; P. Goheen, Victorian Toronto.
26. J. E. Middleton, The Municipality of Toronto: A History (Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Co., 1923), p. 337.
27. H. N. Sheppard, "An Account of My Life" a biographical sketch in the possession of its author who grew up in late-Victorian Toronto and who later served as Head of the History Department at Jarvis Collegiate for some twenty years.
28. Grip had an unusually long life span, twenty-one years (1873-1894) and its circulation in 1881 stood at 10,000 -- not an inconsequential figure for the period. Grip, June 11, 1881. J. Spelt, Toronto (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada, 1973).
29. Grip, May 24, 1873; July 12, 1873; Sept. 13, 1873; Sept. 13, 1873.
30. Grip, Jan. 7, 1888. My thanks to Dr. G. R. Cook for drawing this to my attention.
31. See for example cartoons and articles in Grip, May 29, 1875; July 17, 1875; Jan. 15, 1876; Sept. 27, 1876; Jan. 19, 1878; Nov. 20, 1880; Dec. 18, 1880; Aug. 11, 1883; Aug. 22, 1885; Oct. 24, 1885; Labor Advocate: Dec. 12, 1890; Jan. 9, 1891; May 1, 1891.
32. Grip, July 24, 1875.
33. Grip, July 17, 1875.
34. Grip, April 17, 1875.
35. Grip, Oct. 24, 1885.
36. Grip, April 17, 1875.
37. Grip, Jan. 23, 1886.
38. Grip, Dec. 26, 1874; Jan. 2, 1875.
39. Grip, Jan. 9, 1875.
40. Grip, Jan. 12, 1878.
41. Grip, July 14, 1877.

42. As late as 1892, 111 people died of typhoid in Toronto -- Middleton, Municipality of Toronto, p. 344.
43. Grip, Aug. 2, 1885.
44. Grip, Jan. 2, 1886; World, Jan. 1, 1886.
45. Clark, Toronto, p. 8.
46. Globe, Dec. 2, 1886; Morton, Mayor Howland, p. 20.
47. Especially in connection with the founding of the Empire Club, Grip, April 3, 1875.
48. Grip, Dec. 12, 1885.
49. Demands for these reforms are found throughout Grip. Especially humorous was some of Bengough's verse criticising the condition of Toronto's water supply. His poem "The Play of the Merchant, Not of Venice," (Grip, May 29, 1885) is an excellent example:
- . . . . .
- The drain, the drain, oh that troublesome drain!  
A volume along the cavernous land  
Is rushing away with a torrents speed,  
Like a wild moustang [sic] or a frantic steed.  
To loose itself in the calm, still Bay  
And return through the water-works pipes next day.
50. Grip, Jan. 2, 1886; Jan. 15, 1887.
51. Grip, Dec. 26, 1885.
52. Grip, May 15, 1886.
53. Grip, Dec. 2, 1876.
54. Bengough, Whole Hog, p. 72.
55. Star, Jan. 2, 1907.
56. Globe, Dec. 15, 1906.
57. Star, Dec. 29, 1906; Jan. 2, 1907; Dec. 27, 1906.
58. Globe, Dec. 27, 1906; Dec. 28, 1906.
59. Globe, Jan. 2, 1907.
60. Minutes of Proceedings of the Council of the Corporation of the City of Toronto -- 1907 (Toronto: The Carswell Co., 1908), section 156.

61. This idea is founded on Bengough's understanding of the Christian vocational ethic. See "J. W. Bengough; Artist of Righteousness," chapter five.
62. Minutes -- 1907, section 157.
63. Ibid., section 186.
64. Globe, Dec. 21, 1906.
65. R. C. Brown and G. R. Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 102.
66. Minutes -- 1907, section 257.
67. Ibid., section 389.
68. Ibid., section 521.
69. Minutes -- 1908, Jan. 13, 1908: sections 22, 129, 533.
70. Ibid., section 533.
71. Ibid., section 22.
72. Globe, Dec. 30, 1908.
73. Star, Dec. 30, 1908.
74. Star, Dec. 24, 1908.
75. Star, Jan. 1, 1909. The voting for the reduction by-law stood at 12,455 for to 9,946 against.
76. J. W. Bengough, The Queer Theory of Henry George, Bengough Papers, Vol. 4.