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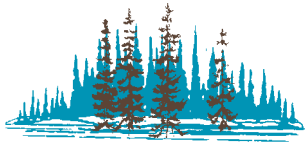
Change for Canada's Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector

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Acknowledgements

For far too long, Canada has lacked a comprehensive resource examining Canada's charitable sector. That has now ended.

The Muttart Foundation has spent many years focusing on building the capacity of charities in this country. The publication of this collection is another contribution to that effort. By understanding more about itself, the sector can continue to develop and find new ways to serve Canadians and those in need outside our nation.

The authors of these essays bring different perspectives on the role and inner workings of Canada's charities. Collectively, they bring an unprecedented insight into the work of organizations whose diversity is exceeded only by their desire to serve.

It is difficult to express adequate appreciation to Dr. Susan Phillips of Carleton University for her leadership of this project. She has been a source of encouragement, persuasion, cajoling and improving authors from across the country. Her efforts now bear fruit as we make this material available to students, academics, practitioners and others interested in the history and future of Canada's charities.

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None of this would have been possible, of course, without the work of authors, themselves academics and/or practitioners. They took time from their schedules to contribute to a resource we hope many will find valuable.

Lesley Fraser did an incredible job in editing the various chapters and ensuring consistency. And Don Myhre of P40 Communications has again brought his talent to the fore in providing an attractive design for a Muttart publication.

The work of all of these individuals has come together in this resource which we dedicate to all of those in, or interested in, Canada's charitable sector.

Malcolm Burrows, President
Bob Wyatt, Executive Director
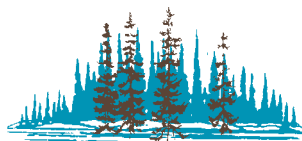
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Chapter 1

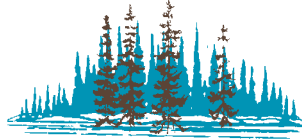Phillips, Susan D. and Wyatt, Bob (2021) Intersections and Innovations: Change in Canada's Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector. In Susan D. Phillips and Bob Wyatt (Eds.), *Intersections and Innovations: Change for Canada's Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector.* Edmonton, AB, Canada: Muttart Foundation

Chapter 2

Lasby, David and Barr, Cathy (2021) State of the Sector and Public Opinion about the Sector. In Susan D. Phillips and Bob Wyatt (Eds.), *Intersections and Innovations: Change for Canada's Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector.* Edmonton, AB, Canada: Muttart Foundation

Chapter 3

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Part I Introduction

Intersections and Innovations:
Change in Canada's Voluntary and
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State of the Sector and Public
Opinion about the Sector

Four Keys to Make Sense
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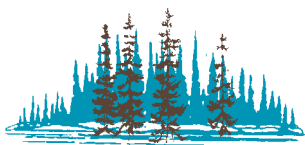
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Chapter 3

Four Keys to Make Sense of Traditions in the Nonprofit Sector in Canada: Historical Contexts

Dominique Marshall, Carleton University

The past of the voluntary and nonprofit sector might be the closest researchers have to a laboratory to help them make sense of the sector's operation and explain its transformations. Looking at this depository of knowledge can help us to see how people have faced difficult and intricate situations and to offer alternative viewpoints. It can show if, when, and how "philanthropic," "charitable," and "voluntary" activities, to use terms that preceded the notion of "nonprofit," have contributed to the making of cohesive social groups.[1] In this spirit, I have designed a list of four keys. They concern four types of social relations: political, aristocratic, religious, and economic. Together, these keys can help practitioners and students identify past traditions of nonprofit activities in Canada and make sense of them. In the words of American historian Peter Stearns (1998), the study of past institutions and ideas might even "encourage habits of mind that are vital for responsible public behavior."

