

**The
Canadian
Society**

of

**Presbyterian
History**

**1996
Papers**

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The papers printed here were read at the Society's annual meeting in September 1996 at Toronto. The reproduction of the papers is solely for the convenience of members, and copyright for the materials remains exclusively with the authors.

The Society usually meets in September, and invites papers that deal with any aspect of Presbyterian and Reformed Church history. Membership in the Society is open to any persons or institutions interested in the objectives of the Society - to promote public interest in this field of history through the holding of meetings and the publication of papers. New members are welcome. Annual dues are \$15.00, payable to the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History c/o:

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Anyone proposing a paper or seeking further information about the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History is invited to write to the above address. Ernie Nix would like to receive early proposals for papers for our next annual meeting scheduled for 27 September, 1997. Notes on current research projects or other pertinent news from members are welcomed for inclusion in NewsNotes.

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The Clergy Family in Canada: Focus on Presbyterians

by

Douglas F. Campbell

There are several reasons for concentrating my research on the clergy family in Canada. The contemporary family has undergone so much change that sociologists shy off from defining the family and prefer to employ the plural rather than the singular when discussing this area. For example, Baker's book of essays on the Canadian family is entitled *Families: Changing Trends in Canada* (1996); Nett's work is called *Canadian Families: Past and Present* (1993); Eichler's book is *Families in Canada Today* (1988). Incidentally, Baker, Nett and Eichler are female sociologists and feminists to varying degrees.

In 1964, the year I completed my doctoral studies, Frederick Elkin published his book called *The Family In Canada*, the purpose of which was to demonstrate *what was not known* about the Canadian family; Elkin's answer was that sociologists knew almost nothing or, to put it the other way around, very little indeed about the Canadian family. Over thirty years since its publication, Elkin would have to write an altogether different type of book because of the impressive amount of research that has been carried out on the Canadian family and much of this research has been accomplished by women sociologists.

What has proved revolutionary is the perspective these women have brought to their research on the family. Male sociologists researched the subject from the outside in: occupations, the breadwinner, the family. Women have investigated the world of work from within the family outward; the wife's and mother's perspectives and found the family to have been male-dominated and supportive of male privilege. Feminist family researchers have also exposed the family as a locale for conflicting negotiations over limited resources rather than a haven from a heartless world. In short, feminists have converted the family from being a backwater area of study to the most exciting that contemporary sociology has to offer. So this is a most appropriate time to investigate family types in Canada, such as the clergy family, and to determine the role religion can play in the midst of the flux.

There is a surprisigly large literature on the impact of religion on marital and family life; however, the findings are inconclusive. While secondary analysis of large surveys frequently demonstrated a positive and, in some studies, a strong relationship between religion (variously defined in the studies) and marital satisfaction, marital durability, and various aspects of family life, panel and longitudinal studies have shown the relationship between religion and family life to be weak at best. Therefore, the relationship

between religion and family life, at least from a sociological perspective, remains unclear.

What does the literature say about the clergy family specifically? Does religion in these families have a negative impact on members including PKs (preachers' kids) as some novels, plays and films would suggest. Or does religion provide a focus and cohesion that makes family life meaningful and rewarding? Is the clergy family the location where the gospel message finds its most immediate application? Unfortunately, the amount of literature on the clergy family is modest and the findings again are inconclusive.

There is at least one more reason for studying the clergy family in Canada at this time. Given the background of dramatic change in our society, the clergy family can be used as an archetype for the Canadian family under stress. The clergy family even today is one of the most exposed and public of family types; it must develop some mechanisms for the protection of its members. The clergy family lives in an environment that has become increasingly secular and presumably more stressful. Yet the clergy family is expected to be a model at a time when individualism, freedom, pluralism, and relativism appear to have a strong grip on the nation.

A study of the clergy family then should be very useful in exposing the fault lines of the contemporary family; in highlighting the mechanisms that have worked and those that have failed. The clergy family might be able to provide insights into the dynamics of the contemporary family.

The Clergy Family in Canada Study

The Clergy Family in Canada study had a long gestation. Some ten years ago at least, a man of indeterminate age approached me after a meeting at Erindale College of the University of Toronto on the Mississauga campus. After introducing himself, he said he learned that I was a sociologist of religion. When I agreed, he asked me what I knew about PKs. After only a moment's reflection, I said other than knowing that PK stood for Preacher's Kid, I knew nothing. While he did not berate me for my ignorance, he made it clear that he was disappointed and then threw out this challenge: when why don't you find out something about PKs?

I took up his challenge eventually when time allowed only to find that if I knew nothing about PKs, then I had a great deal of company. A library review at Emmanuel College on the U. of T. St. George Campus failed to uncover one significant research paper on PKs. Gradually, it became clear as well that, while there were numerous publications on the minister written from different perspectives and a notable number of works on the minister's spouse (particularly the wife), there was very little literature on the clergy family. Once this discovery was digested, the study of PKs was expanded to embrace four phases:

- 1) a national study of adult PKs (25 years and older);
- 2) a national study of the minister and his/her spouse;
- 3) a study of the clergy family - minister, spouse and at least one child - in the Greater Toronto Area;
- 4) a study of professional families (other than clergy) - the professional, spouse and at least one child in the Greater Toronto area.

Data have been gathered for the first two phases of the Clergy Family in Canada and a word must be said about the methodologies that were employed. In regard to Phase I, the study of PKs, there are no registers of PKs and therefore it is difficult to obtain an unbiased sample of this population. After giving some thought to the problem, I decided to write a letter to the editor of all the Ontario daily newspapers (and also to the journals of six major denominations) in which I asked any reader who was a PK, 25 years and older, to write me so that I in turn could send a questionnaire (and a self-addressed stamped envelope). All the Ontario dailies ran the letter to the editor and many other dailies elsewhere in Canada ran the letter as well. The response was overwhelming; during 1995 and into 1996 I received well over 900 letters from every province, many from the U.S. and from countries as far away as Japan and Australia. By the time the cut-off date had arrived, 724 questionnaires had been mailed out and of these 606 were answered and returned (an amazing 82% return). These data were coded and placed on computer disk. You will note that while the sample was large and had representation from all the provinces, it remained a non-random sample.

In regard to Phase II, the study of ministers and their spouses, during the fall of 1995 and the winter and spring of 1996, I contacted the thirty Anglican diocesan bishops, the appropriate officers of the Baptist, Christian & Missionary Alliance, the Evangelical Lutheran, Pentecostal Assemblies, Presbyterian and United churches with the request for the names and addresses of a specified number of their ministers and their spouses chosen randomly. That particular exercise took a bit of doing but in the end all seven denominations cooperated. Once the names and addresses had been obtained, 550 pairs of questionnaires - one for the minister and another for the spouse - were sent out along with two self-addressed stamped envelopes and a covering letter that explained the study. By June, 1996, 304 ministers (53% return) and 270 spouses (49% return) answered and returned their questionnaires. These data were coded and placed on computer disk. Unlike Phase I, these data were obtained from a representative and random sample of Canadian ministers and their spouses.

Another word should be said about Phase III and IV of the study. These two phases will be interview studies of the families of clergy and other professionals. The target numbers are 25 clergy families and 15 families of other professionals. The study will be restricted to the Greater Toronto Area

and these data will be gathered during the fall and winter of 1996/97. To return now to the data gathered during Phases I and II, this paper will focus on Presbyterian PKs as well as Presbyterian ministers and their spouses.

The PK Data by Denomination

The Presbyterian PKs were over-represented in the sample (over 13% as compared to 7% of the general population). Not surprisingly, they tended to be older (i.e. 50 years and older) and they had one of the lowest percentages of divorced or separated of all the religious categories (10% as compared to 23% for the Anglicans and 28% for the Religiously Inactive). Presbyterian PKs also stood out because they had the highest percentage of mothers who had been full-time homemakers (78%) and almost all the rest of the Presbyterian mothers were teachers (14%), the highest percentage of all the denominations.

PKs were asked to classify their family of origin varying from a "loving family" at one end to a "cold family" at the other. Presbyterian PKs had the highest percentage who claimed to have been brought up in a loving family (64%) followed by Lutherans, United, Religious Others, Anglicans and Baptists. For two-thirds of the Presbyterian sample, religion had played a major role in their upbringing. Presbyterian PKs along with the Anglicans and United tended to see their PK upbringing as either only somewhat different to that of children in other professional families or rather similar. In the same vein, when asked how cohesive their families of origin had been, Presbyterians split evenly between "more cohesive than other families" and "the same." Again, except for the Presbyterians, the majority of PKs in all denominational categories thought that their upbringing had been stricter than that experienced by other children. While the majority of Lutheran PKs (67%) thought they had a stricter upbringing than other children, a small majority of the Presbyterian PKs (51%) thought that their upbringing had been about the same as that for other children in regard to strictness.

In the PK questionnaire, there were three closely-related questions about 1) community expectations, 2) PKs as role models and 3) pressure on PKs to succeed. As to the community expectations and the role model questions, very high percentages regardless of denomination agreed that expectations were high with the Presbyterian PKs near the highest at 80% and 90% respectively. As to the question on pressure to succeed, the RCs (yes, Roman Catholics - one child of a Roman Catholic deacon and three who became Roman Catholics), Religious Inactive and Religious Others had the highest percentages in agreement (75%; 63%; 59%), the Baptists with the lowest (39%) and the Presbyterians in-between at 53%.

There was considerable variation in responses by denomination concerning the availability of clergy-parents to PKs when they were growing up. While only 50% of the Religiously Inactive said their clergy-parent was

usually available, 64% of the Anglicans, 74% of the Presbyterian and 75% of the United PKs thought that their clergy-parents had been usually available. As to the availability of the non-clergy parent, Presbyterian PKs had the highest percentage of all the denominations at 96% who said they were usually available. And while the largest percentage of Presbyterians (48%) thought that they did not experience any more conflict as a result of their parents' and their friends' expectations when growing up than did other children, those who admitted to the conflict said their parents' expectations usually won out over their peers'.

When the respondents in the sample were asked to characterize their overall experience growing up as a PK, the largest percentage chose the category "both good and bad" with the Religious Others at 60%, the United at 45% and the Presbyterians at 48%. The next highest choice was "very good" with the Presbyterians at 33% (the highest was the United at 37%).

PKs As Adults

When PKs were asked how important religion was to them as adults the majority of the Presbyterians (54%) said it was "very important" and only 20% said it was "not so important" or "unimportant." Lutherans had the highest percentage saying religion was "very important" (73%) and not surprisingly the Religiously Inactive had the highest percentage who considered religion "not so important" or "unimportant" (80%). Only 17% of adult Presbyterians considered themselves less religious than when they were as children and 41% considered themselves to be more religious, although 46% saw themselves as being more liberal as compared to 63% of the Anglican PKs. Presbyterian PKs had a high percentage who attended religious services at least once a week (73%) as compared to 58% for the United PKs. Lutherans again had the highest percentage at 84%.

While 73% of the Presbyterian PKs thought that their experiences growing up in a clergy family affected their goals as adults, a majority thought that their occupational choice was not connected to their family experiences (56%) and only 28% (second lowest after the Religiously Inactive) gave or would give any thought to the ministry as a career.

This barrage of percentages, upon analysis, suggests a distinctive profile for the Canadian Presbyterian PK. The Presbyterian PK came from a loving family and, while a large percentage saw the total PK experience as a very good one, a larger percentage depicted the experience as "both good and bad." But the Presbyterian PK did not remember his/her upbringing as being as distinctive as did the other PKs. Both parents were usually available when the PK was growing up. While the PK experienced pressure to be a role model, only a modest majority felt the same pressure to succeed and excel. The Presbyterian PK has remained as religious as when he/she was growing up and attended weekly religious services. Growing up in a clergy family had a very

important impact on their adult lives but the ministry as a career was of interest to a comparatively small number.

Presbyterian Ministers and Their Spouses

At this time, I would like to turn to the data gathered in Phase II, the national study of ministers and their spouses. The focus of course will be on Presbyterian ministers and spouses. Presbyterian ministers and their spouses were well-educated, the ministers having the largest percentage of any of the denominational categories with post-graduate degrees. A higher percentage of the ministers' fathers had middle class occupations and 19% had fathers who were also ministers. Perhaps reflecting the geographical structure of the Presbyterian Church, the largest percentage of the ministers had appointments in towns (36% as compared to 19% for the total sample) and a rather high percentage (54%; for Anglicans it was 65%) lived in church-provided homes. Presbyterian ministers put in long days and approximately a third took a day off a week only occasionally. A higher than average percentage of the ministers were satisfied with their annual income.

While Presbyterian ministers — up to 70% — found the ministry to be stressful, at times lonely and they had been tempted to leave the ministry, almost 90% claimed that they got a great deal of satisfaction from the ministry. As to private prayer, 54% prayed several times a day, a considerably higher percentage than for the total sample.

A comparatively high percentage of Presbyterian spouses did not work outside the home (42%) but the percentage of hours volunteered by the spouses to church work was lower than for the total sample. This might have been so because the Presbyterian clergy family tended to have three children and almost 70% of these children were 19 years or younger. One-third of the spouses did work full-time. While 30% of the Presbyterian spouses saw themselves as partners in the ministry, only 20% of the ministers saw their spouses in that light. Presbyterian spouses thought that the ministry was too demanding at least sometimes (up to 85%). Two-thirds of the spouses also agreed that their family lived as if in a fishbowl. From a quarter to one third saw no advantages nor disadvantages in being a minister's spouse and only 38% claimed to receive a high degree of satisfaction from their role as minister's spouse (as compared to almost 90% for the ministers themselves). Presbyterian spouses as a category were well educated and could be seen as somewhat critical of the clergy family lifestyle; they seem also to be putting some distance between themselves and the role of the traditional spouse of a minister. The last question in the spouse's questionnaire asked the respondents to comment on the questions and/or raise other issues not found in the questionnaire. Over 40% of the spouses discussed, elaborated or critiqued the questions posed in the questionnaire. These were very thoughtful people who were not satisfied with pat answers.

Generally the responses from ministers and spouses to statements about the family were very positive, stress levels between work and family were surprisingly low, although somewhat higher for spouses, and most Presbyterian ministers, like other ministers, kept their work and family life either somewhat or quite integrated. Nonetheless, 75% of the ministers claimed that their children only occasionally complained that their parents were not available. At least a quarter of the Presbyterian ministers and spouses saw no advantages nor disadvantages for their children growing up in a clergy family. And a notably higher percentage of the Presbyterian ministers were doubtful as to whether they wanted their children to work for or be ordained in the church.

Ministers were asked three open-ended questions at the conclusion of their questionnaire: 1) what was the most challenging aspect of the contemporary ministry; 2) the most distressing aspect; and 3) for additional comments on the questionnaire and the ministry. Forty per cent of the Presbyterian ministers said the most challenging aspect of the ministry was the redefinition of religion and the ministry so that they would be relevant to the public. They saw the most distressing aspects of the ministry to be equally distributed among a) people's indifference to religion; b) religion's marginality; and c) problems in the ministry. Yet when Presbyterian ministers addressed the final question asking them for additional comments, close to 40% wrote about the joys of being a minister.

Conclusion

I frequently remind students that facts have no practical force apart from the minds that apprehend them. I have presented a goodly number of facts but these facts require studied consideration. I have not as yet given them that required consideration. But I do have some impressions about the data that I would like to share with you. PKs were a surprisingly contented category; there was little evidence of rebellion among the Presbyterian PKs. They were proud to be PKs. Yet the vast majority had no interest in becoming ministers themselves. And my suspicion is that money had something to do with it. Repeatedly the scarcity of money came up in the questionnaires and it is quite possible that the scarcity of money prompted the PKs to acquire jobs that were not only secure but also well-paying.

Secondly, PKs generally, but particularly the Presbyterian PKs, claimed that their parents were usually available to them when they were growing up. Yet in their answers to the open-ended question, PKs frequently complained that they did not get to know their clergy-parent, that they did not have enough time with their clergy parent, that the clergy parent was frequently away from home. These two positions need to be reconciled. I suspect that PKs realized that their parents were considered very important people in the community and although their parents had meals with their children, the PKs

wanted more attention from them precisely because they were such important people. Furthermore, the community frequently had first call on the minister and, I suspect, PKs sometimes resented being relegated to second place. Moreover, despite the fact that the parent might be home throughout the day and had a flexible schedule, the minister-parent was busiest and unavailable during the weekend when other parents were free to indulge their children. Christmas could be a lonely time for clergy families and their children in particular because the schedule allowed so little time for the children. And of course a person might be in the house but still unavailable; several PKs suggested that a person could not be both pastor and parent.

