



**The
Canadian
Society of
Presbyterian History**

Papers 2011



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Presbyterian History**

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Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar



The
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The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History (CSPH) was founded in 1975 during the centennial of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. The CSPH is a religion-centred Learned Society, meeting annually on the last Saturday of September. Membership is open to all individuals and institutions who share an interest and fascination in the study of Presbyterian and Reformed history. More information about the Society is on our web site at: www.csph.ca.

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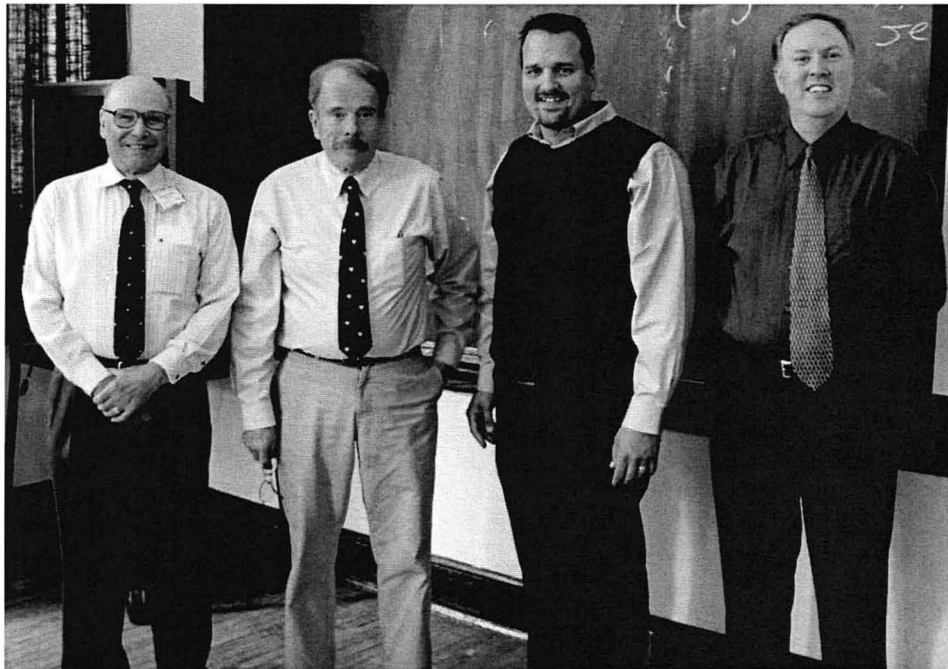
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2011 Presenters

From left: Michael Millar, A. Donald MacLeod, Jason Zuidema, Jack Whytock. Photo: Bob Anger.

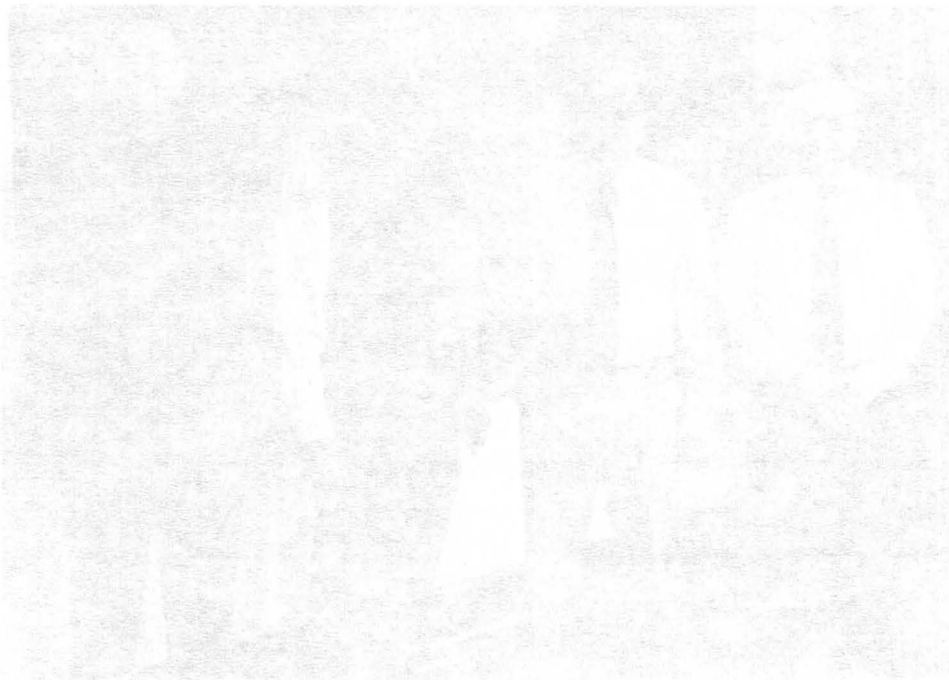
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2011 Professor

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William Fraser: A Father of Canadian Presbyterianism

Michael Millar¹

When William Fraser died on Christmas Day 1892 it was, for him, the end of a journey that had taken him from rural Pictou County, Nova Scotia in 1834 to the Simcoe County Seat of Barrie, Ontario. In those fifty-eight years he was involved in many of the major events of the mid-nineteenth century that laid the foundations for the present-day Presbyterian Church in Canada. While he is an almost forgotten figure today, in his time he was highly esteemed and respected by his colleagues and peers at all levels of the hierarchy of the various Presbyterian bodies to which he belonged; and even today his name still appears each year in The Presbyterian Church in Canada's *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly* in the listing of "Clerks of Assembly since 1875." So, who was William Fraser, and what was he like as a person? It will be the object of this paper to attempt to answer that question and to shed some light on his life and times and the part he played in the formation of the present-day Presbyterian Church in Canada.

A description of the man and his bearing and attributes was given in an obituary that appeared in the 12 January 1893 issue of *The Presbyterian Review*. The obituary, possibly written by his long-time friend and colleague, Principal William Caven of Knox College, was reproduced in part in the preface to the printed edition of William Fraser's diary:

In person Dr. Fraser was of medium height, but firmly built and erect and of calm and dignified bearing. In his later years he was a venerable and imposing figure. Of strictest integrity, unvarying punctuality, and rigid fidelity to duty, he yet held to a high ideal of brotherliness. I have never known any man who united in himself more completely two qualities found in the same man, extreme accuracy and perfect courtesy. I never saw him fail in his duty as a Christian gentleman. He was a perfect model for us all. What he was before the public he was also in the more private walks of life, and his hand and his purse were ever open to the poor.²

There is not a great deal known about Fraser's early life. He was born in McLellan's Brook (some sketches say Creek), Pictou County, Nova Scotia, a small village just outside New Glasgow, on 19 May 1808, one of ten children of Donald and Margaret Fraser. His father and

¹ Acknowledgements: The author gratefully acknowledges helpful suggestions and assistance from the following people and institutions in the preparation of this paper: Ms. Kim Arnold and Mr. Bob Anger, Archivist and Assistant Archivist respectively, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office (PCCARO), Toronto; Rev. Dr. Glen Matheson, Archivist, The Synod of The Atlantic Provinces Archives (SAPA), First Presbyterian Church, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia; the staff at The Hector Exhibit Centre and Archives, Pictou, Nova Scotia (HECA); my daughters Ellen and Elizabeth, the former, Assistant Archivist, County of Simcoe, Midhurst, Ontario; the latter, Assistant Librarian, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, and Editor, *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers*.

² William Fraser, *The Diary of Rev. William Fraser (1834-1835), With an Introductory Essay on Early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario by Harry E. Parker*, Transactions of the London & Middlesex Historical Society pt. 14 (London, ON: London & Middlesex Historical Society, 1930) 5-6. Hereafter referred to as *Diary*.

paternal grandparents, Hugh and Sophia (MacPherson) Fraser arrived in Pictou in 1773 from Scotland on the *Hector*.³ They were from Kiltarlity, a small village some ten miles west of Inverness. Records at The Hector Exhibit Centre and Archives in Pictou, Nova Scotia show Grandfather Hugh as being a weaver, who settled in McLellan's Brook on a grant of five-hundred acres with his wife and three children, Donald, Jane, and Mary. A second son, John, remained in Scotland because of illness and joined the family at a later date.⁴ William's father, Donald, is shown as a miller—whether this was lumber or grist is not known, but given the heavy forest that covered most of Pictou County in those early days, perhaps the former is more likely. I think it is fair to assume that the first language in the home was Gaelic because William was thoroughly fluent in “the tongue” and could speak, read, and write it. It was this attribute that in 1834 caused him to accept the invitation to proceed to Upper Canada and become a Missionary of the United Associate Synod. The family must have been reasonably well off because they were able to send William to study under Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch at the Pictou Academy. Just when William made his decision to become a Minister of the Gospel is also not known, but, following the completion of his general academic studies he continued on with Dr. McCulloch to study theology. He would also have been accepted as a Student for the Ministry by the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, but the Presbytery Minutes give no details as to when this acceptance took place.

The first reference that I have been able to find regarding his status as a student appears in the Minutes of Presbytery of a meeting at East River, 7 March 1832:

Mr. W. Fraser Student of Theology delivered a discourse in the Gaelic Language from Acts 16.31, which after some remarks thereon was approved of. 2nd Cor. 5 and 7 was assigned to Mr. Fraser as a subject for another Gaelic Sermon.⁵

From the foregoing Minute it is obvious that William Fraser had, at a previous meeting, been accepted as a Student for the Ministry.

Presbytery met again at East River on 8 May and the following reference mentions Mr. Alexander McKenzie, another Student of Theology, who also went to Upper Canada to work as a Minister with the United Associate Synod:

Mr. Wm. Fraser delivered a discourse in the Gaelic language from 2nd Cor. 5.17. Mr. Alexr. MacKenzie [sic] delivered a discourse in the same language from Psalm 2. and 12th which after being criticized were both sustained. Romans 12.1 and 2. was given to Mr. Fraser as the subject of lecture. And as the basis of a similar discourse Col. 3d Chap. first 4 verses was assigned to Mr. McKenzie.⁶

³ *Descendants of Hugh Fraser, Weaver*, table, HECA. There is a discrepancy in the name of William's grandmother, as Henry Beer lists Hugh Fraser's wife as Rebecca Patterson. Henry Beer, comp., *People of the Ship Hector 1773: General Sketches* (Pictou, NS: n.p., 1973) 103, HECA.

⁴ Beer 103-04.

⁵ Minutes of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, East River, 7 Mar. 1832, SAPA.

⁶ Minutes of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, East River, 8 May 1832, SAPA.

For much of 1832 and 1833 the Presbytery had been dealing with an on-going series of complaints from the congregation at East River St. Marys concerning the preaching and general conduct of their Minister, the Rev. Alexander Lewis.⁷ While not willing to remove Mr. Lewis from the charge, the Court agreed to provide supply of sermon to the congregation. Both Alexander McKenzie and William Fraser were sent in turn during the summer of 1833 to supply the congregations of St. Marys and Lochaber. Fraser's instructions were noted in the Presbytery minutes: "The Prby. appd. Mr. Fraser to preach at St. Marys on the 1. 2. and 3 Sabs. of July and the two following Sabbaths at Lochaber [. .]."⁸

What is rather strange, is that while the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia minutes record Alexander McKenzie's Trials for License exercises at Merigomish on 4 August 1834 and his ordination as a Minister of Word and Sacraments in Pictou on 29 September 1834, there does not appear to be a record—at least that I have been able to find—of the same proceedings for William Fraser. He, as we shall see, was ordained to the Ministry of Word and Sacraments on Tuesday, 2 September 1834, but there is nothing in the Presbytery Minute Book to record this. According to the minutes there was no meeting of the Court between the meeting in Merigomish on 4 August and the next one in Pictou on 29 September 1834.

William Fraser started keeping a diary in August 1834. A printed copy of the diary from August 1834 to July 1835, which includes an introductory essay on early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario by Harry E. Parker, and was published as Part XIV of *The Transactions of the London & Middlesex Historical Society* in 1930, is in *The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office* in Toronto. The diary commences on Saturday, 2 August 1834, and from this entry we learn that Mr. Fraser had just returned to Pictou after spending ten weeks on a missionary tour of Prince Edward Island. He seems to have thoroughly enjoyed the six-and-one-half hours the voyage from the Island to Pictou took, but then seems to have had some feelings of guilt for the pleasure he derived from the passage:

At every successive return to my native land this pleasure I feel to be enhanced [. .] But while these are the feelings which are suggested by the promptings of nature let me remember that I am placed under responsibilities which render it an imperative duty to bring such feelings into subjection & to make them subordinate to the great object which I am bound to promote to the utmost of my ability, that is the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom in the edification of men. And not hesitate for a moment to go where ever Providence appears to open for me a field of usefulness.⁹

We learn that on the sixth of August Fraser:

Met the Committee and Commission of Superintendence of the Synod at Mr. McKinlay's. After hearing and approving the Report of my labours on P. E.

⁷ Mr. Lewis was a native of the North of Ireland and was ordained to this congregation in 1818. He left in 1835 for the United States and then went to Caledon in Upper Canada, remaining there until his death in 1878 at the advanced age of eighty-eight (William Gregg, *History of The Presbyterian Church in The Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing & Publishing, 1885) 231 and 234).

⁸ Minutes of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia, Pictou, 26 June 1833, SAPA.

⁹ *Diary* 80.

Island the Committee proceeded to deliberate what should be my next destination. To the question if I still persisted in my determination to visit Canada I gave a decided affirmative. At this point of the proceedings a letter was produced by Dr. MacCulloch [sic] from the Rev. W. Peddie, Sect. of the Committee on Foreign Missions of the United Associate Synod of Scotland, purporting to be an application to the Synod of Nova Scotia for preachers acquainted with the Gaelic language for the Upper Canada Mission. The terms on which preachers shd. be employed were proposed to me & I without much hesitation accepted them. My trials for ordination (Lecture on Roms. 5 – 8-10). (Sermon Romans III, 31), were then assigned to me for the 2nd of September.¹⁰

At this point it is necessary to insert a word of explanation regarding the above. In 1832 the United Associate Synod in Scotland had sent out three missionaries—the Rev. William Proudfoot, the Rev. Thomas Christie, and the Rev. William Robertson—to establish a presence in Upper Canada. Mr. Robertson contracted cholera shortly after landing in Montreal, where an epidemic of that disease was then raging, and died. Mr. Proudfoot and Mr. Christie, after spending a short time in York (now Toronto), moved farther West and established their mission headquarters in London. Mr. Proudfoot quickly came to the realization that in order to be able to serve many of the Scottish settlers in the area effectively he would need preachers who had the Gaelic. However, the Synod in Scotland could not assist and the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee, the Rev. William Peddie, wrote to the Rev. James Robson, Clerk of the Associate Synod of Nova Scotia, to see if there might be any Gaelic speaking ministers in Nova Scotia willing to go to Upper Canada. Mr. Peddie further informed Mr. Robson that if any men were so inclined, the Synod would provide them with the same monetary support that they provided their own missionaries. Mr. Robson then communicated with Mr. Proudfoot to inform him that two men, William Fraser and Alexander McKenzie, had expressed an interest in the work and were prepared to undertake the move on the terms stated. This letter is preserved in the William Proudfoot fonds in The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives.

On 2 September William Fraser wrote in his diary:

After a good deal of exertion I have reason to thank God that I in so far succeeded in being prepared for public examination—I was enabled to stand in the presence of the Clergy and people to-day with a feeling of that fearlessness which a sense of his high responsibilities shd. inspire in the breast of every herald of the Cross [. . .]. My specimens of preaching have been approved & I have this day been solemnly set apart to the work of the holy ministry by the imposition of hands. Old Mr. Ross presided. And there were present besides Mr. Robson, Mr. McKinlay, Mr. Patrick, Mr. H. Ross and Mr. Roy. Mr. Robson put the questions of the Formulary, Mr. McKinlay gave a most appropriate and feeling address. The principal topics on which he insisted were as follows as far as I can quote them from memory. 1. That ministers are ambassadors for Christ & that in this point of view they are bound to know the will of their Master. 2. That it is their duty to declare his will plainly. 3. Boldly. 4. Fully. 5. Earnestly. After enlarging in the most appropriate & forcible terms on these subjects *he took occasion to*

¹⁰ *Diary* 80-81.

make a number of remarks on Missions generally & then on Missions to the great Northern World. And concluded with an appeal to the people enforcing upon their attention the duty *of contributing to the grand purpose of evangelizing the world.* The business of the day was conducted throughout with the utmost decorum and solemnity.¹¹

On 15 September at 7:00 p.m. William Fraser married Jane Geddie, presumably in what is now First Presbyterian Church in Pictou—the Geddie family's home church. Jane was the sister of John Geddie, who later became the Synod of Nova Scotia's first missionary to the South Seas. William and John had been students together under Dr. McCulloch. But this momentous event in his life rates barely a mention in Fraser's diary and his wife is not even named:

Monday 15th – I have spent the last two weeks in a state of suspense and anxiety. Alternately buoyed up with hopes and depressed with fears. I have however brought my affairs to that state that I am about to enter into one of the most intimate relationships & *then take my departure for the Canadian forests.* 10 o'clock in the evening. At 7 o'clock precisely I was united by Mr. McKinlay to the wife of my choice. I trust that I have not entered into this connection hastily or without due deliberation. [. . .] "He that findeth a wife," says Solomon, "findeth a good thing and obtaineth favours of the Lord." And I fondly trust that this will be abundantly verified in my experience.¹²

On Wednesday, the first of October 1834, William and Jane Fraser left Pictou for London, Upper Canada. The sea passage from Pictou to New York took one month and was extremely rough. According to the diary they both spent much of the time prostrated in their bunks with sea-sickness. From New York they traveled to Buffalo, where they embarked on another boat that took them to Port Stanley, where a wagon and horses were engaged to take them to London. After spending the night in St. Thomas, which he described as "a smart little village about 10 miles from the coast," they arrived at William Proudfoot's residence in a snowstorm at three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, 12 November.¹³

Fraser carried with him a letter of introduction from the Rev. James Robson to the Rev. William Proudfoot. The letter, reproduced below, is also preserved in the William Proudfoot fonds in The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives.

Pictou, Nova Scotia, 27th Septr. 1834

Revd. Dear Sir

I wrote you some time ago, intimating that, in consequence of a communication from the Secretary of the Committee on Missions at home, the Commission of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia had appointed Mr. William Fraser, a gaelic Pictouan, to proceed to your assistance in Upper Canada; and I

¹¹ *Diary* 82. Italics in the original.

¹² *Diary* 83. Italics in the original.

¹³ *Diary* 84-93.

now beg leave to introduce Mr. Fraser to your personal acquaintance. Since I wrote you last, he has been ordained to the work of the Holy Ministry, and has also taken to himself a wife to accompany him to Canada. I trust you will find him a useful and respectable and agreeable assistant in the work of the Lord, and that he will be a successful instrument of building up the Church in Canada.

Wishing you much comfort and success in the work of the Ministry.

I am,

Revd. Dear Sir,

yours truly,

James Robson, Clerk of Comm.¹⁴

Fraser seems to have been under no illusions as to the nature of the work that was before him, confiding in his diary: "*There appears to be a great field for Missionary exertions open in this part of the world. It is an arduous & difficult undertaking.*"¹⁵ He got right to work, however, and the following week preached twice on the Sunday, once in Gælic and once in English, and then on the Monday preached in a barn from Hebrews 10:23 to about twenty persons. He noted that the day was "exceedingly cold."¹⁶

On 21 November he wrote to the Rev. William Peddie in Scotland to give him a report on his activities to date and also to request some money.

To the Rev. William Peddie, Laurieston, Edinburgh

London W. C. [sic] Nov. 21, 1834

Rev'd. Sir

In consequence of a communication from you as secretary of the Committee on Foreign Missions of the United Associate Synod of date 10th June last addressed to the Revd. T. McCulloch of Pictou N.S. & containing proposals for *missionaries acquainted with the Gælic Language to emigrate to W. Canada* I have been induced to come out to this country. I arrived here on the 12th inst. and embrace this the earliest convenient opportunity of informing you on Sabbath last I commenced my missionary labours *under the direction in the meantime of the Revd. Mr. Proudfoot. I have come out to this wilderness with my partner in life and henceforth consider myself as one of the missionaries of the United Associate*

¹⁴ James Robson, Pictou, NS, letter to William Proudfoot, London, UC, 27 Sept. 1834, William Proudfoot fonds, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto (WPF).

¹⁵ *Diary* 94. Italics in the original.

¹⁶ *Diary* 94.

Synod. As my revenues are not very abundant and as I have to provide myself without delay with the means of travelling I am under the necessity of drawing immediately on the fund of the Synod. I shall now transmit a bill for £50 and wait for advice from you with respect to any further amount to which I may be entitled. I may be allowed to state that I paid for passage to this place £17.3.7.

I have the honor to be Revd. Sir

Most Respectfully yours

W. FRASER.¹⁷

Shortly after their arrival, Messrs Fraser and McKenzie discovered that there was not the urgent need for their Gaelic language skills that had been the main reason for their coming to Upper Canada. Professor William Gregg gives the reason:

On their arrival, however, it was found that the Highlanders, most of whom belonged to the Church of Scotland, preferred to remain in connection to that Church, which had recently sent a large number of missionaries to the Province, among whom were Gaelic-speaking preachers. But although not now specially needed for the Highland population, Messrs McKenzie and Fraser remained to co-operate with the missionaries from the Secession Church, and found opportunities of utilizing their knowledge of Gaelic.¹⁸

A matter that troubled the missionaries of the United Associate Synod in Canada was whether or not they should unite with one of the other Presbyterian bodies in the Province. The major point of contention was the Government Allowance. The United Synod of Upper Canada and the Church of Scotland Synod had no problem with this method of support for their clergy. However,

at this time the United Associate Secession Church had practically adopted what was called the "voluntary" principle, regarding it as at once unscriptural and inexpedient to receive aid from the State for the support of the Gospel ministry. Holding the voluntary principle the brethren who met in Flamborough [Thomas Christie's residence] felt that they could not consistently unite with either of the Canadian Synods, and therefore applied to the Secession Synod in Scotland for leave to form themselves into a separate Presbytery.¹⁹

The missionaries met in York (Toronto) on Christmas Day 1834. They learned that Synod had given its approval on the first of May for them to become a Presbytery under the name of "The Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Scotland." The meeting voted the Rev. Thomas Christie to be

¹⁷ *Diary* 95-96. Italics in the original.

¹⁸ Gregg 509.

¹⁹ Gregg 513.

Moderator and he then formally constituted the Presbytery. For some reason William Fraser was not at that meeting, but he was present for the continued meeting the following day.

For much of the 1834–35 winter William Fraser laboured in what is now Western Ontario, preaching to congregations large and small, in English and in Gaelic, in churches, schools, homes, and even in barns. Then, in the middle of March 1835, William Proudfoot sent him to West Gwillimbury. A congregation had been established there on 6 January 1822 by the Rev. William Jenkins, a Secession Minister, who lived in Richmond Hill.²⁰ The congregation established what became known as “The Auld Kirk” on the Sixth Line of the township and for the first ten years of its existence remained connected with the Synod of the Canadas / United Synod of Upper Canada. While a detailed history of the Auld Kirk is beyond the scope of this paper, it is necessary to point out that following the departure of the Rev. Peter Ferguson, the congregation’s first settled minister, in April 1832, the congregation became divided. A large majority decided to apply to the Church of Scotland—the Kirk Synod—for supply of ordinances and to become a congregation of that body. The minority, which included congregations in the Townships of Essa and Tecumseth, decided to remain with the United Synod of Upper Canada. That body provided occasional supply until 9 October 1833 when the Rev. James Howey, newly arrived from Ireland, was inducted into the charge. Unfortunately, Mr. Howey was suffering from tuberculosis and on the Sunday following his induction he suffered a debilitating seizure and was unable to continue. Shortly after this the entire pastoral charge, seemingly abandoned by the United Synod, aligned itself with the United Associate Synod mission. At this particular time both congregations quite amicably continued to use the Auld Kirk building. According to his diary, William Fraser reached Adam Goodfellow’s house at 2:00 p.m. on Saturday the fourteenth. Here he learned that the Kirk Synod had inducted a minister to the Auld Kirk the previous Wednesday.²¹ There was some indecision as to what should be done about a service or services the following day. We pick up the story from the diary:

I found that I had arrived at too late a period to have general intimation of Sermon on the morrow circulated—and as Mr. McKillican the Kirk Minister who has been ordained only on Wednesday last was to occupy the church it was at first thought best that I shd preach to as many as could be assembled at a short notice in Mr. G’s. [Goodfellow’s]. This project was however on further consultation abandoned and it was resolved that I shd preach in the church (which bye the bye belongs to both parties) if it could be obtained. An application was forthwith despatched to Mr. McKillican to know when it wd. be convenient to let us occupy the house. An answer was immediately returned of a very cordial and rather extraordinary nature. Not only did the Revd. Gent express his pleasure at my arrival but entrusted to Mr. G. to lay his *injunctions* on me to preach Gaelic in the morning and at the same time inviting me to breakfast with him. [. . .] Took

²⁰ Andrew F. Hunter, *A History of Simcoe County*, vol. 1 (1909; Barrie, ON: County of Simcoe, 1948) 312.