European Kingdoms

To this day, Canada's voluntary and nonprofit sector is marked by a tendency to rely on public powers. This distinction is largely due to the ways European kingdoms ruled their subjects, at home and in their colonies, in the 1600s and 1700s. During this period, Canada was under the rule of French and English monarchs and of the commercial enterprises of hunting and fishing, such as the Hudson's Bay Company (1670–1870), that they chartered to manage the territory. In the colonies, the number and the means of voluntary institutions, that is to say those that were free from state interference or control, were limited. The welfare of early European settlers was

more incumbent on public authorities than it was in the mother countries. Settlers arrived from societies where the poor were a large majority, and they rarely came by choice; the European population of Canada was sparse, nowhere near as abundant and prosperous as European rulers wished. A large proportion of soldiers, fishermen, farmers, and fur traders arrived in the colonies with no family to support them in times of hardship; newcomers returned home in droves after a few years in Canada, or moved south. For all these reasons, when famine loomed in New France in the winter of 1758/1759, settlers relied on the governor and his intendant to organize the distribution of free grain. Since local funds that came from feudal levies and trade duties were not sufficient, these colonial administrators requested more grants from the coffers of the metropolitan states.[2]

Many efforts to settle North America can be seen as a direct consequence of joint actions by European governments and the churches of their own kingdoms. These actions were integrated: in a "pre-secular" or "confessional" period, when all acted in accordance with the Christian theological system, governments and churches were too linked to speak of "non-government" organizations. The enrolment, clothing, and travel at public cost of approximately 800 *filles du roi* (1663–1673), young women destined to marry the single men of New France, represented a way to empty church-run orphanages in France. In the colony, a religious order, the Ursulines, organized their arrival. Similarly, a third of the French veterans of the Iroquois Wars, who were offered Canadian land on the conclusion of peace (1667), remained in the colony: a combination of farming and fur trading gave these 400 men a better income than most expected in the metropolis.

British governments used colonization as a means to take care of the poor even more systematically than their French predecessors had, and most of the time, voluntary associations were in charge of these operations. During the British rule of Canada (1713–1867), the colonies of North America offered a spillway for people who lacked fortune at home. Until the 1840s, in the colonies of British North America, as in New France, the state played a large role. As Judith Fingard has shown, "poor rates" (a property tax levied to support the poor); grants from the assembly and the governor; and military rations for disbanded soldiers, Loyalists, and other refugees all awaited the development of a mature philanthropic sector (Fingard, 1974; Curtis, 2018; Cooper, 2019). Between 1869 and 1932, voluntary children's aid societies and churches sent more than 100,000 poor and orphaned children from Britain to work in rural families of Canada. Headed by municipalities and lay or religious charities of different denominations, the transport of "Home Children" was financed by donations, and by the work of the children themselves. Similarly, the best known of these poor peoples' migrations, the migration of more than 500,000 Irish people to British North America caused by famine at home (1845–1849), was a direct result of the hardship caused by the imposition by the island's British rulers of the Poor Laws on its indebted property owners. On arrival, emigrant families felt the scourge of epidemics. Cholera, for example, left many children orphaned; their care became the responsibility of charities, clerics, and municipal employees. A large proportion of famine migrants later moved to the United States, but for those who stayed, Catholic parishes became their main social and cultural organization, a base from which to start participating in the new society.

In this context of strong state influence, Canadian public employees have long enjoyed habits of work that gave them more influence than their counterparts had in Europe, particularly in ways that could restrain the development of independent institutions. Colonial bureaucrats

were an ocean away from the pressures of European populations, and were less encumbered at home by requests from a scattered population. Decades after most managerial links with Paris and London were officially severed, the Canadian tendency to rely heavily on public powers to manage the social affairs of the country persisted.

This is especially true for the "Indian Department," which, for diplomatic reasons, remained closer to London until 1860 than most departments, and which, in the absence of full Indigenous suffrage until the 1960s, continued to be subject to fewer democratic checks than other sectors of Canadian public life. Treaties signed between European kings and Indigenous chiefs, beginning in 1725, regulated the lives of Indigenous peoples on large expanses of Canadian soil and were reminiscent of the Poor Laws of the old country. The 1763 Royal Proclamation of King George III created a vast "Indian Territory" west of the Appalachian Mountains, and it is still considered an "Indian Bill of Rights" of sorts. In need of military alliances with Indigenous peoples to keep other imperial powers at bay, the British Crown managed to combine the goal of guaranteeing space and resources for "Indian" welfare with its wish to keep control of Western expansion away from the British settlers themselves. This led to state promises of medicine chests to ensure the welfare of Indigenous peoples, promises that were rarely kept in full. It also explains why, during the colonial period, philanthropic interests for Indigenous peoples were stronger in the cities of Europe than they were among the elites of the American continent (Anderson, 2006).