The data on Presbyterian ministers pose a number of interesting puzzles. I will address one. Ministers found their profession stressful. They also found their profession to be most enjoyable. They integrated their work quite closely with their family life. Yet there is little evidence that their work stress spilled over into their marital and family lives. Conventional wisdom suggests that the greater the separation between work and family the better. That is not the reality in the Presbyterian clergy family and that family appears to work very well. Why? In my view, it is simply because these ministers have a singular commitment. One hundred per cent of the Presbyterian ministers said that the ministry was a call from God. A person can work out many difficulties with that mandate particularly if the spouse is of the same view and 87% of the spouses said the ministry was a call from God. I expected to find very frustrated people in the data but they were not there.

The data on Presbyterian spouses of ministers suggest to me that the spouses are in the middle of a major role change; they want to be their own persons but realize that they are expected to be part of a team. One third saw no advantages to being a minister's spouse and while they supported their clergy-spouses, only a comparatively small percentage wanted to be partners in the ministry. At the same time the majority thought that members of the congregation had particular expectations of them as spouses. The Presbyterian ministers' spouses, a bright lot to be sure, had a great number of questions to ask, problems to be solved and goals to be achieved. While the Presbyterian PKs and Presbyterian ministers came off well, the data on the Presbyterian ministers' spouses left this researcher wanting to ask many more questions.

Lucy Maud Montgomery painted a rather bleak picture of the Presbyterian clergy family in her diaries. So did Sinclair Ross in *As For Me And My House*. One might be tempted to use their stories as stereotypical models of the clergy family. That would be wrong. What my data portrayed were people coping very well in very difficult times.

NEWSNOTES

The Rev. Dr. William Stanford Reid, one of the earliest members of our Society, died at Guelph on 28 December in his 84th year. "Stan" was a professor of History in McGill University and subsequently first chair of the Department of History and Professor Emeritus of Guelph University. His extensive publications include a biography of John Knox entitled *Trumpeter of God*, and *The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada, Its Struggle for Establishment*.

* * *

Dr. John A. Johnston reports that the new National Presbyterian Museum has acquired permanent quarters in St. John's Church in Toronto, near the historic Don Jail on Broadview Avenue, and that an active fund-raising campaign is now under way. For further information contact Dr. Johnston, 183 Chedoke Ave., Hamilton, ON L8P 4P2, or Dr. Mel Bailey, 81 Cloverhill Rd, Hamilton, ON L9C 3L8.

* * *

Record Books (59 Wynford Dr., North York, ON, M3C 1J7) has published John S. Moir, ed., *A Handbook for Canadian Presbyterians*, 147 p. The small volume contains nearly 1500 entries arranged alphabetically and includes religious and theological definitions as well as historical summaries and charts relating to Canadian Presbyterianism.

* * *

Dr. Paul Laverdure, producer of the *Papers* in recent years and editor of the present volume, is the author of *Redemption and Renewal: the Redemptorists of English Canada, 1834-1994* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1996). He moves from Montreal to Yorkton to become archivist for the Ukrainian Redemptorist records. He may be contacted at 388 Circlebrooke Drive, Yorkton, Saskatchewan, S3N 2Y5, Canada.

The Reformed Presbyterians of Quebec

by

Eldon Hay

The real beginning of Reformed Presbyterian [RP] missionary activity in Lower Canada came in 1831, by an action of the Scots Synod. Of course, there were Covenanter emigrants in Lower and Upper Canada before either Irish or Scots RP synods established mission committees; and there was a smattering of RP missionary activities in the Canadas in the late 1820s, emanating from the United States.¹ Again, the real beginning of missionary activity starts in 1831, when the Scots RP Synod "virtually declared itself a *Missionary Society*, and became pledged to *new and more vigorous* efforts, for extending the kingdom of the Messiah."² (Very soon, the "Missionary Society" became the "Committee on Missions.") Further, the Synod committed itself to search out "one possessing the requisite qualifications as a missionary to Canada. To that region the attention of the Synod was drawn by a variety of considerations. *There* a field of labour is presented to the missionary for immediate cultivation." The Irish Synod had already formed its Missionary Society in 1823. Evidently, the old world synods divided the mission: "the Irish will cultivate Nova Scotia and New Brunswick," the Scots will cultivate "the Canadas."³

Notable was the missionary philosophy of the Scots RP Synod, particularly as compared to that of the Irish Synod. The Irish Synod sent out its missionaries, kept strong ties with them, and supported them financially consistently, if not generously: the mission was underwritten over the long haul. The Scottish Synod sent out its missionaries, but told them to swim

¹ One such missionary was Rev. James Milligan (1785-1862). Some time after coming to Ryegate, VT, in 1817, Milligan "made missionary visits to the scattered families of emigrants in Upper and Lower Canada. Societies were formed at Henryville, Lachute and Perth settlements." However, only the station at Perth, Upper Canada, "became a flourishing congregation" (*Reformation Principles Exhibited, by the Reformed Presbyterian Church, in the United States of America* [New York, 1835], 128). This missionary trip was probably made in 1829 or 1830. (Rev. Robert Shields, "The R.P. Congregation of Ramsay, Canada," *Our Banner*, 4 [15 February 1877]: 36).

² "First Report of the Missionary Society in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Adopted February 28, 1833," *Scottish Presbyterian Magazine* 2 (September 1850), at the back of the volume, 1-7. This quotation from 1.

³ Letter from Rev. Alexander McLeod (leading American RP minister visiting Ireland and Scotland, written from Aberdeen) to James R. Willson (fellow leading American RP clergyman in America), dated 4 May 1830. Extracts in a letter to author, 7 November 1988, from Professor David Carson of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, PA.

quickly for there would be no continuing life line from Scotland. The letter accompanying the first missionary, offered this pointed advice to the Canadians greeting and hosting that first missionary:

God helps them, it is said, who help themselves ... While your supreme dependence ... should be on God, and the exalted Mediator; your next should be on your own exertions. For some time to come, it will probably be a matter of unavoidable necessity, that ministers should be sent to you by churches existing in other lands. But in regard to the support of those who labour among you, we have the firmest persuasion, that wherever it is practicable, it should be chiefly or entirely furnished by yourselves ... Its [Canada's] own inhabitants are [to be] awakened to some appropriate exertions in providing religious ordinances for themselves. If we are not greatly mistaken in our judgment of the signs of the times, every other source of supply will prove INADEQUATE, TEMPORARY, and PRECARIOUS.⁴

In Lower Canada, the RP movement focused around two missionary clergy: the Reverends James McLachlan (1798-1864) and James Geggie (1793-1863) and the RP movement made some inroads in two counties, Megantic and Pontiac. This paper deals largely with these two persons and these two areas.

Megantic County⁵ and Rev. James McLachlan

There were

resolutions passed at a meeting held in the township of Inverness, Lower Canada, on the 13th day of January 1833, together with a petition founded on these resolutions, subscribed by thirty-eight individuals residing in the townships of Inverness, Halifax, and New Ireland, in the county of Megantic, Lower Canada; earnestly praying for a Missionary

⁴ Stewart Bates, *Address to the reformed Presbyterians and other Christians in British America* (Edinburgh, 1834), 9-11. CIHM 41751.

⁵ In the 1830s, Megantic County was made up of the following townships: Broughton, Colrairie, Dorset, Gayhurst, Halifax, Inverness, Ireland, Leeds, Nelson, Shenley, Somerset, Thetford, Tring and Winston. I am indebted for this information to Dr. J.I. Little, Simon Fraser University. In the 1990s, some of the townships are located in Frontenac County.

from the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, to preach among them the everlasting gospel.⁶

The petitioners stated that they:

are settlers principally from Scotland, are scattered over the face of the forest of Canada, to the extent of three hundred square miles, and completely shut out from access to gospel ordinances, being placed at the distance of between fifty and sixty miles from any regular Presbyterian congregation; that they are in general attached to the doctrine, worship and discipline contained in the Confession of Faith, compiled by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, having been instructed in these things from their early years.

They also stated that "they are unable, from their present circumstances, to propose any fixed stipend, being all new settlers, but expect, under the favour of divine Providence, in a year or two, to make a suitable provision for a regular gospel ministry among them." Apparently, "a few of the petitioners, while in this country [Scotland], were in communion with the Reformed Presbyterian Church." Notice of the resolutions and the accompanying petition, was sent to the Committee on Missions of the Scots RP Synod, by a [town of] Quebec teacher, Robert Geggie. In its response, "the Committee were highly gratified with the resolutions and petition, and deeply regretted that they could not, in present circumstances, comply with the earnest prayer of the petitioners. Had they been able to obtain another missionary, gladly would they have sent him to unfurl the banners of the Covenanted Reformation in Lower Canada."

⁶ *Second Report of the Committee on Missions (May 1834)*, 3. Scottish Record Office, CH3/391/27/1.

Later in 1833, Rev. James McLachlan⁷ proffered himself as a missionary to the Canadas. Born in 1798, McLachlan had already done a missionary stint in South Africa, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. Writing on 2 July 1833 to the Committee on Missions of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Scotland, he stated: "I now make an offer of myself as a Missionary of the cross, to be employed, under the auspices of your Synod, in a Mission to the Canadas."⁸ McLachlan's designation as missionary took place in Edinburgh 10 July 1833. The canny Scots also negotiated and finalized "with regard to pecuniary arrangements." McLachlan was destined to be sent to Ramsay, in Lanark County, Upper Canada, because RPs had been active there for some time, and requests had come from that quarter first.⁹ Since the committee had received a much more recent communication from Megantic County, Lower Canada, they "ordered Mr. M'Lachlan to visit the townships [of Inverness, Halifax and New Ireland in County Megantic], on his landing in Quebec, and preach for a short time to the people before he proceeded to ... Upper Canada."¹⁰

⁷ See W.M. Glasgow, *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America* (Baltimore 1888), 606-07, for the following outline of his early career.

James M'Lachlan (1798-1864) was born in the city of Glasgow, Scotland, June 14, 1798. His parents were pious members of the Secession Church, with which body he also connected in early life. He received the best of an education in the schools of his native city, and graduated from the University of Glasgow in 1822. He studied theology in the Perth Seminary, under the direction of the eminent Dr. Taylor, of the old Burgher section of the Secession Church, and was licensed by the Glasgow Presbytery of that body, April 19, 1826. He was ordained *sine cura* by the same court, November 16, 1826, and in the spring of 1827, went out to the Cape of Good Hope, to labor as a Missionary in the Caffraria region, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. He returned to his native land the following year on account of the serious illness of his wife. In 1829, he received the appointment of Chaplain to the Seamen's Chapel, Glasgow, Scotland, which office he held for four years. He connected with the Covenanter Church, May 24, 1833.

⁸ Cited in the *Second Report of the Committee on Missions*, 1-2.

⁹ "In 1831, Mr. James Waddell was directed by the [Ramsay] congregation to write to the Committee of the Covenanter Synod of Scotland urging them to send a minister to them" (Glasgow, *History*, 188). As soon as Rev. James McLachlan was received as a RP missionary in Edinburgh, Scotland, on 10 July 1833, "The clerk, according to appointment, wrote immediately to a member of the church residing near Ramsay, Upper Canada, in order that preparations might be made for Mr. M'Lachlan's reception." *Second Report of the Committee on Missions*, 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

"Mr. and Mrs. M'Lachlan sailed from Greenock on the Favourite, on the 17th day of July, and arrived at Quebec on the 18th day of August." He immediately called on "Robert Geggie, teacher, [of the town of] Quebec, who kindly received him, and gave him directions respecting his proposed visit to the townships in which the petitioners resided."¹¹ McLachlan describes his visit there in his own words (in a letter dated 29 August 1833):

[Mr. Geggie] has shown me much attention. After some little conversation with him about Inverness, Halifax, and New Ireland, as a missionary station, he stated, that a visit to these townships, especially to Inverness, in which there are nearly a thousand persons, would be very important, as well as gratifying to the individuals who sent the petition for a missionary to break the bread of life among them. Next day I proceeded to the upper end of Leeds, a journey which occupied a part of two days. Here I lodged with Mr. Russel one of your petitioners — he was very kind to me. Next day, from Leeds I proceeded with him to Inverness, and preached there on Friday the 21st. The attendance was far beyond what I expected, though the people were only apprised of my coming three hours before the time of meeting. And though it was their most busy time, they however willingly cleaned themselves to hear the preaching of the gospel. In preaching to them I felt much liberty. Previous to the hour of meeting I had an opportunity of conversing with some of the people, who seemed very anxious to have a godly and faithful minister settled among them, in order to preach to them the gospel of Jesus Christ. On Saturday I returned from Inverness to Leeds, and preached there on Sabbath forenoon to a crowded audience, some of whom I observed not only having their attention rivetted, but their minds apparently much affected under the preaching of the word; the tears I observed rushing down their cheeks very copiously. From this I proceeded to another place in Inverness, the distance of seven miles, where notice was given that I should preach in the afternoon, divine service to commence about four o'clock, and here my audience was not less numerous and interesting. The people in this township manifest an eagerness to hear the preaching of the word as a valuable blessing. ... Before taking my leave of them, I stated that the Committee of Missions ... had received their petition and resolutions, to which

¹¹ *Ibid.*

they would attend.¹²

McLachlan went on to Ramsay, Lanark County, Upper Canada, the situation there demanding his attention, although several letters were sent by persons in Lower Canada about McLachlan's short 10-day sojourn in Megantic County.

Pontiac County¹³ and Rev. McLachlan

Although very busy in Lanark County, McLachlan found time to visit Bristol township in Pontiac County, Lower Canada, early in March 1834. It is to be noted that Pontiac County, across the Ottawa River from Lanark, was much closer to McLachlan's centre of activity than was Megantic County, some 50 miles (80 kilometres) south of the town of Quebec. McLachlan, "who visited the Township of Bristol in the beginning of March, 1834," observed:

The people in this Township are nearly 50 miles from any Presbyterian Congregation. There is here an excellent field of usefulness for one who is pious and zealous, with moderate talents, a popular manner, and who is warmly attached to the Scottish Reformation. One with these qualifications might, by the blessing of God, be the instrument of doing much good, in this and in some other adjoining Townships, where the people in a year or two, might be able to support a Minister comfortably.¹⁴

RP affairs in Pontiac drop out of sight for a year, though it is highly likely that McLachlan visited the area very occasionally. McLachlan wrote about his visit to Pontiac County in March, 1835, a journey in which he dropped in for a short time to several communities.

In these townships [Bristol, Clarendon and Litchfield] I spent two weeks. The first Sabbath I preached in Bristol in the forenoon, and in Clarendon in the afternoon. In the course of the week I preached in Leachfield [*sic*: Litchfield] and Bristol. The second Sabbath I preached in the upper end of Clarendon

¹² *Ibid.*, 7-8.

¹³ See the map in Clyde C. Kennedy, *The Upper Ottawa Valley* (Pembroke, ON: Renfrew County Council, 1970), 12 - a section of Joseph Bouchette's map of 1831, "To His Most Excellent King William IV."

¹⁴ "Foreign," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (September 1835): 77.

in the forenoon, and at Pendergrass Mill in the afternoon - a distance of seven miles. The attendance in these places was respectable. ... There were some who seemed impressed with the preaching of the word. ... I conversed with a few of the settlers in this quarter about divine things, that were interesting to both. They seemed very desirous that I would renew my visit as soon as possible.¹⁵

Three months later, McLachlan was again in Pontiac County:

[In] June 1835. — I renewed my Mission to the townships of Bristol, Clarendon, and Leachfield [Litchfield]. — Preached two Sabbaths, and twice in the course of the week. During my short Mission in these townships, a few persons conversed with me with respect to membership. I examined three persons whose knowledge of the doctrines of free grace and the principles of the reformation were satisfactory. Being satisfied with their moral and religious character, I put the terms of communion to them, to which they signified their assent, and after prayer, I gave them the right hand of fellowship, with a few advices how to conduct themselves as witnesses for Christ.¹⁶

In the summer of 1835, perhaps under McLachlan's leadership, a petition was forwarded from Pontiac County to the Scots RP Committee on Missions:

To the Moderator and remanent members of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Scotland; the petition of the undersigned inhabitants of the Townships of Bristol, Clarendon, and Litchfield,

Humbly showeth, — That these Townships are very destitute of the means of the Gospel; yet we fondly anticipate the time is not far distant, when, by the blessing of God, a Reformed Presbyterian pastor will be placed amongst us. We would be willing to do everything in our power to support him. Your Petitioners can verily say, we have not heard a Presbyterian Minister, with the exception of the Rev. James M'Lachlan, since he came to these Townships ... so that our situation may be more easily conceived than described.

¹⁵ "From the Rev. James M'Lachlan, Upper Canada, to the Committee on Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 294-5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 295.