²¹ Rev. William McKillican, M.A., a Licentiate of the Presbytery of Nairn, was sent out by the Glasgow Colonial Society and ordained and inducted to the Auld Kirk, West Gwillimbury Township, Upper Canada, 11 March 1835. He was translated to St. Thomas in 1838 and returned to Scotland in 1842. (Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; The Succession of Ministers in The Church of Scotland from the Reformation: Volume VII, Synods of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, Glenelg, Orkney and of Shetland, The Church in England, Ireland and Overseas* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928) 643.

breakfast & after discoursing church affairs for some time [. . .] I preached to the folks in Gaelic from [no text given]. Mr. McKillican gave us a harangue in English from the words "Who is sufficient for these things" [2 Cor. 2:16]. I then preached in English to a very attentive audience. Mr. McK. had gone to lecture elsewhere.²²

Thus ended William Fraser's first encounter with the congregation that he was to serve for forty-four years. He further noted in his diary that he had written to Thomas Christie to let him know that he was to remain in West Gwillimbury for four Sabbaths.

Fraser did not confine his travels to the immediate area of the pastoral charge but also travelled to the Townships of North and East Gwillimbury. In the latter he visited the village of Hope (now Sharon) and met the leader of the Children of Peace religious sect, the Davidites, David Willson. Fraser was not very favourably impressed with him, but went on at some length in his diary to describe the temple and other buildings in the village. He concluded by saying "Whatever be the end of the Davidites—whether the Society flourish or decay remains yet to be proved. At all events the temple will probably stand for a number of years a striking monument of infatuation, extravagance & folly."²³ I wonder what his reaction would be today if he knew that 176 years later the Sharon Temple is still standing, even though the Davidites have long since disappeared?

A brief note in the diary of 31 March 1835 states that since he arrived in Upper Canada on 12 November 1834 Fraser had travelled upwards of 1,234 miles.²⁴ Another entry in his diary, from the second of April, indicates that a dispute had arisen between the Kirk and Secession congregations regarding ownership of the Auld Kirk. He felt very fortunate that he had left Adam Goodfellow's the previous day and was not drawn into the dispute:

The church property is in dispute between the Kirkmen and Seceders in this place and it appears that Mr. McKillican is determined to espouse the quarrels of his people. Last evening in company with 3 others he called upon Mr. Goodfellow demanding possession of the Deed of the property in question. Some pretty sharp words I understood passed between his Reverence & Mr. G. The Deed however is still withheld and the Session Book Mr. G. absolutely refuses to give up. How the business may terminate 'tis difficult to say, but if Mr. McK. is resolved to intermeddle in the Secular affairs of his people he is spreading for himself a bed of thorns which ere long will render his situation anything but agreeable. I hope I may have judgment enough to keep myself clear of an interference in those affairs.²⁵

On 3 April Fraser left West Gwillimbury for Tecumseth. He preached to an audience of some forty people and baptized a daughter for a couple who had originally been with a Secession congregation in Ireland. He commented in his diary on the situation in the charge following the

²² *Diary* 113-14. Italics in the original.

²³ *Diary* 121. See pages 116-21 for the full account of William Fraser's encounter with David Willson.

²⁴ *Diary* 125.

²⁵ *Diary* 125.

untimely demission of Mr. Howey, and whether or not it was appropriate for him to administer the Sacrament of Baptism:

As a question may arise on what principles I administered the Sacrament in this quarter, I may be allowed to make two or three statements which I conceive rendered it perfectly competent for me to do so. Tho' this congregation had been in connection with the United Synod, by a letter from their late Pastor the Rev. Jas. Howie²⁶ of date 6th Feby. last they were strongly advised to join our Presbytery. At a meeting held in Tecumseth on the 27th ult. it was unanimously agreed that this advice shd. be taken & complied with. It was intimated to me that the congregation shd. be henceforth considered as under our inspection. As the Sacraments had been dispensed by all their previous ministers only to church members and as I considered the election & ordination of Elders as valid I cd. not see how else I shd. regard the congregation otherwise than as a vacant charge. With the advice then of the Session it was that I in the instances that I have mentioned proceeded to the distribution of the ordinance.²⁷

On 10 May 1835 Fraser wrote a very lengthy letter to Mr. Peddie in Scotland giving a full description both of his travels and the state of religion in the Western Region. He commented on the visit to all the congregations connected with the Missionary Presbytery by Messrs. Christie and Proudfoot early in 1835. However, they did not visit the West Gwillimbury pastoral charge, which led him to remark:

West Gwillimbury however is one of the places which the deputation did not visit and therefore I may perhaps without impropriety say a few words respecting the aspect of affairs there. A considerable number of the people in that township are from Sutherlandshire and of course were connected with the Kirk in their Native Land. All their attachments and prejudices have been imported along with them and though at one time the great part of them fell in with the Settlement of Mr. Ferguson²⁸ in connection with the United Synod yet circumstances which occurred subsequently have occasioned the complete separation of that part. They have recently obtained the settlement of a Kirk minister a Mr. McKillican. The other part of what was formerly Mr. Ferguson's Congregation hearing of the demise of their late pastor Mr. Howie held a meeting during my stay among them in which they unanimously agreed to unite themselves with us. Besides the attachment of those people to the Secession to which most of them belonged in Scotland and Ireland the broken and dispersed state of the United Synod was another strong reason for the adoption of this resolution. It is very probable that

²⁶ I have seen his name spelled both Howie and Howey.

²⁷ *Diary* 129.

²⁸ Rev. Peter Ferguson, a Secessionist, arrived from Scotland in the Autumn of 1830, was received by the United Synod and inducted to the Auld Kirk in April/May 1831—the exact date is not known. He was there for one year and then moved to Esquesing Township (Gregg 373).

at the first meeting of Presbytery they will be forward with a call for one of our number to take charge of their spiritual concerns.²⁹

At this point in his letter to Mr. Peddie, Fraser expressed his concerns that the main reason for his coming to Upper Canada, because he was a bilingual Gaelic/English preacher, had not been fulfilled. He continued:

And though there is no doubt abundant necessity for missionary exertion independently of the Gaelic folk I have been sometimes led to doubt the propriety of being a Dependary on the bounty of the churches when the object of my emigrating hither has failed. [. . .] At Goderich it is very probable that we may succeed in securing a permanent interest and in that neighbourhood Gaelic will be required. There will be no necessity for it however in West Gwillimbury.³⁰

Early in June 1835 William Fraser received a letter from Adam Goodfellow on behalf of the West Gwillimbury congregation extending a Call to him to become its minister. He replied, and indicated that he was very interested but that due process had to be followed now that there was a Presbytery in place. He pointed out that while in previous times it was permitted for a congregation to deal directly with a minister, this was no longer allowed. However, a letter received at the same time from the Rev. Thomas Christie, the Presbytery Moderator, must have indicated to him that the Call would be sustained, so he told Mr. Goodfellow that he was prepared to accept. He was also concerned about the propriety of moving his family the long distance from London to West Gwillimbury (Bond Head did not yet exist), especially since his wife had just presented him with a son, born prematurely on 31 May. He felt that he could move in the middle of July, but was concerned about accommodation for himself and his family.³¹

According to Andrew Hunter, in his massive *History of Simcoe County*, William Fraser preached his first sermon as Pastor on 9 August 1835, but his formal induction did not take place until 17 June 1836.³² There was as yet no church building in what would become the Village of Bond Head and it appears to me, from a comment made by Mr. Fraser to Mr. Goodfellow, that joint usage of the Auld Kirk had ceased.³³ From that point on, until a church was built in Bond Head in 1837, services were held, as they had been in London, in homes, schools, and barns. On 5 January 1836, Fraser purchased fifty acres, the North-East quarter of Lot 1, Concession 6, Township of West Gwillimbury, from Gideon Phillips of King, for £250.³⁴ From this property it appears to me that he donated one acre for a church site and one acre for a burying ground.³⁵ Later, on 23 May 1840, he purchased an additional eighteen acres, part of the North-West quarter

²⁹ *Diary* 141.

³⁰ *Diary* 142.

³¹ *Diary* 147-50.

³² Hunter 314.

³³ *Diary* 149-50

³⁴ Instrument 1433, Simcoe County Registry Office, Barrie, registered the same date.

³⁵ Hunter indicates the donation as one acre for a Church and Burying Ground, but a later scan of the Abstract of Title seems to indicate two acres in total, although nothing is shown on the Abstract to record such a donation.

of Lot 1, from Henry Carter of Tecumseth for £142/10/-.³⁶ To supplement his rather meagre income he also farmed his land. Times were hard, and his three congregations were often unable to meet his stipend. In a letter to William Proudfoot in London he rather apologetically stated that he had had to draw on the Mission Fund to supplement his income: "The amount is very small and I fear that this congregation will fall through unless they obtain some for their assistance."³⁷ In another letter to Proudfoot the following year, he outlined the situation with regard to the prospects for the congregation:

When I last wrote I advised you of my having drawn upon the fund for £25 and signified my fears that for the next six months one quarter of that amount would not be raised here for my support. I exceedingly regret to say that the whole amount which I have received in that time is 16/9d. Though this has been the case however the result for the year in the way of contributions is 2 or 3 pounds more than in former years that are past. Experience will perhaps in some measure have prepared you for the reception of such intelligence but no experience can I feel persuaded induce you or the Committee to admit the agreeableness or it may be the propriety of the continuance of such grants. And nothing I can assure you induces me to continue a stipend on your bounty than these considerations that the salary is sufficiently small that I know that many of my few people are far from being wealthy and that I have some hopes that the cause of true religion will not be prejudiced by my remaining here. The number of members in connection with us has not diminished any for the last year tho the increase has been very trifling. I formerly stated to you the number of families belonging to the congregation and the great proportion which the heads of families have to young people and others in the membership. From this you might suppose that with proper management somewhat more ought to be done towards the support of religion and the conclusion is perfectly just. I have more than once suggested the propriety of fixing Stated times at least twice a year when it shd. be understood that payments shd. be made. But though at the time, the propriety of some different plan [to] that what had hitherto been practiced was admitted yet nothing was arranged and the old systemless course is still pursued—with the same result with which it will always attend, that is that many do not pay at all. Beyond suggesting on this point I have not dared to proceed and even in what I have done I have received warnings against incurring the reputation of being a money-hunter, in the publick estimation a most odious character. I must however make one attempt still to stir up the people to a just sense of their duty in this behalf—I fear that the great and general failure of our Stapling Wheat last harvest will operate most prejudicially on the state of our finances this winter. Half a crop in many instances has not been gathered and in some cases whole fields were not harvested at all.

At the end of the same letter he writes:

³⁶ Instrument 3321, Simcoe County Registry Office, Barrie, registered 25 May 1840.

³⁷ William Fraser, West Gwillimbury, letter to William Proudfoot, London, UC, 18 Apr. 1838, WPF. See also Michael Millar, "The Growth of Presbyterianism in the Simcoe District of Upper Canada," *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 25 (2000): 60.

With regard to the general state of the mission. My remote situation and the infrequency of my intercourse with the rest of the brethren precludes me from having it in my power to give you any information. But I suppose it is scarcely necessary—I have commenced to give a Sabbath in 3 months to a dozen of families connected with us in the township of Innisfil 17 miles distant besides my Stated appointments in the 3 old stations. I am about to take up a station in the township of King commenced by Mr. Jennings where I propose to give them a Sermon at least once a month. This station is also 16 or 17 miles distant - - - I should like extremely well to have some intelligence respecting the determination of the church at home as to the future management of this mission.

I am Revd. Dr. Sir truly yours
W. Fraser

P. S. I have drawn upon the Treasurer for £49-3-3.³⁸

The group in Innisfil Township mentioned in the letter above met in the home of Gavin Allan at Churchill. Hunter records the date of the first service there as 2 August 1836.³⁹ The statistical return from Fraser's congregations to the Missionary Presbytery for 1840 notes that all of the money contributed by the three congregations for his stipend amounted to £16/13/4d Cy. and that no money was contributed to the Presbytery Fund. The number of members is reported as: West Gwillimbury, thirty-eight; Tecumseth, twenty-nine; and Essa, twenty-eight. Number of "Souls" in the congregations is given as 143, 122, and 117 respectively.⁴⁰

While his pastoral charge was quite remote from the other congregations in the Missionary Presbytery, William Fraser's punctiliousness with his record keeping attracted the notice of his brethren. William Proudfoot had established a Divinity Hall in London in 1844 and in order to take some of the Presbytery workload off his shoulders, William Fraser was appointed Deputy Clerk in 1846 at a salary of £6 Cy. per annum. When William Proudfoot died in 1851, William Fraser was appointed Clerk. It was a position that he would hold, through three Presbyterian unions, for the next forty-one years.

The Missionary Presbytery continued to grow. In 1843 it reorganized as the Missionary Synod of the Canadas in connection with the United Associate Secession Synod in Scotland, with three Presbyteries: London, Flamborough, and Toronto. The number of ministers at that time was eighteen. In 1844 it was joined with the Missionary Presbytery of Canada East and in 1847 it reorganized again, this time as the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada, with sixty-eight ministers on the Roll.⁴¹

The Canadian Disruption that witnessed the formation of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada—the Free Church—took place in Kingston, Canada West, on 10 July 1844 when twenty-three ministers broke away from the Church of Scotland Synod. Almost from its

³⁸ William Fraser, West Gwillimbury, letter to William Proudfoot, London, UC, 23 Nov. 1839, WPF.

³⁹ Hunter 315.

⁴⁰ Extracted from "Tabular View of the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas for 1840", MS, WPF.

⁴¹ Gregg 532-33.

foundation the Free Church commenced a dialogue with the United Presbyterian Church to see if a union could be effected between the two bodies. From the *Digest of the Minutes of the Free Church Synod* compiled by the Rev. Alexander Kemp, minister of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal, it would appear that William Fraser was not actively involved in the union negotiations.⁴² But, as Synod Clerk, he would have been very much involved behind the scenes keeping all of the correspondence and other documentation in proper order. Given that the negotiations between the two synods dragged on for sixteen years before a final agreement was reached, one can readily appreciate just how much paper was generated. The files in William Fraser's study on this one issue alone must have been voluminous. However, finally agreement was reached between the two bodies and, by prior agreement, both held their final synod meetings as independent churches in the City of Montreal. The meeting to effect the union was held in the Wesleyan Church, Great St. James Street. The Rev. Dr. Robert Thornton, Moderator of the United Presbyterian Church, as the senior Moderator, commenced the proceedings:

giving for praise the 102nd Psalm (long metre), verses 13-18. The Psalm being sung, Dr. Thornton read the 132 Psalm, and engaged in prayer. The Clerk of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada [William Fraser], called the roll of that Body, the members answering to their names. [. . .] The Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada [William Reid] then called the roll of that Body, the members answering to their names. [. . .] The Moderator of the United Presbyterian Synod [Dr. Thornton] called upon the Clerk of that Synod [William Fraser] to read the last minute of that Body. [. . .] The Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada [Rev. William Gregg], then called upon the Clerk of that Synod [William Reid], who read the last minute of that Synod [. . .].⁴³

Following the above formalities, the moderators of both synods in turn declared that their two churches were now united under the name of The Synod of The Canada Presbyterian Church. They shook hands, and signed the Basis of Union on behalf of their respective synods with William Fraser and William Reid signing as witnesses. Dr. Thornton made the formal declaration of the union and Mr. Gregg gave out for praise Psalm 122, verses 6-9, engaged in prayer, and then gave out Psalm 100 which was also sung. The election of the first Moderator of the new church then took place. On motion of the Rev. W. B. Clark (Chalmers Church, Quebec), seconded by the Rev. Dr. John Jennings (Bay Street Church, Toronto), the Rev. Dr. William Taylor (Lagauchetiere Street Church, Montreal), was elected unanimously, and

[t]he Moderator was conducted to his place by the retiring Moderators, Dr. Thornton and Mr. Gregg, who occupied seats on either hand of the chair. On motion of Mr. Roger of Peterboro', seconded by Mr. Caw of Paris, Mr. William Reid, M.A., and Mr. William Fraser, formerly Clerks respectively of the Synod of

⁴² Alex. F. Kemp, *Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada: With a Historical Introduction and An Appendix of Forms and Procedures* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1861) 279-336.

⁴³ *Minutes of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church at its First Session in Montreal, C.E., June 6-13, 1861* (Toronto: Chewett, 1861) 9-11.

the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and of the United Presbyterian Synod, were unanimously chosen joint clerks of Synod.⁴⁴

This was the start of an association between Reid and Fraser that would continue unbroken for the next thirty-one years until Fraser's resignation as a Clerk of the General Assembly because of age and increasing infirmity in June 1892.

Evidence of co-operation between the two Churches prior to the Union is found in an article that appeared in *The Ecclesiastical & Missionary Record for the Presbyterian Church of Canada* in May 1858. The Rev. Thomas Wightman, pastor of the Barrie Presbyterian Church, now St. Andrew's, submitted a report detailing the opening services for the Town Line Presbyterian Church on what is now Simcoe County Road 27, South of the Village of Thornton:

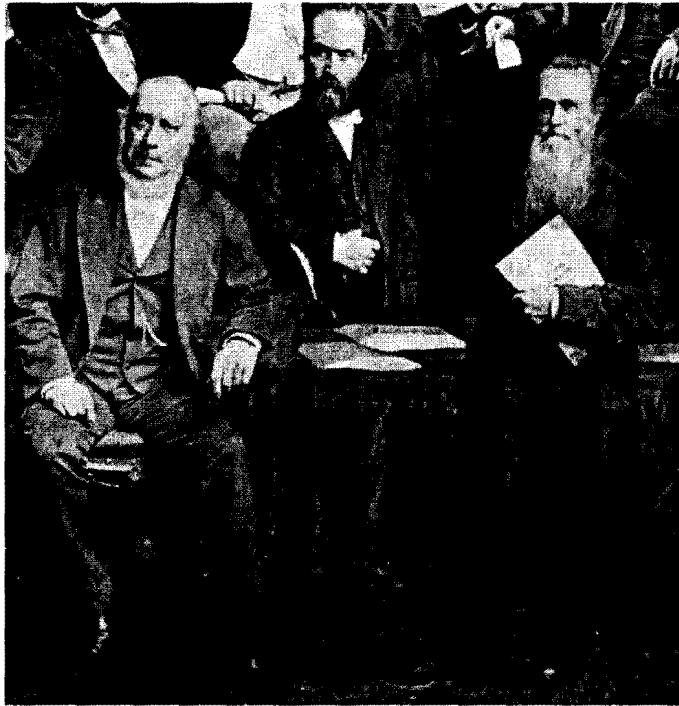
The Township of Essa contains a pretty large number of Presbyterian families, whereof only a small proportion toward the south-east have been able to avail themselves of the service of the Rev. W. Fraser, of the U. P. Church, one of whose churches is situated toward the south-eastward extremity of the township [First Essa]. [. . .] Sometime in 1856 the congregation [Town Line] commenced building a church, which was finished last fall, with the exception of being seated. The church, which is a comfortable one, was formally opened on the first Sabbath of March last [7 March 1858]. The opening services were conducted by Rev. W. Fraser of the U. P. Church, who has laboured for many years in the neighbourhood, and by Mr. Wightman, the Pastor.⁴⁵

William Fraser came to occupy positions of increasing responsibility both in the Church and the community. When the Presbytery of Simcoe, the forerunner to the present-day Presbytery of Barrie, was erected from the Presbytery of Toronto in 1868, he was elected as the first Moderator. The Canada Presbyterian Church continued to grow to the point where it outgrew its original Synod and Presbytery organization. In 1870 it reorganized itself as a General Assembly with Synods and Presbyteries. In 1872 William Fraser was elected Moderator of the Second General Assembly of The Canada Presbyterian Church.

Commencing in 1870 The Canada Presbyterian Church put out feelers to the other three main Presbyterian bodies in the country to see if there was a possibility of a union of all four groups. Negotiations were commenced and by 1875 a Basis for Union had been agreed upon. The Canada Presbyterian Church was the largest group of the four and to William Fraser fell the rather unenviable task of calling over the Roll of close to five hundred Ministers and Elders. Once again he and William Reid were appointed joint Clerks of the General Assembly. In this appointment they were joined by Professor John Hugh Mackerras of Queen's College (now University, where he was Professor of Classical Literature) and the former Clerk of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland. Regrettably Mackerras died following a lengthy illness on 9 January 1880 and for the next eleven years Fraser and Reid continued on alone as the Joint Clerks of the General Assembly.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church* 14.

⁴⁵ Thomas Wightman, letter, *Ecclesiastical & Missionary Record for the Presbyterian Church of Canada*, 14.7 (May 1858):77.



The Clerks of the General Assembly, 1875. Rev. William Reid, Professor John Hugh Mackerras, Rev. William Fraser.⁴⁶

In the community in which he lived William Fraser was also very much interested in educational matters. Andrew Hunter commented:

While in this charge, in addition to his regular church work, [Fraser] took an active part in educational affairs [. . .] He was the first Township Superintendent for schools in West Gwillimbury in 1844, and indeed the only one to hold that office in the township, having been again appointed on the resumption of Township Superintendents in 1850 and re-appointed for twenty-one years in succession, until the office was finally abolished and County Superintendents appointed.⁴⁷

A valuable resource on the on-going affairs of the First, West Gwillimbury Congregation is the Minute Book of Congregational and Trustees meetings in the possession of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives. A prefatory note written on the first page by Rev. William Fraser on 2 February 1847 reads:

The congregation of the United Secession Church (now the United Presbyterian) was received into the connexion by the Missionary Presbytery of

⁴⁶ Image courtesy of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto, taken from the large group photograph of the Ministers and Elders at the First General Assembly, Montreal, 15 June 1875. The photograph hangs on the wall of the Rev. Dr. T. M. Bailey Reading Room in the Archives.

⁴⁷ Hunter 315-16.

the Canadas in 1835. The Rev. William Fraser was inducted into the pastoral charge in June 1836.

The congregation has hitherto been small. A church was built near the village of Bond Head in 1837 on an acre of ground granted for that purpose and for a burying ground, by Mr. Fraser.

Meetings of the congregation were held from time to time as occasions required, but most of the minutes of those meetings have been irrecoverably lost. At the Annual Meeting in February 1847 it was unanimously agreed that henceforward the proceedings of congregational meetings should be recorded in a Book to be kept for the purpose. The minutes of former meetings to be as far as practicable collected and first entered in said Book.

Bond Head (Wm. Fraser)
February 2, 1847.⁴⁸

From this Minute Book we learn that William Fraser twice attempted to demit the charge, citing lack of financial support on the first occasion in 1856.⁴⁹ The Minutes note that his stipend for that year was £45/5/- Cy., or roughly \$227.50. He withdrew his demission after the congregation agreed to do more for his support. As an aside it should be noted that at this time he had not only his wife to support but also eight children. His stipend for the twelve years from 1858 to 1869 inclusive averages out at \$230.25. His stipend for 1869 came down to \$199.25. In December 1869 he presented his demission to the Presbytery of Simcoe and at a meeting called for the purpose in Bond Head Church on 2 January 1870 he gave a very lengthy "Reasons for Demission." These, and the extract Minutes of Presbytery, cover seven pages in the Minute Book, and while of considerable interest are simply too lengthy to reproduce here. In essence, First Presbyterian (Braden's) Church, Essa felt that it would be better served by being on its own—First Presbyterian, Tecumseth had gone on its own in 1856, so by this time the charge consisted of First, West Gwillimbury and First, Essa. Mr. Fraser felt that First, West Gwillimbury had no room to grow, was only averaging three new members per year, and that there was no possibility of opportunity for establishing any new preaching stations. However, he did reconsider and I reproduce the following from the Minutes:

Statement read at the close of Divine Service
Bond Head, February 13, 1870

On the 12th December, last, I intimated to this congregation that I intended to resign my charge at Essa and here.

On the 15th December that resignation was laid on the Presbytery's table.

On the 17th of January a Special Meeting of the congregation was held, at which a resolution was adopted, and measures taken with a view to my services being continued here. The Presbytery met at Barrie on the 1st instant. The

⁴⁸ Minutes of Congregational and Trustees meetings, First Church, West Gwillimbury, ON, 1847-1908, PCCARO.

⁴⁹ Minutes of Congregational and Trustees meeting, First Church, West Gwillimbury, ON, 10 Nov. 1856, 31, PCCARO.

Commissioners of both congregations appeared, and after a full hearing of the case, and the resignation of Essa being adhered to, I was loosed from that congregation, and my offered resignation of this congregation being withdrawn, the Presbytery resolved to continue me in this charge.

We enter upon a new phase in our relations to each other. This small congregation is now my sole charge. I am deeply indebted for the earnestness and zeal of my friends in this place by whose energetic and prompt intervention I have been induced to remain here. I will say nothing more on this subject now but that I trust the step may be approved in a higher court, and that the blessing of heaven may more abundantly descend and rest upon this congregation, and that I may have grace and strength to discharge the duties which, in this new form, devolve upon me. I trust I shall have what I greatly need, what no minister can do without, your moral support and your prayers.⁵⁰

At the May 1878 Convocation of Queen's University in Kingston, William Fraser's contributions to the Presbyterian cause, over more than forty years, were recognized by the conferring of a Doctor of Divinity degree upon him.⁵¹

In January 1879, Dr. Fraser was well into his seventy-first year. His health seems to have been failing and in that month he tendered his demission of his little congregation to the Presbytery of Barrie. Appendix A has all of the Minutes of both the Presbytery of Barrie and of the Fifth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada pertaining to Dr. Fraser's demission from First, West Gwillimbury. The Presbytery of Barrie submitted an application to the fifth General Assembly for a retiring allowance for Dr. Fraser and also to be able to retain him on the Roll of Presbytery. This application was dealt with by the Assembly's Committee on Leave to Retire from the Active Duties of the Ministry. It reported to Assembly during the ninth sederunt that both parts of the application had been approved by the Committee, and upon the vote being taken the recommendation was sustained by Assembly. The General Assembly's approval of the application came back to Presbytery and was read at its meeting on 30 July.

