Development of Neo-Calvinist Social Thought and Action in Canada

by

Harry J. Kits

Differing views of social action in the Orthodox Calvinist community arise out of our different worldviews. Among the Orthodox Dutch Canadian Calvinists there is one worldview which is oriented particularly to the Christian Reformed Church and three others which are variations of a Neo-Calvinist worldview. Different kinds of social involvement and theories have arisen in Neo-Calvinism in Canada due to different emphases in worldview.

I. Four worldviews.

Confessional Reformed
Radical Activist
Antithetical Calvinist
Engaged Calvinist

II. Highlights of Neo-Calvinism in Canada.

1945 - 1958
1959 - 1968
1968 - 1974
1970 - 1980

REFERENCES

Catalyst, 1978 - 1980
Christian Social Vanguard, 1961 - 1962
The Christian Vanguard, 1962 - 1970
CJL Newsletter, 1964-1978
The Guide, 1957 - 1980
Reformed Journal, 1956 - 1966
Vanguard, 1970 - 1980
Western News, 1959 - 1961

ALPHABET SOUP

AACS	Association for the Advancement of Christian Studies
ARSS	Association of Reformed Scientific Studies
CAF	Christian Action Foundation
CJL	Committee for Justice and Liberty
CLAC	Christian Labour Association of Canada
CRC	Christian Reformed Church
CTUC	Christian Trade Unions of Canada
ICS	Institute for Christian Studies

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEO-CALVINIST SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT IN CANADA: 1945 - 1980

by HARRY J. KITS

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Thank you for the privilege of being able to participate in this conference and share with you some of the activities of one community of Dutch people north of the border.

My presentation this morning is based on a master's thesis I have written at the Institute for Christian Studies, a Christian graduate school in Toronto, Canada where I now work. What I want to present is a summary or overview of the social and cultural activities of the Canadian Neo-Calvinist and largely Christian Reformed community from 1945 to 1980.

Orthodox Dutch Calvinists in Canada, largely post-war immigrants, have created their own churches, schools and

other organizations. In concert with others who have joined them they have brought to Canadian society a unique approach to Social involvement and theory.[1] Their influence has been felt in issues of abortion, independent school funding, energy development, social assistance, labour relations, and farmland policy.

In my thesis I am approaching this community in terms of worldviews. Using some of the insights and categories of historians of Dutch Calvinism in the United States such as James Bratt and Henry Zwaanstra, I see the Dutch Calvinists in Canada participating in society as a world view family. This Dutch Calvinist world view family is rooted in the revival of Calvinism in the Netherlands during the nineteenth century which contributed to a shift in the social makeup of the Netherlands. My contention is that that world views, or basic assumptions about the nature and destiny of the world, influence social involvement. Therefore, in my thesis I propose a classification for different world views in Dutch-Canadian Neo-Calvinism and I discuss the resulting differing emphases in social involvement.

Just to briefly summarize the world views: The confessional reformed focus on reformed theology and confessions and consider the church, home, and christian school to be the primary institutions of society. The

antithetical calvinist believes that because of different principled approaches to life, christians must form separate christian organizations. The activist radicals were more concerned with swift and drastic change in society to make it more radically christian. The engaged calvinists held to their reformed and calvinist theology and philosophies but were primarily interested in constructive betterment of the society around them. The latter three can be most properly called "Neo-Calvinist" since they were actively interested in the society around them, while the first group was uninterested in society. These four world views interacted in the historical survey of Dutch Canadian Calvinism which I want to present to you today.

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 1890's, however, provided homestead land for some Dutch farmers.[2]

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.[3] 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.[4] 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.[5]

The decision to emigrate for the post-war Netherlanders was a combination of economic, demographic, social, political and religious factors.[6] It is likely that no single motive was sufficient in itself, but the combination of these factors led to immigration.[7] In addition, the Dutch faced little hostility from other Canadians in their attempts to immigrate to Canada and become Canadian.[8]

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.[9] 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."[10] 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.[11]

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.[12]

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.[13] 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,[14] because they believed that Christian life was subsumed under the church (institute) and any other Christian activity was to be done by Christians individually.[15]

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.[16] 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".[17] 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.[18] 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."[19] 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.[20]

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 1960's, though Rev. Remkes Kooistra did visit the Alberta Minister of Education in 1957.[21] The Ontario Alliance of Christian

Schools was developed in 1954 with a primary goal of establishing the schools, but it undertook little political activity until the 1960's.[22]

For the Confessional Reformed the schools were a protective place for children to be taught, in concert with home and church.[23] For the Neo-Calvinists, the schools were part of the "Calvinist mission" in Canada.[24] 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.[25] 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 1950's 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 1950's 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 Neo-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,[26] 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 1950's, 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."[27]

In November 1958, after the defeat of its proposed changes, the NEC resigned.[28] 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 1950's 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 1960's 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 1960's. 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.

Dr. H. Evan Runner[29] 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.[30]

Runner's influence began through a lecture in Calgary in 1957, and continued through his Calvin College Groen Club[31], and his philosophy classes, to which flocked young Canadian Neo-Calvinists. In 1959, at the first ARSS Unionville Conferences, he delivered three very influential speeches which were published and widely distributed. For most of the 1960's and 1970's 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 to produce a 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 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 it continued 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 Wanguard.

In November of 1962, the CLAA and the AARFA/CCA amalgamated to form the Christian Action Foundation (CAF). With the growing momentum of the 60's 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, the CLAC began the Committee for Justice

and Liberty (CJL) in 1961 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 designate his dues to a charity instead of the union he found unacceptable.[32] This legislation was introduced in Manitoba and Ontario in the late 1960's. They also tried to argue for the possibility of two or more unions in one bargaining unit.[33]

The 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.[34] 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 1970's 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.[35] The Curriculum Development Centre[36] and alternative Christian schools[37] 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.[38]

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_.[39] 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.[40] 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 1980's.

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

Neo-Calvinists.[41]

In the later 1960's and early 1970's 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.[42]

The new CJL Foundation, formed in 1971, continued to be involved in labour issues. It also expanded its interest to criticisms of progress and economic materialism.[43] 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

1970's, 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[44], the propriety of church involvement in public life[45], and the CJL Foundation's lack of clarity on concepts of liberation, oppression, love of neighbor, and self determination.[46] 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.[47]

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 1970's. Its researchers, however, 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.

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This overview has been necessarily brief and sketchy. It has been for me a real joy to dig back into my Neo-Calvinist roots and has planted in me that little bug of curiosity that I am sure all of you here also have. The curiosity that leads you to continue to find out more about Dutch history in North America.

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

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

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