A contemporary effect of this joint history of complementarity between the state and nonprofit sectors is the way in which the latter often acts as a pioneer in fields not yet accepted as state responsibility, as is attested by the vanguard medical work done by several of the largest Canadian charities today.

The history of contemporary Canadian-based transnational humanitarian organizations is similarly connected with the colonial adventures of European states. Some of the top 10 nonprofit organizations of Canada, both in terms of budget and of donations received, collaborate closely with Western governments and churches – World Vision Canada and Plan International chief among them.[3] For most of them, fundraising methods and publics, networks of institutions in the Global South, and their structures of governance and ambitions represent a mixture of Western traditions of imperial charities and public and communal practices encountered among societies they aim to help.

Aristocratic Social Structures and Values

Coming from societies founded on an aristocratic order, early settlers also brought with them a political culture of entitlements and responsibilities, regulated by the law, that left its mark on current Canadian notions of charity. Even in today's democracies, many charitable organizations seek the presence of rich and noble people on their boards as a warrant of value, dependability, and trust. Today's debate about the degree to which the prominence of celebrities from the realms of entertainment and sports entails societal obligations on them can be understood in these terms.

In the feudal order, based on hereditary land ownership, society was divided into stable ranks. One's immutable place was either among the rich or among the poor and was associated with duties toward the welfare of all. Giving to the Church could ease one's salvation, and receiving alms was an entitlement of the poor. The French feudal system of land allocation and occupation of central Canada, from 1624 to 1850, regulated the lives of tenants, who represented more than three-quarters of the population of what is now Quebec. There existed no public system of poor relief, but, in exchange for their *censitaires*' work and money, the *seigneurs* owed them protection, the provision of sufficient land to sustain their family, mills, commons, courts of law, and hunting and fishing rights. In such a social order of uneven and reciprocal relations, giving to the poor was the justification of the upper-class privileges (Robinson, 2019; O'Leary McNeice, 2020). So, too, was maintaining churches and the array of social functions churches performed, including education, welfare, and the promotion of the arts. Having said this, the North American labour market presented more economic opportunities than in many parts of the Old World, and feudalism left a lesser mark on philanthropy than in closed societies (Dechêne, 1992).

Originating from late medieval times, Britain's Poor Laws never made it to the statutes of its Canadian colonies. But many of the Poor Laws' principles and institutions played a formative role in the history of the voluntary sector in the country, including means tests, categories of poverty (deserving, non-deserving, dependent, or able-bodied), vagrancy laws, poor rates, workhouses, and poorhouses. Until 1349, a voluntary system of relief of the poor had prevailed, which was under the responsibility of the clergy and funded by charitable giving and other Church income. When plagues, famines, and primitive industrial transformation tested the limits of this nonprofit sector, English monarchs inaugurated a public system of poor relief: they instructed local governments within each Church district to take responsibility for the vagrants and beggars of their territory. Obligatory taxes, levied and spent by local governments, guaranteed a supply of money for the relief of the indigent, as well as the subsistence of the working poor. In this way, the feudal system of serfdom was adjusted to keep agricultural workers in their locality to toil the soil of the landowning nobility and prevent social unrest. The Poor Laws heavily restricted the right to assistance by tying relief to one's proof of continuous residency in a district; limiting begging licences to people who local authorities determined to be too ill, old, or disabled to work; punishing or imprisoning poor people deemed able to work, or those who were found away from their parish; and contributing to the maintenance of wages under the levels of subsistence. The Poor Laws of the late Middle Ages survived two overhauls, in the 16th century and the early 19th century. Their implementation required the construction of a growing network of local and public institutions for the "deserving" poor, where conditions were most often wanting, and which would serve as models for European charities and governments of Canada.