Your petitioners earnestly wish you to take our case into your most serious consideration, and use your utmost endeavour to find and send us a Pastor to dispense to us the ordinances of the Gospel in their purity; and your petitioners as in duty bound, will ever pray, &c.¹⁷

According to information accompanying the petition,

The Petitioners are sixty-five in number and are mostly heads of families. Before they sent off their Petition to Scotland, they had subscribed £26:12 for the year 1835; and they express their conviction that in the course of a short time they will be able to increase the sum very considerably. Were one of our preachers to undertake this mission to Canada, there can be no doubt that the Committee on Missions would gladly supply whatever was necessary, in addition to the subscription of the people for his support.

McLachlan returned to Pontiac yet again in October 1835. "The number of members in this quarter is three. They meet together on Sabbath, in a social capacity, for religious exercises, but still they lament the want of public ordinances."¹⁸ A month later, writing in connection with his work in Upper Canada, McLachlan has a paragraph about the situation in Pontiac.

Before closing this letter, I would just mention, that the settlers in Bristol, Clarenton [sic: Clarendon], and Leachfield [Litchfield], have been, for more than two months, waiting with anxiety for an answer to their petition, which I presume the Convener of your Committee would receive last summer. I received a letter the other day, expressing their surprise that I had got no answer to their petition; and wishing to know whether there is any immediate prospect of one coming out to break the bread of life among them. There appears much encouragement for a Minister to settle in this quarter, of which I shall give you a more particular account in my next, with some details of my Mission to these Townships, which I continue to supply with sermon six Sabbaths in the course of the year. To give them sermon more frequently, would be very desirable, but

¹⁷ "Foreign," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (September 1835): 77. No date was affixed to the petition given but it was "since the beginning of Synod in April [1835] last."

¹⁸ "From the Rev. James M'Lachlan, Upper Canada, to the Committee on Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 295.

our present circumstances will not admit of this, on account of several calls from other places to preach the gospel; and even were I to answer all these calls, my time would be wholly occupied in itinerating, to the injury of our fixed stations.¹⁹

McLachlan went back to Pontiac a few times in the first half of 1836. His previous support of and belief in the scattered adherents altered, and McLachlan's tone became decidedly critical.

The people in general throughout these townships, are without the very form of a religious profession. It would require [great] labours, accompanied with divine power, to rouse them from their lethargy. To support the gospel they have shown little desire. From my own experience, I am disposed to think there will be a deficiency in the sum specified in their petition, for a minister from Scotland: not, however, from their want of ability, but from their want of will. From this hint given you, I therefore would suggest, that in sending a young man to them, let the terms be conditional, as there is plenty of scope for his labours in other quarters, where he may be more useful.²⁰

McLachlan apparently never returned to Pontiac. And when the Scots Committee on Missions took up the Pontiac County situation again in 1838, McLachlan's July 1836 report was the last they had heard from that county. And although the Committee played with the idea that a missionary be sent to Pontiac, it was clear that if one was available, the primary area would be in the Kingston area of Upper Canada.²¹ And indeed, the sole probationer-missionary in the wings at that time (Rev. Tom McKeachie, 1810-1844) was actually sent to the Kingston neighbourhood in Upper Canada, and the situation in Pontiac county is never mentioned again.

Megantic County and Rev. James Geggie

Although the Megantic RPs were happy to have a visit from McLachlan in 1833, they pinned their hopes on receiving a missionary of their own, from Scotland. By 1835, however, after "more than two years" they were

¹⁹ "Letter from the Rev. James M'Lachlan, Upper Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (May 1836): 153-4. The letter was written 25 November 1835.

²⁰ "From the Rev. James M'Lachlan, Upper Canada, to the Committee on Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 295-6.

²¹ *Sixth Report of the Committee on Missions (April, 1838)*, 6. Scottish Record Office CH3/391/27/2.

"still looking with the deepest anxiety for a minister from the Reformed Presbyterian Church." One of the persons from Megantic wrote a letter on 31 July 1835 from Inverness, to Robert Geggie in Quebec [town] in which he says:

I am surprised that no account has come from you of late, respecting a clergyman from the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Whatever you may have heard from home upon the subject, I will feel greatly obliged to you, if you will communicate it to me. We expected that we should have had one ere this time. I, with many others, feel most anxious on the subject; and could we obtain an educated, talented, and pious man, we would do our utmost to support him respectably.²²

Robert Geggie himself wrote (18 August 1835):

Solomon has said, that 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick.' ... The cry still is 'come over and help us,' but I am almost beginning to despair of ever seeing the standard of the Covenanted Reformation raised, and its banner unfurled in the province of Lower Canada.²³

The Synod's Committee was finally able to respond to these pleas from Lower Canada; early in 1837 it was announced that James Geggie was available. Geggie, a half dozen years older than McLachlan, had no previous overseas missionary experience. Licensed in 1823, from that period until 1837, "he was employed in supplying vacant congregations in various parts" of Scotland.²⁴ The Missions Committee had been seeking for a suitable candidate

²² "Foreign. Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (January, 1836): 114.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ "Geggie, James," in J.M. Wilson, *The Presbyterian Historical Almanac, and Annual Remembrancer for the Church for 1866* (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Wilson, 1866), 370-1.

Was born in 1793 in Chirnside, Berwickshire, Scotland. His parents were members of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and were known as persons of undoubted piety and worth. His father was for many years an elder of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, but was at the same time on most intimate terms with the minister of the Parish, the Rev. Mr. Logan. After receiving the rudiments of education at home and at the parish school, he attended (for two years) a private and select school, taught by the Rev. J. Phillips, minister of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. Mr. Phillips having resigned his charge, he was placed under the care of Mr. John Strachan, Allanton, an excellent scholar, and one of the best linguists in the country. Under these teachers his progress was considerable, so much so, that when he proceeded

long before the official announcement that there was one; indeed, on receiving the Megantic petition in 1833, Missions Committee member, Rev. Andrew Symington (1785-1853) wrote to licentiate James Geggie, "I understand, by some observations that were made that you might probably be induced to go to Canada. There have been several allusions to you in two private letters rec'd from your brother [Robert Geggie, of Quebec]."²⁵ James Geggie said no, for the clerk of the Missionary Committee, Rev. John Carslaw (ca. 1800-1847), in June 1834, wrote to Quebec teacher Robert Geggie:

We have been all along anxious to obtain a Missionary but have hitherto proved unsuccessful. Dr. Symington wrote your brother on the subject ... but he refuses to go. I am somewhat surprised at this. We will give him as much Stipend as any of us have and I should think his labours would be far more necessary in Canada than here. I am glad to inform you that he is considered in this Country as greatly improved of late. He is very acceptable in all the Congregations. Probably he may think that owing to this he may get a Call in this Country. While granting this, I consider that a Call from Canada is more important than a call from any vacancy at present in the Church.²⁶

James Geggie at first had declined the opportunity, in 1833/4. But it had not been a definite or determined negative; for early in 1837, clerk of the committee Rev. John Carslaw wrote to James Geggie again:

I now write to inform you that the Synod at its last meeting *unanimously* agreed to request you to go to Canada as a Missionary. I now write by authority to inform you of this. The calls from Canada are very urgent. I hope you now see your

to the University of Edinburgh, he was allowed, during his first year, to attend the second classes in Latin and Greek. He studied diligently during the four years of his college course, and in his leisure time gave attention to the study of Hebrew, under the guidance of the Rev. Professor Paxton, the grandfather of Professor Young of Knox College, Canada West. His mind seems early to have been influenced by the truth, and was led to look forward to the ministry in connection with the Reformed Presbyterian Church. He accordingly studied Theology for four years, under the late Dr. Andrew Symington, of Paisley. Having gone through the usual course, he was licensed in 1823.

²⁵ Symington to James Geggie, 19 July 1833, National Archives of Canada [NAC]: Letters to and from James Geggie, 1833-1841, MG24 J11.

²⁶ Carslaw, Airdrie, to Robert Geggie, Quebec, 25 June 1834, NAC: MG24 11.

way clear to comply with the request of Synod. The subject appears to my mind quite clear, that Providence is calling upon you to go preach the gospel in Lower Canada. I think you ought not now to hesitate upon the matter. The step is no doubt a very important one and merits prayerful consideration but I hope you will be properly directed and that the result will be the advancement of the divine glory in the Salvation of precious souls.²⁷

Carslaw shares some information about how sickness has visited his own family; James Geggie had recently married, so Rev. Carslaw also involves this circumstance in his appeal:

Permit me to say further from experience, that now that you are married, the sooner you are in a fixed habitation the better. When affliction enters a family a home is necessary, and the presence of the Head of the family is desirable. Obey then the voice of providence, cross the seas - unfurl the banner of the cross, and settle among a people who are crying so urgently for the enjoyment of your labours.²⁸

James Geggie's less-than-determined 1834 no became, in 1837, a reluctant yes. Writing to his brother in Quebec, James freely acknowledged, "As there is no probability of a Settlement for me in Scotland, I have consented to cross the Seas." On the face of it, this seems something less than a clear clarion call to Canada. However, he later adds, "I hope, by the blessing of the Lord Jesus ... to be more useful in the wilderness than in this country."²⁹ We do not know what James Geggie wrote in responding to the Missions Committee, though its general tone can be surmised by what clerk Carslaw wrote in return: "The Committee on Missions ... unanimously agreed to accept ... your compliance with the request of Synod." Carslaw indicates that he is setting in place the process leading to Geggie's ordination and sending forth. There is this added paragraph: "I am sorry that in your letter you evinced a little feeling in reflecting upon [your] Congregations in Scotland. Humility you know is a beautiful garb. It would have been better had you written without saying a word regarding what you consider your want of success in Scotland. I shall not however say more on the subject at present."³⁰

²⁷ Carslaw to James Geggie, 20 January 1837, NAC: MG24 J11.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ James Geggie to Robert Geggie, 25 March 1837, NAC: MG24 J11.

³⁰ Carslaw to James Geggie, 23 March 1837, NAC: MG24 J11.

"At Edinburgh, on the 27th of June [1837], Mr. James Geggie was ordained by the Reformed Presbyterian of Edinburgh, to the office of the ministry, and set apart as a Missionary of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, to Lower Canada."³¹ As part of the ordination ceremonies, one RP clergyman spoke of the Scots RPs sending Geggie

to a part of the world where there was a lamentable destitution of the means of grace — where the delusions of Popery prevailed — and where this false system was supported under the sanction and patronage of the British Government. ... The township of Inverness would for some time be the chief sphere of Mr. Geggie's labours, in accordance with the prayer of a petition from that and neighbouring townships.³²

Appropriate financial arrangements were made for Geggie's outfit and passage.³³

On 12 August 1837 Rev. Geggie, his wife and child set sail, arriving in the port of Quebec on the 14th of September. A month later (13 October 1837), Geggie wrote of his experiences (much of it published in the *Covenanter* newspaper): "The voyage was, on the whole, tolerably comfortable ... but I was frequently very squeamish, though never very sick. Mrs. G. was twice so sick as not to be able to attend properly to our child, who, notwithstanding, thrived very well at sea."³⁴ Geggie was cordially received at Quebec by his brother, and "on the sabbath after I landed, I preached to upwards of two score of persons in his house." On the following week Geggie judged it proper to visit the townships of Leeds and Inverness, "to ascertain the state of matters in the place of my destination." Geggie found the road to Leeds "the worst road you can possibly conceive," and the countryside was not "attractive to a person accustomed to the scenery and cultivation of Britain." Geggie noted that "the lands occupied by the [French-]Canadians along the banks of the St. Lawrence, though for the most part cleared of the wood and stumps, is very badly cultivated." As to the situation in Megantic, Geggie informed the Mission Society that "the townships of Leeds and Inverness were

³¹ "Ordination of Mr. Geggie, as a Missionary to Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (July 1837): 290.

³² *Ibid.*, 291.

³³ 'Disbursements in 1837,' "Abstract of the Synod and Missionary Fund," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (May 1838): 56.

³⁴ "Letter from the Rev. James Geggie, Missionary, Lower Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (January 1838): 18.

destitute of inhabitants till little more than 15 years ago."³⁵ The whole was one dense forest of large tall trees; now there were a considerable number of settlers, and large portions of land cleared. Yet, "excepting a very few acres, the stumps still remain in the ground, and present no very inviting appearance to one bred in the highly cultivated county of Berwick." Nonetheless, "the land is good; and in a few years, it will be a very fine country." As yet, "money is very scarce among the settlers. They generally have food to support them - though last year many suffered severely from the early frosts, that destroyed both their grain and potatoes. This year there is an abundant crop, which is now well secured." However, "the state of religion in this country is very low. The Methodists are zealous and persevering - the Presbyterians are asleep - only two Episcopalians seem to be concerned about the welfare of souls - and the Romish priesthood are leading multitudes of deluded creatures in the way of error. You could scarcely distinguish a Sabbath from an ordinary day. How little is there of the fear of God in this place!" As to his more direct missionary endeavour:

I got to the house in Leeds, on the Thursday evening week after I landed, where I was to lodge for a few days. On the Friday morning, intimation of my arrival and of my intention to preach, was given. The sabbath came, and upwards of 100 persons assembled to wait on the preaching of the divine word. A number of persons welcomed me most cordially, among whom was Mr. Russell. I hope, that by the blessing of God, I shall be the instrument of doing good to the people. On the following Tuesday I went into Inverness, and preached in a very neat chapel, built of wood, by Mr. Walter Hargrave, son-in-law to Mr. Russell. About 40 persons attended. The labours of the harvest prevented a number from being present. I have got a house from Mr. Russell to dwell in, and as much fire-wood as I require, for nothing. This is indeed very kind. For two sabbaths past I have preached in Quebec, and on sabbath first I do the same.

³⁵ "A few settlers from Scotland and Ireland ... settled in the eastern part of the Eastern Townships prior to 1829 [but] their numbers were not great" (Goodwill MacDougall, *The Presbyterian Church in the Presbytery of Quebec*, M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1960, 36). "Between June 1829 and August 1830 over 1,500 settlers, principally from the northern counties of Ireland, the Isle of Arran, and Yorkshire, were directed to the northeastern townships of Leeds and Inverness [- a] remote wilderness area (J.I. Little, *Ethno-Cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec* [Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989], 8-9). See as well, Françoise Noel, *Competing for Souls: Missionary Activity and Settlement in the Eastern Townships 1784-1851* (Sherbrooke, Université de Sherbrooke, 1988), 37-8. This fine monograph unfortunately does not consider Presbyterianism.

Geggie experienced some difficulty in taking his family to Leeds, because of inclement weather. Moreover, "there is great difficulty in getting our things carried. There are neither villages nor towns in the *bush*, and there are no carriers."³⁶

In the unpublished part of the letter, Geggie had undoubtedly complained that his new congregants had no money whatsoever to give him and that he and his family would really have suffered had not kind friends (undoubtedly including his brother) come to his aid. The Missions Committee thought he should be able to get something from his congregants: "the people will surely give you a little, and we will not grudge to send you what may be deemed necessary."³⁷ However, Carslaw saw to it that the Committee immediately sent a further £40. The money was sent, but Geggie returned no immediate acknowledgement.

Geggie was to prove a very poor correspondent; and this beggared his relationship with the Missions Committee; and feelings festered on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁸ In April 1838, the Society notes that since his October letter, nothing has been heard from Geggie: "the only reason we can state, why no additional intelligence has been received from him, is the unsettled state of the Canadian provinces, and the ice on the river St. Lawrence rendering navigation impracticable."³⁹ Six months later, at the meeting of Synod in October 1838, "no communication has been received from the Rev. James Geggie, since last meeting, at which the Committee feel greatly disappointed," a situation not positive for Geggie.⁴⁰

At the time when the Committee on Missions was complaining, Geggie was writing from Megantic County, a year after his arrival. He talked about those who were potential congregants: "the inhabitants around me are from Scotland, England, and Ireland. They are Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, Papists, Presbyterians. There are said to be a few Universalists, and a great

³⁶ "Letter from the Rev. James Geggie," 18-19.

³⁷ Carslaw to James Geggie, 1 January 1838, NAC: MG24 J11.

³⁸ James Geggie wrote few letters to the Committee on Missions; and some of the few he did write were not mailed. It is somewhat ironic that this poor correspondent has left a number of letters behind - I am glad to acknowledge Prof. J.I. Little, History professor of Simon Fraser University who drew my attention to the 'Letters to and from James Geggie' collection in the NAC.

³⁹ *Sixth Report of the Committee on Missions (April 1838)*, 5. Scottish Record Office CH3/391/27/2.