Dr. Fraser retained his position as Senior Pastor of First, West Gwillimbury for a further sixteen months. At the Presbytery of Barrie meeting on 30 November 1880, he presented a petition requesting that he be relieved of the position (see Appendix A). On 29 March 1881, Dr. Fraser sold his sixty-six-acre property to Thomas Cross of Tecumseth for \$4,020⁵² and moved from Bond Head, his home for the previous forty-six years, to Barrie, where he spent the rest of his days. He assisted in the life and work of the Barrie Presbyterian Church (now St. Andrew's), sitting with the Kirk Session and taking an Elder's District. At the same time he continued his work with the General Assembly as one of its Clerks. At the eighteenth General Assembly in 1892 he was absent for probably the first time since he was appointed Clerk of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in 1851—an unbroken chain of service that had lasted forty-one years. He gave failing health as the reason for submitting his resignation as a Clerk of the

⁵⁰ Minutes of Congregational and Trustees meeting, First Church, West Gwillimbury, ON, 13 Feb. 1870, 78-79, PCCARO.

⁵¹ Gregg incorrectly notes the year as 1876. Deirdre Bryden, Archivist (University Records) at Queen's, has confirmed 1878 as the correct date.

⁵² Instrument 689, Simcoe County Registry Office, Barrie, registered 31 March 1881. Dr. Fraser took back a mortgage on the property in the amount of \$3,620—Instrument 690—which was later discharged.

General Assembly. The Court appointed a Committee to prepare a Minute of Appreciation for his long and faithful service (see Appendix A).

Regrettably, William Fraser only lived for another six months, passing away at his home in Barrie on Christmas Day 1892 at the advanced age of eighty-four years and seven months. Interestingly enough, the certificate of his death lists his place of birth as “Scotland.” The reader is referred to Appendix B for all of the Presbytery Minutes relative to Dr. Fraser’s passing, as well as all of the obituaries extracted from various newspapers, Presbytery Minutes and General Assembly *Acts & Proceedings*.

Both Barrie newspapers carried obituaries in their 29 December editions. The obituary in the *Northern Advance* had several similarities to the one in the *Barrie Examiner* that could almost make one wonder if they were written by the same person; although it does give details of the funeral service, which the *Examiner* did not.

The February 1893 issue of *The Presbyterian Record* carried a lengthy obituary on Dr. Fraser. It concluded: “He was an earnest and faithful pastor and preacher, a pattern of neatness and accuracy in his department of the Assembly’s work, and, as a man, he was marked by a gentle, dignified, kindly courtesy, which at once commanded respect and won affection as few men can do. To know him was to love him.”⁵³

It was observed by Dr. John Moir, Emeritus Professor of Church History, University of Toronto, in a private conversation, that nineteenth-century ministerial obituaries are “uncritical accounts of pious lives.” This would certainly seem to be so in William Fraser’s case, but, I feel, wholly justified. He laboured long and hard in the service of the Master he loved, often under very trying circumstances. He was married three times. His first wife, Jane Geddie, died shortly after they were settled in Bond Head, on 27 October 1841, leaving him with three small children aged six, four, and two. On 3 October 1844 he married Nancy McCurdy of Onslow, Colchester County, Nova Scotia, a small village just outside Truro. They had five children, of whom two sons, James Bruce and Robert Douglas, followed their father into the ministry. All were under the age of eighteen when Nancy died on 7 April 1862. The causes of death of Jane and Nancy are not known because they pre-dated the mandatory registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths.⁵⁴ On 8 March 1866 he re-married again; his bride was Maria James Nicholas, a native of Guernsey Island and they had two children, a boy and a girl, who were twenty-five and twenty-two respectively when their father died. On 25 September 1885 William Fraser was widowed for a third time when Maria contracted malaria and died. She is not buried with her husband at Bond Head, but rather in Cuyahoga Falls, Ohio, where her family was from. As well as losing two of his wives during his time in Bond Head, he also lost his oldest daughter, Mary Jane Fraser, on 4 October 1874 at the age of thirty-seven years and six months. She was his only daughter from his first marriage to Jane Geddie. Her death certificate states that she died of “Morbus Brightii”—Bright’s Disease, or as we would know it, kidney failure. The certificate indicates that she had suffered from the disease for two years. She, too, is buried in the family plot at Bond Head.

⁵³ *The Presbyterian Record* 18.2 Feb. 1893: 33. The obituary is transcribed in full in Appendix B.

⁵⁴ 32 Victoria, Cap. 30, Ontario, An Act to Provide for the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths. Assented to 23rd of January 1869 to be effective the 1st of July 1869. Amended 33 Victoria, Cap. 22, Ontario, An Act to amend an Act passed in the thirty-second year of Her Majesty’s reign, chaptered thirty, of the Statutes of Ontario, intituled, “An Act to provide for the Registration of Births, Marriages and Deaths.” Assented to 24th of December 1869.

It is worth noting, I feel, that some of the information that is literally carved in stone on the Fraser grave marker at Bond Head is incorrect. It states that William was the minister of First Presbyterian Congregation of West Gwillimbury from 2 September 1834 to 30 November 1880. Technically the latter date is correct, although 30 June 1879 is the date when he was moved by the Presbytery to the position of Senior Pastor. But the first date is completely inaccurate. This is the date that he was ordained in Pictou as a missionary to the United Associate Synod's mission to Upper Canada, and not designated specifically to West Gwillimbury or anywhere else in the region. In fact, as we have seen, he wasn't sent to West Gwillimbury until March of 1835 and likely hadn't even heard of the place until shortly before he was sent there by William Proudfoot.

Several of the testimonials have noted his very meticulous and careful record keeping. Since I started to work on this paper I have had the opportunity of reading quite a lot of his letters, meeting minutes and other papers that came from his pen. His writing was very clear, very even, and very easy to read. I attach a sample taken from the Kirk Session Minute Book of First Essa Church, the original of which is in The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives. This is the Minutes of a Session meeting held in the Vestry of the church on 21 August 1864 respecting setting the date for the next Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁵

<p>Valkath, August 21, 1864</p>	<p>At Essa, and within the Vestry of the First Canada Presbyterian Church, there, Valkath, the Twenty first day of August, One Thou- sand eight Hundred and Sixty four years.</p>	<p>CXIV.</p>
	<p>The Session of the First Canada Presbyterian Congrega- tion of Essa, met and was constituted with prayer.</p>	
	<p>Present, The Rev. H. Foster, Moderator, Messrs. George Dunwoody, Thomas Hoff, James Dickson, Richard McVic, Thomas Kunners, Elders.</p>	<p>Sacrament.</p>
	<p>The Session agreed that the Lord's Supper should be dispensed in this Congregation, on the Second Valkath, being the Eleventh day of September, ensuing.</p>	<p>Lord's Supper appointed.</p>
	<p>Acted with the Benediction. <i>Wm. Foster</i> Moderator and acting clerk.</p>	

⁵⁵ Image courtesy of The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto, taken from the Kirk Session Minute Book of First Essa (Braden's) Presbyterian Church, Essa Township, ON, 71.

To conclude, I think it is a fair question to ask why this obviously well educated, articulate, and fluently bilingual man chose to remain in what was, essentially, in the mid-nineteenth century, a cultural backwater. It is my understanding, although I have not seen anything to confirm or deny the point, that at some time in the 1850s a call came to him from the Bay Street Congregation in Toronto. Obviously he turned it down. I think it came down to a matter of loyalty. He had been called to this struggling three-point pastoral charge in 1835 and perhaps he felt that this was God's Divine intervention in his life, that this was where God wanted him to be. Perhaps too, coming as he did from rural Pictou County, Nova Scotia, he felt more at home with the farm people in rural Simcoe County, Ontario, than he would have in the big city of Toronto. Also, he was one of them. He farmed his property on part of the north half of Lot 1, Concession 6, West Gwillimbury. He could identify with crop and livestock failures and successes, because he was there right along with his people. When they suffered, so did he. As we have seen earlier in this paper, in an early report to the Rev. William Proudfoot he noted the failure of the wheat crop. In addition, he had small children to look after and likely didn't want to disrupt their lives by uprooting them for an unknown and uncertain big city pastoral charge. And finally, he was involved with education in the area as Township Superintendent of Education for West Gwillimbury for many years. His work with the various Synods and General Assemblies from 1851 to 1891 would have served to keep him connected with his colleagues across the Church. We can read very clearly in the testimonials and obituaries the esteem and respect in which he was held. Truly he can be regarded as "A Father of Canadian Presbyterianism."

I leave the final word to William Fraser. What follows was written in his diary in the evening of the day on which he was ordained as a Minister of Word and Sacraments. In my respectful opinion he more than fulfilled the objectives he set for himself:

I have this day then avouched my self to be the Lord's. I have laid myself under the most solemn promises to perform his service and to live at all times devoted to the great object of promoting the divine glory in the edification of men. O that the Great Shepherd of the sheep may qualify me for the discharge of the arduous duties which now devolve upon me, & that he may make me a successful minister of the New Testament to the praise of the glory of his grace.⁵⁶

1851
Wm Fraser
Moderator and Acting Clerk

⁵⁶ Diary 82.

Appendix A

Presbytery of Barrie Minutes (PBM) and General Assembly Minutes (A&P)

28 January 1879 (PBM, vol. 1, 216.)

There was read of letter of Dr. Fraser demitting the charge of First West Gwillimbury.

On motion of Mr. Gray duly seconded it was agreed that the letter be [held] over till next meeting, that the Congregation be cited to appear in their interests; that a Committee be appointed to see what steps can be taken to secure the full status of Dr. Fraser as a Member of Presbytery and that said Committee consist of Messrs Leiper [Barrie], Gray [Orillia] Rodgers [Collingwood] and Moodie [Stayner and Sunnidale Corners], Ministers.

On application of Dr. Fraser that Assessors be appointed to act with the Session of First West Gwillimbury in electing and ordaining Elders, Messrs W. Sutherland of Scotch Line and William Smart of Second Tecumseth, Elders were appointed for this purpose.

25 March 1879 (PBM, vol. 1, 223-25, 227.)

The Presbytery took up Dr. Fraser's demission of the charge of First West Gwillimbury. The Clerk [Rev. Robert Moodie] reported that he cited the Congregation and Session in their interest.

An extract Minute of Session held on the nineteenth instant was read showing that the Session did not deem it necessary to appoint a Commission on their behalf, but would unite in any action in the premises taken by the Congregation.

An extract Minute of a Congregational meeting held on the same day was read, appointing Messrs William Wright and John Carswell Junior,⁵⁷ Commissioners to attend the Presbytery meeting on this date in the interest of the Congregation.

The Commissioners appeared and were heard. After questioned they were removed.

[. . .] The Presbytery continued consideration of Dr. Fraser's demission.

Dr. Fraser was heard and acquainted the Court with his reasons for demitting the Charge.

Here the Presbytery called for the report of the Committee appointed to consider what steps should be taken to secure the full status of Dr. Fraser in the event of his resignation being effected. Mr. Gray [Orillia] Convener, read the report which recommended that special application be made to the General Assembly for authority to retain Dr. Fraser's name on the Roll of Presbytery. The report was received and considered with the demission.

[. . .] After deliberation the following motion by Mr. Gray was seconded by Mr. D. McDonald [East Nottawasaga and Creemore] was unanimously adopted; namely That the letter of demission be on the table till means be taken to deal with the people with regard to a retiring allowance; that application be made in the usual ways to the Assembly to procure for Dr. Fraser the benefits of the Aged and Infirm Ministers' fund; that application be made to the General Assembly for authority to retain the name of Dr. Fraser with full status on the roll of the Presbytery in the event of the resignation taking effect; and that Commissioners be appointed to support the application before the General Assembly.

⁵⁷ This is a spelling mistake; the correct surname was Cerswell.

Commissioners to support application to Gen. Ass. for retaining Dr. Fraser's name. Body of Minutes. "Messrs Gray [Orillia] and Leiper [Barrie] were appointed Commissioners to support before the General Assembly the application for leave to retain Dr. Fraser's name on the roll.

27 May 1879 (PBM, vol.1, 237-38.)

The Presbytery took up Dr. Fraser's demission of the charge of First West Gwillimbury.

The Moderator informed the Court that as the Presbytery had not named the members of the deputation appointed at last meeting to deal with the Congregation in regard to a retiring allowance, he had appointed Messrs Gray [Orillia] and Moodie [Stayner and Sunnidale Corners] as the deputation. The Moderator's conduct was approved.

A report was read from the deputation showing that they met with the Congregation at Bond Head on the twenty first day of April and dealt with them respecting the retiring allowance, and that the Congregation deferred coming to a decision respecting it to a meeting to be held on the twenty third day of May. The report was received and thanks tendered to the deputation."

[. . .] There was read a resolution adopted at the meeting of said Congregation on the Twenty first of April as follows; That the Congregation cordially desires to retain the connection of Dr. Fraser with the Congregation as its senior pastor; that application be made to the Presbytery to take any steps which may be necessary to establish this relationship of Dr. Fraser with the Congregation; and that Messrs W. Wright and J. Cerswell Junior be appointed Commissioners to lay this resolution before the Presbytery.

There was read an extract Minute of a Congregational meeting on the Twenty third day of May as follows; namely "That this meeting does not see its way clear at present for raising a retiring allowance for Dr. Fraser." Messrs Wright and Cerswell Commissioners were heard and questioned.

[. . .] Dr. Fraser was also heard and laid on the table a certificate from James Sherburn, M.D. of the state of his health. After deliberation the Presbytery agreed to accept Dr. Fraser's demission, and appointed a Committee consisting of Messrs Gray [Orillia] Rodgers [Collingwood] and D. McDonald [East Nottawasaga and Creemore] Ministers and R. G. McCraw [Central Church Craigvale and Lefroy] Elder to prepare a resolution thereon.

28 May 1879 (PBM, vol. 1, 242-43.)

The Committee appointed to prepare a resolution anent Dr. Fraser's demission of the charge of First West Gwillimbury presented a report which on being read was received and adopted as follows namely; That at a meeting of the Congregation of First West Gwillimbury held within Bond Head church on the Twenty first April Eighteen hundred and seventy nine, it having been unanimously agreed to that their present pastor William Fraser D.D. retain his relation among them as their Senior Minister and that application be made to the Presbytery for authority to confirm this arrangement, the Presbytery hereby recognize Dr. Fraser as Senior Minister of West Gwillimbury Congregation; declare this new arrangement to take effect after the first of June next; apply to the General Assembly to sanction this arrangement after an unusually long pastorate of forty three years for reasons satisfactory to the Presbytery; that application be made to the General Assembly's Committee of the Aged and Infirm Ministers' fund Western Section for a retiring allowance to Dr. Fraser; that the demission of his charge by

Dr. Fraser be intimated to the Congregation, with the declaration that they are at liberty to call another minister, in the first proximo by the Reverend R. Moodie; and that the matter of supply be entrusted to the senior minister. That the Presbytery cannot allow their esteemed father and Co-Presbyter to change his relations to his Congregation without recording their high appreciation of the services of Dr. Fraser during his unusually long pastorate that they gratefully remember his valuable help and wise counsels in connection with the work of the Presbytery and the Church; that they can testify to his readiness and cheerfulness in undertaking any work assigned to him, and to the large amount of labour performed by him in fulfilling the numerous duties laid upon him by this Court; that they bear witness to the uniform kindness and courtesy with which Dr. Fraser has conducted himself in taking part in the proceedings of this Court; that they take this opportunity of expressing their high opinion of the upright and conscientious character of their reverend father and of the unbending integrity and honourable conduct which have always distinguished him; that they express their gratification that their relation to him as a Co-Presbyter is not to undergo any substantial changes, and that they cherish the hope that their venerable father may be spared for many years to aid in guiding the deliberations and expediting the business of the Presbytery as in the past. Mr. Gray [Orillia] was appointed to support the applications before the General Assembly.

29 July 1879 (PBM, vol. 1, 251.)

Mr. Moodie reported that he had preached on the first day of June to the Congregation of First West Gwillimbury, and intimated that the Presbytery had accepted Dr. Fraser's resignation and that the Congregation was at liberty to call another minister. The report was received.

16 June 1879 (*A&P* (1879): 23.)

Leave to Retire From the Active Duties of the Ministry

The report of the Committee, charged with the consideration of the applications of Ministers for leave to retire from the active duties of the Ministry, and those relative to the retention of certain names on Presbytery Rolls, was given in by Mr. Laing, read and received.

The recommendations of the report were received *seriatim*.

The Assembly agreed – [*inter alia*]

1. To grant leave to the Rev. William Fraser, D.D., to retire from the active duties of the Ministry, to retain his position as Senior Minister of the charge of First West Gwillimbury, and further to transmit his application for an allowance to the Committee on the Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund.

30 July 1879 (PBM, vol. 1, 264.)

There was read an Extract Minute of General Assembly agreeing to grant Dr. W. Fraser leave to retire from the active duties of the ministry, to retain his position as Senior Minister of the charge of First West Gwillimbury and further to transmit his application for an allowance to the Committee on the Aged and Infirm Ministers' fund.

30 November 1880 (PBM, vol. 1, 355.)

A petition was presented requesting to be relieved from the relation of Senior Pastor of the Congregation of First West Gwillimbury. Dr. Fraser was heard in support of the petition. On motion of Mr. Moodie [Stayner and Sunnidale Corners] duly seconded, it was agreed that the petition be received, that inasmuch as Dr. Fraser intimated to the Congregation his intention to present this petition and assigned to them his reasons for so doing, the relation in which Dr. Fraser stands as Senior Pastor to the Congregation of First West Gwillimbury is hereby dissolved; that intimation of this act be given to the Session and Congregation; and that Mr. Cochrane [Town Line and Ivy] be appointed Moderator of Session instead of Dr. Fraser.

9 June 1892 (*A&P* (1892): 15.)

Dr. Fraser's Resignation

Mr. Thomas Sedgwick [Tatamagouche, N.S.], Convener of the Committee to take into consideration the resignation of Dr. Fraser, the Recording Clerk, presented the following report, which, on motion of Mr. Sedgwick, seconded by Mr. Walter Paul, was unanimously adopted, – That, taking into consideration the long and valued services of Dr. Fraser as Recording Clerk of the General Assembly, as well as his position as a venerable Minister of our Church, who has for more than fifty years discharged the duties of a pastor, and for about forty years has occupied the position of Clerk in various branches of the Church, the Assembly should in accepting his resignation, which it does with the deepest regret, place on record an adequate estimate of his services, and in recognition of these, ask Dr. Fraser to accept for the remainder of his life the same salary which he received as Clerk.

It was further moved by Mr. D. D. McLeod [Barrie], duly seconded, – That a Committee consisting of Dr. Torrance [Guelph, retired], Mr. R. Hamilton [Motherwell and Avonbank], and the mover, with Mr. Wm. Adamson [Toronto], Elder, be appointed to draw up a minute for insertion in the Assembly Records, regarding the services and character of Dr. Fraser.

The motion was adopted.

14 June 1892 (*A&P* (1892): 34-35.)

Minute Regarding Resignation of Dr. Fraser as Clerk

Dr. Torrance, on behalf of the special committee appointed to draft a suitable minute with regard to the resignation of Dr. Fraser, Recording Clerk of Assembly, reported as follows:- That the General Assembly expresses its regret that the Rev. William Fraser, D.D., has felt himself constrained, through the infirmities of advancing years, to offer his resignation of the office he has held so long, and whose duties he has so satisfactorily performed as Recording Clerk.

Coming from Nova Scotia to what is now the Province of Ontario, more than half a century ago, and entering on a field of labour as a minister of the Gospel, he endeared himself to the people to whom he was specially called to minister in holy things, and to all with whom he was brought into contact, and has had no small influence in forming and moulding the religious life and character of many persons, and in helping to lay the foundations of that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

At an early period in the history of that branch of the Presbyterian Church with which he was connected his qualifications for the duties of Clerk were seen and acknowledged, and he was chosen to fill the position on the removal of the former occupant by death, and he was in the office when the union took place in 1861 between the Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Presbyterian Church, and was continued in the United Church. When the union took place, in 1875, between the Canada Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces [of British North America], he, from the one branch, and the late Professor Mackerras, from the other, were associated in the Recording Clerkship; and when, in the Providence of God, his colleague was taken away to the Church above, Dr. Fraser was appointed to undertake all its duties, and has continued to discharge them to the satisfaction of the Assembly down to the present date.

The General Assembly would put on record an expression of its gratitude to God for the service to the Church which He has enabled Dr. Fraser, in his official capacity, to render for so many years, – of its sense of the special fitness which he possessed for the work to which he was called, – of the care and pains which he took to perform it with neatness and accuracy, and of his courteous and kindly bearing to the members on all occasions, – and its prayer that the God of all grace may be his supporter and comforter in his declining years, – and that, relieved from the burdens of his office, he may yet be spared to enjoy for a long season the rest he has so well earned.

It was moved by Dr. Torrance, seconded by Dr. [William] Gregg [Professor, Knox College], and carried unanimously, – That the proposed minute on the resignation of Dr. Fraser be accepted and adopted as the minute of this Assembly, and that the Clerk be instructed to send a copy of it to Dr. Fraser.

Appendix B

Notices and Obituaries

28 Dec. 1892 (PBM, vol. 2, 427.)

It was agreed to record the death of Dr. Fraser which occurred on the twenty fifth day of December; and Messrs Leishman and McLeod were appointed to prepare a Minute relative to the event to be submitted at next regular meeting of Presbytery.

Obituary from *The Barrie Examiner* 29 Dec. 1892: 1.

Rev. Wm. Fraser, D.D., who passed to rest on Sabbath afternoon, was indeed one of the pioneers of the Presbyterian Church in this part of the country. Like many other eminent Canadian divines of that church, he was a native of Nova Scotia, having been born in that province on May 24th [sic] 1808. During the spring of 1835 he was sent by the Presbytery to supply the newly formed congregation at Bond Head, and in June of that year a call was made by the congregation in his favor and he proceeded at once to the field of labor to which he had been invited, and in which he remained for so many years. His first sermon as pastor there was delivered on August 9th, 1835, and his induction into the charge was made on June 17th, 1836. He was the first Presbyterian minister who conducted public Divine Service in the Township of Innisfil, to the south part of which he had an appointment for 13 years, continuing to reside, however, at Bond Head. He remained in the regular pastoral charge of Bond Head congregation until 1879, covering a period, in round numbers, of 44 years. Failing vigor compelled him to resign, and in that or the following year he removed to Barrie, where he has since resided. He was one of the clerks of the Presbyterian General Assembly until last June, when he resigned the office.

Amongst the sons of the deceased are Rev. James B. Fraser, M.D., formerly a Formosa missionary, now at Annan, Ont.; John Fraser, of Tecumseth; Rev. R. D. Fraser, Bowmanville; W. H. Fraser, B.A., Professor of Italian and Spanish in Toronto University; G. A. H. Fraser, M.A., Professor of Classics in Montana University. Miss Emma Fraser, who is attending Toronto University, and other daughters also survive.

The funeral took place yesterday (Wednesday) morning. Services were held in the Presbyterian Church at 9 a.m., after which the funeral proceeded to the railway station, thence to Bradford, and from there to the place of interment at Bond Head.

Obituary from *The Barrie Northern Advance* 29 Dec. 1892: 4.

Called to His Reward

Last Sabbath afternoon Rev. Wm. Fraser, D.D., passed calmly away to his everlasting rest. He had been long in a condition of failing health and confined to the house. His work was done, and at the ripe age of 84 years he was called away. The deceased was one of the pioneers of the Presbyterian church in this part of Canada. He was a native of Nova Scotia, having been

born in that province on May 24th, 1808.⁵⁸ In the spring of 1885 [sic] he was sent by the Presbytery to Bond Head, where a new congregation had been formed. In June of that year a call was made by that congregation in his favor and he at once went to his field of labor, where he remained for many years. He preached his first sermon as pastor of Bond Head church August 9th, 1835, and was inducted to his charge on the 17th of June, 1836. He was the first Presbyterian minister who conducted Divine public service in the township of Innisfil, in the south of which township he held an appointment for 13 years, still continuing to reside in Bond Head. He remained in the pastoral charge of the Bond Head church for 44 years, retiring in 1879 in consequence of failing vigor. Soon after he moved to Barrie, where he continued to reside till his death. He was one of the clerks of the Presbyterian General Assembly until last June when he resigned his office.

The funeral took place on Wednesday. Services were held at the Presbyterian church in the morning, Rev. D. D. McLeod opening with prayer. Rev. J. Leishman [Angus and New Lowell, Presbytery Moderator] read 1st Cor., 15th Chap., from 35–38 verses. Rev. Mr. Moody [sic] [Stayner and Sunnidale Corners, Presbytery Clerk], offered prayer, and Rev. D. D. McLeod delivered an appropriate address. Rev. Dr. Parker, of Collier Street Methodist church, offered prayer, and the services terminated with the benediction, pronounced by Rev. Mr. Findlay [Synod Mission Superintendent]. The funeral cortege then proceeded to the G. T. station, where it was met by Rev. R. N. Grant, of Orillia. He and Rev. Mr. McLeod accompanied the remains to Bond Head, where the interment took place.

Obituary from *The Presbyterian Record* 18.2 (Feb. 1893): 33.