Churches and Religions

Churches have been as important as colonial states for the development of nonprofit and voluntary activities for most of Canadian history. Past religious values and traditions have left a deep imprint on current volunteer activities, religious and secular alike.

In the domains of welfare, culture, and education, established churches long represented a state within a state (Greer & Radforth, 1992). Canadian governments provided the main Christian churches with authority in large sectors of public life, even if there was no single "established" church in Canada, as there is in Britain. This was accomplished through licences, laws, grants, or yearly allocations of money. Mutual convenience explains most collaborations between civil and religious authorities.

For the first 50 years of French rule, the Catholic Church enjoyed exceptional leeway in the creation of parishes and the control of religious orders. Financed by charitable donations from the motherhouse of French Catholic orders and patrons and supported by trading entrepreneurs and royal envoys, Jesuits, Sulpicians, and Ursulines established parishes, schools, and seminaries to Christianize Indigenous peoples. These religious orders kept the European public interested and appealed to rich lay people by sending exotic accounts of their trials and triumphs in ways that are reminiscent of modern humanitarian NGOs. The making of New France into a royal colony (1663) put an end to such great autonomy. The king became more involved in the regulation of religious institutions. They received land, meager grants, and the right to raise tithes (a tax taken from settlers to support the clergy livelihood and activities) and were officially entrusted with the welfare and the education of the colony, for European settlers and Indigenous peoples alike. Charitable donations from France remained their principal income: "the Ursulines received not only pious bequests but also gifts of textiles, beds, bedding, towels, pharmaceutical products, religious items, preserves, dried fruit and children's clothes" (Canadian Museum of History, n.d.).

The Canadian Indigenous peoples who came under the authority of evangelizing Christian missions encountered alien institutions of education and welfare. For more than 14,000 years before European colonization, social practices and spirituality had been based on communities and the lands they travelled and were transmitted orally within families. Memories and histories exist of early instances of Indigenous support of French immigrants in time of famine (1629), of military and economic leverage from Indigenous peoples, and of influence on the practice of Christianity and the administration of justice. By the early 1800s, with the rise of trade and settlements from abroad, and peace between settlers, these possibilities of reciprocal institutions gave way to confinement on reservations, compulsory use of European institutions, prohibitions of spiritual practices, and exclusion from the benefits of citizenship. Christian nonprofit institutions of welfare and education were central to both types of processes, which were administered in tandem with federal bureaucrats and traders. Meanwhile, Indigenous people who engaged in Christian work, "bridgeheads of Empire," to use the term of historian Bronwen Everill (2012), translated, mediated, and, at times, appropriated the teaching and methods of nonprofit institutions. For instance, this was the case of Peter Jones, or Kahkewaquonaby, an Ontario Ojibwa (1802–1856) pioneer of written defences of Indigenous land rights.

By the end of the French rule in 1760, approximately 300 men and women belonging to Catholic religious orders were helping parish priests and churchwardens in the performance of these charitable functions. Patterns survived the 18th century: European voluntary financing of Catholic missions received a new impetus with the creation of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith in 1822. Canadian-trained missionaries started going overseas themselves from the mid-19th century onward, and donations from Canadians supplemented those from the Old World.

The end of the French rule of Canada also opened the way for large Protestant settlements, the creation of Protestant parishes, and the expansion of Protestant missions for Indigenous peoples and settlers. Up to then, Catholic authorities of New France had tolerated Huguenots unevenly over time, but the colony never became a harbour for persecuted Protestant movements from France, as did Massachusetts, Switzerland, or South Africa. British rulers encouraged Protestant immigration but stopped the arrival of Catholic nuns and brothers. The diversity of Christian denominations in Canada then grew: from the increasing French Catholic population to the new Irish Catholic settlers and the Protestant dissenters arriving from Scotland, Northern Europe, and, after 1775, the US (Faulkner, 2006). This diversity helps explain the continuing authority of churches over social matters. At the end of the 18th century, British colonial authorities were anxious to prevent the alliance of the former French colonists, still the majority of the population of Canada, with the Republican independence movement of the US. To this end, they secured alliances with aristocratic French-Canadian elites, including religious orders that could use their authority over institutions devoted to curing and teaching to encourage a traditionalist view of the world.