⁴⁰ "Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland," Glasgow, Oct. 1f., 1838, *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (November 1838), 118.

number are nothing at all. The Presbyterians chiefly constitute my congregations." He also narrated some of his missionary successes:

I occupy four Sabbath-day stations, - one in Inverness, two in Leeds, and one in St. Sylvester. These I overtake every three weeks in rotation; and as I have not yet any conveniency for keeping a horse, it requires considerable exertion to reach them on Sabbath mornings. I have two week-day stations; but one of them has been given up during the throng of the labour season, which commences in spring, and ends after all the crops have been gathered in. This station I intend to resume immediately.⁴¹

On one key issue, Geggie was certain to displease his Scots supervisors: Megantic Presbyterians in his preaching places were not able to pay their own way, though there were ample reasons for this:

Nothing has, as yet, been done by the people to contribute to the support of the Gospel among them, excepting the putting up of two places for public worship. The houses are in progress, and will afford us shelter during winter, though they will not be entirely finished. This effort on their part is not small, when it is considered that they have little money among their hands. Two years ago the crops failed, and many were reduced to straitened circumstances, which they are now only getting over. Many feel and confess it to be their duty to part with their worldly substance, to maintain the preaching of the Gospel, and when they are able, will perform this acknowledged duty liberally and cheerfully. We must hence be a burden for some time longer on your Society.⁴²

The inability of the Megantic presbyterians to contribute substantially could not have been received as good news by the Committee on Missions, combined as it was by a paucity of information being received from their missionary in Lower Canada. Segments of this letter too, were unpublished, and have not come down to us, but there can be little doubt that those parts contained fresh complaints from Geggie; at the same time, there was no

⁴¹ "The Rev. James Geggie," *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 January 1839): 140. The letter has this editorial introduction:

The Committee on Missions have received a letter from the Rev. James Geggie, dated Township of Leeds, Lower Canada, 11th October, 1838, in which he gives a brief account of the state and prospects of the Mission in that Province. We can afford space only for the following extracts.

⁴² *Ibid.*

acknowledgement at that time of funds already sent and received. In 1838, invited by James McLachlan, Geggie probably visited with his Upper Canadian colleague, in Lanark County.⁴³

Although the Committee on Missions was glad to hear Geggie's belated news about services being held and two churches being erected, they were annoyed at the paucity of details. The fewer the letters it received, the more persistent the Committee on Missions became. The more he was pressed, the pricklier Geggie became. Carslaw asked a number of leading questions, eliciting responses from a reluctant Geggie, who sarcastically responded to what he termed "the questions of your catechism."⁴⁴ On its side, the Missions Committee commented that Geggie sent an "annual instead of [a] quarterly letter,"⁴⁵ though he had been clearly instructed to send the latter.⁴⁶ The Missions Committee suggested that they might get information from layman Russell, since it was so hard to extract news from Geggie. Geggie set them straight on that matter: "Mr. Russell told me that the reason why they had applied to our church for a missionary was, not that they approved of our peculiar principles but that they would get a second⁴⁷ Gospel preacher for less money than 'from any other Religious Denomination.' Mr. Russell is a Baptist, professes to be a minister - Keeps a church in his own house & dispenses the Lord's Supper every Sab[bath]. What then can he be expected to do in support of our Cause? Because he is as fickle as a weather cock."⁴⁸ Geggie complained that he was insufficiently paid and that no one safely ensconced in Scotland could understand his plight in Megantic, beset as he

⁴³ McLachlan to James Geggie, 28 May 1838, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁴⁴ James Geggie to Carslaw, 2 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁴⁵ James Geggie's letters - composed, mailed and received - were virtually annual missives: 13 October 1837, most of it published in *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (January 1838), 18-9; 11 October 1838, some of it published in *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (January 1839), 140; and 2 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁴⁶ Carslaw to James Geggie, 1 July 1840, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁴⁷ The first preacher was undoubtedly the Church of Scotland clergyman, Duncan Macaulay (1792-post 1841). Licensed, he was appointed missionary by the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1833, arriving in Quebec in June. Ordained to Leeds Township, Macaulay met with initial success. Macaulay ministered in the Megantic region for about a year, but he "was deposed in 1834 for alleged misdemeanours," (Glasgow Colonial Society Correspondence IV. 206 [The Rev. Duncan Macaulay, Leeds, Megantic, Lower Canada, to the Rev. Robert Burns, 26 October 1833] in *Selected Correspondence of the Glasgow Colonial Society 1825-1840*, eds. Elizabeth Ann Kerr McDougall and John S. Moir [Toronto: Champlain Society, 1994], 62, 65) and left Megantic. Although Geggie alludes to Macaulay, he never met him. Baptist layman Russell undoubtedly did: see his letter to Robert Geggie, 24 September 1833. NAC: MG24 J11.

⁴⁸ James Geggie to Carslaw, 2 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

was by political difficulties and the privations of a primitive land. "Take a view of my circumstances & say if it be at all wonderful that I should deeply regret leaving Scotland where the life of a coal porter would have been ease & profit compared with my condition here. For in addition to my preaching labours, I have also the honour & the exercise of chopping our fire wood." To the Committee query: "Surely there is raised by them a collection every Sab[bath]. It cannot be great, but surely it amounts to something."⁴⁹ Repeating the query, Geggie's response, "It amounts to NOTHING."⁵⁰ Geggie complained about lack of money; but he was very tardy in acknowledging what he had received.

In addition, Geggie found distinctive RP principles to be irrelevant in his situation:

On general Presbyterian Principles a church might be organized here: but as far as I am able to judge our principles cannot be adopted. There is no town & no village in this district of the country & the inhabitants generally are land holders & owners. And were they to espouse our views they would be regarded as Rebels, & their lands would be confiscated. Such a sacrifice very few would be disposed to make. I look upon myself as a *Pioneer* clearing the way for the comfortable settlement of two or three clergymen of the Church of Scotland who would find ample scope in the District supplied by my labours.⁵¹

Without question, the 1837 Rebellion adversely affected Geggie and made more difficult the preaching of distinctive Covenanter principles. In his 1839 letter, Geggie referred to the situation he met on his arrival two years earlier:

When the Rebellion broke out a few months after I arrived in the country, the *Oath of Allegiance* to the Queen & her successors was tendered to all the settlers: & besides every man capable of bearing arms, with the exception of clergymen, &c; is a Militia Man. I was not asked to take the Oath, but the authorities might according to law, have insisted on me to do so, or compel me to leave the country ... You will see then that the voluntary principle, in all its purity, must obtain here. For neither Church nor state coercion can be brought into

⁴⁹ Carslaw to James Geggie, 31 December 1838, NAC: MG24, J11.

⁵⁰ James Geggie to Carslaw, 2 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

operation to make the people support a Ref[orme]d Presbyt[erian] minister.⁵²

James Geggie obviously leaned on his brother Robert Geggie, financially and otherwise. Robert took up his cause, and wrote harshly to the committee, though he admitted that his brother had "a constitutional repugnance to letter writing."⁵³ Carslaw, writing directly to James Geggie, snorted, "I am very sorry to learn this, and very unwilling to believe it. If you have this repugnance ... you must for the sake of the Mission struggle against it, and overcome it."⁵⁴ Letters from the field were absolutely necessary for congregational fund-raising for missions. But Geggie's few missives were useless, nay negative: "Had the Committee wished to suspend all further subscriptions for miss[ionar]y purposes in our church, they could not easily have adopted a more effectual & summary expedient than to publish your letters."⁵⁵

In the face of the many difficulties with Geggie, in 1839, the Missions Committee gave "instructions from home"⁵⁶ to the senior missionary, Rev. James McLachlan in Lanark county, to go to Megantic and assess the situation, perhaps with some dim hope that he might be able to reverse an already doomed situation. Late in 1839 or early in 1840 — very clearly at the height of winter — McLachlan made a perilous journey and "having executed the task assigned me in compliance with your [the Mission Committee's] request,"⁵⁷ wrote a letter on 20 February 1840. The entire letter, at least that portion of it which was published, outlined the many dangers McLachlan underwent on his journey between Ramsay and [the town of] Quebec. Unfortunately, there is not a word of the Megantic assessment which McLachlan undoubtedly sent to Scotland. But the results of the letter of assessment are quite clear.

At its meeting in April 1840, the Scots Synod deliberated as to the expediency of continuing the mission in Lower Canada. On this point the Court gave the following deliverance:

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Quoted in Carslaw to James Geggie, 12 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁵⁴ Carslaw to James Geggie, 12 September 1839, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁵⁵ Bates to James Geggie, 19 August 1840, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁵⁶ "Missionary Difficulties," *Scottish Presbyterian* 3 (January 1841): 19; and Bates to James Geggie, 7 February 1840, NAC: MG 24 J11.

⁵⁷ James McLachlan, "[Letter] To the Committee on Missions," *Scottish Presbyterian* 3 (January 1841): 19.

That under all the circumstances of the case, it seems expedient to the Synod to discontinue for the present their Missionary efforts at Leeds, and the neighbouring townships in Lower Canada, for this, *among other reasons*, the Missionary has reported that there is no prospect of his being able to organize a congregation there [*italics mine*].⁵⁸

The unstated "other reasons" were well-known to the Committee, and may have been supported by evidence from McLachlan. The decision not to continue support there had obvious implications for the Rev. James Geggie:

It was also agreed that after the expiration of the third year of Mr. Geggie's labours, his relation to the Synod as a Missionary should terminate. [Since] Mr. Geggie's engagement with the Synod expires in September [1840] ... the Committee were instructed to inform him that no new arrangement would be entered into with him. He is, therefore, at liberty to return to Scotland, or to remain in Canada, as it may suit his conveniency."⁵⁹

Through Rev. Stewart Bates (1794-1856), the rationale behind the Synod's decision, fed by the Missions Committee's recommendation, was clearly laid out. Geggie, Bates writes in sorrow more than anger, acts "under the guidance of an unsanctified and inflexible temper."

It is not very pleasant yet necessary to explain to you briefly the grounds of the Synod's decision. The chief & primary reason of that decision certainly is that in one important particular you have practically declined to discharge your duty. Every effort that has been made to engage you in a free & frequent correspondence with the Committee has failed ... Whatever the facts of the case might be your obstinate silence caused suspicion that other duties also were neglected. From your own letters & especially from the papers transmitted by the people we could learn that you continued to preach on sabbath at your several stations. But this was all we could learn. If it was your practice regularly to visit the families that waited on your ministry, unless they objected to your so visiting them, if you were diligent in catechising the children & young persons, if you

⁵⁸ "Meeting of the Reformed Presbyterian Scottish Synod," Glasgow, 11 May 1840, *Scottish Presbyterian* 2 (June 1840): 336.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

made strenuous exertions to establish fellowship societies among the people & induce their attendance; if you made conscience of explaining to them both on sabbath days & weekdays the principles - not excepting the *peculiar* principles of the church that sent you out, so as to make sure that the people understood these principles whether or not you could fasten on their minds a conviction of their truth & importance, if you ever made any serious attempt to organize into a cong[regatio]n or soc[iety] - even those members of the Ref[orme]d Presb[yt]eria[n] church whom you found there on the basis of covenanting principles, if it was your practice to make miss[ionar]y tours to explore the country, search out the scattered members of the church, & organize them into praying societies wherever that could be done, if you were in the habit of prosecuting these departments of duty diligently & faithfully, you have kept us in deepest ignorance of all these things. If these things have been done then the field of labour must be unpromising in a very remarkable degree, & it is full time to make room for other labourers to whom the toil may not be so impracticable. But if these things have not been done, if you have rested & [in] your sabbath day labours have appeared among the people merely as an evangelical preacher, no one can feel surprised at your want of success. If these things have not been done the church at home must regret having sent you quite as much as you can regret your being sent.⁶⁰

The letter was sent to Geggie and, not surprisingly in this instance, perhaps received no answer, though one was requested. In 1841 Scots Synod "instructed the Presbytery of Edinburgh to communicate with Mr. Geggie, and to inform him, if he does not furnish them without delay, with a satisfactory account of his conduct, it will be necessary for them to take steps for exercising the discipline of the Church towards him."⁶¹

We hear very little from Geggie's side in this whole matter, though his obituary later noted that, at this juncture, Geggie was clearly "disheartened, and at outs with the Reformed Presbyterian Church."⁶² Actually, his expulsion from the RPs may have given him fresh energy and a new beginning. In a letter written to Rev. James McGill (1805-1883) just after his expulsion he has

⁶⁰ Bates to James Geggie, 18 August 1840, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁶¹ "Meetings of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod in Scotland," Edinburgh, 10 May 1841, *Reformed Presbyterian* 3 (November 1841): 274.

⁶² "Geggie, James. 1793-1863," 1 p., undated, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto.

some positive things to say: he takes pride in his family of "a son and two daughters." He comments favourably about the people: "The people in this district are for the most part *Lairds* ... The comforts of the settlers are greatly superior to what the same class of people could enjoy in either Britain or Ireland."⁶³

After some indecision, Geggie "was led to connect himself with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, in connection with the Church of Scotland."⁶⁴ He served in that church and the Free Church, which he joined in 1844; there is every evidence that, freed from writing of letters and mailing of same, he ministered very acceptably, dying in 1863.⁶⁵ Rev. James McLachlan, who served as a missionary in Lanark County until 1851, when the work in Upper Canada was turned over to the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North

⁶³ James Geggie to McGill (unmailed), 29 March 1841, NAC: MG24 J11.

⁶⁴ "Geggie, James," in Wilson, *Presbyterian Historical Almanac*, 371.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 370-1.

Having been received by Quebec Presbytery, he was sent to supply Val Cartier, and soon received a call to become the pastor of that congregation. The people were poor, but the congregations in Quebec generously aided them in sustaining a minister.

Here Mr. Geggie labored with great acceptance, until the disruption, when adhering, as he felt himself conscientiously constrained to do, to the party who separated from the Establishment, he felt himself under the necessity of leaving Val Cartier, as the church there was firmly bound to the Church of Scotland. He proceeded to Canada West, and after preaching for some time to the congregations in Edwardsburgh, gathered together by that indefatigable pioneer, the Rev. Dr. Boyd, he was called by the people of Edwardsburgh, and was inducted there in January, 1846. With his characteristic diligence and devotedness he entered on all the duties of the pastoral office, preaching frequently, visiting and catechising from house to house, and striving to advance the cause of God in the locality. He was here as elsewhere faithful in the administration of the discipline of the church, and this, not infrequently, raised up difficulties, which less strict pastors might not have experienced.

After laboring in Edwardsburgh for upwards of nine years, he removed to Dalhousie. Here his labours were scarcely less than they had been in Edwardsburgh. Ere long, however, his health began to give way, and after having been engaged in the pastoral work in Dalhousie for six and a half years, he found himself under the necessity of resigning his charge. He then returned to Edwardsburgh, and after some months to Spencerville, where he had many attached friends. His disease, dropsy, continued to make progress, so that after he removed to Spencerville he was never able to go out. His last sermon was preached, before he removed to Spencerville, on the last Sabbath of August last, from Mark i. 15, "The time is fulfilled, repent ye, and believe the Gospel." He maintained perfect resignation to the will of God, and was habitually in a happy and cheerful frame of mind. He died January 3, 1863, leaving a wife and eight children.

America,⁶⁶ continued as minister until 1855 (where the Covenanter cause has remained until this day); whence he removed to Lisbon, NY, in 1855,⁶⁷ where he died in 1864,⁶⁸ a year after Geggie.

It is not difficult to assess why the Covenanter cause failed in Quebec, when compared to the situation in Lanark County. The deportment and activities of the two missionaries are a large component of the differing assessments. Another factor was language - in 1835, an RP statement said that "in Lower Canada, the inhabitants are, for the most part, of French descent."⁶⁹ Clearly, there was not the critical mass of Covenanters in either Pontiac or Megantic counties; although Rev. James Geggie had an apparently influential RP layman, his own brother, in the town of Quebec. Again, particularly in Megantic County, "the settlers were in destitute circumstances, and unable to do much to sustain the ordinances of the Gospel among them."⁷⁰ The Missions Committee had outfitted Geggie, but failed to provide him with a horse and stable, which would have made his ministry more effective. "Geggie travelled on foot, carrying his coat on his arm in the hot weather."⁷¹ Again, Covenanter faith was not the only one struggling to find a foothold in Megantic, as Geggie wrote. Unquestionably, Geggie "found it difficult to organize permanent congregations on the peculiarly strict principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church;"⁷² a situation exacerbated because of the 1837 Rebellion in the Canadas. Yet, in 1866, a commentator sympathetic to James Geggie, stated that his labours in Megantic "were very great, and were not without success," as evidence noting that "where Mr. Geggie first laboured there are now three flourishing congregations under ministers connected with the Canada Presbyterian Church, and another connected with the Established Church of Scotland."⁷³

⁶⁶ See Eldon Hay, "Ottawa Valley Covenanters," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History Papers* (1993), 57-79.