Rev. Wm. Fraser, D.D., was born at McLellan's Brook, near New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, May 19th, 1808. He received his academic and theological education at Pictou Academy, of which Dr. Thomas McCulloch was then the head. After licensure, he spent some time in Home Mission work in N. S. and C. B. At the age of 26 he was ordained and sent to Upper Canada, and, a year later, in 1835, he was settled at Bond Head, his first and only pastorate, where he labored for 44 years, until his retirement in 1879. In 1851 he was appointed clerk of the U. P. Synod. And at the Union of 1861, he became associated with Dr. Reid in the Clerkship of the Canada Presbyterian Synod, and at the Union of 1875, with Dr. Reid and Professor Mackerras in the Clerkship of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1879 [sic] he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Queen's University. In 1881 he removed to Barrie where the remainder of his days were spent. Last Assembly was the first since the Union at which he was not present, his resignation was there instead. He attended some of the meetings of the Presbyterian Council and while the outward man had greatly failed, the sweet, strong, gentle, inner man, was there as of old. Early in December he began to grow much weaker and on Christmas day he gently fell asleep. He was an earnest and faithful pastor and preacher, a pattern of neatness and accuracy in his department of the Assembly's work, and, as a man, he was marked by a gentle, dignified, kindly, courtesy, which at once commanded respect and won affection as few men can do. To know him was to love him.

⁵⁸ It is remarkable that both papers got Fraser's birth date wrong—he was born on 19 May 1808, not the 24th.

21 March 1893 (PBM, vol. 2, 439-40.)

Minute re death of Dr. Fraser.

The Presbytery desires to place on record an expression of its sorrow at the removal from their midst by death of the Reverend Doctor William Fraser for so unusually long a period a respected member of the Court and of the sense of loss sustained by its members and the Church at large.

For more than forty years Dr. Fraser laboured within the bounds of this Presbytery, through all that period he took a leading part in all the work of the Court, and in all the labour connected with the extension and establishing of the Church in the wide district under its care. In Eighteen hundred and seventy nine when he retired from the active duties of the ministry the Presbytery recorded its high appreciation of his character and work. These have been largely referred to, since his death, in the public press. It is hoped that some fitting and permanent record will be made of the services which he rendered to the Church. It is not possible or needful here to enter into an estimate of the character of our reverend father, nor to relate the manifold labours which were performed by him with unbroken fidelity both in the field under his own immediate care and in all the region round about, as well as in the public offices which he held. The able and faithful manner in which he discharged every duty laid upon him is well known to the Church and will remain as an example to be held in honoured remembrance. It may suffice here to say that his connection with this Court his courtesy and kindness as a Co-Presbyter endeared him to every member of it; while throughout the bounds of its Congregations as well as by the community outside of our own Church he was regarded with the highest esteem as a faithful and honoured Minister of the Gospel.

The Presbytery felt it a pleasing duty, during his illness to send him an expression of sympathy by some of the brethren from time to time, and watched the decline of his activity and strength with deep regret. They rejoice to know that during these trying months he was sustained by the grace of the Saviour whom he had so earnestly preached. He has entered into his rest. He has left this Court as well as the Church at large a name which will be ever cherished by his brethren with affection and honour.

The Presbytery desired to express sympathy with the members of the family of the deceased and instructs the Clerk [Rev. Robert Moodie] to send to them a copy of this Minute.

Obituary from the *Acts and Proceedings of the Nineteenth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1893): App. 32, i.

Rev. W. Fraser, D.D., was a native of McLellan's Creek [sic], near New Glasgow, N. S., and was born May 19th, 1808. He was educated at the Pictou Academy with Dr. Thos. McCulloch. After some time in missionary work in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, he was sent as a missionary to Upper Canada, and was settled at Bond Head, which was his first and only pastorate, having laboured for forty-four years. He was clerk of the U. P. Synod till the Union of 1861, when he was with Dr. Reid appointed joint clerk of the Canada Presbyterian Church. In 1875 he was conjoined with Dr. Reid and Professor Mackerras, in the clerkship of the united Church. He continued to discharge with great fidelity and care the duties of the office till his resignation in 1892. He attended some of the meetings of the Presbyterian Council in September 1892, but gradually became weaker, and on Christmas Day, 1892, he gently fell asleep. He died universally honoured and beloved.

The Union of 1861: Establishing an Authentic Canadian Identity for Colonial Presbyterians

A. Donald MacLeod

On Wednesday, 6 June 1861, Montrealers observed an unusual religious procession. Along Coté Street, from the church of that name,¹ just above Craig Street (now St. Antoine), members of the Canada Presbyterian (or “Free”) Church were joined by the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church coming from Lagauchetiere Street Church,² also known as the Scottish Secession congregation or colloquially the “Wee Kirk.” The combined company then made their way to the largest Protestant church in British North America, Great St. James Methodist Centre Church. The fifteen-year-old building comfortably seated 2,500, but as the two groups arrived they found the church already so crowded that only with great difficulty did the commissioners find seats.

There the union was consummated. The minister of the Lagauchetiere Street Church, William Taylor, DD, was unanimously elected Moderator and the clerks of the uniting denominations, William Reid and William Fraser, were (again unanimously) chosen as joint-clerks of the new Canada Presbyterian Church. The new Moderator congratulated the nascent denomination on their happy union. Speeches followed: the duty of union, the advantages that would come from union, and a challenge from Robert Burns, then at Knox College, on “The Church of Christ a Living Church.” After the singing of the Doxology and the benediction, the crowd dispersed. It had been a long evening but a deeply satisfying conclusion to sixteen years of negotiation.

Eight months previously a similar reunion occurred in the Atlantic Provinces. On 4 October 1860, in Pictou, a peal of bells from Prince Street Church announced the time had finally come for church reunion. Two large government tents with a blue covenant flag flying aloft were the venue for the birthing of the “Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.” Two thousand people attended, the largest gathering under cover so far in the history of Nova Scotia. As in the Canadas, union negotiations had followed a long and torturous path over fifteen years of debate and controversy. Success in the Maritimes was a catalyst for another Presbyterian reunion in Upper and Lower Canada.

¹ Coté Street Free Church was organized by a majority of St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church in 1844, and a building was erected three years later. In 1877 the congregation relocated to Crescent and Dorchester (now René Lévesque) as the Crescent Street Presbyterian Church. In 1918 it merged with Knox congregation.

² The church, established in 1831, built two years later on a property on Lagauchetiere Street between Chenneville and St. George streets. Relocated in 1866 to the SE corner of St. Catherine and Peel streets, it was renamed Erskine Church. A year later the first classes of Presbyterian College were held there. It moved to Sherbrooke and Ontario streets in 1894. The original building, the oldest Protestant church in Montreal, now houses the Chinese Catholic Church.

With the benefit of hindsight, one-hundred years later Dr. John Johnston described the union of 1861 as “an event which, more than any other, made possible the organization of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.”³ Observers at the time were of the same opinion: “We believe that no event ever occurred in this Province of more delightful character or of happier augury to the cause of Christ than that which was witnessed at Montreal on Thursday the 6th [. . .] Of aught more becoming Christian men our annals tell not,” the *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* enthused. The *Free Church Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record* was no less sanguine: “The sixth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, will be a memorable day in the annals of the Presbyterian Church, and in the religious history of the country.”⁴

Over the years, memories of these two unions comingled in the public mind subsequent unions and their venues. On 15 June 1875, in Montreal’s Victoria Hall, a final merger of the four Presbyterian denominations in British North America took place. Fifty years later, on 10 June 1925, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists streamed into the Mutual Street Arena in Toronto to celebrate the formation of the United Church of Canada. And between the ecclesiastical unions there was, on 1 July 1867, the confederation of the Dominion of Canada. Mergers were very much in the air as the fragmented British colonies in North America established their identity and became self-governing.

It is the thesis of this paper that the Union of 1861, with its tacit acceptance of the principle of voluntarism, marks the first step towards a truly Canadian Presbyterian identity. In establishing that new identity both merging churches put their Scottish roots behind them. In the case of the Free Church, the fudging of Chapter XXIII of the Westminster *Confession of Faith* (which stated that the civil magistrate is Christ’s vicegerent) was particularly painful for them and a major concession. It was done with considerable interpretative flexibility, and a degree of pragmatic realism, all in the interest of nationwide evangelization. Sixty-four years later the still recognizable Free Church heritors in The Presbyterian Church in Canada were in the vanguard of agitation for a national Protestant church. You cannot make sense of either 1875 or 1925 without understanding what was involved in the Union of 1861. That is why, in this sesquicentennial year of that event, the union in the Canadas of United Presbyterians and the “Free” church provides vital insight into the unfolding drama of The Presbyterian Church in Canada over the next hundred and fifty years.

The presence in Pictou of The Rev. Peter Gordon MacGregor as Clerk of the Synod of Nova Scotia, served as a reminder of the historic role that the Scottish secession had played in the planting of Presbyterianism in Canada. His father, the Rev. James MacGregor, the so-called “Apostle of Nova Scotia,” was the one who responded at the 1786 General Associate Synod to a plea for a minister from the five-hundred settlers in Pictou County.⁵ The Secession churches in Scotland, formed out of the deadness of the Moderate takeover of the state church, were the ones with missionary vision and evangelical zeal. James MacGregor laboured on his own for the next nine years until he was joined by two young clergy. Together they formed “The Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia” in 1795. In a union of the secession churches in 1817, establishing three presbyteries, the name “Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia” was chosen. Only in that

³ John Johnston, “Church Union: One Hundred Years Ago,” *Presbyterian History* 5.2 (May 1961): 1.

⁴ *Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record for the Presbyterian Church of Canada* (July 1861): 131.

⁵ See Alan Wilson, “James MacGregor: A Visit and a Re-Visit,” *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 30 (2005): 94-104. Alan Wilson’s biography of MacGregor is under consideration by University of Toronto Press, but the Federal Government’s Aid to Scholarly Publications Programme has declined to subsidize it.

year did the Church of Scotland organize itself. At the time of the Disruption, most of their clergy returned to Scotland to serve in recently vacated livings.

In Upper and Lower Canada the indifference of the Church of Scotland to Scottish settlers was equally palpable and it was the Associate Synod to which application was made in 1817 to form a Canadian presbytery. Four years later the Church of Scotland General Assembly (still dominated by Moderates who had little interest in outreach or missionary activity) declined to admit Canadian churches into membership, doubting the feasibility of a Canadian connection and citing the fact that the Church of Scotland had not yet been legally recognized in the Canadas. In contrast, at the same time the United Secession Church sent three missionaries to Canada, and in 1834 took the name "The Missionary Presbytery in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church in Scotland." In 1847 when the mother church, the United Secession Church, joined the Relief Church they also became the United Presbyterian Church. In Canada they chose as their name the "Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada."

On 18 May 1843 the Disruption of the Church of Scotland took place as almost five-hundred clergy (and all overseas missionaries) left the church of their birth. The issue was the spiritual independence of the Kirk from state control, but that did not mean that most of the Free Church was opposed to established religion. Thomas Chalmers sought a "godly commonwealth" and maintained (at its first Assembly) that his new denomination represented "unwilling voluntaries." The National Church ideal became a bone of contention in the Free Church of Scotland throughout the nineteenth century, dividing the Highlanders from the Lowlanders, who generally were voluntaries.

The impact of the Disruption was felt immediately across the Atlantic: many Kirk clergy hastily left the colony to take advantage of well-endowed livings recently vacated. Those who remained, often the more evangelical, were enlisted by a delegation sent from the new Free Church. Though the issue that had caused the split had no immediate Canadian relevance, congregations divided and a new denomination with links to the Free Church of Scotland was formed in Kingston in July 1844, known as the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church.

The question came up immediately: was there room for three separate Presbyterian bodies, Kirk, Secession, and now Free? At the first General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church, held in the autumn of 1844, three ministers from the Missionary Synod promoted union between the two bodies. The Assembly considered "the course which should be pursued for promoting a union among Orthodox Presbyterians throughout the Province." "It was agreed that such union when it can be obtained without the compromise of truth is of the very highest importance, as being the most conducive to the interest of the Redeemer's Kingdom."⁶

A Committee on Union was formed and Alexander Gale of Hamilton named as Convener. Gale was soon to join his uncle Henry Esson on the faculty of the embryonic Knox College. Esson's pamphlet, *A Plain and Popular Exposition of the Principles of Voluntaryism, in Opposition to the Misapprehensions of Those Who Have Imputed To Them an Infidel Tendency; Being an Humble Essay to Mediate Between the Advocates and Antagonists of the Establishment Principle, and to Promote Generally the Catholic Unity of Evangelical Churches*, was published in 1849 and highlighted divisions within the Free Church over the question. Gale's committee met with the Committee on Union of the United Missionary Synod. Two years later, on hearing

⁶ Alex. F. Kemp, *Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, With a Historical Introduction and an Appendix of Forms and Procedures* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1861): 279.

their report, and following a fiery speech from Robert Burns, Synod spoke of “the vast importance of the principle that men, in their national as well as their individual capacity, are bound to honour God and to regulate their proceedings by the rule of His Word, and that he is king of Nations as well as the Head of His Church.”⁷ It was clear that there were divisions within the Free Church over the matter of voluntarism.

By 1849 union negotiations had reached an impasse. Most from the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada were unwilling to capitulate to voluntarism as the price of union with the United Presbyterians, much as they would have liked to join ranks. There were many values that both bodies shared: not only was theirs a common cultural and historical heritage, but as well they were bound by a common commitment to the Westminster standards. Chapter XXIII (“On the Civil Magistrate”) had been written in the seventeenth century in a very different political climate. Covenanters had fought and died over Christ’s Kingdom and Covenant. But what did this have to do with the British colonies in North America? Quarrels over the rights of patrons in the Church of Scotland to ignore the wishes of congregations, which precipitated the Disruption, might have little Canadian relevance, but it had caused schism and separation here. Even less, surely, was the arcane view of civil authority being beholden to religious regulation.

The Canadian conversation anticipated a fierce debate in the Free Church of Scotland as it likewise would enter into negotiations with the United Presbyterians. The principle of voluntarism which had been accepted by Scottish United Presbyterians in 1829 was still unacceptable to many Free Church members. Two years after the Canadian reunion their Scottish counterparts commenced a decade of torturous debate, befuddled by strong personalities and contentious crusaders.⁸ In 1873 negotiations were abandoned, succeeding twenty-seven years later with the formation of the United Free Church of Scotland.

⁷ Kemp 281.

⁸ From my forthcoming *The Man Who Beat Macaulay: Charles Cowan MP and the Business of the Disruption*: “Cowan had great affection for the Secession churches, the United Presbyterian Church as it was subsequently known. ‘I can testify,’ he wrote, ‘that the better-conducted portion of our numerous workpeople at the mills have been generally connected with that body.’ When negotiations commenced with the United Presbyterians in 1862 understandably he was a strong advocate of reunion. The sticking point initially was the voluntary question. As negotiations progressed, and as opposition intensified, the issue became, as well, the doctrinal commitment of the United Presbyterians and their confessional identity, being more loosely tied to the Westminster standards. The anti-unionists found a champion in James Begg, a feisty opponent of innovation, a strong conservative, and a wily ecclesiastical politician. Cowan had tangled with Begg many times on the Sustentation Committee and on the floor of the Assembly. Begg seemed to be ubiquitous at each General Assembly, rising to speak on almost every question it would appear, and operating the levers of power with consummate skill. Cowan’s visceral dislike of the man—he appears to have always voted opposite to Begg as a matter of course—may have had also to do with a latent anticlericalism on the part of some Free Church elders, in his case a leftover from his experience with Rev. Coulston, a resentment of ecclesiastical authority, insensitively wielded. The whole Cowan-Begg imbroglio came to a head at the Assembly of 1867 during discussion about a motion to proceed with union negotiations. It started innocuously enough with Robert Buchanan reading a trans-Atlantic telegram, just received, announcing the agreement of the New and Old School factions of the American Presbyterian Church on a basis of union ‘almost certain to be approved of.’ There was wide applause and then the irrepressible Charles Cowan said ‘I beg to propose that a copy of that communication be sent to our friends, Dr. Gibson and Dr. Begg.’ There was laughter and then an objection from the floor and a rebuke from the chair, Robert Candlish serving that year as moderator. There the matter might well have rested but two days later, a Sabbath intervening, Charles Cowan rose to his feet and grovelled: ‘It was a breach of propriety, and it would have been a most undignified course for this House to adopt whatever the impulse of the moment I proposed.’ He continued: ‘however much I deplore the division upon the union question, I never had the slightest doubt as to the thorough honesty, and as little as to the manliness of the course, which these reverend gentlemen chose to take [. . .] I am quite sure that they have acted from a regard to the best interests of the Church.’”

Meanwhile, back in Canada, the lines were being drawn as the 1848 Free Church General Assembly convened in Toronto. A statement of opinions, drawn up by the two committees, was submitted.⁹ Under eight headings it dealt with all the thorny issues, stating clearly the differences between the two bodies over church-state relations—which were considerable. Christ’s headship over the nations, the Free Church maintained and the Secession disagreed, imposed “new duties upon nations and rulers.” The government has an obligation, according to the Frees, not only to protect religion but publicly countenance, favour, and promote it. The United Presbyterians did not see that a formal recognition of the Headship of Christ was required of rulers, nor to recognize the authority of the Bible. An enforcement of Sabbath observance was, according to the Frees, expected of government whereas the UP’s saw only an educational responsibility. State support was expected by the Free Church whereas the UP’s saw this as “encroaching on the rights of conscience. “

A motion by Andrew Ferrier of Caledonia to dismiss the Union Committee was defeated by a vote of 26 to 5. The motion that prevailed instead was the reappointment of the committee and an expression of a desire “to follow out such a course as may appear to them most suited to lead to a union on sound and Scriptural principles.”¹⁰ Two years later Dr. Ferrier, by birth¹¹ and experience a strong voluntarist, was expelled from the denomination.

By 1849 negotiations seemed stalled. An ominous sign was the filing of the minutes of both committees in what appeared to be a “wrap-up” account of what had transpired.¹² A year later the Free Church Assembly held a time of “earnest and united prayer” about the matter. It was noted that:

apart from the question pertaining to the power, obligations and duties of the Civil Magistrate, they are perfectly at one, on all the great doctrines laid out in the Westminster Confession of Faith. And that further, on the special question above referred to and the point involved in, or connected with it, such as the exclusive Headship of Christ over His Church, individual liberty of conscience in religious matters, and the obligations of all men in all realms of life, to be governed by the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, there was such a measure of harmony of sentiments manifested as to warrant the hope of its being found practical to frame some declaration on these points, which might be regarded as mutually satisfactory, and calculated to prepare the way for a union of the two bodies.¹³

⁹ Found in William Gregg, *Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the Earliest to the Present Time* (Toronto, 1892) 154-56.

¹⁰ Kemp 282.

¹¹ Ferrier’s great-grandfather was William Wilson (1690-1741), one of four original Secessionists after Ebenezer Erskine’s 1732 sermon brought censure from Synod and an Associate Presbytery was formed at Gairney Bridge. Ferrier edited his short-hand diary in 1830. Wilson’s *Essay on Separation* (1739) was the text for the Secessionists.

¹² *An Account of the Proceedings of the Committees on Union Appointed by The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and The Synod of the Missionary (now the United Presbyterian) Church in Canada Containing Minutes of all the Meetings of the Committees, and all the Papers Submitted by Them, Explanatory of Their Respective Opinions on National Establishments of Religion, and on the Endowment of Churches* (London, CW: Wm. Sutherland, 1849).

¹³ Kemp 282.

Progress languished until the 1854 Assembly when a memorial was received from Knox Church Hamilton, as well as a submission from the United Presbyterians, urging a reopening of negotiations. Assembly “declare(d) their willingness to consider opinions on the lawfulness of State Endowments, without Erastian submission to the State, as a matter of forbearance, but continue the views they have always held, and formerly expressed by their committee on the duty of the Civil Magistrate.”¹⁴ A new committee was appointed, with some heavyweights included,¹⁵ and significantly Robert Ure of Streetsville as Convener. Ure came into the ministry through Alexander Gale who had served as his tutor. Continuity was assured.

The Committee exercised due diligence and presented to the 1857 Assembly a statement of common belief under three rubrics: (1) the Headship of Christ, (2) Liberty of Conscience, and (3) the Duties of the Civil Magistrate. The crusty John Bayne of Galt expressed “great satisfaction” with this apparent capitulation of the United Presbyterians and reaffirmed the “great principle” of the

duty of the Civil Magistrate, in his official capacity as well as his private capacity, to acknowledge the authority of Christ as the Supreme Governor among the nations, and that in aiming to promote social well-being, he ought to ensure that the laws of the land are avowedly in accordance with the principles inscribed in the Word of God are the same with those of this church.¹⁶

The debate was significant for several reasons. Presbyterians had gone through a bruising debate about their legitimacy in the Canadas, centering on issues such as the registration of marriages, the issuance of baptismal certificates, and above all the clergy reserves and who had claim to the endowments. Faced with a strong Roman Catholic hegemony in Lower Canada, protected by the Quebec Act of 1763, should there not be an equivalent status for Protestants in Upper Canada? The Disruption highlighted the resentment of Scots over the failure of Westminster to understand them and their unique culture generally, but also specifically their religious commitments. There was also the matter of education on all three levels, but particularly the tertiary. Calvinists had been in the forefront of political engagement from the days of John Knox and Duplessis-Mornay. “For Christ’s crown and covenant” had been their war cry since the seventeenth century.¹⁷

Placed in a wider context, church/state relations continue to bedevil civic dialogue, particularly in the United States—Canada and Britain have, in the interests of multiculturalism, given up the possibility of any religious voice in the political arena. The polarities that exist in the United States, and reaction to what Father Neuhaus described as the “naked public square,” still skew the topic south of the border, as witness most recently the controversy over the place of clergy at the tenth anniversary of 9/11 official observances in Washington and New York.

¹⁴ Kemp 284-85.

¹⁵ John Bayne, Michael Willis, William Gregg, Robert Burns, George Paxton Young, Mark Young Stark, and Donald Fraser were among the fourteen clergy, with eight ruling elders.

¹⁶ Kemp 291.

¹⁷ For the contribution of Canadian Presbyterians to politics see Peter Bush’s “Canadian Presbyterians Engage the Political Principalities and Powers,” *Channels* 22.1 (Winter 2006), 14 Sept. 2012 <<http://renewalfellowship.presbyterian.ca/channels/r06221-5.html>>.

Though the whole debate between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians may seem arcane, issues raised in interpreting and applying Chapter XXIII of the Westminster Confession still remain.

By 1859 a Basis of Union between the two denominations was finally submitted to the two Assemblies. Five of the six sections were quite unexceptional for both sides, but the fourth represented a carefully crafted statement:

IV. Of the Headship of Christ over the Nations and the Duty of the Civil Magistrate—That the Lord Jesus Christ, our Mediator, is invested with universal sovereignty, and is therefore King of Nations, and that all men, in every capacity and relation, are bound to obey His will as revealed in His Word; and particularly that the civil magistrate (including under that term all who are in any way concerned in the legislative or administrative action of the State) is bound to regulate his official procedure, as well as his personal conduct, by the revealed will of Christ.¹⁸

There was however an exemption clause in the Preamble to this watered-down statement that the United Presbyterians insisted on: “unanimity of sentiment is not required in regard to the practical application of the principle embodied in the said fourth article, and that whatever differences of sentiment may arise on these subjects all action in reference thereto shall be regulated by, and be subject to, the recognized principle of Presbyterian order.”¹⁹

The insertion of this clause, brought in at the last minute at the insistence of the United Presbyterians, caused a crisis of conscience for at least one member of the Free Church’s union committee. The redoubtable John Ross of Brucefield, ON conceded the point with the other members of the committee “though he was conscious of a vague feeling of unrest in connection with it. It was not,” his widow would recall forty years later, “until he had retired for the night, and was lying quietly awake thinking over the matter, that the full significance of the change flashed upon him.” In the middle of the night he sprang to his feet and felt that he should right the wrong. “He saw that the slight change seriously affected the integrity of the Fourth Article of the Union Basis, which it had been the special care of the Free Church Committee to conserve in full strength throughout the negotiations.”²⁰

Others were amenable, and after the motion was passed that the Basis of Union be approved and sent down to Presbyteries and Sessions for their comments, dissents soon followed. John Bayne of Knox’s Galt, long an opponent of union, thundered his anathemas in a seven-point missive signed by nine, among them Michael Willis whom he had recruited when in Scotland in 1846 to be Professor of Theology at Knox College. Bayne noted that the Basis lacked a “declaration on the subject of the leading applications of the doctrine of Christ’s Headship over the nations, such as its application to the question of Sabbath laws, or of the use of the Bible in Common Schools, or of the suppression of open blasphemy, and no definition of

¹⁸ William Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada, From the Earliest Times to 1834; With a Chronological Table of Events to the Present Time, and Map* (Toronto: Presbyterian Printing and Publishing, 1885) 595.

¹⁹ Gregg, *History of the Presbyterian Church* (1885) 593.

²⁰ Anna Ross, *The Man With the Book, or Memoirs of “John Ross of Brucefield”* (Toronto: R. G. McLean, 1897) 79.

the extent or limits of the Province within which the Civil Magistrate is to confess and serve Christ as King.”²¹ To which the Committee charged with issuing a response stated emphatically that Article 4 “does contain a statement of the province within which the civil magistrate is to confess and serve Christ as King, sufficiently precise and comprehensive.”²²

Bayne’s sudden death on 3 November 1859 at fifty—he was described as a heavy smoker with “ever-growing sedentary habits”²³—silenced one of the most articulate and forceful opponents of reunion and made it finally possible for the two denominations to come together.