Religious values were already in great flux in Europe when people started to emigrate to North America, in ways that would soon enhance the influence of middle-class parishioners in the conduct of the voluntary sector. As early as the 16th century, Catholic understandings of the poor as people placed by God in an unchanging status of grace had been challenged by "protestant" notions of predestination and self-examination. There was also an institutional dimension to continental Reformations: poor-relief, almshouses, and administration of "the common chest" were usually removed from Church control and placed into the hands of local governments. In reaction, Catholics embarked on a series of "counter-reformations," which were equally important for the history of the voluntary sector. Following the rise of literacy in the wake of the trading middle classes, the growing belief in the possibility of self-improvement was changing ideas of charity – for donors and recipients alike. Christian "concepts of right and value," to use the words of English scholar Robinson (2019), were now divided: "one … based on property, especially property of land, and the other based on the human person." For the story of the voluntary sector, this new individualism meant that most of the time, medieval notions of the "deserving" poor became harsher – and with them, charitable institutions could be meaner. The same individualism, however, contained new possibilities for the recognition of human suffering. This dual "liberal" tradition of "parsimony or resentment" and of "a scripturally blessed and commanded open-handedness based in faith and love" – which was the very notion of fairness and mercy that informed the collection of tithes in Catholic parishes – helps explain much of the later fate of voluntary organizations (de Swaan, 1988; Robinson, 2019; O'Leary McNeice, 2020).

By the mid-19th century, the increased concentration of people in large agglomerations, which presented new challenges in the form of rural migrants and industrial and service workers, challenged the scale of nonprofit and voluntary arrangements based on parish and small, local congregations. Among Protestants and Catholics, lay elites and their associations accumulated

more influence in the running of Christian voluntary institutions. In addition, more non-Christian and non-institutional religious charities were organized in Canada, such as the Montreal-based Hebrew Benevolent Society (1863). It was the ancestor of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, informed by the Jewish commandment of *tzedakah*, in which recipients and donor establish a reciprocal relationship.

Church governing bodies adapted their theology in reaction to these social movements, anxious as they were about losing membership. From the end of the 19th century, the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church and the Social Gospel of Protestant churches enjoined people to express their faith by doing practical work among those dispossessed by industrial society. These concerted attempts among the faithful to address social problems by learning about them led to large social surveys, the founding of schools of social work (Toronto, 1914; Montreal, 1931), the encouragement of worker and employer unions, and the creation of national associations such as the Social Service Council of Canada (1912) and the École sociale populaire (1911). The movement embraced a large spectrum of political aspirations, from conservative charity to socialist calls for social justice. It declined after the First World War and was revived in the late 1960s with a comparable drive toward social action that inspired the formation of coalitions, centrally involving religious organizations, to address domestic poverty, corporate responsibility, world development, and environmental issues.

For one century, religious movements provided the lion's share of the funds required for these renewed programs of recruitment and training of their clerical members and the construction of larger places of worship, education, welfare, and recreation. To many newcomers in cities, (Canadian rural workers and immigrants from other countries alike) and to city workers employed by the growing industrial sector, religious-affiliated institutions of all kinds – from newspapers and playgrounds to youth clubs, women's temperance unions, and religious communities dedicated to social work – provided a bridge to their new surroundings, a ground to compete with established citizens, and, at times, a path to social ascension (Ferretti, 1992). The circles of average practitioners of social work and charitable donors expanded from the respectable bourgeoisie to members of the working class. These volunteers included an increasing proportion of women, far beyond the nuns and the patroness ladies of former times.

Freed by the industrial revolutions from demanding labour, middle-class women comprised a new and abundant source of volunteer labour and religious communities performing new social services. The voluntary nature of this type of work and its under-enumeration in national censuses are part of a general understatement of its significance in the past of Canadian public life, among women in particular.