⁶⁷ "Committee Report on the Death of Rev. J. McLachlan," *Reformed Presbyterian and Covenanter* 3 (July/August 1865): 223-4.

⁶⁸ "McLachlan, James," 'Cameronian Fasti,' in *Reformed Heritage: Studies in Presbyterian Church History*, ed. James Robb, Edinburgh, 1977.

⁶⁹ "Reformed Presbyterians in Canada," *Scottish Presbyterian* 1 (March 1835): 25.

⁷⁰ Wilson, *Presbyterian Historical Almanac*, 371.

⁷¹ Dugald McKenzie McKillop, *Annals of Megantic County, Quebec* (Lynn, MA, 1902), 109.

⁷² Wilson, *Presbyterian Historical Almanac*, 370.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

I note in conclusion that there is a tentmaking ministry of the RPs currently at work in Montreal.⁷⁴ In Quebec "our main goal in moving [to Montreal from the U.S.A.] is to be 'tentmakers' in order to establish a Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America congregation in Montreal." The tentmakers ask their fellow RPs to "pray for the work."⁷⁵

In the 1830s and '40s, the RP movement in Pontiac and Megantic counties, Lower Canada, flickered fleetingly, faltered and failed. In the 1990s, it is making another humble appearance in Montreal, Quebec.

⁷⁴ Philip Choinière-Shields, "Covenanters Target Montreal," *Covenanter Witness*, December 1992, 16.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

"We, Ministers and Elders, ... Hereby Dissent"

The Story of the Continuing Synod
of the Presbyterian Church of Canada
in Connexion with the Church of Scotland after 1875

by

*Michael Millar*¹

On the 15th of June, 1875, following several years of negotiations, the four main branches of Presbyterianism in the Dominion of Canada - The General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church; The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland; The Synod of the Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland; and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces - assembled at the Victoria Skating Rink in Montreal to unite and form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. For ease of reference throughout this paper the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, will be referred to simply as the "Kirk Synod." Where reference is made to the "United Church," it refers to the Presbyterian Church in Canada from 1875 and not the United Church of Canada from 1925. The "United Church" term was used in the minutes of all four church bodies prior to union. While the majority of ministers and congregations within the uniting bodies were in favour of union, there were some who were opposed to it. The minutes of the General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church as well as of the Kirk Synod record several dissents to the contemplated union. There was also dissent within the Church of the Maritime Provinces in Connection with the Church of Scotland. The entire Presbytery of Pictou - nine Ministers

¹ I want to acknowledge, with thanks, the assistance of the following people in the preparation of this paper; Ms. Kim Arnold, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archivist and Records Manager, the Rev. Dr. Donald N. MacMillan, Finch, Ontario for permission to use extracts from his major treatise, "The Kirk in Glengarry" and for patiently answering my many questions regarding the Lancaster situation; the Rev. Dr. J.S.S. Armour, Minister of the Church of St. Andrew & St. Paul, Montreal, for kindly providing me with some extracts from the history of his Church, and for directing my attention to the Kirk Session, Managers and Congregational Minutes of St. Andrew's Church, Montreal; Professor John Moir for his continued encouragement and suggestions for additional reference sources to assist my researches; Hon. Mr. Justice Peter B. Tobias of Ontario for granting me the use of his extensive library; Mrs. Pat Henry, Simcoe County Law Association librarian, for her assistance in the Hon. Richard N. Clarke Memorial Library at the Simcoe County Court House, Barrie; John Rossiter of Barrie, retired Ontario Hydro draftsman, for drawing an outline map of southern Ontario and southwestern Quebec; last, but not least, to my daughter Ellen for giving me the benefit of six years of post-secondary experience in preparing innumerable essays and papers as a History Major and archivist.

and eleven congregations - declined to enter the Presbyterian Church in Canada.² It is the object of this paper to discuss the causes and effects of the dissenters' actions and to review the post-1875 events of the continuing Kirk Synod.

There was a major difference between the dissents advanced within the Canada Presbyterian Church and the those within the Kirk Synod. Those dissenting in the Canada Presbyterian Church, with two exceptions, appear to have bowed to the will of the majority and gone into the union. The two exceptions were the Rev. Lachlan McPherson of Williams, Ontario, and the Rev. John Ross of Brucefield, Ontario. They dissented on the grounds that Union would mean the introduction of instrumental music into the Service of Praise, and the two men chose to retire from the ministry. The dissenters within the Kirk Synod chose to stay out and to continue "The Church of our Fathers." From among the many grounds for dissent which were advanced, three main reasons emerged. First, an objection to a statement contained in the Preamble to the Basis and Articles of Union regarding the Headship of Christ; second, that the new Church would be identical in all respects to the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland - the dissenters claimed this would be impossible, given the philosophical differences between the various groups, especially those from the "Free Church" branch; third, there was an objection to the proposal for the ultimate disposition of the Kirk Synod's Temporalities Fund after all of the commuting ministers had either died or retired on pension. The proposal was that the Fund be converted into a Home Missions Fund for the support of weak congregations. The dissenters felt that the Fund should be only applied to weak former Kirk Synod congregations and not weak congregations across the Church as a whole.

The Kirk Synod was officially constituted June 8, 1831, following two days of meetings in St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, Upper Canada. Styled a "Convention," the meeting was called by the Rev. Robert McGill, minister at Niagara, to explore the possibilities of forming presbyteries and a synod in Canada. This was pursuant to the tenor of a despatch from Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary in London, to Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada. Eight ministers and two commissioners from congregations in connection with the Church of Scotland met on the 7th, under the chairmanship of the Rev. John Machar, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Kingston. The Rev. Alexander Gale, minister at Amherstburg, was appointed Clerk. They were joined the following day by an additional six ministers and three commissioners. After much discussion the following motion, duly moved and seconded, was unanimously passed:

² *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* (hereafter referred to as *Fasti*) VII:613, 624.

... that this Convention of Ministers and Elders in connection with the Church of Scotland, representing their respective Congregations, do now form themselves into a Synod to be called the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, leaving it to the Venerable the General Assembly to determine the particular nature of that connection which shall subsist between this Synod and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.³

The meeting was then closed with prayer and dissolved. It was immediately reconstituted as the first session of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland. The Rev. John McKenzie of Williamstown was chosen Moderator and the Rev. Robert McGill as Clerk.

Between 1831 and 1875 the members of the Kirk Synod established the foundations for their Church. In 1839, the Committee on Education recommended the establishment of an academical institution at Kingston, to be called the "Scottish Presbyterian College." By the 1840 Synod the name had been changed to Queen's College. In 1844, on the 10th of July, what is known as the "Canadian Disruption" took place when a number of ministers and congregations broke away from the Kirk Synod to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, the "Free Church." An Act respecting the management of the Ministers' Widows' and Orphans' Fund was given Royal Assent on the 28th of July, 1847. In 1854, on the 18th of December, an Act to secularize the Clergy Reserves was given Royal Assent, and the 1855 Synod established a committee to manage moneys coming to it from the Clergy Reserves Commissioners. During the 29th Session of Synod, in 1856, rules were drawn up for the disbursement of moneys, and the committee was re-named the Board for the Management of the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connection with the Church of Scotland. Two years later an Act to incorporate the Board for the Management of the Temporalities Fund of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland was given Royal Assent. The assumption of Queen's College and the Temporalities Fund by the new Presbyterian Church in Canada was bitterly resented by the members of the continuing Kirk Synod and they tried every means possible to regain control of them.

The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Free Church) and the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada united in 1861, to become the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. Upon receipt of an Overture from the "Free Church" in 1860, the members of the Kirk Synod had

³ *Minutes of the Convention of Ministers and Lay Commissioners at which the formation of a Canadian Synod and Presbyteries, in connection with the Church of Scotland, was determined on* (St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, Upper Canada. 7 & 8 June 1831): 4.

addressed the issue of union and determined that, "it is unwise and would be perilous to the harmony and peace of this Church to entertain the Overture [for Union] at present."⁴ A second Overture, presented in 1866 by the Presbytery of Ottawa in 1866, was received, considered and rejected, because "it would tend to create disunion in this Church, and continued agitation for the matter would seriously interfere with the working of the schemes of the Church."⁵ Although Synod was definitely opposed to a church union when it was first broached, by the end of the decade it had agreed to send a delegation to Montreal for union negotiations.

In 1873, Synod resolved to send the approved resolutions on union down to the Presbyteries, Kirk Sessions and congregations as a remit. There were three parts to the remit: (I) The Preamble, (II) The First Seven Articles of the Basis of Union, and (III) The Temporalities Fund. The following year the Rev. Robert Burnet reported for the Committee to Tabulate the Returns. Several formal dissents, with reasons, had been received, and these were read. Synod was sufficiently concerned with the size and extent of the dissent expressed with the returns that it agreed to take up the matter at the evening sederunt. It was at this sederunt that the division between those in favour of, and those opposed to, union became clear. The last sentence of one motion stated: "And this Court now tender to the late Union Committee their best thanks and withdraw from further consideration of the question." An amendment to this motion, moved by Dr. Cook, stated, in part, that "the Synod consider themselves fully justified by the Returns to the Remit to adhere to its former resolutions in favour of Union, and to take steps towards its consummation."⁶ Dr. Cook's amendment being put to the vote against the motion, was carried by a vote of 88 to 10 with two abstentions. Mr. Burnet presented a ten-point dissent against this decision, and it was recorded in the minutes, but no further action taken. Five ministers and three elders adhered to Mr. Burnet's dissent and reasons. The Synod appointed the Rev. Gavin Lang to represent the Court at the Church of Scotland General Assembly in May 1875.

The 48th Session of Synod began on the 3rd of November 1874, with the Rev. John Rannie of Chatham, Ontario, as Moderator. It was a fractious affair, with each side trying to promote its cause against the efforts of the other. There were numerous long, drawn-out motions, counter-motions and amendments of the Union discussions. Following the report by the Committee to Tabulate the Returns, the Rev. D.M. Gordon moved, seconded by Dr. Jenkins, "that Synod now resolve to consummate the Union" with the other three Presbyterian bodies in 1875. An amendment to this motion, moved by

⁴ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, Canada West, 31 May 1860): 43-4.

⁵ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Canada West, 6 June 1866): 22.

⁶ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Ottawa, Ontario, 4 June 1874): 26, 32-3.

Mr. T.A. McLean and seconded by the Rev. Robert Burnet, set out in full their reasons for opposition to Union. Finally, "after lengthened discussion the Synod proceeded to vote on the motions before the House. The doors were closed, and Moderator ordered the vote to be taken by calling the Roll." The motion to consummate the Union was carried, "and was declared by the Moderator to be the judgement of the House."⁷ Despite further dissent by the anti-unionists a Committee on Arrangements for the Consummation of Union was struck, and additional delegates were appointed to attend the 1875 Church of Scotland General Assembly.

The dispute continued into the 49th Session held in St. Paul's Church, Montreal, commencing on the 8th of June, 1875. On the third day of the Session, Synod addressed the report of the Committee on Legislation. Various Acts pertaining to the Kirk Synod and Church Union had been passed by the Legislatures of Ontario and Quebec, but none through the Dominion Parliament. The reason for the latter action can be found almost near the end of the Report of the Committee on Legislation:

Your Committee were also instructed to obtain such other acts from the Legislature of the Dominion as may be required or desirable. The members of the Committee, after consulting legal friends in Toronto and Montreal, came to the conclusion that legislation by the Dominion Parliament is not necessary at present, and that while it appears to be desirable, the Church will, in a short time, to be in a better position than now to determine what legislation should be asked. Therefore no application was made to the Legislature of the Dominion.⁸

The last sentence quoted above was to come back to haunt the managers of the Board of the Temporalities Fund. Enabling legislation was also passed by the legislatures of the Maritime Provinces. Even at this stage some doubts were being expressed as to whether the Act of the Quebec Legislature to amend the Temporalities Fund Act of 1858 was valid. With specific reference to 38 Vic., Cap. 64, Church Agent, James Croil, asked Counsel Strachan Bethune, Q.C., on the 13th of April, 1875, "Is there anything to prevent the Temporalities Act from being carried into operation when the Union takes place, probably in June next"? Mr. Bethune responded on the 16th, that "On the whole, I am of opinion, that there is nothing to prevent The Temporalities Act being carried into operation when the Union takes place in June next."⁹ A similar opinion was also sent to Mr. Croil on the

⁷ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Ontario, 5 November 1874): 16.

⁸ *Minutes of Synod* (11 June): 28-9. The report of the Committee on Legislation was printed as Appendix "N" to the Minutes at pp 102-22. Citation 103-4.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 121.

16th from Messrs. Ritchie & Borlase.¹⁰ Later events were to prove just how incorrect both of these opinions were. In addition, there were some major differences between the Union Acts of Ontario and of Quebec. The former, for example, provided for a six-month period where congregations who were dissatisfied with Union could, at a properly-called meeting, vote themselves out of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Quebec Act allowed for a two-year trial period. Finally, after much debate, it was agreed by a vote of 90 to 7 with 2 abstentions, that notwithstanding any perceived deficiencies in the various pieces of legislation - which could be remedied by amendment - the Moderator of the Kirk Synod be authorized to sign the Articles of Union. The minutes record that the Rev. R. Burnet dissented:

1. Because of the differences which exist between the Acts of the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec - which differences threaten to be productive of and increase the danger of litigation.
2. Because the dissentient strove to protect himself from the consequences of the action taken in furtherance of Union at the Synod in November last, and now desires to renew his former dissent and protest and the protest of those who may agree with him. Messrs. Macpherson and John Macdonald adhered to this dissent.¹¹

On Monday the 14th of June, 1875, Synod opened with a dissent from the Rev. David Watson, which stated:

The undersigned, who is in favour of Union on a satisfactory Basis objects to the introduction of the reference to the Headship of Christ in the Preamble and also of the proviso in the second Article of the Basis adopted by the Synod and also to the disposal of the Temporalities Fund as well as the arrangement respecting Colleges, so far as Queen's College is concerned, to which the Synod has agreed, dissents on these grounds from the action of the Synod in the matter of Union but desires it to be understood that he reserves to himself the right of determining whether he shall enter into the Union or not.¹²

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 122.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹² *Ibid.*, (14 June): 30.

Also on the 14th, final arrangements were completed for the consummation of the Union, planned for 11 o'clock the following morning at the Victoria Skating Rink. The Rev. Robert Campbell, convener of the Union Arrangements Committee, submitted his report. At the conclusion of deliberations it was moved by Mr. Robert Romaine, Elder from St. Andrew's, Peterborough, and seconded by the Rev. James C. Smith, Minister at St. Paul's, Hamilton, that the report be adopted in the terms of a very lengthy Minute. The July 1875 issue of *The Presbyterian* carried a full report of all of the proceedings at Synod as well as at the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Before Mr. Romaine's motion was voted on, a statement, reported in *The Presbyterian*, but not in the minutes, took place which clearly explained the position of Mr. Burnet and the other dissenters:

Rev. R. Burnet (Hamilton) - Reading the clause preceding the last in the minute - said, this clause admitted into this Church other men and other bodies. Now, according to the rules and regulations of this Church when we admitted ministers to this body we sent them to the Examining Committee (Laughter). This clause over-rode all the rules governing this Church in the past. He held that no mere minute adopted by this Synod could declare to be ministers of this Church any persons who were not admitted in the ordinary ways and manner provided for the admission of ministers. He had no objections to admitting these ministers of the other Churches, but they should come in in the right way. This Court could not make this new rule without a *caveat*. He intended to move that they who were in the minority should consider themselves as composing the Church of Scotland; and more - and he wished this to be distinctly understood - they meant to reorganize as the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. The majority might go out, but they would remain in; the majority would be the 'outs' and the minority the 'ins'. They were strongly impressed that they held just the same position that the Church had held in all these divisions, and that those who remained were the Church of Scotland. It was a well-known principle in law that no man could deprive himself of his civil rights, yet this minute was an attempt to deprive themselves of their civil rights and therefore their action was illegal. The minority were quite willing to welcome back again the members of the other Churches, but they should come back in the ordinary way in which all other ministers were received into the Church.¹³

¹³ *The Presbyterian* XXVIII:7 (July 1875): 171.

An amendment by the Rev. James Carmichael, Minister at Markham, seconded by the Rev. Walter Ross, Minister at Beckwith (Franktown), was defeated. Then: "A vote having been taken, the Motion was carried over the Amendment by an overwhelming majority and the Moderator declared accordingly."¹⁴ The pro-unionists had finally achieved their goal of union with the other three Presbyterian bodies.