In June of 1860 both Synods met in Hamilton. The United Presbyterians, who met first, had added an additional caveat to the Basis—“it being understood that, in the application of the doctrine of this article, mutual forbearance shall be exercised.” The Free Church had asked that it be withdrawn and after considerable debate a final motion was approved by the United Presbyterian Synod: “that the respectful request of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, to remove the note formerly appended to the fourth Article, be complied with; and that the following words be added to the fourth Article, namely: ‘It being understood that in the application of the doctrine of this Article, mutual forbearance shall be exercised.’”²⁴

When this decision was announced three days later to the Free Church Synod nearby there were anxious questions as to whether the final compromise could be accepted. After rancorous debate there was still hesitation:

the Synod sees difficulties in the way of accepting in a basis of union, a clause which might seem to recognize unlimited forbearance as to the applications of the said doctrine, and does not therefore agree to the addition made. The Synod, however, still heartily desirous of union, and believing that union can be effected on sound and honorable principles, remit to a committee to meet with the committee appointed by the United Presbyterian Synod, for the purpose of seeing, whether the object, believed by this Synod to be intended by the proposed addition, may not be better accomplished in some other way, the Committee being authorized to request the Moderator to call a special meeting of the Synod, if it shall be considered necessary.²⁵

So it came about that the two churches met concurrently in Toronto in October 1860, the United Presbyterians in Bay Street Presbyterian Church and the Canada Presbyterians in Knox’s Church, and together, perhaps out of sheer exhaustion, agreed to consummate a union with the name agreed on as the Canada Presbyterian Church. The union duly took place in Montreal on 5 June 1861.

The issue of church/state relations remained unresolved by Canadian Presbyterians. In the Basis of Union of 1875 a caveat was provided for subscription to the Westminster Confession:

²¹ Kemp 311.

²² Kemp 314.

²³ John Moir, “John Bayne,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Ed. John English and Réal Bélanger, vol. 8 (1851-1861) 256. See also Angus Sutherland, “John Bayne: Champion of the Free Church of the Canadas,” *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 30 (2005): 61-67.

²⁴ Minutes of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada, 24th Session, 388, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Toronto.

²⁵ *The Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada 1857-1860*, 19-20.

“it being distinctly understood that nothing contained in the aforesaid Confessions or Catechisms, regarding the power and duty of the Civil Magistrate, shall be held to sanction any principles or view inconsistent with liberty of conscience in matters of religion.”²⁶

Sixty-seven years later this omission was drawn to the attention of The Presbyterian Church in Canada by a memorial from the Presbytery of Paris and by Overture 18 of the Synod of Hamilton and London. The Presbyterian Church in Canada had been left “without a clear and defined doctrine of Church and State” and Assembly was asked to produce a confession of faith “with respect to the powers and duties of the Civil Magistrate and the relation which exists, under the Lord Jesus Christ, between the Church and the State.” After a long and torturous process taking thirteen years, the *Declaration of Faith Concerning State and Nation* was adopted as one of the subordinate standards of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. William Klempa stated during the fiftieth anniversary of its adoption: “The *Declaration* was a remarkable achievement for a small national church with limited theological resources.”²⁷ This was the ultimate legacy of the process that led up to the Union of 1861.

Meanwhile, United Presbyterians in Scotland had looked from afar with anxiety as to what they regarded as possibly a union based on compromise. “A Word from Scotland” published under the pen name “Mersianus”²⁸ in the *Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* wrote that forbearance was a two-way street and “we consider their views as erroneous as they can regard us.” And in speaking to others, “The uniform conviction is that the United Presbyterian Church in Canada cannot agree to the Fourth Article unexplained, without a surrender of a principle of perhaps all but universal belief within her pale.” And added: “they owe much to Christian brotherhood and love, but they may also be reminded that they owe much to Scripture truth.”²⁹

Given that strength of feeling in Scotland, after the decision made in October 1860 the United Presbyterians asked William Fraser as Clerk and Alexander Drummond of Shakespeare as Moderator to draft a letter of explanation to the Scottish church. Expressing “the hope that we have entered upon a course which will meet with your ready and cordial approbation,” it went on to suggest that “the example set in the colonies may exert its influence on the Presbyterian church in the fatherland; that we may yet see its large divisions there, drawn towards each other as with one heart and one soul, gather into the same fold, and that the only strife which shall thenceforth exist shall be that so strongly urged by the Apostle, ‘Striving together for the faith of the Gospel.’”³⁰ It would be another forty years before that would happen.

The last act of the United Presbyterian Church, on the Tuesday evening before the merger ceremony, 4 June 1861, in Lagauchetiere Street Church was an act of worship led by Alex Drummond as Moderator. He concluded his message with a moving summation of sixteen years of struggle to birth a new denomination:

²⁶ Gregg, *Short History of the Presbyterian Church* (1892) 191.

²⁷ William Klempa, “*Church and Nation Declaration Revisited*” *CSPH 2005 Papers*. 28. See also M. DiGangi, “*Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation*” *Channels* 22.1 (Winter 2006).

²⁸ A pseudonym, identified only as “a most respectable Minister of the U. P. Church of more than twenty years standing.” *The Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* 7.3 (March 1860): 72.

²⁹ *The Canadian United Presbyterian Magazine* 7.3 (March 1860): 70.

³⁰ *Minutes of the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada*. 439.

We look back over the year of negotiations with the Sister Church and think of the difficulties that have been surmounted—the obstacles that have been removed—the heart-burnings and jealousies and strifes, that have been exchanged for mutual love and confidence. Surely God has fulfilled his promise, and his presence has been with us. We look into the relationship so close and gratifying and helpful, that has subsisted between us and the mother church, for over a quarter of a century, which will, to a certain extent be broken up, and we might regret the action that leads to this result, did we not feel assured that the Church in Scotland will heartily rejoice over the union and regard it, as another reward of her missionary enterprise. And we look forward to the work still to be done in this country and note the hindrances in the way, arising from the carelessness and worldly-mindedness and skepticism of the age; and we cannot but rejoice at the prospect of having our hands greatly strengthened and our hearts encouraged and a new impetus given to ministerial and missionary zeal. O, for his presence to direct and animate us. Lord, send now prosperity.³¹

The next day, one hundred and fifty years ago, a church was born amid compromise that was genuinely Canadian, reflective of a new identity, and prepared to advance with courage and determination, in a new country, helping to set a new direction in a colony that was, like the church formed that day, coming into new maturity and independence.

³¹ *God's Presence With His Church* [sic]: *A Sermon Preached By Rev. A. A. Drummond, Shakespeare, C.W.* (Prescott: Evangelizer Office, 1861) 4.

Challenges and Conflict in Nineteenth-Century Francophone Evangelization: Jules Bourgoin and the Pointe-aux-Trembles School¹

Jason Zuidema

In the group, we could pick out a tall young man, thin and upright like the letter 'T'. He appeared a bit nervous, but he had a great deal of energy and his gaze alone was enough to make us understand that he had come to Canada to do useful work. He willingly engaged in conversation, was charming in his way of doing things, knew how to make himself liked and in only a short time made friends. This man was Jules Bourgoin!

– R.-P. Duclos, on the arrival of Bourgoin to Montreal in 1868²

The work sponsored by the French Canadian Missionary Society (FCMS) had already spanned more than a generation by the time Mr. Jules Bourgoin arrived in Montreal.³ Duclos, in his history of French Protestantism in North America, notes that this tall and thin man was part of a fourth significant group of missionaries to be attracted to the work in Lower Canada. Though the work had already begun some time before Bourgoin arrived, he seemed to enter at a period when the personnel and structures were finally gaining momentum.⁴ Shortly after Bourgoin arrived in Quebec, the Annual Report of the FCMS included these words:

There can be no doubt that the French Canadian people are now more open to receive the Gospel than they were some years ago. They are becoming more independent, asserting the right to think for themselves on the matters of religion, and are perusing the bible, notwithstanding the prohibitions of the priests, who see this dawning freedom of opinion, and set themselves to suppress it. [. . .] No doubt this awakening is the result of education, the circulation of God's Word, and the evangelistic labors of this and other societies.⁵

No doubt, this increasing optimism could be and was challenged by others within and outside of French Canada. However, it was in this narrative of missionary progress that Jules Bourgoin would labour for the rest of his life.

¹ Some of the material in this essay appeared in French as "Jules Bourgoin et la mission de l'Institut de la Pointe-aux-Trembles," *Bulletin de la société d'histoire du protestantisme franco-québécois* 32 (juin 2011): 1-5. I thank Richard Lougheed and Jean-Louis Lalonde for comments on an earlier draft.

² R.-P. Duclos, *Histoire du protestantisme français au Canada et aux Etats-Unis*, vol. 1 (Trois-Rivières: Collection d'or, 1998) 299. Unless otherwise stated, all translations from French language documents are my own.

³ More background on the FCMS and French Protestantism can be found in the various essays of Jason Zuidema, ed. *French-Speaking Protestants in Canada: Historical Essays* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

⁴ See, for example, the positive comments in the *Thirtieth Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society* (1869) (Montreal: Becket, 1869): 5.

⁵ *Thirty-Fifth Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society* (1874) (Montreal: Becket, 1874): 4. This sentiment is seen also in the *Feuille religieuse du canton de Vaud* (1866) 416.

Context

Although a few French-speaking Protestants had been in French Canada since the time of colonization, their numbers never amounted to much, even in the generations after the English Conquest in 1759-60.⁶ It was only in the wake of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Protestant religious awakenings in the rest of North America and in Europe that structures were put in place to augment their numbers.

The English Conquest created both greater opportunities for and greater resistance to French Protestantism. The English had the often difficult balancing act between the promotion of English cultural values (including the attachment to Protestantism) and the desire to keep the peace with the French-speaking Roman Catholic population.⁷ For their part, the Roman Catholic clergy were quick to accept the lordship of the English in order to retain many of the privileges other Roman Catholic clergy had lost by poor diplomacy.⁸ Although the English showed peculiar favour to French Protestants, they did not actively seek for the conversion of others for fear of public unrest.⁹ With the government in the hands of the English, the majority of the French Roman Catholic population now looked more directly to the Church for leadership.¹⁰

For almost three-quarters of a century following the English conquest, French Protestant work in Lower Canada received little interest.¹¹ Significant interest began because of the confluence of visions of various groups affected by the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Evangelical revivals in Europe and North America. Although many participating in this renewed vision for French Protestantism in Lower Canada did not deny their desires for the political and cultural assimilation of French Canadians, it was not the main motivation of the network of those interested in encouraging French evangelicalism. Rather, the primary motivation, that is, if their testimony is to be believed, was to impart what they believed was the liberating message of salvation based on their reading of Scripture.¹² Even though the initial participants had links to multiple Protestant denominations, they generally held to what one group considered "the great evangelical doctrines of the Protestant Faith."¹³ More specifically, however, all agreed that this soteriological freedom proposed in the evangelical Protestant Gospel was directly opposed to the theological error and social backwardness of French Canadian society under the control of the

⁶ On the life of French Protestants in this period see Jean-Louis Lalonde, *Des loups dans la bergerie: Les Protestants de langue française au Québec 1534-2000* (Montreal: Fides, 2002) 30-38.

⁷ Lalonde 39.

⁸ Terry Crowley, "The French Regime to 1760," *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, ed. Terrence Murphy and Roberto Perrin (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996) 54.

⁹ See Gilles Chaussé, "French Canada From Conquest to 1840," *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* 57, and Lalonde 39-41.

¹⁰ Chaussé remarks: "Yet in the midst of this collective ordeal there remained one consolation and hope: the Canadiens had not lost their religious leaders. In future they would look to these leaders and cling to their church with fierce determination" (57).

¹¹ Lalonde 49-50.

¹² For a similar thesis see Glen Scorgie, "The French Canadian Missionary Society: A Study in Evangelistic Zeal and Civic Ambition," *Fides et Historia: Journal of the Conference of Faith and History* 36.1 (2004): 67ff.

¹³ *First and Second Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society* (Montreal: Campbell and Becket, 1841): 3.

Roman Catholic Church.¹⁴ Hence, in the thinking of these mission organizations, focusing on spiritual improvement would inevitably lead to intellectual and social improvement.

Even though the mission work in Lower Canada would become increasingly denominational in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it was largely put in place by two evangelical missions societies in the 1830s and 1840s, viz. the Evangelical Society of La Grande Ligne and the French Canadian Missionary Society. Denominational work (ie. Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Anglicans) would inherit or work off of the foundations laid by these non-denominational societies. Although the French-speaking European missionaries would also be adopted into denominational work, it was in these non-denominationally affiliated works that they had their most significant impact.

The first of these works, the Evangelical Society of La Grande Ligne, started in the mid-1830s. Its roots were found in the *Société des Missions évangéliques de Lausanne*, even though the Lausanne missionary society never considered it one of its official missions. Viewed as sectarian by the established Reformed Church in Lausanne, the Lausanne society took a number of years and one false start before it was finally established in 1826 with the goal of promoting the Gospel among non-Christian peoples.¹⁵ With this vision in mind, the society began a missions institute to train new missionaries and publish frequent news updates in the local religious monthly, the *Feuille religieuse du canton de Vaud*, to promote its activities.¹⁶

Through the work of Henri Olivier, who originally came to minister to the native peoples of North America in 1834, but ended up serving among the French-speaking population of Quebec, a durable team of missionaries was established. Olivier would not remain in North America, but helped facilitate the arrival of Ms. Henrietta Feller (née Odin) and Mr. Louis Roussy, especially through his regular contributions to the *Feuille religieuse*.

On their arrival, Feller and Roussy had decided to move away from the large centres of French Canadian Catholicism like Montreal to the rural setting south of Montreal at Grande Ligne.¹⁷ It was here that French Canadian Protestantism started to gain a toehold. In September

¹⁴ For the Protestant and Roman Catholic visions of the other see: Christine Hudon, "Le prêtre, le ministre et l'apostat. Les stratégies pastorales face au protestantisme canadien-français au XIXe siècle." *SCHEC, Études d'histoire religieuse* 61 (1995): 81-99; David-Thierry Ruddel, *Le protestantisme français au Québec, 1840-1919: « Images » et témoignages*, Collection Mercure histoire No. 36 (Ottawa : Musée national de l'homme, 1983) 1-11; Richard Loughheed, *The Controversial Conversion of Charles Chiniquy* (Toronto: Clements Academic, 2009) 129-54.

¹⁵ Van Butselaar notes that a first *Société vaudoise évangélique des Missions* was created in 1821, but closed the year after by local authorities. Jan van Butselaar, *Africains, missionnaires et colonialistes : Les origines de l'Église Presbytérienne du Mozambique (Mission Suisse), 1880-1896* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 22.

¹⁶ For more on the *Société des Missions évangéliques de Lausanne (SMEL)* and the *Feuille religieuse du canton de Vaud (FRCV)* see A. Grandjean, *La Mission Romande* (Lausanne: Georges Bridel, 1917) 4ff.; van Butselaar, 22-23; and Dominique Vogt-Raguy, "Les communautés protestantes francophones au Québec: 1834-1925," diss., U. de Bordeaux III, 1996, 48-49.

¹⁷ The story of the Grande Ligne mission is one of the better-known stories in French Canadian Protestantism owing in large part to the well-written letters detailing the joys and struggles of the mission that Madame Feller would write for publication in periodicals in North America and Europe. Many of her letters and a great deal of other material is found in the Canadian Baptist Archives at McMaster University (Hamilton, ON), fonds ZC1—Mission la Grande Ligne. Some of this material was printed, for example, in the FRCV (1838) 88-96, 216, 525-31; (1839) 239-40; (1841) 216-18, 411, 467-73. Further, a number of articles and books were written promoting the work in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See, for example, John Mockett Cramp, ed., *A Memoir of Madame Feller* (Montreal: F.E. Grafton and W. Drysdale, n.d.). Finally, some recent essays have given a more scholarly

1836 and with the blessing of William Plenderleath-Christie, the local seigneur, they began to organize a small congregation in a house lent to them by a recent convert. By 1837 they had witnessed significant growth in the conversion of more than sixteen adults and the dedication of a chapel and residential school.¹⁸ They would remain an independent mission, but be supported by Baptists in Upper Canada and, later, also by American Baptists. However, friends in Lausanne were still encouraged to pray for and give liberally to the cause.¹⁹ Although there were still financial difficulties and some threat from Roman Catholic neighbours,²⁰ the Grand Ligne mission expanded to include other mission posts, a sizeable educational complex, and an increasing number of eager workers from among the new French Canadian converts.

Because of these successes in the area south of Montreal, other English Protestants began to see possibilities in the province. In the mid-1830s, the Montreal auxiliary committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society began to expand its activity in a few French Canadian parishes. This success led a number of committed Church leaders to form the new *French Canadian Missionary Society*.²¹ This society represented evangelicals from the spectrum of other English denominations such as the Presbyterians, Anglicans, Methodists, and some Congregationalists. The FCMS had cordial relations with the Grande Ligne mission and both tried generally to concentrate on different areas of the province. However, the French Canadian Missionary Society would benefit from closer financial ties not only to North American donors, but also Scottish, English, French, and Swiss.²²

The stated goal of the society was to seek the conversion of French Canadians from what it perceived were the errors and backwardness of the Roman Catholic Church to the truth and liberty of the Protestant Gospel. If their founding documents are to be believed, the society was not only to be understood as a tool to cultivate the English language, and particularly English values, among the conquered French Canadians.²³ Rather, a focus on the theology, the belief (or lack thereof) was forefront. It is no wonder that significant articles focused on the errors of Roman Catholic theology and on the negative impact this had on French Canadian society were a major part of every annual report of the FCMS.

history of the mission: Randall Balmer and Catherine Randall, "'Her Duty to Canada': Henriette Feller and French Protestantism in Quebec," *Church History* 71.1 (Mar. 2001): 49-72; Lalonde 159ff; see also the articles on Feller and Roussy in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1966-), available online at: <http://www.biographi.ca/index-e.html>.

¹⁸ See Lalonde 163.

¹⁹ *FRCV* (1840) 240.

²⁰ See, for example, the account of the Roman Catholic threats directed at Roussy and a fellow worker in the mission house at St. Pie. Certain Roman Catholics "assembled around the house in crowds, and began what is called a *charivari* (a horning), making a horrible noise, and throwing stones at the Protestants," N. Cyr, ed., *Memoir of Rev. C.H.O. Cote* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, n.d.) 33.

²¹ The minute book of the FCMS from 1848-1861 is still extant and is located in the Archives Nationales du Québec in Montreal, Fonds P607/12/1. Most of the annual reports of the society are available on microfiche. There are several articles and monographs dealing with the FCMS: Scorgie 67-81; Jean-Louis Lalonde, *Belle-Rivière: 1840-2006* 2 vols. (Montreal: Société d'histoire du protestantisme franco-québécois, 2007); and Vogt-Raguy, *passim*.

²² For a list of the first members and the auxiliary committees in Europe see: *First and Second Annual Report of the FCMS* (Montreal: Campbell and Becket, 1841): 11ff.

²³ See Scorgie 67.

The FCMS began its work in and around the northern half of Montreal. The mission decided on a first post in the area of Belle-Rivière, about fifty kilometres north of Montreal's centre.²⁴ Prior to the founding of the FCMS, several French Canadians there had noted their interest in the Bible and the evangelical faith, so it seemed most promising to start in this area.²⁵ The missionaries began the work of evangelization in the region around Belle-Rivière, and, soon, the education of children who had no opportunity to go to school.

One of the most pressing needs was the presence of an ordained minister to perform the various official pastoral duties. The committee naturally wrote to Geneva and was answered in the person of Jean-Emmanuel Tanner. Tanner, born in the Canton de Vaud, had studied under the leading figures of the Réveil in the late 1830s²⁶ and was pastor for several years in France before coming to Canada with his wife in August 1841. Tanner's arrival was welcomed by the other workers for, as the only one who could lawfully celebrate the sacraments, it made him a natural focal point of the group.²⁷

The education work of the Society was increasingly productive and it was soon decided to invest significant time and money into a school complex. After studying the region around Montreal, it was decided to buy a parcel of land on the east end of the Island of Montreal in the Pointe-aux-Trembles. Although the Institute would be taken over by the Presbyterians as the French Canadian Missionary Society's work became more attached to its various denominations, it was for the time the central hub of its activities, no doubt, again, because of the presence of Rev. Tanner. Indeed, the 1860 annual report notes that the Pointe-aux-Trembles station had become its most important centre of the Mission.²⁸

Although it would last until 1880, the French Canadian Missionary Society began to see its base erode by an increasing denominationalism among its members and workers. Besides the Grande Ligne mission which had already generally affiliated itself to the Canadian and American Baptists, the Presbyterians began their own missionary society in 1841, the Anglicans in 1848, and the Methodists in 1854.²⁹ Again, there were generally cordial relations between the members of these societies, and many workers were actually in the employ of more than one in their careers. However, due to the realities of mission geography and financing there was also some concurrence.³⁰

²⁴ One of the most well-known colporteurs of these first years was Joseph Vessot. His diary can be found in Ruddel 15-43. See also the monograph by Jean-Louis Lalonde and Pierre Grosjean, *Joseph Vessot: colporteur de bibles et pasteur presbytérien au Québec (1810-1898)* (Montreal: Société d'histoire du protestantisme franco-québécois, 2011).

²⁵ Lalonde, *Belle-Rivière* vol.1, 31.

²⁶ Tanner probably studied under Merle D'Aubigné at the Faculté de théologie de Genève (l'Oratoire). See the biography in Lalonde, *Belle-Rivière* vol. 2. See also L. Maury, *Le Réveil religieux dans l'Église Réformée à Genève et en France, 1810-1850*, vol. 1 (Paris: Fischbacher, 1892), 334.

²⁷ Lalonde, *Belle-Rivière* vol. 2, 596.

²⁸ *Twenty-First Annual Report of the FCMS* (1860): 5.

²⁹ Lalonde, *Des loups* 117.

³⁰ Vogt-Raguy 266ff. See also Richard E. Strout, "The Latter Years of the Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada: 1895-1912," (diss., Bishop's U., 1986) 3-4.

Jules Bourgoin

We now have the beginnings of a background to understand the dynamics of Jules Bourgoin's coming. Born in Glay, France in 1848, Bourgoin was at an early age influenced by the theology and work of the leaders of the Francophone *Réveil*. In fact, Glay was home to a small but significant evangelical Bible school. Founded by Henri Jaquet (who learned the *Réveil* theology in his native Switzerland) in the 1820s, this school educated hundreds of evangelists and colporteurs of Bibles during his lifetime.³¹ Bourgoin eventually joined their numbers, graduating from the school in 1868. Although he was mechanically inclined as a child, he was also quite interested in grammar and history and graduated from Glay with a specialization as a teacher.³²

It was at this school that Bourgoin became acquainted with the work of the French Canadian Missionary Society. In 1868, Jean-Antoine Vernon, also native of France, but an FCMS worker since 1854, had visited the Glay *Institut* to promote French Canadian work. No one, it seems, would have guessed Bourgoin would have taken such interest in this work, but he soon announced that he was ready to take up the challenge in Canada.³³ Reflecting on his motivation almost twenty years later, Bourgoin noted that it seemed to him at the time that he saw great honour to work in this "young France who seemed to be more ready to receive the Gospel than her mother."³⁴

Arriving later that year in Montreal, Bourgoin explored his options for work with the Society. Early on he visited the Pointe-aux-Trembles mission school, and was drawn to it. Duclos recalls that Bourgoin remarked that at this point: "I wanted to stay; I was a teacher. The children, the school, and the curriculum were appealing."³⁵ However, before teaching at the school, Bourgoin gained more first-hand experience in the difficulty of the work.

With Jean-Baptiste Muraire, another missionary with whom he had come from France, Bourgoin was sent by the FCMS to work in Quebec City.³⁶ Besides "cold, snow, and storm" and "lots of walking", Bourgoin would endure the scorn and persecution of his neighbours. One particular incident shaped his opinion of the difficulty of the work for years to come.³⁷ One day while crossing the Plains of Abraham, a small group of men threatened him with knives and threw rocks at him. It is not entirely clear what their motivation was, but it seems clear enough

³¹ See Ch. Henri Mathiot, *Henri Jaquet, fondateur de l'institut Glay (1788-1867)* (Montbéliard: Sté anonyme d'Imprimerie montbéliardaise, 1909); Jean-Louis Lalonde, "Les missionnaires québécois et l'Institut de Glay," *Bulletin d'Histoire de la Société du Protestantisme Franco-Québécois* 19 (2008): 3-8; Jean-Marc Debar, "Jaquet, Henri," *Les Protestants: dictionnaire du monde religieux dans la France contemporaine*, ed. André Encrevé (Paris: Beauchesne, 1993) 262-63.

³² See Duclos, vol. 1, 300.

³³ Duclos, vol. 1, 301.

³⁴ Jules Bourgoin, letter to the Presbytery of Montreal, 4 Oct. 1887, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614. This letter is written in English. It is not certain where Bourgoin learned English, but he seems to be relatively proficient in the language in his written correspondence with the leaders of the FCMS and the faculty of the Presbyterian College.

³⁵ Duclos, vol. 1, 301.

³⁶ The annual report of the FCMS says almost nothing about this period or these incidents. Seemingly the only thing the Annual Report has to say of Bourgoin's activities in Quebec are about his leaving: "J. Bourgoin, Quebec, labored with Mr. Muraire till his removal to Montreal in May." *Thirty-Second Annual Report (1871)*: 6.