Women did not confine their organizing to service delivery, however. Rather, women formed Canada's oldest large-scale advocacy group in 1893, when 1,500 women came together in Toronto to form the secular, nonpartisan National Council of Women. It quickly became a nationally federated organization with the aim of uniting women of "diverse backgrounds and beliefs providing a 'platform, large, strong and broad enough to furnish standing room for all'" (Strong-Boag, 1976: 84). In turn, this trend would transform the social role of the Canadian state. The promotion of volunteerism combined with an interest in social change is also the case for children and youth organizations, such as the Girl Guides and Scouts, which, since their inception in the early 20th century, have trained tens of thousands of youth of every generation into, among other things, community service. This unpaid work, which reached

peaks in wartime, can be seen as one important basis for the rise of and advocacy for children's entitlements over the last century (Trepanier, 2015; Alexander, 2017).

Christian churches further accompanied the great changes of the 19th century, creating models for modern times by directly sponsoring immigration to Canada. Between its arrival in Canada in 1882 and 1914, the Salvation Army – today one the country's 10 largest charitable organizations – brought more than 150,000 immigrants under its patronage. The same religious volunteerism has presided over the arrival of most refugees in the country since then. Forty years after its creation in 1979, the Private Sponsorship of Refugees Program, the model of resettlement by which the federal government sponsors the arrival of one refugee each time private citizens support one, is now imitated by numerous countries.

From 1929, the alliance between churches and the state was revived by income tax exemptions for charitable donations, together with large government funding for charities (which today represents on average two out of three dollars of revenue for the sector). The conservative economic policies of the last four decades have increased the role of philanthropic institutions, and of fundamentalist and evangelical charities among them. Meanwhile, critics from churches of liberal inclination (among others) have been calling for an expansion of the definition of "charitable status" – toward communities, rather than individuals; environmental questions; development; and prevention (not just alleviation) of poverty.

To this day, the place of religious charities among Canada's 86,000 charities remains prevalent, comprising about 40% of the total, the majority being houses of worship (Statistics Canada, 2004). Religious charities are also the primary recipients of giving, attracting 41% of donations, although this has declined from 46% in 2007 (Turcotte, 2012; Lasby & Barr, 2018). Islamic charities count among "Canada's top-rated charities"; the Jewish Community Foundation of Montreal ranked fourth among registered charities ranked by donations; and World Vision, founded in 1950 by Robert Pierce as a service organization to meet the emergency needs of missionaries, is Canada's largest charity. In sum, the longevity of the influence of churches has depended on an extraordinary ability to adapt to deep transformations. With increased secularization of society, further transformation undoubtedly lies ahead.

Work and Business

Cooperative associations of workers have played a considerable part in the history of the nonprofit sector. In preindustrial times, guilds provided for the welfare of families of skilled artisans, particularly in the event of a worker's death, sickness, or retirement. Similarly, communal arrangements to guard against fires, storms, and hardships and pool resources for grazing and for times of high demand in the calendar of harvests represented a central feature of feudal communities. As places of work became larger and more impersonal, trade unions formed around the same imperative. Better known for their political pressures, strikes, and collective bargaining, early associations of working-class people and farmers quietly created mutual funds for funerals and benefits for surviving families. A similar form of pooling of university colleagues' resources for healthcare in Dallas, Texas, in 1929 started the Blue Cross and Blue Shield movement. Soon popular among railway workers and teachers, that nonprofit health-insurance institution entered Canada a decade later. The trend was partly influenced by the

development of the insurance industry and the fading of the old Christian belief that insurance represents a "bet against God."