It is at this point in the proceedings that the dissent crystallizes, with the following declaration by the Rev. Robert Dobie, from which the title for this paper is taken:

We, Ministers and Elders, members of this Synod, heartily attached to the Church, hereby dissent from the resolution of this Court to repair to the Victoria Hall for the purpose of consummating the proposed Union with the other Presbyterian Bodies and thereby to form the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. We further protest against the declaration that the United Church shall be considered identical with the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, inasmuch as this Synod has no power *per saltum* to declare other Bodies in addition to itself to be possessed of the rights, privileges and benefits to which this Church is now entitled. We declare, therefore, our continued attachment to the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland and do hereby enter our protest against the empowering of the present Moderator to sign in its name the Preamble and Basis of Union and the Resolutions connected therewith. And, further, we, Ministers and Elders of this Synod, holding views opposed to Union on the present basis, so protest against the carrying out of the contemplated arrangements for the consummation of the proposed Union and declare that if consummated, we will claim and continue to be the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland.

(signed) Robert Dobie, Wm. Simpson, Robert Burnet, Dav. Watson, J.S. Mullan, Wm. McMillan, Thomas McPherson, Roderick McCrimmon, John Davidson, John Macdonald.¹⁵

It was noted in *The Presbyterian*, that the Rev. J. S. Mullan subsequently withdrew his protest "and cordially accepted the situation." *The Presbyterian* reporter also noted that the

¹⁴ *Minutes of Synod* (14 June): 35.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 35-6.

Rev. Dr. Cook spoke in terms of deep regret to see the names of several members at the foot of this protest, particularly Rev. Mr. Burnet, for whom he had always entertained respect and affection, and he hoped that they might yet be induced to withdraw their dissent and enter the union along with the rest.

[The] Rev. Mr. Black explained his position, saying he had agreed to accompany the Synod tomorrow (applause), and deeply regretted that several members could not go with the great majority of the Church in this movement.¹⁶

Despite the vote of the majority to join union, the dissenters were not deterred from their decision to stay out of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The following morning at ten minutes to eleven, following Votes of Thanks to the Moderator and the Clerk and prayer by Dr. Cook, Synod adjourned to meet in the Victoria Hall "for the purpose of uniting with the other Churches named in the Minute adopted at yesterday's Diet to form the 'Presbyterian Church in Canada,' and was closed with the Benediction".¹⁷

At the Victoria Skating Rink, the Moderators of the four Presbyterian bodies signed, in the name of their respective Churches, the Preamble, Basis and Resolution on Union. Following this, the Rev. Professor P.G. McGregor, Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces and the senior Moderator in terms of Ordination, gave the proclamation declaring the birth of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It was then moved by the Rev. Dr. William Taylor, Montreal, seconded by the Rev. Dr. James Bayne, Pictou, Nova Scotia, and carried unanimously, that Dr. John Cook be elected Moderator of the first General Assembly. Dr. Cook, wearing his ministerial gown, took the chair and then addressed the Assembly. The July, 1875 issue of *The Presbyterian* printed his address in full. While mentioning the 1844 "Disruption" as a "season of darkness and depression," and the present occasion as "a season of triumph," he did refer indirectly to the split within the Kirk Synod:

When I speak of triumph I hope I shall not be misunderstood as if I meant, or could possibly mean, triumph over those of our brethren in any of the Churches who looked coldly on the union or were hostile to it. (Applause.) That is a triumph yet to be gained, and which will, I trust be gained, by persuasive reason, by conciliating kindness, by exhibiting harmony among ourselves, and practical benefits of union. (Loud and long continued applause.)

¹⁶ *The Presbyterian* XXVIII:7 (July 1875): 172.

¹⁷ *Minutes of Synod* (15 June): 40.

The dissentients did not believe that there were any benefits to be gained by union, though, and had not removed themselves to the Victoria Hall. Kindness, harmony, and practicalities were poor grounds for altering the philosophical foundations of their church, and sharing control of Queen's College and the Temporalities Fund. Following the departure of the Unionists, the dissenters remained in St. Paul's for at least part of the day. The Rev. Robert Dobie was appointed Moderator *pro tempore*. Synod was then adjourned, to "meet on the call of the Moderator, within a limited period."¹⁸

Synod met again, on the call of the Moderator, in St. Andrew's, Montreal on the 30th of November, 1875 and immediately set about rebuilding their Church. The Rev. Robert Burnet was confirmed as Clerk. The Rev. Frederick P. Sym, Mr. D. Brymner, Mr. J.S. Hunter and Mr. Thomas A. McLean were invited to "sit and deliberate." Mr. McLean gave a report regarding his correspondence with the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland and the Rev. Gavin Lang spoke of his visit to Scotland. Synod set the boundaries of the Presbyteries as follows: Presbyteries of Quebec and Montreal to become the Presbytery of Montreal, with the Presbytery Seat at Montreal; the Presbyteries of Perth, Ottawa and Kingston to be joined to the Presbytery of Glengarry, with the Presbytery Seat at Lancaster; the Presbyteries of Victoria, Toronto, London and Saugeen to be joined to the Presbytery of Hamilton, with the Presbytery Seat at Hamilton. Synod resolved to forward a petition to the Governor-General praying that assent not be given to the various Acts relating to the recently consummated Union. The Rev. Gavin Lang and Messrs. Douglas Brymner and R.S. Cassels were appointed to a committee to present it. Synod also resolved to strike a Committee, with power to add, to plan for the next meeting of Synod in June of 1876. This Committee was also given responsibility for visiting and providing assistance and advice to congregations who required any, "to collect means for defraying legal and other synodical expenses; and, generally, to undertake all business of the Church requiring immediate attention."¹⁹

The Committee was then named. It consisted of all ten ministers then on the Roll and three elders.

The 50th Session of the Kirk Synod commenced on the 13th of June, 1876 in St. Andrew's, Montreal. After a sermon by the Moderator from Psalm 137, verse 5, Synod was constituted with prayer. Sederunt were eleven ministers and twelve elders. The Rev. David Watson of Thorah was elected Moderator. This Session of Synod was held over two days and completed a great deal of business. In accordance with the provisions of the various original Acts, they appointed new Trustees to Queen's College and appointed

¹⁸ *Minutes of the Continuing Synod* (St. Paul's Church, Montreal, Quebec, 15 June 1875): 4.

¹⁹ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, Quebec, 30 November 1875): 6-7.

their own members in place of those Trustees "who have voluntarily joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada." They elected new managers for the Temporalities Fund and replaced those who had "left the communion of the Church" with their own members and reconstructed the Board of Management of the Widow's and Orphans' Fund. Whether any of these new appointees were allowed to take their places is unknown. The reports of both Queen's College and the Temporalities Board in the General Assembly *Acts and Proceedings* are silent on the point. The usual Standing Committees were appointed to deal with the business of the meeting.²⁰

According to the minutes, the second day was an extremely busy one. The meeting commenced at 9:30am with devotions conducted by the Rev. Thomas Macpherson. The Rev. Gavin Lang gave in his report on correspondence with the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland. The Rev. William Simpson requested leave to retire from the active ministry. His request was referred to the Standing Committee and was ultimately not granted. A Mr. McCallum appeared on behalf of the West King congregation and "A Committee consisting of the Moderator, Mr. Lang, Convener, Mr. Dobie, Mr. Burnet, Mr. Simpson, Mr. John Macdonald, Mr. J. S. Hunter, was appointed to consider this, and other cases."²¹ The Rev. Gavin Lang, who was still a member of the Board of Queen's College, submitted a report regarding moneys received from both the Church of Scotland and the Temporalities Fund. The Presbytery of Hamilton transmitted applications from the Rev. Alexander Shand, a minister of the Congregational Church, and the Rev. A.J. Campbell of London, to be received as Ministers of the Church. Both applications were referred to the Standing Committee, but neither application appears to have been granted at that time. The minutes record the first disputes over Church property when, "The cases of London, Bayfield and Eldon were laid before the Synod, and referred to the Synodical Committee on Church Property."²² The next item of business was an Overture from the Presbytery of Glengarry:

craving the Synod to call over the names of the Ministers who have withdrawn from this Church, who joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada, at the Victoria Skating Rink; to declare them no longer Ministers of this Church, and depose them from the office of the ministry.

After consideration and deliberation, it was determined to refer to action taken by the Synod in 1844, under similar circumstances, and follow the example then set. The Minutes of

²⁰ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, Quebec, 13 June 1876): 8-12.

²¹ *Ibid.*, (14 June): 13.

²² *Ibid.*, 15.

the 23rd September were examined and the course then taken ascertained,

Whereupon, the Synod declared, as they hereby do declare that those Ministers who have joined Presbyterian Church in Canada, thereby seceding from the Synod, ... are no longer Ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland in Canada, and that they are hereby deposed from the ministry of said Church.

Further, the Synod agree to record the expression of grief of the members present at reading the names *seriatim*, and at declaring those who have seceded from our Church no longer Ministers thereof, in terms of Chapter VI, Section 1, of the Polity of this Church, and after the example of the Synod of 1844.²³

The Synod was then cited to meet again in London, Ontario on the 5th of June 1877 and was closed with Benediction by the Moderator.

The 51st Session of Synod commenced in St. Stephen's Church, London, with eleven ministers and fourteen elders present. The Rev. Gavin Lang

was elected Moderator. The Committee on Application for Leave to Retire again received an application from the Rev. William Simpson. It "was allowed to lie on the table," and there is no indication in the minutes of this, or any subsequent, Session that it was ever taken off the table. The same committee also presented a request from the Rev. Thomas Macpherson asking that his case be recommended to the Temporalities Board. Instead of specifically addressing the issue of Mr. Macpherson's retirement, Synod appointed a commission; the members of which were to proceed to Lancaster to deal with "the difficulties existing in the congregation [there], and of effecting the early settlement of a Minister in said congregation," without further guidance from Synod.²⁴ The difficulty in the Lancaster Pastoral Charge is not made clear in the minutes. It is possible Synod was under the impression that Mr. Macpherson had retired while he believed he was still the incumbent. There is something of a contradiction here. According to Dr. Donald MacMillan in *The Kirk in Glengarry*, Mr. Macpherson continued in office until his death in 1884. Dr. MacMillan wrote that,

Although the two congregations in Mr. McPherson's pastoral charge followed his lead, there were some members who favoured the Union. One of the first acts of the new Presbytery of Glengarry [Presbyterian Church in Canada] in 1875 was to

²³ *Ibid.*, 16-18.

²⁴ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Stephen's Church, London, Ontario, 5 June 1877): 27.

receive a deputation from Lancaster representing a considerable number of members asking to be united "with what was formerly called the Canada Presbyterian congregation and to form one charge, having their place of meeting at Lancaster Station". When Mr. Macpherson died in 1884 in his 82nd year, he was the senior clergyman in Eastern Ontario, both in age and length of service.²⁵

Synod appears to have been reluctant to allow any of its clergy to retire, no doubt because of the limited number of continuing Kirk Synod ministers.

A controversy erupted when the 52nd Session of Synod met in the Primitive Methodist Church in Kingston, Ontario, commencing on 11th of June 1878. It would appear that the Lancaster commission, appointed in 1877, had either settled or attempted to settle the Rev. Henry McMeekin, a former Canada Presbyterian Church minister, in the charge. His name, however, had been omitted from the Roll of the Presbytery of Glengarry & Montreal. A committee was struck and ordered to investigate the matter immediately. It reported that, after reviewing the Presbytery minutes, there was some concern of "evidence of looseness and irregularity of the Acts and Proceedings of the Presbytery of Glengarry." The Committee recommended that the matter be adjourned to the next day and that, in the meantime, Mr. McMeekin's name be added to the Presbytery Roll. The vote on this recommendation was eight to six in favour. To this the Rev. Neil Brodie and others, unnamed in the minutes, dissented.²⁶ One of the reasons for the dissension was that a crime of adultery, in the archaic sense of the word,²⁷ was being committed. The Rev. Thomas Macpherson was not present at this Session of Synod, although it was deciding his future in the ministry.

While the committee proceeded with its investigation, Synod continued its efforts to regain control of the Temporalities Fund. A committee was appointed,

to consider and report to a future Diet of this Synod, upon the present position of the Temporalities Fund, and actions raised to recover that Fund to the entire control of this Church; Also, as to the best way of evoking the practical and pecuniary sympathy of the various congregations of the Church, with a view to the immediate formation of a Fund, which will secure

²⁵ *The Kirk in Glengarry* 72-3.

²⁶ *Minutes of Synod* (Primitive Methodist Church, Kingston, Ontario, 12 June 1878): 36-7.

²⁷ *A Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York, 1897) 31 "Adultery, 6. [Archaic] Eng. Ch. Intrusion into a bishopric or benefice while the legal incumbent is still living."

that the way is clear to the last Court of Appeal, in ... all other actions to recover or defend, the property of this Church, which are approved by the Synod, or any of the Presbyteries, or such Committees as may be appointed by this Synod.²⁸

The ministers of the Kirk Synod were determined that they should be allowed to regain control of a Fund which had been established by their Church for its use, and not for the use of another church body. There was also the issue of the trustees of Queen's College. The Revs. Robert Dobie and Robert Burnet were re-elected as Trustees of the College, but there is no indication whether either man attempted to or was allowed to take his seat. There is nothing in any of the Reports of the Trustees of Queen's College to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, as printed in the *Acts & Proceedings*, to indicate any participation by the Kirk Synod appointees.

The following day the Commission appointed to deal with the Rev. Mr. McMeekin and the Lancaster situation reported their findings. It seems that Mr. McMeekin had expressed an intention to go to the United States and the Commission recommended that Synod accept his resignation from the Lancaster charge. Further, that the congregation be urged to pay off any arrears of stipend and any other obligations "under which they came to him at his induction." The Synod Clerk was instructed to provide him with the usual Presbyterial Certificate of Standing as a Minister of the Church. Applications from the Rev's. Thomas Macpherson and William Simpson to retire from the active duties of the ministry "were [again] ordered to lie on the table."²⁹ The Committee on Bills and Overtures presented an Overture praying that the Presbyteries of Montreal and Glengarry be amalgamated. Synod granted the prayer of the Overture and appointed the first meeting to be held in Lancaster on the 7th of August, 1878, with the Rev. John Davidson as Moderator. The Rev. Howard D. Steele, a former Minister of the Church, had made application to be readmitted as a Minister. His application had been referred to the Standing Committee on admissions and their recommendation was that any Presbytery was authorized to employ him as an Ordained Missionary, upon Mr. Steele producing the usual Presbyterial Certificate. In a very lengthy motion, the Rev. Gavin Lang called the attention of Synod to the drive then in progress to raise an additional \$150,000 for Queen's College. The motion continued:

[I]t is hereby resolved, that our expression of sympathy be recorded, but that to preserve the consistency of this Church, it be remitted to the Committee appointed in the matter of the

²⁸ *Minutes of Synod* (Primitive Methodist Church, Kingston, Ontario, 12 June 1878): 37-8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, (13 June): 40.

Temporalities Fund, and the actions instituted to recover that Fund to the Church, to (in such a way as they deem best) make it known in the proper quarters, that the Synod cannot regard Queen's College as the property of any other Church, than the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, and that, in due course, it is the Synod's intention to claim the entire control of that Institution, with all its rights and privileges, as secured by Royal Charter. The resolution was unanimously adopted, the members generally expressing the earnest determination to proceed deliberately, but firmly to take steps to regain the various parts of the machinery for carrying on the Church's operations.³⁰

The minutes clearly indicate that the Kirk Synod ministers were determined to conduct the business of the Church as they had before Union. Undermining this determination, though, were issues that continued to remind them of the consequences of their dissents in 1875: loss of control of the Temporalities Fund, dispute over Church properties, and the inability to act as trustees of Queen's College. The strong emotions evoked by Union caused several divisions within the Kirk Synod and, despite efforts to adopt a "business as usual" attitude, they were not easily resolved.

As well as the division within the Church there were also deep divisions within congregations. At St. Andrew's, Paisley, for example, the vote on the Basis of Union was 27 - 23 against. In the face of this opposition the Minister, the Rev. John Gordon, resigned the charge on the 30th of September, 1875 and does not appear to have taken another congregation with the Presbyterian Church in Canada. He had only been at Paisley since February 1873. The Kirk Synod may have settled the Rev. H.D. Steele in the charge. There was a similar situation in St. Andrew's, Bayfield, but the result of the vote is not clear. What is known is that the minister, the Rev. Hamilton Gibson, demitted the charge on the 25th of August, 1875³¹ and shortly after this the Rev. John Moffat was called to the charge from St. Peter's Road Church, Georgetown, Prince Edward Island. St. Andrew's Church, Eldon Township, Victoria County was another split congregation. The Minister at Eldon was the Rev. Alexander McKay who had been called from St. Columba, Locheil, and inducted on the 6th of November 1872. The minister and a minority of the congregation went into the Presbyterian Church in Canada, with the former retaining the manse and glebe and the latter the Church building. The majority were forced to hold services in the local school house until a court challenge allowed them to regain the property. Late in 1883 the congregation called the Rev. John

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 41-2.