³⁷ See Duclos, vol. 1, 302.

that it was for religious reasons. Several of the rocks found their mark. Even though he passed out from several shocks to the head, he had a good enough look at his attackers that he could remember their faces after he regained consciousness. Walking home with blood in his hair and on his clothes and needing medical attention, he happened to meet one of the perpetrators. He confronted him, grabbing him by the collar. However, he let go, telling himself that it was not for him to take justice in this situation. The attack did not discourage Bourgoïn, but only heightened his desire to work among this people.³⁸

The work continued in Quebec City, but Bourgoïn was soon called back to teach in several FCMS supported schools including that of East Templeton (near Ottawa) and the Point-aux-Trembles school. After a rather difficult time in Quebec City, this work was quite a bit more pleasant. In his 1873 FCMS Annual Report, Charles-A. Tanner noted Bourgoïn's commitment to the work of the school: "Mr. Bourgoïn, besides his ordinary duties in the school, has made himself very useful in understanding the superintendence of the Sabbath school and the conducting of the Sabbath evening service; which duties he discharges in the most acceptable manner."³⁹ The year following Tanner reiterated this point by saying that he was "ably assisted" by Bourgoïn.⁴⁰ Bourgoïn seemed to have found a place where he could prosper.

Apart from his service to the school, a source of happiness was his courtship of and marriage to Miss Léa Rondeau in 1873. Léa came from a staunchly Protestant family who had been involved in French evangelization for more than twenty years. The FCMS Annual Report makes her dedication to the work quite plain. In the 1873 report it states that on the resignation of a previous assistant in the girl's school: "The Committee offered the position of assistant teacher to Mdlle. Léa Rondeau, daughter of Mr. Norbert Rondeau, of Ste. Elizabeth, and a former pupil of Pointe aux Trembles. She has cheerfully resigned the comforts of a happy home, to take her part in the regeneration of her country-women."⁴¹ Léa's parents, Norbert Rondeau and Annette (née Vernier) of Ste. Elizabeth (near Joliette, northeast of Montreal) were both close supporters of the mission schools and had corresponded with Bourgoïn about his work and his missionary vision in the years previous.⁴² In the summer of 1873 the romance blossomed. Jules and Léa began to correspond with each other on a very regular basis. The content of the letters became so serious that Jules developed a simple coded language so that only she could read his letters. It seems that he replaced each letter of the alphabet with a symbol for which only Léa had the proper key to decode. By the end of the summer, Jules, no longer able to keep his love in code alone, wrote to Norbert and Annette asking for Léa's hand in marriage. Knowing that they would lose a daughter and gain a son, Norbert and Annette wrote Jules that his letter "touched

³⁸ In 1887 Bourgoïn wrote: "I had been engaged only a few months in the world when I was attacked by some of our persecutors with stones and knives and left for dead on the spot. This trial did not discourage me but it was like a new manifestation of the importance of the work in which I was engaged." Jules Bourgoïn, letter to the Presbytery of Montreal, 4 Oct. 1887, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

³⁹ FCMS Annual Report (1873): 11.

⁴⁰ FCMS Annual Report (1874): 6.

⁴¹ FCMS Annual Report (1873): 10.

⁴² One wonders if Jules already had his eye on Léa in 1872 and 1873. In any case, he sent letters to her parents about the mission work, including with them a picture of his erstwhile teacher Henri Jaquet and his wife. Mrs. Rondeau sent Jules a letter on 15 Dec. 1872 thanking him for the picture and again on 15 April 1873 thanking him for a further update on his work (Archives nationales, Montreal, P614).

their hearts” and agreed to his request knowing that he was the right man for their daughter.⁴³ The two were married in the fall of 1873.

All was not stable in their young married life. It was still not clear where Bourgoïn would have a permanent position until 1875. In fact, it would take the death of the recently installed director of the Pointe-aux-Trembles mission school, Mr. Des Ilets, for a position to open in which Bourgoïn could stay and grow. In the year previous to the 1875 report, C.A. Tanner had resigned to help deal with his wife’s illness. Des Ilets, who had been on leave from the school, following a “severe illness” in the session of 1870-71, came back to direct the school for a time in late 1874, but suffered a relapse in illness in 1875, passing away in May. In extending to him the offer of director, the school’s board saw Bourgoïn’s youth, but also his abilities: “He is a young man who, both from experience and ability, is well qualified for the responsible position.”⁴⁴ Bourgoïn readily accepted the post and remained in it until his own death in 1900. Although he did travel regularly to Montreal and visited his parents in France in 1879, Point-aux-Trembles was now his home. Under his tenure the school enjoyed a time of stability and educated a whole generation of students.

Bourgoïn’s contemporaries noted his passion and drive for the work in Point-aux-Trembles. Duclos writes: “We could write volumes on the work he accomplished, his influence on others, the conversions of young men, the fatigue he endured, or the constant refurbishing of the buildings, but we must limit ourselves [. . .].”⁴⁵ Bourgoïn seemed to have the experience necessary to teach students and lead the institution, but he also developed in his methods. For example, it seems that he was much more willing to use corporal punishment at the beginning of his mandate than later on. However, as he gained experience, he noted that students would stay on the right track more easily by loving them and giving them a lot of work. Corporal punishment wasn’t necessary if students had no opportunities to waste their time (fr.: “meubler leur temps”).⁴⁶

Bourgoïn’s strategies in discipline reflected his attitudes about what this school was to be. For him it was a *mission*. In his report included in the FCMS annual report of 1878, Bourgoïn noted succinctly his vision: “Our aim is to eradicate error and superstition from the minds of our pupils, and to lead them to the acceptance of Jesus as their only Saviour. The study of the Bible takes the first place in our subjects.”⁴⁷ He was eager to have Protestant children at the institution, but also those having grown up in Catholic homes. Although not without challenge, he clearly pushed for conversions among the children. In 1879 he noted that fifteen boys and girls, “have been hopefully converted to Jesus and continue to walk in the strait path among their ignorant and bigoted countrymen, fighting the good battle against error and superstition, often persecuted even by their own parents who do not share their religious opinions.”⁴⁸

This mission vision was seen in the goals of the institution under Bourgoïn. It was not simply a school for “perfect” children. Hence, he was much more prepared to channel the children’s weaknesses towards better things. The understanding he and his wife had of the

⁴³ Norbert and Annette Rondeau, letter to Jules Bourgoïn, 9 Sept. 1873, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁴⁴ FCMS Annual Report (1876): 11.

⁴⁵ Duclos, vol. 1, 304.

⁴⁶ Duclos, vol. 1, 305.

⁴⁷ FCMS Annual Report (1878): 13.

⁴⁸ FCMS Annual Report (1879): 16.

mission was graphically played out in a response to a letter from her aunt. In December 1890, Elisa Holiday, Léa's aunt, wrote Jules with some alarming news. In Rawdon the rumour was circulating that all sorts of bad things were happening at the *Institut*. One rumour was that a girl had stayed out late with a group of partying boys. Another was even more scandalous: "It has also been said that many boys commit horrible sins between themselves, and that they enjoy teaching these sins to others. For example, the sin of sodomy."⁴⁹ These rumors meant that some no longer wanted to send their sons to the school. Aunt Elisa gives the advice that Jules should find a trustworthy boy to work as a spy for him to identify the naughty boys and punish them.

Léa Bourgoïn responded to her aunt's letter for Jules. She acknowledged that it was difficult to raise a family and teach children in this context, but that "wagging tongues" made her work ten times more difficult. It was true that the students were often "poorly raised, ignorant and often mean-tempered" but that "if it was otherwise and if our students were saints we would close this school and go to work among the sinners elsewhere."⁵⁰ What the school needed, said Léa, was not discouragement, but support (and maybe even a few dollars?!). She concluded by saying: "I do not like the winds that blow down from Joliette and Rawdon for they don't bode well. I wait for them to become softer and better for my health [. . .]." The discipline of the children needed to be understood within the overall mission of the school.

Nasty rumours may have spread, but the school's reputation did not suffer too badly. Under Bourgoïn's tenure the school received record numbers of applicants. It was not uncommon to receive up to three hundred applications for only a few more than one hundred available spaces. Bourgoïn would have loved that Pointe-aux-Trembles could accommodate more students, but there were limited resources. Nonetheless, Bourgoïn oversaw significant reparation and building projects under his tenure.⁵¹ When the FCMS sold the building to the Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1880, Bourgoïn continued to oversee improvements. Indeed, like with the FCMS, in the first years under the Presbyterians it was noted that Bourgoïn was "admirably adapted" and "admirably qualified" for his work as administrator and director. In 1883, the Presbyterian Annual Report noted that, "His experience of twelve years in connection with the schools, his high Christian character, and his success as a disciplinarian and a teacher render him most invaluable to the work."⁵²

Although the religious mission of the school was clear, it was not always easy to have official ministers of the Gospel to work with the children. Jules had thought about studying for the pastoral ministry under French theology professor Daniel Coussirat at the Presbyterian College when he first arrived in Canada, but became so involved in the work that he did not get around to it. However, by the mid-1880s he saw this more acutely as a need. In the spring of 1887 he wrote to Presbyterian College principal Donald Harvey MacVicar to inquire about the steps he needed to take. He argued that with ordination he could take on more pastoral duties, have more influence when presenting the work at Point-aux-Trembles to potential donors, and teach the Bible courses with more authority.⁵³ MacVicar soon responded by saying that seeing

⁴⁹ Elisa Holiday, letter to Jules Bourgoïn, 4 Dec. 1890, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁵⁰ Léa Bourgoïn, letter to Elisa Holiday (n.d.), Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁵¹ These are often mentioned in the FCMS Annual Reports and the subsequent Annual Reports of the Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

⁵² Annual Report Board of French Evangelization of the Presbyterian Church (1883): 7.

⁵³ Jules Bourgoïn, letter to Donald Harvey MacVicar (Spring 1887?), Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

as Bourgoïn was already deeply engaged in mission work for almost a generation it would be possible for him to work out a program of study that would not require him to quit his post.

Over the next two years, Bourgoïn devoted as much time as his busy schedule would allow to study books and to take periodical exams that culminated in his graduation on 5 April 1889. His reading and exams covered history, exegesis, apologetics, homiletics, polemics, and the languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.⁵⁴ Most of the books were by well-known French language Protestant writers of the nineteenth century. His final grades were very good in theology and history and rather poor in the languages.⁵⁵ However, these grades were acceptable since, as Coussirat explained, he was being tested on the "basic notions" of these languages.⁵⁶

Bourgoïn was ordained on 9 November 1889 at 11:00 a.m. Dr. Coussirat led the ordination ceremony, with a sermon by A.B. Cruchet and an exhortation by Dr. Scrimger.⁵⁷ At the ceremony Bourgoïn reflected on why he came to love his work: "This is why I love Pointe-aux-Trembles [. . .] the mission school is a light that will remain in the annals of French Protestant history in Canada. In time our walls might fall down and be plowed over, but our work and our influence will not be destroyed. Among the older ones of its large family, there will be more than one historian to perpetuate its memory [. . .]."⁵⁸

Even with an ordained director, the work of the *Institut* carried on per normal. Besides the work of teaching, Bourgoïn continued to welcome new students and promote the work of the school to a broader constituency. He was rewarded with salary increases on a periodic basis.⁵⁹ He also had to deal with the range of issues from cooking to plumbing.⁶⁰ It was in large part due to Bourgoïn's energy and initiative that the *Institut* was an "école sanitaire."⁶¹

Nearing the end of the 1890s, Bourgoïn began to feel the effects of a quarter-century of hard labour. The spring of 1900 was particularly difficult. The students knew that his health was failing before they left for the summer holidays, but they never saw him again. On 10 September he died. Quite incredibly, his father, who had come from France to live near Jules and Léa in Canada, died the following day. Duclos writes, "the two caskets, both son and father, that were on display in the college chapel offered a striking spectacle. Even the Catholics, ordinarily so ferocious when it came to Protestants, were won over by the goodness of Jules Bourgoïn. A good number of them paid their respects before his casket as a sign of thanks."⁶²

⁵⁴ Jules Bourgoïn, letter to D.H. MacVicar, 7 Mar. 1889, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁵⁵ Calvin's *Institutes* - 90, Philosophy - 75, History - 82, Dogmatics - 75, Exegesis - 60, Polemics - 79, Theology - 78, Apologetics - 45, Latin - 50, Greek - 41, Hebrew - 35, Homiletics - 60. In D. Coussirat, letter to Jules Bourgoïn, 29 Mar. 1889, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁵⁶ D. Coussirat, letter to Jules Bourgoïn, 10 June 1889, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁵⁷ The "Edit de consécration" listing these details was published by the Presbytery on 19 October 1889, signed James Patterson.

⁵⁸ As cited in Duclos, vol. 1, 307.

⁵⁹ See, for example, R.H. Warden, letter to J. Bourgoïn, 23 Sept. 1881, Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.

⁶⁰ On 27 July 1881, Jules wrote to R.H. Warden about news of dissatisfaction at the school. If there is any truth to it, he surmised, it was probably the cooking in the girls' school. Further, in 1888 he was encouraged by Warden to order the newly available invention of toilet paper for the closets (ie. washrooms) of the school. Warden boasted that they already had toilet paper for two years at the college and it had significantly reduced the bills for plumbing. (Archives nationales, Montreal, P614.)

⁶¹ Duclos, vol. 1, 308.

⁶² Duclos, vol. 1, 313.

Daniel Coussirat said this of Bourgoïn at the funeral: “Let us remember that the source of his generous life was his faith in God’s grace, without any of his own merit.”⁶³ Coussirat’s words are a fitting testimony for a man who was so motivated by his sense of mission.

Conclusion

Besides the many interesting contours of the history of the FCMS and of the life of Jules Bourgoïn, we note in conclusion one key issue that our stories have evoked. We see in both the context in which Bourgoïn began his work and the work of his life that French-speaking Protestantism in Canada had a complicated relationship to the denominations involved in its growth. Although both major mission societies, the Grand Ligne mission and the French Canadian Missionary Society, purported to be independent and non-sectarian, there was never a unification of denominational work, strictly speaking. Two distinct, but related effects occurred as the mission work developed. On the one hand, because of the non-denominational and international roots of the mission work many French Protestants played down the theological divisions between the various Protestant groups, preaching a sort of pan-evangelical theology. This theology was agreed upon in its broad strokes with an emphasis on the importance of active evangelization. Hence, the groups could work together for the cause of French evangelism without getting weighed down by distinctives of church polity or confessional theology from the beginning. There is little indication in the nineteenth-century sources that participants wanted to return to what was perceived as any sort of theological hair-splitting of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Rather, many minimized or even ridiculed these distinctives—making some see them as a major stumbling block to further ministry.⁶⁴

Yet, on the other hand, even though the tendency was to push for a non-sectarian spirit among the French Canadian workers, all the workers ended up affiliating with an established English denomination by the end of the century. This is not to say that there was a total repudiation of other denominations, but, rather, denominational affiliation became all-the-more important for practical and monetary reasons even though there was a general tendency to play it down. For example, the FCMS wanted to stimulate the organization of Churches, but these needed pastors who were lawfully ordained and could celebrate the sacraments. These men would have to have an affiliation with some group.⁶⁵ It was on this practical level that theologically secondary items, like infant baptism, liturgy, or theological education became dividing factors.

⁶³ As cited in Duclos, vol. 1, 312.

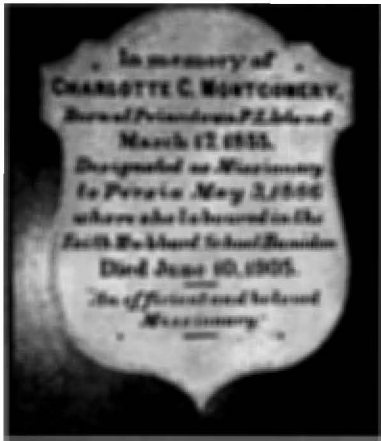
⁶⁴ I have explored this tendency in relation to the Presbyterian affiliation of Charles Chiniquy: “Charles Chiniquy: The Meta-Denominational and Protestant Presbyterian” *Westminster Theological Journal* 72.1 (2010): 103-17.

⁶⁵ See, for example, the decision taken by the FCMS reported in its nineteenth annual report: “The decision taken by the Committee not to interfere with the organization of French Canadian Churches but to leave them entirely free to adopt whatever ecclesiastical constitution they might agree upon, making it the only condition of continued support that nothing in their principles will conflict with the profession of faith contained in the fundamental articles of the Society, has met with the cordial assent of the converts.” (1858): 27.

Annie and Charlotte Montgomery: Teachers and Evangelists in Persia

Jack C. Whytock

Several years ago when I was leading a bus tour group, we stopped to see the Princetown United Church in Malpeque (formerly called Princetown), Prince Edward Island. On the wall was a memorial plaque to Charlotte G. Montgomery, “Missionary to Persia.” It was because of this plaque that I set out on a trail to find out who this Montgomery lady was who went to Persia. This paper contains the findings from that trail of discovery which is still ongoing and just keeps becoming more and more interesting each year.¹



The first discovery that amazed me was that there were actually three Island women who went to work as missionaries in Persia (modern Iran) in the nineteenth century: Miss Annie Montgomery of Malpeque in 1882; Miss Charlotte Geddie Montgomery, also of Malpeque, in 1886; and Miss Adeline Hunter of Alberton in 1889.² Together these three women gave fifty-seven years of cumulative missionary service as educators in Persia. Since Annie was the longest serving of the three (thirty-five years) and also the first to go, she will receive the bulk of my focus in this paper. (I will only give a side note on Adeline Hunter.) I will present the case that as missionaries the Island Montgomery sisters combined education and evangelism as the two key components of their missionary work. In so doing, they are highly representative of single female missionaries in Protestant missions in the second half of the nineteenth century. The time period covered is c.1881–1917. This supports the assertion of Ruth Compton Brouwer (and others) that for Canada the era of most vitality for evangelical Protestants in foreign missions was the last quarter of the nineteenth century basically through to the First World War.³

¹ This “trail” took me to spend one week in 2010 researching in the archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, and I express my appreciation to the staff there for their excellent assistance. Also thanks to many “Islanders” who have spurred me along on the trail.

² I believe a local Malpeque history wrongly identifies Miss Melissa (Mabel) Manderson from Malpeque as a “Missionary to Persia” and a “Medical Missionary to China.” All records indicate only China and that there was no connection ever with Persia. See Malpeque Historical Society, *Malpeque and Its People* (N.p.: n.p., 1982) 81. There is no evidence whatsoever in the holdings of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Miss Manderson and the Persian mission. Mabel Melissa Manderson, M.D. served with the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, United States of America in Peking [Beijing], China at Union Medical College, Union Training School for Nurses, and the Sleeper Davis Hospital. See *Year Book Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1919* (Boston: Women’s Foreign Missionary Society, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1919) 66. A special word of thanks to Dr. Earle Lockerby for pointing out this source. This does raise need for more research about another woman from the Malpeque area who served through an American missionary agency.

³ Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-*

Thus this paper's time focus fits perfectly with the great era of foreign missionary work undertaken by evangelical Protestant churches.

The Montgomery Sisters

Today the immediate question which comes to mind is, "Were Annie and Charlotte related to Lucy Maud Montgomery?" The answer is yes, Annie and Charlotte were first cousins to Lucy Maud's father, thus first cousins once removed to Lucy.⁴ In one of Lucy Maud's stories, there is a reference to a cat from Persia brought back by a male missionary.⁵ I am convinced that Lucy Maud's imagination was inspired by her missionary cousins. I quote from *Further Chronicles of Avonlea*: "It had been presented to her [Aunt Cynthia] when a kitten by a missionary nephew who had brought it all the way home [Prince Edward Island] from Persia [. . .]"⁶

The three gravestones along the road in the Princetown Cemetery make the story quite tangible for the genealogist. Charlotte and Annie's grandparents were Donald and Nancy (Penman) Montgomery [stone #1]; Charlotte and Annie's parents were James Townsend Montgomery and Rose (McCary) Montgomery [stone #2]; and then follows stone #3, the daughter and granddaughter, Charlotte Geddie Montgomery.

Both Annie and Charlotte were born in Malpeque: Annie in 1847 and Charlotte in 1855. They attended the Fanning Grammar School in Malpeque and then the Normal School in Charlottetown before its amalgamation with the Prince of Wales College. I have not been able to confirm in which school Miss Annie first taught, but in 1878 she was on the staff of the Normal School in Charlottetown as the Model Teacher.⁷ John Harper's report for the "Provincial Normal School, 1878" includes this description:

During the year several changes have been made in the organization of the [Normal] School the appointment of Miss Annie Montgomery to the position of Preceptress, as an addition to the staff of instructors, having enabled me to arrange the work of instruction into three departments, corresponding to some extent with the district grades of Licences. I take this opportunity of testifying to the zeal and industry with which Miss Montgomery has conducted her classes [. . .].⁸

It appears Miss Annie was the first female to be on staff, hence the feminine title "Preceptress"; one cannot also help but wonder if Mr. Harper's report is also defending having a female instructor on staff in the Normal School. Miss Annie was also on staff in 1879, when the amalgamation of the Normal School with Prince of Wales occurred. Whether Annie taught more than two years in the Normal School appears uncertain. From the Normal School, she went to

1914 (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1990) 4.

⁴ Malpeque Historical Society, *Malpeque And Its People – Volume II: 1700-1999* (Malpeque, PE: Malpeque Historical Society, 2000) 59-61, 18c.

⁵ Lucy Maud Montgomery, "Aunt Cynthia's Persian Cat," *Further Chronicles of Avonlea* (1920; London: Harrap, 1979) 7-19.

⁶ Montgomery 7-8.

⁷ Marian Bruce, *A Century of Excellence: Prince of Wales College, 1860-1969* (Charlottetown, PE: Island Studies Press/PWC Alumni Association, 2005) 231.

⁸ John Harper, "Provincial Normal School Report," *Report of the Provincial Auditor on the Public Accounts of the Province of PEI for the Year 1878* (Charlottetown: Coombs and Worth, 1879).

teach at the Davies (sometimes spelled “Davis”) (High) School in Summerside, and this was her last place of Island employment before going to Persia. The Davies School opened in 1879, so she likely taught two years there (1880–1882).⁹

From my assessment of reports to date, I have concluded that while Miss Annie was Preceptress at the Normal School, her sister Miss Charlotte G. obtained her second class license in 1878 at the Normal School and then went to Summerside to teach in 1879. Prior to this, Miss Charlotte G. had taught for a year at Fanning Grammar School in the Lower Division, which would have been a third class license.¹⁰ The conclusion becomes obvious—these two Montgomery sisters were in the elite category of female educators on Prince Edward Island in the late 1870s.

The logical question then must be asked, “Why would these two Montgomery women, who appear to have been solidly entrenched in the educational work of Prince Edward Island, go to Persia?” There is a whole cluster of reasons. The church environment of these two women was an atmosphere of global missions concern. For Presbyterians on the Island, Malpeque (Princetown), New London, and Alberton were key centres for the missionary enterprise. The garden of foreign missions had been well watered in these areas through Rev. John Keir, Rev. Edward Pidgeon, Rev. John and Charlotte Geddie, and the Gordon martyrs.¹¹ The seeds of missionary enterprise had been planted here early, with roots of inspiration going back to the London Missionary Society’s adventurous annals and the establishment in Princetown of one of the earliest women’s missionary societies in all of Canada.¹² The great Presbyterian field of the 1880s, the New Hebrides (Vanuatu) in the South Pacific, was now much more mature and also much more influenced by Australia than by Canada.

A very significant factor was the Maritime connection with America. Annie and Charlotte would have been abreast of the foreign Presbyterian missionary fields conducted by American Presbyterians. They had family in Iowa and Massachusetts, and there was a healthy exchange of news about mission fields and needs from the Presbyterians to the south into Canada.¹³ Brouwer’s work here clearly establishes the triangular flow—Britain, America,

⁹ Marjorie McCallum Gay, ed., *Roads to Summerside, The Story of Early Summerside and the Surrounding Area* (N.p.: n.p., 1980) 99. Annie Montgomery’s sister Christie L. had taught in the Summerside Grammar School in 1878 and then appears to have transferred over to the new Davies (High) School in 1879. She was one of the first teachers in that new school. See Harper’s 1878 “Report” and compare this to the list of the first teachers for the Davies High School found in Gay, *Roads to Summerside* 99.

¹⁰ *Malpeque and Its People* (1982) 124.

¹¹ There is a fascinating genealogical family connection which could be explored here as well, because Mary Montgomery married Rev. Pidgeon. See “The Montgomerys of PEI,” File 1 of 2, at the Prince Edward Island Public Archives and Records Office, Charlottetown.

¹² I will not rehearse all this mission’s history here, tracing the lines back to Rev. Pidgeon and the London Missionary Society and through to the emergence of a strong women’s missionary society work in many of these communities. Some of the lines are interesting but hard to assess the full level of impact in concrete terms. For example, Charlotte and Annie’s maternal grandfather (Rev. John McCary) was supposedly one of the first Methodist missionaries to Newfoundland. I have not been able to verify this genealogically beyond “The Montgomerys of PEI,” File 1 of 2, at the Prince Edward Island Public Archives and Records Office, Charlottetown.

¹³ Annie and Charlotte Montgomery’s sister Christie (Christiana) married James Gordon, and they lived in Malden, Massachusetts. Annie did visit Malden and also Iowa in 1909 when home on furlough. Iowa was home for her sister Margaret (Nancy) Montgomery, who had married Donald Montgomery. They resided in Ireton, Iowa, and the Hon. Donald was an early pioneer of northwest Iowa.