In parallel to these work-based organizations of mutual benefit, the 19th century saw the multiplication of fraternal groups formed around shared needs for community service, recreation, patriotism, medical support, social distinction, and self-help. Organizations such as the Elks of Canada (1912), Kiwanis clubs (1916), Odd Fellows, Shriners, and Lions included activities of assistance and aid to people in hardship, within the group and toward their communities. Many revolved around ethnic and cultural belonging. This trait of fraternal orders has at once made for histories of racial, ethnic, and sexual exclusion as well as histories of endeavours toward equality, as Theda Skocpol, an American historian of working-class families argues (2003). Her research shows that being part of fraternal associations was crucial to a person's sense of place in public life. In Canada, "the many fraternal organizations, mutual-assistance bands, temperance societies and antislavery groups formed by 19th-century blacks were almost always associated with one of the churches" (Walker, 2015; Patterson, 2020). Canadian people with disabilities have done the same, by creating self-help organizations, such as the Canadian National Institute for the Blind (1918) and Disabled Peoples International (1964), a transnational organization with strong connections to the Mennonite Central Committee Canada (1920) (Patterson, 2020). Such fraternalism lived side by side with uninterrupted traditions of informal and neighbourly communalism, especially in rural communities. Larger forms of assistance were often inspired by them: such was the case of the fundraising "socials" of Ukrainian origin in the prairies, crucial to the acquisition of the capital required for young couples to start an independent material life. On the whole, the quality of democracy of North America, Skocpol (2003) contends, has suffered because of the mid-20th-century transition "from membership to management in civic life."

Coming from the opposite side of the work contracts, associations of employers have played an equally significant role in the history of the nonprofit sector. Traditions of what is now called "corporate welfare" hark back to preindustrial times, when the master of a workshop received parental prerogatives over apprentices and journeymen in exchange for their teaching and subsistence. It is in this spirit that the main mode of enticement of workers to go to New France was indentured service to companies or individuals in the colony, a form of employment and welfare policy when the French labour market did not suffice. The 5,000 *engagés* of this type who came to New France were subject to their employer for the three years of their stay in Canada, in exchange for room, board, travel, and a small allowance; only one in six chose to stay in Canada after the contract expired. The Hudson's Bay Company continued to do the same well into the 20th century, with land grants, "pensions," and schools for its employees' families.

Informed by religious and liberal beliefs, later industrial employers contributed to charities. Montreal shoe manufacturer and insurance broker Herbert Ames represents a leading example (Regehr, 2013; Ames, 2016). Ames headed the Canadian Patriotic Fund (1914–19), "a private fund-raising organization … established to give financial and social assistance to soldiers' families." Today, about 76% of businesses in Canada give money to charities (Clarke & Ayer, 2011), although this represents less than 2% of the total revenues of this sector (Statistics Canada, 2007). The notion of "nonprofit" organization derives from these new financial conditions: in the early 20th century, the provincial and federal governments used their taxation powers to encourage these trends, either by using consumer taxes on luxury goods to distribute grants to welfare organizations or by creating systems of income tax exemptions for charitable purposes.

Canadian business philanthropy, however, has a weaker tradition than in the United States and has often been met with a degree of suspicion. An example of this is the important role played by the US-based foundation of Scottish-born steel industrialist Andrew Carnegie in the construction of 125 public libraries in Canada between 1898 and 1918, which was part of "his broader belief that educational opportunities should be accessible to all" (Canada's Historic Places, n.d.). Alarmed by the threat that this "huge and generous neighbour" may pose on the autonomy of Canadian culture, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (1948–1951) recommended palliative measures by the state. The consolidation of the Royal Winnipeg Ballet, for instance, represents a product of such state endeavour to buttress the potential influence of business philanthropy (Litt, 1992).

The actuarial methods developed by the for-profit insurance sector since the late 19th century, as well as the technique of publicity and reporting developed by manufacturing and media enterprises, further influenced the methods of the charitable sector. They also trained many philanthropists in the art of governing large operations of fundraising and grantmaking. This cross-fertilization of business and charities' methods is at the centre of the rise, over the last century, of the movement of associated charities (England, 1869; Canada, 1881), community chests, united appeals, and other federated charities, such as Fédération des oeuvres de charité canadiennes-françaises and the United Way Greater Toronto, the sixth-largest charity in Canada as measured by donations. In turn, the habits of work developed by both sectors, as well as the resolution of the many points of tension that accompanied this rationalization of charitable work, constituted the pillars of the early administration of the Canadian welfare state (Lewis, Bulmer, & Piachaud, 1989; Tillotson, 2008; Bourbeau, 2015). Over the last century, larger transformations in the history of labour, including the professionalization of social work and new managerial techniques in the governance of philanthropic institutions, have increased the proportion of paid employees of charities working for a wage and have influenced the managerial techniques of charities. Today, the charitable sector employs two million Canadians, providing about one in 10 full-time jobs in the country (CanadaHelps, 2018).