³¹ *Acts & Proceedings of the 2nd General Assembly, the Presbyterian Church in Canada* Appendix p70.

Gillies from Appin, Scotland.

Disputes over Church Property resulted in several Court proceedings, five of the Ontario cases were reported. These were *Hall vs Ritchie*, involving St. Andrew's, Bayfield; *Cowan vs Wright*, involving St. James', London - both of these cases were set down for hearing in London in May, 1876 and subsequently argued together in the Court of Chancery in Toronto; *McPherson vs McKay*, involving St. Andrew's, Eldon; *McRae vs McLeod*, involving St. Andrew's, Dalhousie Mills; and *Deeks vs Davidson*, involving St. Andrew's, North Williamsburg.³² If there were any court challenges in Quebec, and the Synod minutes suggest there was one involving Cote-St.-George³³, they were not reported. The Kirk Synod was only successful in the Eldon and North Williamsburg cases. As noted earlier, Clause 2 of the Ontario enabling legislation, 38 Vic. Cap. 75, made provision for congregations, "at a meeting of the said congregation regularly called according to the constitution of ... or the practice of the Church with which it is connected" to vote themselves out of the Union. Improperly-called meetings and other voting irregularities in Bayfield, Dalhousie Mills and London cost the dissenters their Church buildings. A vote conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of Clause II of the *Model Constitution for New Churches*³⁴ of 1847, though, allowed the congregation at North Williamsburg to retain their building. The Eldon situation, based on a legal interpretation of the "Conditions Precedent" in their Crown Property Grant of 1836, was somewhat different and was the only one taken to the Court of Appeal.

I think it is necessary at this juncture to examine one of the more militant Kirk Synod ministers, the Rev. John Moffat. The Canadian section of *Fasti* volume VII, contains three entries for him; in Ontario & Quebec; in New Brunswick; and in Prince Edward Island. The Ontario & Quebec entry notes that he was appointed by the Colonial Committee and inducted to the two-point La Prairie and Longueuil charge on the 18th of November, 1858, that he resigned in 1869, went to Woodstock, New Brunswick in 1871-72; was at Bayfield 1877-78 and then returned to Scotland. *Fasti* is somewhat at variance with the information contained in the Synod minutes, which state that he demitted the La Prairie - Longueuil charge on the 17th of July, 1860, because of ill health.³⁵ Mr. Moffat was not recorded on the Kirk Synod Roll after that year. The New Brunswick entry simply notes his being at Woodstock

³² *Grant's Chancery Cases* 23:630 for Bayfield, 616-30 for London, 26:141-9 and *Appeal Cases* 4:501-20 for Eldon, Grant 26:255-63 for Dalhousie Mills, and 488-95 for North Williamsburg.

³³ *Minutes of Synod* (Toronto, Ontario, 12 June 1879): 51.

³⁴ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Canada West, 13 September 1847): 13-15.

³⁵ *Minutes of Synod* (St. Andrew's Church, Quebec City, Canada East, 4 June 1861): 31. (Listed in Memoranda from Presbytery Records for the Synodical Year, 1860-1861).

from October 1871 to 1872. The Prince Edward Island entry records his induction to St. Peter's Road Church, Georgetown on 25th of September, 1872 and his demission in 1874. It continues "He was a determined opponent of the Union of 1875 and published several pamphlets on the subject."³⁶ One of the pamphlets he circulated was published in 1877 and entitled *Remember Zion; or, The Captivity and Persecution of the Scotch Church in Canada*.

This particular pamphlet is in two parts with five appendices. Part I is a pure three-point sermon based on Psalm 137, verse 1, where he draws the comparison of the suffering of the Israelites in their captivity under Nebuchadnezzar to the suffering of the dissenting members of the Kirk Synod under Church Union. The three-points in part I are (1), "The Terrible and fiery trial of the Israelites"; (2), "Their high principles and steadfastness under it"; and (3), Encouragement to God's people in the midst of their trials." The first point, simply reviews the history of the capture of the Jews and their bondage in Babylonia; the second, is quite brief and exhorts the people not to forget Zion, using verses 5 and 6 of Psalm 137 as his theme. He concludes this part by stating:

No fiery trial will move us from our steadfastness - our resolution to maintain our national religion, and form no union with Babylonians. Persecution may stare us in the face, but we must maintain our religious principles at all hazards. Like true Israelites we must be faithful even unto death - true to our Kirk, and true to our God!³⁷

The third, goes on at great length to urge the people to remain true to the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. He told them to remember that the Church of Scotland had also had its days of trial "as the once-suffering church of the Martyrs and Covenanters who 'mong the muirlands of mist, sang the same Scotch psalms, and heard the same sound doctrines that we do."³⁸ Part I was apparently delivered while he was still in Prince Edward Island. Part II was completed after Union and the language can best be charitably described as intemperate. He refers to those of his brethren who went into the United Church as "traitors" on more than one occasion. A few examples will illustrate the point: "Men on the shores of the Atlantic, and those on the shores of Huron ... told me one and the same tale - that the Union was the greatest evil that had ever befallen them."³⁹

³⁶ *Fasti* VII:622.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.

Our calamities are indeed indescribable - our people are thrown into the greatest distress. Exactly as I foresaw from the commencement of the Union plot, so have events turned out. The Traitors within the camp have made havoc of the Church they swore to defend.⁴⁰

Since these Union Acts came into force a year ago, the whole country has been the scene of rapine and violence. Nothing has been heard but the smashing of locks and doors, the seizure and sacking of Scotch churches by gangs of licensed freebooters who, even on the Sabbath, took possession of the same by brute force, while the rightful owners, who, out of their hard-won earnings, and amid great hardships and privations to themselves and families, reared the sacred buildings in the early settlement of the colony, were driven out of them by those who never paid a cent towards their erection!⁴¹

The last quotation really makes one wonder if he is speaking of Ontario, around 1876 or "The Borders" some three hundred years earlier. I will extract one further quotation from this lengthy, and at times strident, harangue, which seems, periodically, to border on the hysterical:

I received many harassing details of the sufferings endured by our ejected ministers, the most painful of which is the case of one on the St. Lawrence. Unable to meet the exorbitant law expense of \$1600, incurred in Chancery courts in vainly defending his kirk from the unionists he, with his wife and nine children, the youngest only one day old, was turned out of his poor manse by the sheriff's officers. As it was the depth of winter, the snow deep, and the cold treacherous, the poor victims of Union persecution must have perished on the road side but for the Christian kindness of some Roman Catholic farmers, who took them to their homes and provided them with food and shelter.⁴²

There is nothing to substantiate this last quotation, unless it is an oblique reference to the Rev. William Simpson, the only minister to whom it might apply, and the congregation of St. Andrew's, Lachine. But at no time was any complaint against the civil authorities recorded in the Synod minutes for the afore alleged ill-treatment of any Kirk Synod minister. There are other areas

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 20-1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*

where Mr. Moffat's pamphlet does not accord with the known facts. He refers, for example, to "penal sanctions" in the legislation. Neither of the Acts to enable the Union of the four Churches contain any such punitive provisions. In reference to the Court of Chancery decision in *Hall vs Ritchie*, Mr. Moffat states:

Yet in this case also a late Chancery decision gave the church to the said unionists, taking it from me and my congregation - our trustees being obliged also to pay their heavy law-costs, as well as their own, and interdicted under forty thousand dollars' penalties (\$40,000) from using it again for behoof of the Scotch congregation.⁴³

Mr. Moffat was only partially correct. Vice-Chancellor Blake did award costs against the defendants. But nowhere in his judgement did the learned Vice-Chancellor place the defendants under a \$40,000 interdiction. Mr. Moffat appears to have left Bayfield in late 1877. Just where he went or what he did is unknown, but he still attended the meetings of Synod until 1881, the last year that his name appears in the minutes. *Fasti* indicates that he was admitted to Rendall, Orkney on the 27th of November, 1884 and that he died on the 27th of December, 1885.

The legal battles over property pale in comparison to the Kirk Synod's attempt to regain control of the Temporalities Fund. In the end they were unsuccessful and came out of the proceedings \$6000 in debt to their legal advisors. It was a very complex matter. In brief, the Kirk Synod, in the name of the Rev. Robert Dobie, commenced a lawsuit beginning with a motion for an injunction in the Superior Court of Quebec at Montreal. The stated object of this motion was to restrain the Temporalities Fund Board from dissipating the assets of the Fund under the terms of Quebec Act 38 Victoria, Chapter 64 - the Act to amend the original Province of Canada legislation (22 Victoria, Chapter 66). It was Synod's position that the amending legislation was *ultra vires* of the Province of Quebec. The Board argued, based on the provisions of S.92 of the British North America Act, 1867, that it was not. Mr. Justice Jetté of the Quebec Superior Court initially granted the injunction and then, after hearing argument, lifted it on the 29th of December, 1879. An appeal to the Quebec Court of Queen's Bench was also unsuccessful.⁴⁴ Based on a very strong and well-reasoned dissent by Mr. Justice Ramsay, however, in which Mr. Justice McCord concurred, the Kirk Synod requested Leave to Appeal to the Privy Council. Following argument, on the 17th of September,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴⁴ *The Legal News* 3:244-8, 250-5. Judgement given on 19 June 1880.

1880, Chief Justice Dorion granted the leave sought, but refused to set aside the earlier order dissolving the injunction, pending appeal.⁴⁵

The appeal was heard in London from the 13th, to the 15th of July, 1881, with judgement given on the 21st of January, 1882. The unanimous decision of the seven Justice panel was written by Lord Justice Watson. Their Lordships agreed with the Kirk Synod's contention that the Quebec Act, 38 Victoria, Chapter 64, was unconstitutional and allowed the appeal with costs awarded against the defendants, the Temporalities Fund Board. In the matter of costs, the learned Lord Justice stated:

Substantial success being with the appellant he must have his costs as against the respondents. But their Lordships are of opinion that neither the respondents' own costs nor those in which they are found liable to the appellant ought to come out of the trust fund which they are holding and administering without legal title. The appellant's costs must therefore be paid by the members of the respondent corporation as individuals.⁴⁶

It was a Pyrrhic victory for the Kirk Synod. Once the decision came down from the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Presbyterian Church in Canada (undoubtedly concerned about the legality of the legislation involving Queen's College and the Widow's and Orphans' Fund, as well as the Temporalities Fund Board) moved very quickly to get legislation passed through the House of Commons and the Senate. On the 17th of May, 1882, Royal Assent was given to the following Acts, all 45 Victoria; Chapter 123 - Queen's College; Chapter 124 - Board of the Temporalities Fund; and Chapter 125 - Managers of the Widows' and Orphans' Fund.

The 56th Session of Synod met in the Shaftesbury Hall, Toronto, on the 15th of February, 1882 to review the Privy Council decision. The Rev. Gavin Lang was elected Moderator. This was the largest gathering in the history of the continuing Kirk Synod with twelve ministers and forty-six elders present. Several schemes to continue the Church as well as plans to oppose the proposed Dominion legislation, then before the House of Commons, were discussed, in the end to no avail. By the time the 57th Session convened on the 27th of June with four ministers and fourteen elders present it was clear the Kirk Synod was doomed. Mr. Lang had resigned on the 3rd of June and had gone back to Scotland, disillusioned with both his failure to influence any changes in the legislation and the lack of courtesy shown to him by those he met in Ottawa. The year 1882 was really the watershed for the Kirk Synod, from this point on it was in a slow, steady decline. The ministers passed away or were forced to give up their congregations because of age or infirmity.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 308.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 155.

Some ministers and congregations disillusioned with the declining fortunes of the Kirk Synod applied to join the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Kirk Synod ceased to exist on the 7th of June, 1898, when the dissolution of the Presbytery of Hamilton left Montreal & Glengarry as the only Presbytery. Finally, on the 8th of January, 1918, the last Kirk congregation, St. Andrew's, Montreal, was received by the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, after eighty-six years had come to an end.

CONCLUSION

Why did the attempt to keep the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland going fail? This can be answered in two words - "John Cook." There can be no doubt that he wielded enormous influence and commanded great respect both within and without the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, almost from the time he was received in 1836. He was Ordained on Christmas Day 1835 at the age of 30 and inducted to St. Andrew's Church, Quebec City early in 1836. He had made an early impression on the Church because in 1838 he was elected Moderator of Synod. On the 10th of July, 1844, following the "Canadian Disruption," he was again called to the Moderator's chair and then presided at the adjourned meeting in September. This despite the presence in Synod of several ex-Moderators such as Dr. Alexander Mathieson, Dr. Hugh Urquhart and Dr. John Machar. From a study of the minutes, it would appear that any time John Cook moved or seconded a motion, or moved amendments to motions, the motion, or amendment, invariably passed. In 1870, had John Cook moved a motion or spoken against the union proposal received from the Canada Presbyterian Church, it would be reasonable to assume that would have been the end of the matter. But John Cook was able to rise above the parochialism of the Kirk Synod and view, to use a modern idiom, "the Big Picture." He knew, perhaps better than anyone, what had happened to the Kirk Synod after 1844, how it had virtually stagnated, while the "Free Synod," and latterly, the Canada Presbyterian Church, had forged ahead. He was determined not to see it happen again and gave his wholehearted support to the proposal, serving, as has been noted, as Chairman of the Joint Committee. It was a fitting recognition of his leadership qualities that he was unanimously elected Moderator of the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In addition, John Cook aside, the failure on the part of the dissenters to attract any of the other big names within Synod or, apart from St. Andrew's, Montreal, any major urban congregation, doomed the effort from the beginning. Along the way, they won some battles, but in the end they lost the war.

APPENDIX

THE CONGREGATIONS OF THE CONTINUING SYNOD

The congregations have been listed in the order in which they either passed out of existence or joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

LACHINE, St. Andrew's. This congregation appears to have joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the late summer or early autumn of 1876. The minister, William Simpson, remained with the Kirk Synod.

HAMILTON, St. Andrew's. This congregation appears to have passed out of existence when the minister, Rev. Robert Burnet, went to London. There are no references to a Kirk Synod congregation in Hamilton in the Synod minutes after 1877.

BAYFIELD, St. Andrew's, and VARNA. Made application and joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada in late 1877, following the departure of the Rev. John Moffat. The Rev. Nathaniel Paterson was inducted into the joint charge on the 30th of January 1878.

DALHOUSIE MILLS, St. Andrew's. Linked for the most part as a two-point charge with Cote-St.-George. Appears to have gone into the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1879 although a Representative Elder from Dalhousie Mills is usually noted on the Kirk Synod Roll until 1884.

LONDON, St. Stephen's. This congregation appears to have been erected from the minority at St. James' Church who voted to remain with the Kirk Synod. Congregation called the Rev. Robert Burnet from Hamilton. Mr. Burnet left for Pictou, Nova Scotia early in 1880. This congregation is last mentioned in the Kirk Synod minutes in February 1882.

PAISLEY, St. Andrew's. Made application and joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada late in 1883. The Rev. James B. Duncan was inducted into the charge on the 22nd of November 1883.

COLLINGWOOD and NOTTAWASAGA TOWNSHIP. The Kirk Synod established a viable presence after 1875 with the minorities from the several Church of Scotland congregations in the area. They erected a church in Collingwood and also had five preaching stations. The Rev. Dr. Alexander John Campbell was the minister. The congregation appears to have destroyed itself with a law-suit between the Trustees sometime in 1886 and is not recorded in the Kirk Synod minutes after that year.

ELDON, St. Andrew's. The majority of this congregation voted to remain with the Kirk Synod. But the minister, Alexander McKay, and the minority held onto the Glebe, Manse and Church and refused to turn them over. They were able to recover the property in the early 1880s following an action in the Court of Chancery. The Rev. John Gillies was called from Appin, Scotland, in late 1883. On May 19th, 1887, minister and congregation were received by the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

NORTH WILLIAMSBURG, St. Andrew's. This was the only congregation taken to the Court of Chancery in an effort by the Unionist minority to take over the Church property, who were able to successfully defend the action. They were able to do this because they followed the provisions of the Model Constitution, in respect of the meeting called for the purpose, to the letter. The minister, the Rev. John Davidson, died on 2nd of February 1890 and shortly after this the congregation made application and joined the Presbyterian Church in Canada. There is no date given for the reception of the congregation by the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but it is listed as a vacant charge on the Roll of the Presbytery of Brockville in 1891.