Canada—with America being far more influential than we have often given credit for this great era of Canadian foreign missionary endeavour. Two Canadian Presbyterian women had already gone to India to work with the American Presbyterian mission board. India would remain popular, but for American Presbyterians in the 1870s and 1880s, another field which received much attention and interest was Persia. It was also a field where educational mission was a central plank of the work, and single female teachers were needed to continue to expand the work. Thus it may strike us as odd today—why Persia? But given the context of these women, the circles in which they grew up, and the precedents of others in Canada, coupled with close family ties to the States, it is quite logical. American Presbyterians have had a long interest in Persia dating back to the 1830s with the American Board of Foreign Commissioners and then the 1870s as their own organized field under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.¹⁴

There is another important factor to be stressed: this was the era of single female missionaries.¹⁵ The era immediately before this had far fewer single females. One will often see that there are more women than men in the missionary group photos of many stations.¹⁶ Many of these women in the 1870s and 1880s were single and were undertaking pioneering mission work often through education. The Montgomery sisters were actually riding on the crest of that great wave of single female missionaries.

Hamadan, Persia

Miss Annie went to the central Persian city of Hamadan in 1882. Geographically it lies about half way between Baghdad and Tehran. Hamadan of 1882 was quite a contrast to Prince Edward Island. Culturally and linguistically it had a fascinating mix. There were Persians who spoke Farsi and who were predominately Muslim yet from a variety of tribal groups. There were Assyrians who spoke a dialect of Aramaic and many of these were either Orthodox or Nestorian. There were Armenians who spoke Armenian and had been brought from Eastern Turkey to Persia by the Persians, many of whom were Orthodox. There were Jews who spoke Farsi on the street and Hebrew in their homes and in worship. There were Medes or Kurds, a smaller ethnic enclave distinct from the Persian Muslims. Hamadan was the place which claimed the tombs of Queen Esther and her uncle Mordecai and from whence the great Jewish Feast of Purim originated. What a city for the Island teachers to enter! Hamadan then and even today was known for its great Persian carpets and had its own distinctive carpet traditions.¹⁷ It was an area

¹⁴ *The Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America [P.C.U.S.A.] (1881)* (New York: Mission House, 1881) 42.

¹⁵ See a work which has now become a standard in this field: Ruth A. Tucker, *Guardians of the Great Commission: The Story of Women in Modern Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988) and also Ruth A. Tucker and Walter Liefeld, *Daughters of the Church: Women and Ministry from New Testament Times to the Present* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1987). See also Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer UP, 1997).

¹⁶ In the Hamadan Missionary Group photo of April 1889, the statistics are five women and three men. (Image held by the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia as RG116, "Iran Photos.")

¹⁷ One of these Persian Hamadan carpets is in the Anne of Green Gables Museum at Park Corner, Prince Edward Island together with other items such as Persian money, a vase, spoon, beads and craftwork. Viewed by the author 1 July 2010 at Park Corner, PEI. Special thanks to Pam Campbell for allowing me to examine each of these Persian items brought back to PEI by the Montgomery sisters (we believe by Annie in particular on her furlough of

where there were social challenges that the Island teachers would encounter: women were discouraged by many from learning to read; the wine industry of the Jews, Armenians, and Assyrians created various social issues; and there were new social customs on arranged child marriages. And what a cold city Hamadan could be. It has been described as the coldest city in all of Persia with heavy snowfalls in winter. Adeline Hunter, in her application to the Board of Foreign Missions PCUSA in New York, said she believed that weather on PEI prepared her for Persia. Perhaps it really did! What a place Hamadan was—the ancient capital of the Medes, the place Alexander the Great (Ezra 4:2) came and conquered (Ecbatan), one of the world's oldest continuously inhabited cities—quite a contrast to Princetown (Malpeque), Prince Edward Island.

The Presbyterian mission in Hamadan built upon the work of colporteurs who came there in the 1870s. In 1881 the first residential Presbyterian missionary began work in Hamadan. This was Rev. James W. Hawkes, who established a boys school.¹⁸ (The period of 1881–82 was also the time of a localized awakening amongst many Jews of Hamadan.)¹⁹ The next year Miss Annie arrived, and the title “the foundress of girls’ education in Hamadan” was accorded her because of her pioneering educational work. She immediately established a girls school which initially was for Armenian and Jewish girls. In 1882 Miss Annie started with twenty students, by 1884 she had forty-eight students, by 1886 seventy-two, and by 1888 ninety-three, sixty-five of whom were day students and twenty-eight boarding students.²⁰ Also by then a change had occurred as there were now several Persian Muslim girls in the school as well.²¹ The school eventually was named the Faith Hubbard School.²² It reached over one-hundred students in the 1890s with 104 students in 1892 and 121 in 1900.²³ In 1912 the reports show 108 students at the Faith Hubbard School in Hamadan plus another twenty-four in the branch school in Sheverine.²⁴ We need to pause to consider three facts. First, though the school which Annie founded was a girls school, it was not just for girls as small boys also attended before they were transferred into Rev. Hawkes’

1908 and the dedication service that year) and now belonging to this museum.

¹⁸ Arthur Judson Brown, *One Hundred Years: A History of the Foreign Missionary Work of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., With Some Account of Countries, Peoples and the Policies and Problems of Modern Missions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1936) 505.

¹⁹ *The Forty-Fifth Annual Report of the Boards of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1882)* (New York: Mission House, 1882) 58.

²⁰ *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1884)* (New York: Mission House, 1884) 71; *The Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1886)* (New York: Mission House, 1886) 91; *The Fifty-First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1888)* (New York: Mission House, 1888) 90.

²¹ *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 90.

²² It was named in honour of Mrs. Faith Hubbard, who was the late president of the Women’s Board of New York, PCUSA. *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 90. The Women’s Board was a vital source of revenue, personnel, prayer, and encouragement and can easily be ignored next to the presence of the denominational Board of Foreign Missions. See Robert, *American Women in Mission* 302.

²³ *The Fifty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1891)* (New York: Mission House, 1891) 159; *The Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1892)* (New York: Mission House, 1892) 196; *The Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1900)* (New York: Mission House, 1900) 196.

²⁴ *The Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1912)* (New York: Mission House, 1912) 354.

Boys' School.²⁵ Next, Faith Hubbard School, Hamadan also established "branch schools" in the outlying villages as well as "satellite" schools run by graduates of the Faith Hubbard School.²⁶ And third, Miss Annie saw the boarding school (including staff) as a "family."²⁷

The school was truly multilingual. Farsi, Armenian, Hebrew, and English were all used in the school's curriculum.²⁸ It developed out of a mud building which was later replaced by a brick two-storey building. The reports indicate that Miss Annie was continually negotiating over property, partly because of refusal to rent or sell to Christians. From all accounts, Miss Annie's perseverance won the day for the schools. The 1914 Annual Report reads: "Miss [Annie] Montgomery, after long years of effort, has succeeded in obtaining a piece of property which she has presented to the station [. . .]."²⁹

Miss Annie set forth a highly organized curriculum, no doubt a reflection of her teaching career in Charlottetown at the Normal School at the Prince of Wales College. Ordinarily it would take seven or eight years of study.³⁰ Kindergarten was first. Then the school was divided into three departments, each with two grades: Primary, Intermediate, and Senior departments. The Senior two grades often took three years to complete. The girls would graduate and marry, or many became teachers in the new branch schools, or helped as nurses in the dispensaries and hospitals of the mission across Persia. Miss Annie's goal was to see a women's college established as a central women's college in Persia that would provide an opportunity for the girls to continue their studies. A bequest of \$200,000 was secured for such an undertaking; however, the college was not built before the time of Miss Annie's death. (This women's college would become Sage College in Tehran.) The school also had the standard features of music, concerts, and industrial arts (sewing and carpet weaving). The report on the school Christmas concert of 1885 gave this news: "Our Christmas this year was most enjoyable. Armenian boys sang for us. Jewish boys chanted part of Solomon's Song and some Psalms in Hebrew."³¹

²⁵ *The Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1890)* (New York: Mission House, 1890) 182; *The Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1893)* (New York: Mission House, 1893) 162; John Elder, *History of the Iran Mission* (N.p.: n.p., n.d.) 34.

²⁶ *The Sixty-Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1901)* (New York: Mission House, 1901) 240. These "extension sites" are not included in the Annual Reports to the Board of Foreign Missions. Thus it is difficult to estimate the full impact of the Faith Hubbard School. "Extension" work does appear to have been separate from "branch" schools, where Annie would also visit and give supervision. I conclude that the "extension" sites were more summer schools, thus of a shorter duration, yet nevertheless offering basic education to children who otherwise would have had no opportunity for such.

²⁷ *The Fifty-Third Annual Report* 182. Annie was quite adamant that this was not "simply a boarding school" but a "family."

²⁸ *The Forty-Seventh Annual Report* 71; *The Fiftieth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1887)* (New York: Mission House, 1887) 87.

²⁹ *The Seventy-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1914)* (New York: Mission House, 1914) 329.

³⁰ The curriculum which Annie oversaw was communicated in great detail to Dr. Gillespie, the executive of the Board of Foreign Missions. I have transcribed Annie's written report and included it as Appendix A to this paper. Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, 30 Mar. 1894, letter to Dr. Gillespie, New York, "Curriculum of the Faith Hubbard School, Hamadan," MS in Volume 11 "Iran Letters: East Persia Mission (1894-1896): Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence and Reports, Microfilm Series, Reel #126. Letter #12, MF10 F761a.

³¹ Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Dr. Irving, 10 Feb. 1885, Annie Montgomery File 66-252, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

The Two “E” Philosophy

Presbyterian mission philosophy and methodology of the nineteenth century was heavily committed to the two “E” missiological principle, namely education and evangelism, also sometimes called “educational evangelism.”³² The work of Miss Annie and Miss Charlotte Montgomery in Persia is a perfect illustration of this methodology of mission. Miss Annie, often referred to as “the chief teacher and superintendent of the Boarding and Day Schools of Hamadan,”³³ was an educator and an evangelist, as was Miss Charlotte. Education and spirituality were not divorced, and the roots of this thinking ran deep in Scottish Presbyterian thinking on missions. Let me single out eight related activities these two educators undertook while in Persia which demonstrate the two “E” principle at work.

First, **mission bands** were organized in the schools for the children. These mission bands collected offerings which were forwarded to Presbyterian mission work in Korea and in West Africa.³⁴ The teachers, secondly, helped organize special **Jewish Christian services** on Saturday nights in the Jewish Quarter of Hamadan.³⁵ From this a **church plant** emerged (Penuel Church, which consisted of Jewish and Muslim converts). Third, the two ladies organized **ladies’ rallies** and meetings at the Faith Hubbard School. These rallies often saw ninety to one hundred in attendance.³⁶ Fourth, scheduled **family visitation** was conducted in Hamadan—Armenian families at Christmas, Persian Muslim families during the winter, and Armenian and Jewish families at Easter. Miss Annie wrote, “The importance of such hand-to-hand work can scarcely be overestimated [. . .].”³⁷ Fifth, separate **boys’ prayer meetings** for the boys from the Faith Hubbard School and the Rev. Hawkes’ Boys’ School were organized and **offerings** collected for Africa.³⁸ Sixth, on Sunday nights the **King’s Daughters** met as a **Prayer and Experience meeting**.³⁹ Seventh, **village itinerate preaching, visitation and colporteur** work was done. These itinerate trips were undertaken by both Montgomery women, but Miss Annie’s were far more extensive. The time away on these itinerate trips varied, sometimes just one to two weeks, sometimes one month, with the longest being six weeks.⁴⁰ On Annie’s itinerate village trip in the fall of 1899, she preached to the women in sixteen villages, conducted family visitation and distributed literature and occasionally food.⁴¹ These itinerate missions were also a way to

³² See Lyle L. Vander Werff, *Christian Mission to Muslims*, The William Carey Library Series on Islamic Studies (1977; Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 2000) 132-38.

³³ *The Forty-Ninth Annual Report* 91.

³⁴ *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 90.

³⁵ *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 91.

³⁶ *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 91.

³⁷ *The Fifty-First Annual Report* 91.

³⁸ *The Fifty-Third Annual Report* 182.

³⁹ *The Fifty-Fifth Annual Report* 196; *The Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1893)* (New York: Mission House, 1893) 163.

⁴⁰ *The Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1895)* (New York: Mission House, 1895) 171; *The Sixty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1899)* (New York: Mission House, 1899) 189-90.

⁴¹ *The Sixty-Second Annual Report* 189.

encourage students to attend the mission schools, and to check on branch schools on occasion. Miss Annie made this comment about one of her trips, “[. . .] long and fruitful visit among the villages to the south.”⁴² Concerning another period of itinerancy, she describes what she distributed during a twenty-one day tour: distributed Farsi books to pilgrim caravans, gave out seventy gospels or gospel portions and left tracts in every village.⁴³ She records one story of helping an impoverished and divorced woman in one of the villages, a woman divorced because a load she carried fell on her foot which eventually was amputated. She was “divorced because he [the husband] did not want a lame wife.”⁴⁴

Besides all of the above eight activities, Annie was also an **English as a Second Language** teacher. Her students were often Muslim boys who wanted to learn English and came to her for instruction.⁴⁵ It is again difficult to assess if and how many “conversions” resulted from this ministry. She also taught English to Armenian boys and men. One young Armenian man to whom she taught English was Hovanness Nahapetian, who later became the first Presbyterian minister ordained in Persia (in 1893). He in exchange helped Annie with her Armenian.⁴⁶

The work of Faith Hubbard School directly impacted St. Stephen’s Church. Well over a hundred, perhaps over 150, related to the school’s ministry became members of St. Stephen’s Church, and many of these received baptism.⁴⁷ From what I can discern, the majority of these additions were from Armenian background, unlike the Penuel Church, who were Jewish or Muslim in background. Clearly the goal with the Armenian ministry was to revive true Christianity amongst the Armenians, many of whom were lapsing from the faith and becoming Muslim, or else to awaken true Christianity in a weak and deformed culturally-bound form of nominal Christianity. There are clear evidences of Muslims being brought into the churches because of Annie Montgomery’s ministry. The reality is a great ethnic and religious complexity existed in Persia, and hence there is some lack of precision concerning religious background prior to conversion to evangelical Protestantism. Annie wrote the following in the 1901 report:

It is Isaac’s and Ishmael’s descendants dwelling together in love. To see, thus Persians, Koords and Jews all associating on equal terms and harmony with one another, pleasantly recalls Pentecostal days. It also affords a practical illustration of harmonizing influences of the Gospel of Christ triumphing over the bitter enmity and strong racial prejudices, and reminds us of the Spirit and times of the primitive Church.⁴⁸

Education, literature, itinerant visitation, ESL, prayer meetings, etc, all belong together for a unified mission philosophy—evangelism.

⁴² *The Sixty-Second Annual Report* 190.

⁴³ *The Seventy-Seventh Annual Report* 328.

⁴⁴ *The Seventy-Fifth Annual Report* 353.

⁴⁵ *The Forty-Ninth Annual Report* 91.

⁴⁶ Sherman and Alyse Fung, Pasadena, CA, letter to the author, 18 June 2010.

⁴⁷ *The One Hundred and Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA (1908)* (New York: Mission House, 1908) 352; and Elder 37.

⁴⁸ *The Sixty-Fourth Annual Report* 238.

A Side Note on Adeline Hunter

I have said very little about Adeline Hunter and will give here a sidelight on her missionary undertaking which will also bring illumination to the reality and difficulty of the Persian undertaking. Adeline Hunter was a member of the Presbyterian Church in Alberton and studied for two years at the Prince of Wales College.⁴⁹ She obtained a Grammar School license and served two years as principal of the Grammar School of Alberton prior to joining the missionary team in Persia, again a rather elite female educator on the Island. In her letter dated 5 January 1889 to the Board of Foreign Missions, New York she informed the Board that she could teach Latin, French, Greek and Music “but not drawing.” Miss Hunter arrived in Hamadan in 1889 and immediately began language studies. However, by 1891 her physical and mental health had deteriorated, and she had to leave Hamadan. Dr. E. W. Alexander of the Hamadan missionary team accompanied Miss Hunter from Persia to London.⁵⁰ She eventually returned to Prince Edward Island and married Dr. James Handrahan of Charlottetown.⁵¹

A female colleague of Miss Adeline, Anna Schenck, wrote to Dr. Gillespie back in New York, “Miss Hunter’s distressing illness is a surprise and blow to us all. She came out with such a picture of health.”⁵² This highlights the reality of the difficult life many of these women endured in the mission work and the costliness in both mental and physical sacrifice.

Women, Voting and The Secretary of the Board

One area, namely that of female missionaries, which was discovered while going through the correspondence on the Persia Eastern Mission (but which was not in the printed annual reports) was that of the matter of women voting on the field and also the high number of female single missionaries. The correspondence is not always conclusive, but it does certainly show that both of these closely related subjects were topics of discussion on the field in the 1880s and 1890s.

Adeline Hunter raised the issue of voting in correspondence with Dr. John Gillespie, the then secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the PCUSA. Miss Hunter was firmly of the opinion that women missionaries had a right to vote in mission business on the field.⁵³ Likewise, Annie Montgomery wrote to Dr. Gillespie of this same matter in January 1891 regarding the right of the missionary women to vote in the Station’s affairs. She posed this question to Dr. Gillespie, asking if the men will lose their vote on women’s work and further, “Loss of the privilege will take away the responsibility.”⁵⁴ The impression from these letters is clearly that

⁴⁹ Miss Hunter’s minister, the Rev. Arthur Carr, who was born on Prince Edward Island, was very much a missions promoter. He had studied in part at Princeton, New Jersey, married a Keir, was secretary for the Synod’s Missions Committee, and wrote the letter of recommendation for Miss Adeline Hunter to the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA. See A. E. Betts, *Our Fathers in the Faith: Being an account of Presbyterian ministers ordained before 1875* (N.p.: Maritime Conference Archives, 1983) 25.

⁵⁰ “Adeline Hunter” 175-8, Vol. 9 #17 of Iran Mission Papers, F. L. Esselstyn, 26 Mar. 1891.

⁵¹ File RG 360-69-46 (Adeline Hunter, 1889-1892—Hamadan), Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; and Alice Green and The Alberton Historical Group, *Footprints on the Sands of Time: A History of Alberton* (Summerside, PE: Williams and Crue, 1980) 87.

⁵² Anna Schenck, 7 Mar. 1891, Hamadan, letter to Dr. Gillespie, New York, “Adeline Hunter” 175-8, Vol. 9 Col. #14.

⁵³ Adeline Hunter, Hamadan, letter to Dr. John Gillespie, New York, 12 Nov. 1890, File RG 360-69-46, “Adeline Hunter,” No. 66-82.

⁵⁴ Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Dr. John Gillespie, New York, 28 Jan. 1891, File 66-7 of Vol. 9, “Annie Montgomery.”

women were voting in Station matters, but some were of the opinion this was not the best policy. Was this coming from New York, and was it in part contextual to Persian circumstances and a matter of deference? The correspondence lacks clarity, and as far as I have seen the official reports do not mention it.

Charlotte Geddie Montgomery weighs in also on the matter of women but on a different aspect. There appears to have been some comments made by Robert Speer,⁵⁵ the secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions 1891–1937, in correspondence in 1897 that perhaps there were too many single female missionaries in Hamadan. Charlotte responded in January 1898 affirming that all was quite fine with the number which were there!⁵⁶ Again, it is difficult to come to a firm conclusion on this. Speer could have feared that since so many single female missionaries were involved in educational work, the primacy of evangelistic work was suffering or would suffer.⁵⁷ There is no evidence that Speer curtailed the work of women missionaries, single or married, so it does not appear to have been a major issue; one does not find it at all a constant in correspondence or official printed reports.

Evaluation

The pioneer work in education in Hamadan of Annie Montgomery, Charlotte Montgomery, and Adeline Hunter in the 1880s is highly representative of the late nineteenth century's single female missionary movement. These women were actually connected to a worldwide Protestant missionary advance.

That these three women gave fifty-seven cumulative years in foreign educational missionary service in Persia alone is an impressive fact, but the fact that the story has suffered from neglect should spur us to find a remedy. Annie returned to Prince Edward Island in 1908 to speak about missions and to dedicate a plaque to her sister Charlotte Geddie Montgomery in the Princetown Presbyterian Church (now United). Charlotte had left Hamadan in 1905 in poor health and arrived in New York on May 31st. There she underwent surgery in the Presbyterian Hospital on June 2nd. She died on 10 June 1905 of complications from that surgery. Her funeral service was held at West Presbyterian Church, New York and interment followed in Malpeque, Prince Edward Island.⁵⁸ The plaque dedicated in 1908 has remained a lasting visible memorial and has helped preserve something of Charlotte's contribution. Yet upon Annie's death no similar visible marker was erected on Prince Edward Island as she was buried inside St.

⁵⁵ A helpful essay on Speer is John F. Piper, Jr., "The Development of the Missionary Ideas of Robert E. Speer" in Wilbert R. Shenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy*, Studies in the History of Christian Missions (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004) 261-80.

⁵⁶ Charlotte Geddie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Robert Speer, New York, 6 Jan. 1898. Microfilm, PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions Correspondence and Reports Microfilm Series, Calendar Iran 1870-1900, Vol. 18.

⁵⁷ James A. Patterson, "Speer, Robert E.," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (New York: MacMillan Reference, 1998) 633; H. M. Goodpasture, "Speer, Robert Elliott," *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, gen. ed. D. G. Hart (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 1999) 249; and David Stone, "Anderson, Rufus," *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* 20. Rufus Anderson was Speer's "mentor."

⁵⁸ *New York Times* (New York), 14 June 1905, 9; *Boston Evening Transcript* (Boston), 14 June 1905, 6; and New York Passenger Lists, 1820-1957. I am indebted to Ruby Cousins for these newspaper references and ship passenger manifestos.

Stephen's Church in Hamadan.⁵⁹ Being missionaries to a Presbyterian board outside of Canada has also made the story less owned within Canada. It is fitting to record the place of these three Prince Edward Island women in Canadian missionary history. It certainly enriches Prince Edward Island Presbyterian missions history and shows an expansiveness which has often been missed. Just looking at names "Charlotte" and "Geddie" helps us to link Vanuatu, and another Charlotte Geddie, with Persia.

The Persian mission of Hamadan certainly was critical to the development of leaders in church and society for Persia and the diaspora of Persians, in particular Persian Christians, whether Armenian, Assyrian or Persian. These diaspora congregations or groups still exist, and when interviewed, links can be made back to such schools as the Faith Hubbard School of Hamadan. This has been the case with the Fungs of Pasadena, California, with whom I have been corresponding.

If one were to ask what kind of marks identified this Persian mission, the answer would be that it was evangelical, Christocentric, and established with the desire that an indigenous church develop. The time period of this paper, c.1881–1917, also takes us outside of the missions controversy which involved Robert Speer and J. Gresham Machen. Evidence in the research for this paper shows no such missions controversy.⁶⁰ Rather, when one reads the personal report of Speer's visit in 1920 to Hamadan after Annie's death, we conclude that Speer grasped something of the many facets to the work and the many complexities ("five races" as he calls them). "But complicated as the work may be, it is still as simple and direct as true missionary service is everywhere, and it is doing just one thing, making Christ known to all men in love and faithfulness and manifesting His power to heal the hurts and to redeem the lives of men."⁶¹

Where do we go from here?

This paper has helped tell the forgotten story of three female missionaries from Prince Edward Island to Persia in what was undoubtedly a key period in evangelical Protestant church history for missionary undertaking. But it is only a beginning. A major task now to undertake is for the historian and missiologist to draw a larger factual comparison; for example, the itinerant visitation work of the Zenanna work in India. How does this work compare with the study of Persia and these Island women? Next, the letters of the three women must be studied more carefully, particularly as they relate to Robert E. Speer and missionary methods and theory. The question also must be explored, "Did the three Presbyterian Island women missionaries inspire the Baptist women of Cavendish and Long Creek, Prince Edward Island to undertake single female missionary work?" (The Baptists on PEI would begin this in the 1890s.⁶² Is there any relationship?) It would be extremely fascinating to trace where some of the Persian diaspora

⁵⁹ The "Memorial Minute" adopted by the Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA is dated 19 November 1917 and can be found in the "file" on "Annie Montgomery," RG401-91-29 [RG360] at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. I am grateful to the Fungs for confirmation concerning the memorial marker in St. Stephen's Church, Hamadan. Private correspondence between the author and the Fungs, 18 June 2010.

⁶⁰ See D. G. Hart, "Machen, J(ohn) Gresham," *Dictionary of the Presbyterian and Reformed Tradition in America*, 145-46.

⁶¹ Russell Carter and Robert Speer, *Report on India and Persia by the Deputation Sent by the Board of Foreign Missions 1922* (New York: Mission House, 1922) 339-40.

⁶² Zonta Club, *Outstanding Women of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: Zonta Club, 1981) vii, 110-11. Unfortunately this collection does not have material on the Island women who served in Persia pioneering mission work there.

went who had passed through the Hamadan Presbyterian schools beyond what I have initially done for this paper. It would certainly help in an understanding of the global influence of the mission work. Then there are contemporary questions: what is the state today of the Penuel Church or St. Stephen's Church and of the legacies of these congregations and visible artifacts? What further history is there of Faith Hubbard School and the branch schools and student-led satellite schools following the death of Annie Montgomery in 1917? One wonders, "How long did they remain effective entities?" There appears to be a diversity of answers here.