Finally, the history of transnational associations of humanitarian aid is closely associated with the history of international trade. Business leaders, whose trade knew no borders, applied their "humanitarian sensibility" to distant populations, like the Swiss businessman Henry Dunant on a trading mission in Italy when he conceived of the International Committee of the Red Cross (1864) and the Quaker industrialists who accompanied the beginning of Oxfam (Glassford, 2017; Black, 1992).

Conclusion

The history of Canada's voluntary and nonprofit sector is, sadly, poorly documented, and thus not well analyzed or appreciated. Moreover, philanthropic institutions are often presented for what they are not (not for profit, not taxable, not public, and not governmental), when they have a rich and positive history of their own. Charities rarely have the time or the money to invest in the archiving of their past documents and in the writing of thorough accounts of their own histories. The compilation of old published annual reports might help, but scholars and practitioners know that the real history of encounters between sector leaders and volunteers with the publics they serve would not be told without deeper researching of old manuscript documents, pictures and hard drives, and interviewing with "veterans." In the best cases, dedicated librarians, volunteers, and retired employees are already ensuring that this work of record-keeping, preservation, and documentation is accomplished with an eye on teaching future generations.[4] Case files, project files, field reports, budgets, charity regulations, tax exemptions, lists of donors of one charity – all represent artifacts of the past evoked in this chapter: joint histories of community, state, church, and entrepreneurial actions and beliefs. Hopefully, this reasoned list of historical generalizations will encourage practitioners to read their own history a little better and to plan for their future with a richer reservoir of alternatives in mind.

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Notes

[1] For the origins of words, this chapter refers to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It dates "non-profit" to the USA in the late 19th century and "voluntary" as it is used in this book to the mid-16th century Britain when it concerns gifts for charitable motives and to the mid-17th century when it concerns institutions "maintained or supported solely or largely by the freewill offerings or contributions of members or subscribers."

[2] For basic facts and explanations, I refer mainly to the relevant articles of *The Canadian Encyclopedia*/Historica Canada, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en. The articles on "Associations," "Charities," "Christianity," "Ecumenical Social Action," "Foundations," "Insurance," "Missions and Missionaries," "Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church," "Social Gospel," and "Social Work" have been especially useful, in addition to those on specific nonprofit organizations such as "Canadian Patriotic Fund," "Salvation Army," "Catholic Church," and philanthropists such as "Sir Herbert Brown Ames" and "Georges-Henri Lévesque."

[3] The statistics of this chapter come mainly from "The Biggest Charities in Canada": Charity Careers Canada, https://www.charitycareerscanada.ca/size-matters-biggest-nonprofits-canada/. The rank is established by the level of donations. See also "Canada's top 100 non-profit organizations (registered charities)": *The Globe and Mail*, March 5, 2018; and Claire Brownell, "Canada's top-rated charities 2019": https://www.theglobeandmail.com/report-on-business/top-100-non-profit-organizations-registered-charities/article34067186// and https://www.macleans.ca/society/life/canadas-top-rated-charities-2019/

[4] The Canadian Network on Humanitarian History, together with Carleton University's Archives and Special Collections, is engaged in several partnerships to this effect. See, for instance, the archives of the Match International Women's Fund, the personal archives of veterans of CIDA, and Oxfam Canada. https://asc.library.carleton.ca/ In addition, the US-based blog *HistPhil* is a good way to keep in touch with the field of the history of philanthropy: https://histphil.org/. As is the British-based Twitter account @Philliteracy.

Biography

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