BEECHRIDGE. On the 17th of May, 1877, this congregation voted 23 to 17 to remain with the Kirk Synod under the continued leadership of their long time minister, John Macdonald. For the next fifteen years the congregation continued with the Kirk Synod. In 1890 it appears that 29 members of the congregation made application to join the Presbyterian Church in Canada. This was not supported by Mr. Macdonald who resigned that September. Following Mr. Macdonald's resignation, the congregation in October again voted in favour of joining the Presbyterian Church in Canada and was officially received on the 25th of November, 1890. There is no mention of the Beechridge congregation's action in the Kirk Synod minutes for 1891.

COTE-ST.-GEORGE, St. Andrew's. Linked with Dalhousie Mills for most of the early continuing Kirk Synod period. Kept on as a viable congregation without a settled minister, albeit with some financial difficulty, with possible assistance from the Rev. Thomas Macpherson. Made application and finally came into the Presbyterian Church in Canada on the 13th of March 1894.

MILTON, St. Andrew's. This congregation had called the Rev. Robert Dobie sometime in the first half of 1872, from Lindsay, where he had been living. Mr. Dobie played a prominent role in the proceedings leading up to Union and was, in many respects, the leader of the dissenters. He died in April, 1888, and the Milton congregation, unable to secure another minister, seems to have simply disappeared. I understand the Knox Church, Milton, Session records show an influx of members from the former St. Andrew's congregation being received by "Resolution of Session," in 1894, because there

was nobody able to provide them with Certificates of Membership. Between 1894 and 1897 Synod dealt with the disposition of the Milton church property with the Clerk reporting to Synod in the latter year that he now had possession of the deeds.

WILLIAMSTOWN, Auld Kirk. The Williamstown, St. Andrew's, congregation voted 72 to 38, with many abstentions, to go into the Presbyterian Church in Canada, leaving the Minister, the Rev. Peter Watson, and a minority to stay with the Kirk Synod. While the "Auld Kirk" designation is not used in the Synod minutes, it appears to have been used by the citizens of Williamstown to distinguish it from the other two Presbyterian congregations in the village. Mr. Watson continued to preach on Sunday afternoons in the Temperance Hall. Finally, on the 8th of June 1897 he advised Synod that his small congregation was unable to maintain ordinances and had resolved to dissolve. The final entry in the Synod Minute Book notes: "July 31st 1903. Rev. Peter Watson died, funeral on Monday Aug. 2nd. Not able to attend being on the way to Victoria. J. Edgar Hill."

LANCASTER, St. Andrew's and Second Concession, St. Andrew's. At these two congregations the people, for the most part, followed the lead of their long-time Minister, Thomas Macpherson, and stayed with the Kirk Synod. Following Mr. Macpherson's death in 1884, which was not noted in the Synod minutes, the congregation called the Rev. Charles Beveridge Ross from Kinross, Scotland. Mr. Ross left Lancaster in October 1887 for the Presbyterian Church in Canada. After a relatively short vacancy the Rev. C. E. Gordon-Smith was inducted sometime in 1888. In early August 1898, arrangements had been completed for Mr. Gordon-Smith and his congregations to enter the Presbyterian Church in Canada. On the 9th of August, 1898, minister and congregations were received.

THORAH (Beaverton), St. Andrew's. The old Stone Church, built in 1840, still stands on the South side of the Argyle Road, east of Highway 12, Beaverton, with its well kept cemetery on three sides. It has not been used for regular services since 1879, when the congregation built a new church in Beaverton. The Rev. David Watson was inducted into this, the only charge he ever served, on the 31st of August, 1853. St. Andrew's, Beaverton (formerly Thorah Township) was the last of some eight or nine congregations in the Presbytery of Hamilton of 1875. When Dr. Watson retired in 1898 that was the end of the Presbytery of Hamilton and also of the Kirk Synod. The Presbytery of Montreal & Glengarry continued with two congregations. The *Acts & Proceedings* of the 25th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, under the heading "Congregation Received, Presbytery of Lindsay," record "St. Andrew's Church, Beaverton, was received into the Presbyterian Church in Canada, December 20th, 1898".

LOCHEIL, St. Columba. The Rev. Neil Brodie had been in this congregation less than a year when the Union issue came along. He and the congregation elected to remain with the Kirk Synod. He had been called to Locheil from Gairloch, Nova Scotia, and in 1880 he returned there. The charge was then vacant for over six years until the Rev. Duncan Mackenzie was inducted on the 1st of December, 1886. Mr. Mackenzie was appointed Moderator at the 72nd, and as it turned out final, Session of Synod in 1897. Mr. Mackenzie continued in St. Columba until 1907 when he was called to the Woodville and Wood Island charge in Prince Edward Island. Following an almost two-year vacancy the Rev. Dougald MacPhail was inducted on the 30th of April, 1909. Dr. MacMillan notes that the congregation was becoming more conscious of its position outside the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Several meetings were held to discuss the position, and finally on the 5th of December, 1911 the congregation decided to join the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

MONTREAL, St. Andrew's. This congregation had the honour of being the final Church of Scotland body in Ontario and Quebec to enter the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It did so, however, by uniting with the St. Paul's congregation the 1833 Synod directed be established following a severe disagreement between Dr. Alexander Mathieson, his assistant, the Rev. Edward Black and part of the congregation. St. Andrew's was partially destroyed by fire on Sunday morning the 24th of October, 1869 with the loss of all of its records. Dr. Mathieson died on the 14th of February, 1870. Dr. John Jenkins, Minister of St. Paul's, was appointed Interim Moderator and after a vacancy of some ten months the Rev. Gavin Lang of Glassford, Scotland, was inducted on the 28th of November, 1870. The church had been re-opened the previous week on the 20th. St. Andrew's was a very wealthy congregation in a prominent downtown location at the corner of Lagauchetiere Street and Beaver Hall Hill. Many of Montreal's most influential citizens were members, including Sir Hugh Allan. In the midst of the Temporalities Fund litigation, this congregation almost singlehandedly covered the costs. Mr. Lang reported to the 54th Session of Synod in 1880 that the congregations at large had contributed \$1524.41 to what was called the defence fund, while the members of St. Andrew's had raised \$3945.00 - \$2850.00 of which had been contributed by one lady! Mr. Lang was firmly opposed to Union, although many members, possibly as many as two hundred, were in favour. The unionist minority withdrew and associated themselves with St. Paul's. From this time, St. Andrew's became the anchor congregation of the Kirk Synod. Seven Sessions of Synod were held there. Mr. Lang was elected Moderator of Synod in 1877 and 1881. He resigned in June 1882 and returned to Scotland. Following Mr. Lang's departure the congregation extended a call to the Rev. J. Edgar Hill, minister at St. Paul's Church, Dundee, Scotland. Mr. Hill was inducted in November 1882. He continued as minister for over twenty-eight years and acted as Clerk of Synod from 1884 until its dissolution in 1898. During this

period the congregation was dwindling, the Church was downtown and people were moving away to the suburban areas. There are several appeals in the Manager's minutes from the Trustees and Church Treasurer for people to increase their givings. Dr. Hill died very suddenly on the 3rd of March, 1911. For the year following Dr. Hill's death the congregation was led by Dr. Donald Guthrie of Baltimore, Maryland. Then, in 1914, a call was extended to the Rev. George Duncan, minister of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, and he was inducted in September. In later years there had been a degree of co-operation between St. Andrew's and St. Paul's, with shared services in the summer months - July in one Church and August in the other. A ministerial vacancy at St. Paul's presented a unique opportunity for the two congregations to unite, with Mr. Duncan being called to the united congregation. This proposal was approved by the Presbytery of Montreal on the 8th of January 1918. A Service of Recognition for Mr. Duncan was held in St. Andrew's on the 14th of February, 1918 at 8:15pm. This was the final service in the old church. This union closed the books on the Church of Scotland in Ontario and Quebec - the Burning Bush of the "Auld Kirk" that had been in existence in Canada since at least the mid-1700s, was extinguished.

MINORITIES:

From time to time the Synod minutes make reference to Elders attending Synod meetings either as commissioners or simply appearing on behalf of the minority after the majority of their particular congregation had gone into the Presbyterian Church in Canada. They are listed here in the order of appearance in the Synod minutes with the names of those Elders who were listed therein and the years of attendance. All were in Ontario and by 1887 they had all disappeared.

WEST KING. The 1876 minutes record the following - "Mr. McCallum appeared on behalf of the congregation of West King." There are no other references to West King in the Synod minutes.

WINTERBOURNE. The 1877 minutes record James Mackie as being invited to "sit and deliberate." There are no other references to Winterbourne in the Synod minutes.

HILLSBURGH. Angus McMurchy, who had been the Representative Elder for St. Andrew's, Erin Township (Hillsburgh) prior to Union, continued on in this role afterwards. He is listed as being Sederunt at Synod from 1878 to 1880, 1882, and 1884 to 1886. Whether there was a Kirk Synod congregation in Erin Township in this period is not known.

EAST WILLIAMS. The minutes of Session 56 record John McLachlin of East Williams being invited to "sit and deliberate." There are no other references to East Williams in the Synod minutes.

GALT. The minutes of Session 56 record William Cowan of Galt being invited to "sit and deliberate." He appears to be representing a minority from St. Andrew's, Galt, and is listed as being Sederunt at Session 57 in June 1882 and then from 1884 to 1886. In 1884 he came before Synod seeking assistance so that the minority from St. Andrew's could take their church property claim to court. There are no references to the Galt congregation after 1886.

WINGHAM. The minutes of Session 56 record William Watson of Wingham being invited to "sit and deliberate." There are no other references to Wingham in the Synod minutes.

VAUGHAN. The minutes of Session 56 record Dugald McMurchy of Vaughan being invited to "sit and deliberate," as do the minutes of Session 57. The minutes of Session 61 in 1886 list M. McCallum of Vaughan as being Sederunt. These are the only references to Vaughan in the Synod minutes.

FINCH or SOUTH FINCH. Dr. John Munro, a medical doctor, is listed in the Synod minutes from 1884 to 1886 as Representative Elder from this Township. Apart from the foregoing there is no suggestion of a Kirk Synod congregation in the area.

DUNWICH. There is no reference to any Kirk Synod activity in this area until 1887, when the Rev. Robert Burnet - back from Pictou - was appointed a Clerical Assessor to work with David Watson in the Presbytery of Hamilton. The minutes note that Mr. Burnet was "labouring at Dunwich." There are no other references to Dunwich in the Synod minutes.

* * *

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ADDENDA & CORRIGENDA:

Page 50. Footnote 37 should read Remember Zion, 10.

Page 53. A footnote should be inserted on line 8 after "Temporalities Fund Board", as follows: Appeal Cases VII, 136-156. This will then make footnote 46 read correctly.

APPENDIX "A":

To support the argument that the Kirk Synod had stagnated after 1844, these statistics are offered:

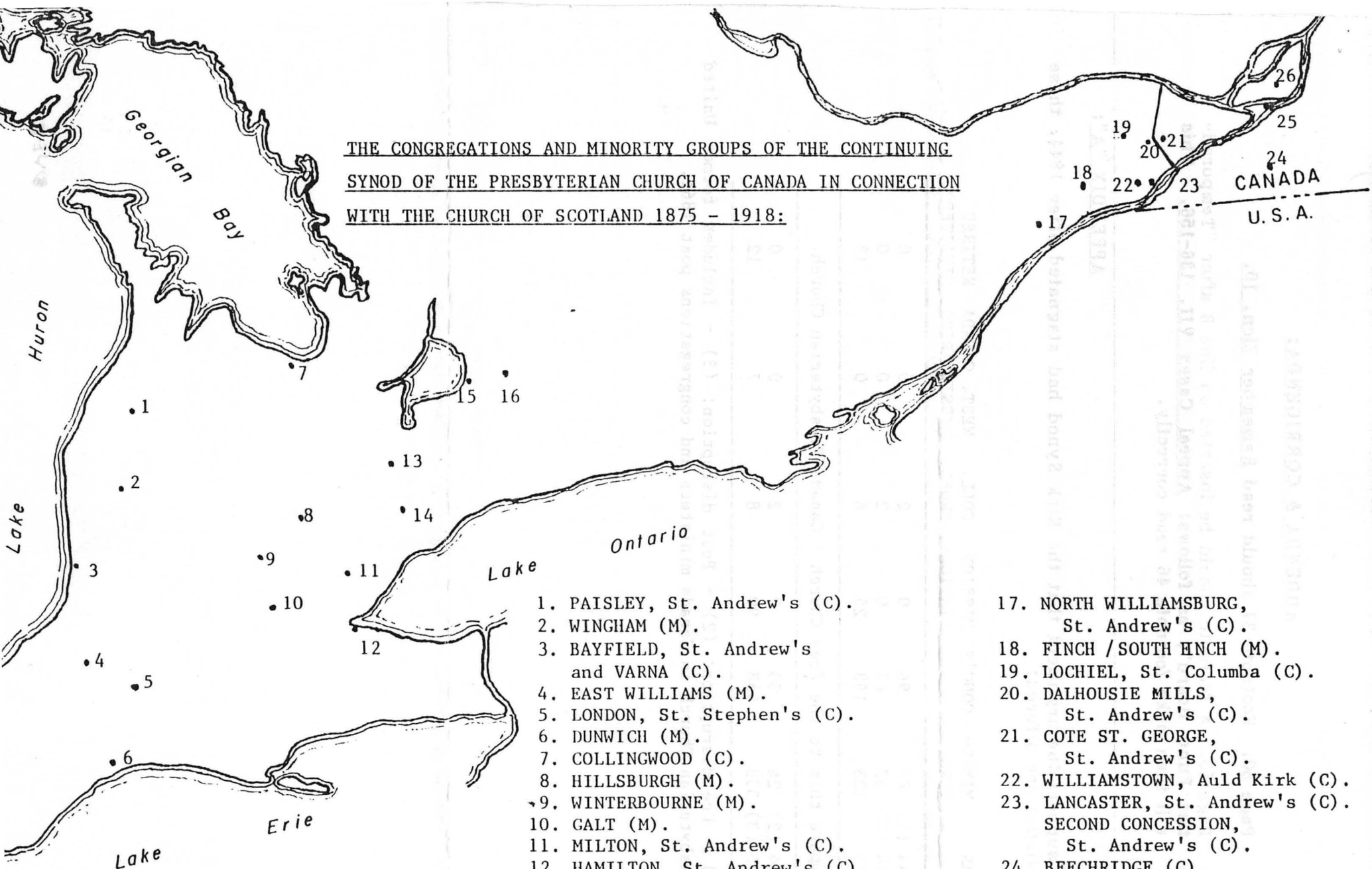
YEAR	MINIS- TERS.	CONG'S.	MISSION STATIONS.	COLL. PROFS.	WEST. CANADA MISSIONARIES	RETIRED MINISTERS.
1844 (1)	89	96	0	2	0	0
1844 (2)	63	63	0	2	0	0
1875	123	158	25	6	0	13

Compare this to the Free Church / Canada Presbyterian Church.

1844 (2)	26	33	0	2	0	0
1875 (3)	333	558	90	8	7	12

(1) - Pre disruption; (2) - Post disruption; (3) - Includes former United Presbyterian Church in Canada ministers and congregations post 1861.

THE CONGREGATIONS AND MINORITY GROUPS OF THE CONTINUING
SYNOD OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF CANADA IN CONNECTION
WITH THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND 1875 - 1918:



(C) = Congregation.
(M) = Minority Group noted in
Kirk Synod Minutes.

1. PAISLEY, St. Andrew's (C).
2. WINGHAM (M).
3. BAYFIELD, St. Andrew's
and VARNA (C).
4. EAST WILLIAMS (M).
5. LONDON, St. Stephen's (C).
6. DUNWICH (M).
7. COLLINGWOOD (C).
8. HILLSBURGH (M).
9. WINTERBOURNE (M).
10. GALT (M).
11. MILTON, St. Andrew's (C).
12. HAMILTON, St. Andrew's (C).
13. WEST KING (M).
14. VAUGHAN (M).
15. BEAVERTON (Thorah), St. Andrew's (C).
16. ELDON, St. Andrew's (C)
17. NORTH WILLIAMSBURG,
St. Andrew's (C).
18. FINCH / SOUTH FINCH (M).
19. LOCHIEL, St. Columba (C).
20. DALHOUSIE MILLS,
St. Andrew's (C).
21. COTE ST. GEORGE,
St. Andrew's (C).
22. WILLIAMSTOWN, Auld Kirk (C).
23. LANCASTER, St. Andrew's (C).
SECOND CONCESSION,
St. Andrew's (C).
24. BEECHRIDGE (C).
25. LACHINE, St. Andrew's (C).
26. MONTREAL, St. Andrew's (C).