There is also yet much more to be explored in the lives of these three women; more details about their lives still need to be known. For example, we need to explore the role of Persian hymns in Annie's ministry as this was something she helped develop. What about the remainder of Adeline Hunter's life? Was there ongoing missions support? Next, what of the Women's Board of New York? It needs to be more carefully explored, particularly in relation to money as this helps us understand more fully the role of the Women's Boards of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two other areas hardly mentioned yet contained in the letters and reports of the mission are the opposition from Armenian and Russian priests to the schools and their criticism of teaching girls, and the military conflicts and their impact on these schools and the mission work. After all, as Annie was dying Hamadan was being occupied by the Turks and refugees were streaming through the city. There is much yet to explore!

Appendix A

Faith Hubbard School, Hamadan (1894)

Primary Curriculum [Preceded by Kindergarten]

Grade 1:	
Children's Catechism, Part 1	Commandments
1 John – 3 chapters	O.T. stories
Armenian reading	1 John as a primer
Arithmetic	Numbers, rules
Geography	Continents & Oceans, map work
Persian Reading	From board or primer
English Reading	Charts I & II

Grade 2:	
Children's Catechism (Compte)	John's Gospel 1-3
Bible verses against lying	Bible Stories, Life of Christ
Armenian Reading	John's Gospel I & II Reader
Arithmetic	Numbers to 1,000 in 4 rules
Geography	Countries, capitals, rivers
Grammar	Parts of speech and simple analysis
Persian Reading	10 chapters of John's Gospel
English Reading	Charts III, IV, V, & VI
Writing	Armenian and Persian

Source: Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Dr. Gillespie, New York, Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA, 30 Mar., 1894, transcribed at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, March 2010.

IV & V Years – Intermediate Department Curriculum

Grade 1:	
Shorter Catechism, 1st half	Bible Verses against [?], 1 & 2 Peter
Bible History, Creation to Joseph	
Armenian Reading	Psalms – III & IV Reader
Arithmetic	Long division and compound rules
Geography (particular)	Western hemisphere
Grammar	Declensions, conjugation & analysis
Persian Reading	Luke’s Gospel and Hebrews
English Reading	John’s Gospel
Writing	Armenian, Persian, and English

Grade 2:	
Shorter Catechism, 2nd half	Duties of wives, husbands, parents & children
Bible History, Joseph to Captivity	7 chapters Gospel of Mark
Armenian Reading	Psalms
Arithmetic	[?] Decimals, and fractions
Geography (particular)	Eastern hemisphere
Grammar	Particular analysis
Armenian History	[?] Close of 4 th Dynasty
Persian Reading	New Testament Bible history
English Reading	Luke’s Gospel and Ephesians
Dictation	Armenian, Persian, and English
Composition	Simple subjects

Source: Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Dr. Gillespie, New York, Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA, 30 Mar., 1894, transcribed at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, March 2010.

VI & VII Years – Senior Department Curriculum

Grade 1:	
Gospel of Mark, 9 chapters	Duties of rulers and citizens
Bible History	Captivity to close of O.T. history
Armenian History	Complete
Arithmetic	Complete
Armenian Reading	Pilgrim's Progress
Grammar	Particular analysis
Geography	Complete
Persian Reading	O.T. History & _____
English	History of Europe
General History	To partition of Alexander's Empire
Physiology	
Dictation	Armenian, Persian, English
Composition	

Grade 2:	
Deut. 32, Eccl. 12, Isaiah 9 & 53, Luke 2, 1 Cor. 13, [. . .], 1 Tim. 2:2	
Bible History	Close of O.T. history to close of Apostolic period
General History	From Alexander to fall of Greece
European History	Complete
Persian Reading	Pilgrim's Progress
Geography	Physical
Physiology	
Algebra	
Dictation	English Persian

General Review

Missing also industrial arts.

Source: Annie Montgomery, Hamadan, letter to Dr. Gillespie, New York, Board of Foreign Missions, PCUSA, 30 Mar., 1894, transcribed at the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA, March 2010.

Appendix B

**IN MEMORY OF ANNIE MONTGOMERY.
BORN MAY 17, 1847 AT PRINCETON,
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.
DIED NOVEMBER 6, 1917 AT HAMADAN.
THIRTY-FIVE YEARS A MISSIONARY OF
CHRIST IN PERSIA.
'THANKS BE TO GOD WHICH GIVETH US
THE VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD
JESUS CHRIST.'
AGE 70.**

*Memorial Plaque for Annie Montgomery on her grave inside
St. Stephen's Church, Hamadan, Iran
(Note the spelling error – "Princeton", which should read Princetown".)*

**IN MEMORY
OF
OUR BELOVED CHARLOTTE,
BORN MARCH 17, 1855,
ENTERED INTO THE JOY OF HER LORD,
AND HEARD THE MASTER'S
WELL DONE GOOD & FAITHFUL SERVANT,
JUNE 10, 1905**

**CHARLOTTE GEDDIE MONTGOMERY
DUTIFUL DAUGHTER,
LOVING SISTER,
FAITHFUL FRIEND,
CONSECRATED CHRISTIAN,
SUCCESSFUL TEACHER,
ZEALOUS, DEVOTED AND
BELOVED MISSIONARY OF THE
CROSS
IN PERSIA FOR NINETEEN YEARS
HAVING DONE WHAT SHE COULD
SHE YET SPEAKETH SAYING
TO LIVE WAS CHRIST - TO DIE IS GAIN**

*Inscriptions from Charlotte Montgomery's gravestone,
front and back, Malpeque, Prince Edward Island*

Historical Address on the “Auld Kirk”, West Gwillimbury Township, Simcoe County¹

Michael Millar

Two thoughts came to me while I was preparing the timeline handout in preparation for today: first, that the Auld Kirk congregation only existed for forty-nine years, and second, that this building has now been closed for one-hundred and forty years. The fact that it remains in such seemingly good condition is a resounding testimony to both the skill of the builders and the quality of the materials used.

When we look back over the history of the people who established the Scotch Settlement in the South West corner of West Gwillimbury Township, between 1816 and 1820, according to Andrew Hunter’s *History of Simcoe County*, what stands out for me are the hardships they endured just to get here. These began with their long journey from their native Scotland to the Red River Settlement, the harassment inflicted on them by the agents and others of the Hudson’s Bay Company and then the arduous journey from the Red River to West Gwillimbury Township in Upper Canada. The Scots in Canada have been accused of being “clannish”, but justified, I think in this case, when you consider what the Selkirk Settlers had gone through. It was no wonder that they clung to each other, their Presbyterian heritage, and their Gaelic language.

The Auld Kirk was established by the Rev. William Jenkins of Richmond Hill, a minister associated with the Synod of the Canadas, a mission of the Associate Synod in Scotland, on 6 January 1822. The following year John Faris gave this property, for a small consideration, for a church site and cemetery. I don’t propose to relate chapter and verse on all that took place until 1871, I have set that out in detail in the handout I have prepared, but will cover some highlights. I will also mention that the congregation only enjoyed the services of a settled pastor for twenty-nine of the forty-nine years it was in existence.

While I’m sure that peace and stability were first and foremost on the minds of all of the people here, dissent split the congregation twice in the first twenty-two years of its existence. The first was in 1832 when, following the departure of the Rev. Peter Ferguson, the congregation’s first settled minister, a meeting was held to determine the future direction of the congregation. A majority at the meeting decided to apply to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland, the Kirk Synod, for supply of ordinances and to become a congregation of that body. The minority, led by Elder Adam Goodfellow, voted to remain connected with the United Synod of Upper Canada, as the reorganized Synod of the Canadas was then known, and to build a new church in the village of Bond Head. It is worth noting that this split seems to have initially left the two bodies on relatively good terms because both used the Auld Kirk building for worship. The Rev. William Fraser, who was connected with the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas (Secession), and

¹ This address was given at the Auld Kirk Memorial Service, Sunday, 10 July 2011. Given its relevance to the paper Mr. Millar prepared for the 2011 meeting of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, it is included in this publication of the Papers by invitation of the Society’s President, Dr. A. Donald MacLeod.

whose memory is still revered in this community, recorded in his diary as preaching here in Gaelic and English on Sabbath 22 March 1835, and possibly on the 29th as well. The amicable arrangement for both bodies to use the Auld Kirk for their respective Diets of Worship, was terminated abruptly early in April 1835. The newly inducted Kirk Synod minister, Rev. William McKillican, arrived at Adam Goodfellow's house demanding the deed to the church property and the Kirk Session Minute book, both of which Mr. Goodfellow refused to surrender. Until the new church in Bond Head was built in 1837, services of the Secession congregation were held in various member's homes and, on occasion, in farmers' barns.

The second rift occurred in the summer of 1844 and was far more serious. May of 1843 had witnessed the "Great Disruption" within the Church of Scotland that saw the founding of the Free Church of Scotland. This had been observed very carefully in British North America. Trouble had been brewing within the clergy of the Kirk Synod for quite some time over the issue of the Government Allowance. This was an annual payment from the Government to ministers of the "Established Church" for their support. While it generally applied only to Church of England clergy in British North America, it was also given to Church of Scotland ministers in areas where there was a preponderance of Scottish settlers. Many of the Kirk Synod ministers had no difficulty accepting the allowance of seven hundred and fifty pounds Sterling (£750/-/-), but several did, believing that by accepting this payment from the Government they were, in essence, placing themselves under an obligation to the Government—and that they were opposed to. The issue came to a head on 10 July 1844—exactly 167 years ago today, by remarkable coincidence—at the Synod meeting in Kingston, C. W., when twenty-six ministers, led by the Moderator, the Rev. Mark Young Stark of Ancaster, walked out of the meeting and formed themselves into the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada: the Free Church. The Auld Kirk congregation was without a minister at this time, but it was obvious the people were aware of the schism within the Synod, and it was equally obvious that some members of the congregation were Free Church sympathizers. The result was the establishment of Knox Church at the N. W. corner of Lot 8, Concession 4. Given the animosity that existed between the Established and Free churches elsewhere, it would be a safe assumption that this split within the Auld Kirk would have engendered some very long-lasting bitter feelings in the community. It should also be noted that the "Disruption" issues in Scotland and British North America were completely different.

What caused the decline and closure of the Auld Kirk? Perhaps it came on suddenly, after all, the congregation had taken down the 1827 frame church in 1869 and erected the building that stands today. James Croil, Agent for the Schemes of the Church of the Kirk Synod had inspected the buildings in the charge in 1865 and reported in 1866 "St. John's Church in the centre of the charge, and near the town of Bradford, is a neat structure; that at the Scotch Settlement is old and dilapidated [. . .]."² This report might have been the impetus for a new building, but why, two years after its completion in 1869, was it closed? Was it that families had moved away? Was it that the Sixth Line was no longer the main thoroughfare that it once was? Was it that many more families had gone over to Knox Church on the Fifth Line, leaving the Auld Kirk to struggle on with fewer and fewer people? Were the members simply attracted to the fine new church at Coulson's Hill? Perhaps we will never really know or fully understand why, but it undoubtedly seemed the right decision at the time for those who made it. Perhaps

² James Croil, comp., *Historical and Statistical Report of The Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with The Church of Scotland for the Year 1866*, 2nd ed. (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868) 44.

this might be a good time for me to conclude this little essay by asking all of us to reflect on all that happened here between 1822 and 1871, of births, marriages and deaths and how on this July afternoon we are here with so many of the early pioneers who cleared the land, established farms, married and raised their families, and now rest from their labours in this quiet churchyard. To paraphrase the words of St. John the Divine in Revelation chapter 14, verse 13 “[. . .] they may rest from their labours and their works do follow them.” Thank you.

Auld Kirk Timeline³

1818

Presbytery of the Canadas in Connexion with the Associate Synod in Scotland organized.

1820

Presbytery of the Canadas reorganized as the Synod of the Canadas

1822

Auld Kirk Congregation organized 6 January by Rev. William Jenkins, Synod of the Canadas, connected with the Associate Synod in Scotland.

1823

South half, Lot 8, Concession 6 given by John Faris (for a small consideration) for a church site and burying ground.

1823

Log cabin built on the site for use as a school and church.

1824

Adam Goodfellow, William Sutherland, Alexander Bannerman and John Mathieson Jr. ordained as Ruling Elders by Rev. William Jenkins on 29 January and a Kirk Session constituted the same day.

1825

Synod of the Canadas dissolved. Until 1831 ministers of this body reported to the Associate Synod in Scotland.

1827

Log Cabin church replaced by one of frame construction.

Government Grant of £750/-/- per annum made to ministers of the Church of Scotland in Upper Canada.

³ Compiled by the author, July 2011.

1824 – 1830

No settled pastor but supply given by Mr. Jenkins, the Rev. James Harris of First Presbyterian Church, York, and Mr. John Carruthers, Catechist.

1830

Rev. Peter Ferguson, Secession Church in Scotland arrives in Upper Canada and is appointed to West Gwillimbury.

1831

17 June – Synod of the Canadas reconstituted as the United Synod of Upper Canada.

Mr. Ferguson inducted into the charge, possibly in the Fall, although the actual date is not known.

1832

11 April – Mr. Ferguson leaves for the Boston congregation in the Scotch Block of Esquesing Township, Gore District, now Halton Region.

19 April – Congregational meeting decides by a large majority to apply to the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland for supply of ordinances with a view of uniting with that body. They retain the building and burying ground. A minority, led by Elder Adam Goodfellow, resolved to remain connected with the United Synod of Upper Canada. They decide to build their own church in Bond Head, but use the Auld Kirk building until their own is built, and are joined with the congregations in Tecumseth and Essa Townships in that resolution.

1832 – 1835

No settled pastor. Congregation now associated with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland.

1835

11 March – Rev. William McKillican, M.A., Licentiate of the Presbytery of Nairn, ordained and inducted.

22 March – Rev. William Fraser of the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas, preaches in the Auld Kirk in both Gælic and English; Mr. McKillican preaches in English.

1840

Mr. McKillican translated to St. Thomas, U. C.

1840 – 1842

No settled pastor.

1842

19 January – Rev. John McMurchy inducted.

1843

20 September – Mr. McMurchy translated to Eldon, Victoria County.

1843 – 1846

No settled pastor.

1844

10 July – The Canadian Disruption. Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (the Free Church), splits from the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland. Several families leave the Auld Kirk and establish Knox Church and cemetery on the Northwest corner of Lot 8, Concession 4 of West Gwillimbury.

1845 – 1846

Second congregation erected as part of the charge at Cherry Creek on Yonge Street, Lot 16, Concession 2, Innisfil Township, church built and opened for worship, 28 January 1846.

1846

27 January – Rev. Alexander Ross inducted.

1855

4 September – Mr. Ross demits the charge because of ill health.

4 September 1855 – 3 March 1858

No settled pastor.

1858

3 March – Rev. William McKee inducted.

1 November – half-acre lot purchased from John Coulson for \$50 on the South side of Lot 15, Concession 11, West Gwillimbury, just off Yonge Street at Coulson's Hill.

1859

St. John's Church, Coulson's Hill opened for worship during the year. Charge then consisted of three points: Auld Kirk, Cherry Creek, and St. John's, Coulson's Hill.

1869

Auld Kirk frame building replaced by the present brick building.

1871

Auld Kirk closed. Occasional services held there until 1875.

1872

8 June – Mr. McKee demits the Cherry Creek and Coulson's Hill charge.

1873

18 June – Rev. William Cleland inducted to Cherry Creek and Coulson's Hill.

1875

15 June – the present day Presbyterian Church in Canada formed from the union of the four main Presbyterian bodies in the Dominion: The General Assembly of The Canada Presbyterian Church; the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland; The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America; and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in Connexion with the Church of Scotland.

6 July – Mr. Cleland appointed the first Moderator of the newly formed Presbytery of Barrie.

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

Minutes of the Annual Meeting 24 September 2011, held at the Knox College, University of Toronto, 59 St. George Street, Toronto:

The meeting was Called to Order by the President, Rev. Dr. A. Donald MacLeod at 11:40 a.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting. Sixteen members were in attendance.

The President opened the meeting by welcoming all who were present.

Attendance:

It had been suggested, following the 2010 meeting, that the attendance at the Annual General Meetings should be recorded. In accordance with that suggestion the following were present at this A. G. M.: - Rev. Dr. Robert Anderson, Mr. Bob Anger – Webmaster, Ms. Olive Anstice, Dr. Rudi Bauer, Professor Brian Irwin, Father Edward Jackman, Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnston, Mr. Ross Lamb, Rev. Dr. A. Donald MacLeod – President, Mr. Ian Mason, Mr. Michael Millar – Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Chris Redmond, Rev. Dr. Victor Shepherd, Margaret Stephenson, Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock – Editorial Committee, and Rev. Dr. Jason Zuidema. (16)

Regrets:

The President called for regrets. Professor Phyllis Airhart, Rev. Dr. J. S. S. Armour, Ms. Kim Arnold, Mr. Mark Boundy, Mr. Gerry Boyce, Rev. Dr. John R. Cameron, Hon. Lorne Clarke, Mr. Al Clarkson, Rev. Dr. Zander Dunn, Rev. Dr. Clyde Ervine, Hon. John Gammell, Rev. Lee Haughton, Rev. William Haughton, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Dr. Paul Laverdure, Professor Stuart Macdonald, Miss Elizabeth Millar – Editor, Mrs. Kate Revington, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Donald Smith, Rev. Angus Sutherland, and Dr. Marilyn Whiteley, (22) were noted as being received by the Secretary-Treasurer.

Approval of the agenda:

The agenda was presented. No additions were called for. On motion of Mr. Ross Lamb, seconded by Mr. Ian Mason, the agenda as presented, was the agenda for the meeting.

Minutes of the 2010 Annual General Meeting:

On motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Johnson, the Minutes of the 2010 Annual Meeting, circulated with the agenda for this meeting, were approved, no errors or omissions having been noted.

Business Arising from the Minutes:

- (1) Review of the Terms of Reference for the Bailey Bursary. With Professor Macdonald not being present at the meeting, no report was given. Progress can only be reported.
- (2) Society Mission Statement. Progress was reported.
- (3) Publicity Officer. Nothing to report at this time.
- (4) Oxford College and Canada Post. The Secretary read an e-mail from Mr. Michael Stainton thanking the Society for its support last year with the campaign to petition Canada Post to issue a stamp jointly with Taiwan to commemorate the 130th anniversary of the founding of Oxford College in Tamsui. Unfortunately Canada Post has declined the request. A poster from Mr. Stainton was also circulated for two events – one in Embro and one in Woodstock – on the 15th of October 2011 to celebrate this anniversary.

President's Report.

The President then gave his report. He touched on various highlights of events during the year. He thanked the Editor, Webmaster and Secretary-Treasurer for their individual contributions. On Motion of the President, seconded by the Secretary, the Report was approved.

Editor's Report.

The report of Society Editor, Elizabeth Millar, was read by Editorial Committee member, Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock. She reported that the 2010 Papers had had their final proofing and will be printed and mailed out by the end of September. She noted that this volume contains an updated index to the Papers. It had been agreed that this would be printed every five years, but that an updated version would be put up on the website every year. On Motion of Dr. Whytock, seconded by the Secretary the Report was approved and the Editor thanked for her work.

Webmaster's Report.

Mr. Anger circulated his Report and commented upon it. His Report had a scan of the website Home Page attached to it. He noted that since the last meeting we had upgraded the website's storage capacity from 100 Mb to 1000 Mb and this gave us plenty of room for expansion. He indicated that he would like to include more photographs, in addition to the 18 past Papers that are there as well as the draft Papers from 2010. Mr. Anger's Report was approved and he was thanked with a round of applause.

Secretary-Treasurer's Report.

The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that we currently have eighty-four (84) regular members and seven (7) corporate members. The latter consist of a number of university and college libraries.

The financial statement was circulated and discussed. The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that while the meeting last year had agreed that the G. I. C's. would not be rolled over

again, given the very poor rate of return, the Bank of Montreal had automatically rolled over the G. I. C. that matured in October 2010. Several of those present wondered if a better rate of return could be obtained from the ING Bank. This will be investigated. Dr. Johnston asked if anything had been done with the late Dr. Mel Bailey's legacy. The Secretary-Treasurer stated that the legacy of four thousand dollars (\$4000.00) was included in the amount shown in the financial statement, simply deduct that amount from the total shown on the last line of the statement. He further informed the meeting that so far there had been no student requests for assistance under the Bailey Bursary proposal. With respect to the printing of the annual Papers, he stated once again that the printing arrangements with the Barrie Kwik Kopy outlet are working very well. We are getting a good product at a very reasonable price. There being no further questions or comments, he Moved, seconded by Dr. Johnston, "That the Financial Statement be approved." Carried.

New Business:

(1) 2012 meeting – 29th of September – It was agreed to leave this meeting open and not to have a specific theme. It was further agreed that we should make a major effort to involve the Colleges.

(2) 2013 meeting, 28th September – Dr. Zuidema gave an outline on what is being proposed in connection with the W. Stanford Reid centenary to be held on the 26th and 27th of September at Presbyterian College, Montreal. It had been agreed to last year that there will not be a meeting in Toronto, but the Society will meet at Presbyterian College on the 28th of September. Papers on the Stanford Reid theme will be solicited.

(3) 2014 meeting, 27th September – on Motion of Dr. Johnston, seconded by Mr. Anger it was agreed that the theme for 2014 will be the Great War and the involvement of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Election of Officers:

Moved by Dr. Geoff Johnston, seconded by Dr. Whytock "That the Officers remain the same for 2011 – 2012." Carried.

Any other business

It was announced that a fund-raising concert will be held at Trinity York Mills Presbyterian Church this evening to benefit the National Presbyterian Museum. Tickets are available from Mr. Mason.

Adjournment:

The 2011 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 12:25 p.m. on motion of Dr. Bauer, duly seconded and carried, and the regular business of the Society resumed.

A. Donald MacLeod, BA, MA, BD, DD.
President.

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.

Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
Editor's Report for the 2011 Annual General Meeting

The 2010 Papers have entered final proofing and will be printed and mailed out to members of the Society by the end of September. Following the usual five-year pattern, this issue will include an Author Index to the Papers from 1975-2010. It will be posted as a separate document on the CSPH web site, along with a second Index arranged chronologically. While the print version will continue to appear every five years, the electronic versions will be updated and available online every year.

I would like to thank my fellow Editorial Committee members, Dr. Eldon Hay and Dr. Jack Whytock, as well as the Society's President and Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. A. Donald MacLeod and Mr. Michael Millar respectively, for their continued assistance.

Report submitted by,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH *Papers*
September 2011

CSPH Website Administrator Report 2011

General Information regarding the website:

Internet Host Company: Doteasy (www.doteasy.com)
Our Current Service Plan: "Ultra" Plan
Cost of the Service Plan: \$7.95/month (U.S.) plus HST
Storage Capacity: 1000MB
Domain Name: www.csph.ca
Cost for the Domain Name: \$50/year plus HST

In response to the motion accepted at the 2010 annual meeting, the CSPH Secretary/Treasurer contacted Doteasy in October 2010 and upgraded our website service from the "Basic" plan to the "Ultra" plan. This increased our storage capacity from 100MB to 1000MB, which provides a significant amount of storage capacity for the CSPH website.

The website administrator is open to expanding the website and making use of this extra capacity, and would appreciate direction from the membership in terms of what they would like to see on the website.

The following sections are at present included:

- Home Page
- About Us
- Membership Information
- Papers
- Annual Meeting Information
- Dr. Bailey Award
- Contact Us
- Links

There are currently 18 past papers available as PDF downloads, as well as "draft" versions of the 2010 and most of the 2011 papers.

Thoughts or comments regarding the website are always appreciated and can be sent to the following email banger@presbyterian.ca.

Submitted by:

Bob Anger
CSPH Website Administrator
September 24, 2011

THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

FINANCIAL REPORT - 24 September 2011:			
<u>Item:</u>	<u>Income:</u>	<u>Expenses:</u>	<u>Balance:</u>
Balance forward 25 September 2010:			4137.44
Memberships 2009 and previous years	220.00		
Memberships 2010	560.00		
Memberships 2011	340.00		
Corporate memberships 2009.	140.00		
Sale of papers.	49.93		
Bank Interest - Sept. '10 to August '11	0.49		
G. I. C. 9078920 (20 October 2010)	2,000.00		
G. I. C. Interest	4.00		
Luncheon charges 2010 meeting - paid	280.00		
Luncheon charges 2011 meeting - paid	105.00		
Donations	100.00		
<u>Total Income.</u>	<u>3,799.42</u>		<u>3,799.42</u>
<u>Sub-total.</u>			<u>7,936.86</u>
Postage - Secretary-Treasurer		66.67	
Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer		11.50	
Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer		43.31	
Catering, 2010 meeting, Knox College		497.81	
Kwik Kopy Barrie for add'l. 2009 Papers		64.79	
Printing - 2011 meeting brochures		110.74	
Website upgrade		111.07	
Website - Domain Name renewal		56.50	
G. I. C. 0317-9078920 maturing 20 October 2011		2,000.00	
<u>Total Expenses.</u>		<u>2,962.39</u>	<u>2,962.39</u>
<u>Balance Forward 24 September 2011:</u>			<u>4,974.47</u>
<u>Assets - G. I. C. @ 2000.00.</u>			<u>2,000.00</u>
<u>Total - Balance Forward plus the G. I. C.</u>			<u>\$6,974.47</u>
Michael Millar, FRPSC.			
Secretary-Treasurer.			