# The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History

## Papers 2012

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**Edited by Elizabeth J. Millar**

# Contents

## 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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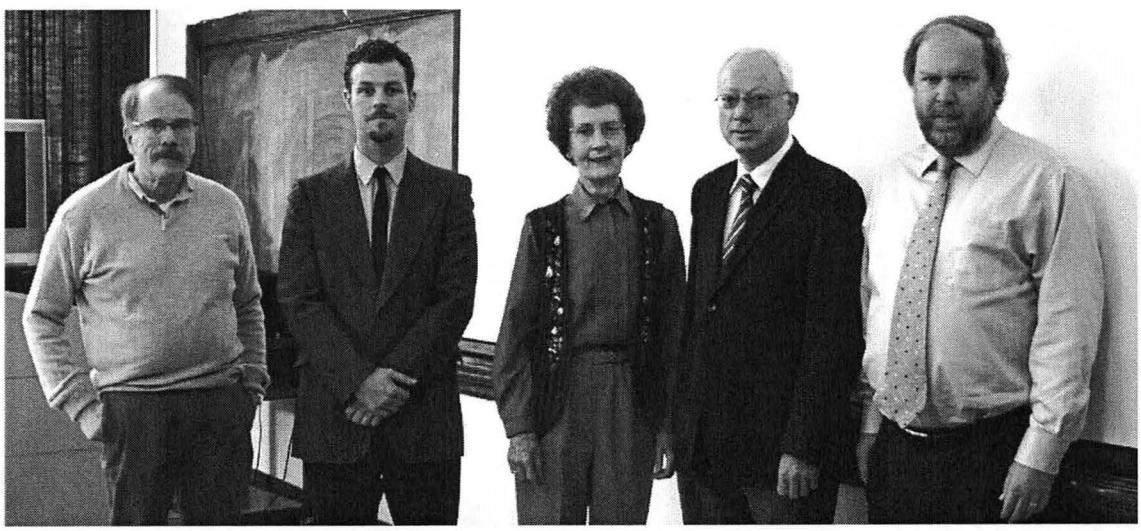
**Kenneth Munro** received a BA from the University of Toronto, an MA from McMaster and a PhD from the University of Ottawa. Specializing in French-Canadian history, he taught at the University of Alberta between 1972-2012. He has published a number of volumes, including the history of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton where he is an elder.

**James Tyler Robertson** received his Ph.D. from McMaster Divinity College. His dissertation examined the role of religion in the War of 1812, and the broader focus of his research is on the impact of religion on cultural issues. He is now exploring the role of Christianity in China, the Syrian Orthodox Church, and the role of Christianity in traditionally Islamic states.



From left: A. Donald Macleod, James Robertson, Jo-Ann Dickson, Kenneth Munro, and Peter Bush.
*Photo: Michael Millar*

# "BULWARK":
# Presbyterians and the War of 1812

James Tyler Robertson

In 1815, Robert Easton told his predominantly American-born Presbyterian congregation in Montreal that the British Empire was the "Bulwark of safety and independence" and challenged his listeners to "maintain that loyalty and obedience to the laws, which have tended so much to the preservation of our country."[1] To him, attention to those ideologies that he believed defined the British Empire would prevent the colonists from giving up "in times of peace what we would not surrender to the promises and threats of an enemy in the time of war."[2] Having been raised in Scotland but educated in the United States, Easton was uniquely suited to speak about the tense and unusual cultural climate his parishioners found themselves in at the close of the War of 1812. The quick return of commerce between British North America and the United States, and the just as quick return of American-based Methodist itinerants caused concern for Easton and other Presbyterian clergy who believed that the enticing republican ideas of democracy and individualism could undermine the laws and traits that, they believed, defined the British Empire. Although the war with the American nation was over, Easton's sermon revealed that the contest between American and British religion was destined to carry on.

This paper will explore the discourse of Presbyterian clergy throughout the contest that would come to be known as the War of 1812 to show how the denominational leaders celebrated the empire and called their parishioners to do likewise. Although several prominent clergy and many Presbyterian parishioners were either born in, or spent many years in, the United States, there existed only unanimous support of England in the contest against America. The imperial traits that they lauded during the contest provides scholars multiple academic opportunities as the clergy sought to explain a war, define an empire, and attempt to place their denomination upon the spiritual landscape of a colony in the midst of religious, national, and cultural upheavals. While the clergy desired to align their denomination with England, they were also influenced by peripheral concerns that were non-existent to their co-religionists closer to the metropolis of the empire. In such struggles unique to the colonial situation, British North American Presbyterianism offers a unique understanding of life as a colonial Presbyterian during the instability and tumultuous times of war.

Three major positions, each of them displaying the Presbyterian support for the war effort against America, will be espoused in this paper. The first looks at elements of Just War Theory in order to show how Presbyterian clergy believed that the American motivations for war showed that democracy bred violence and that British North America occupied the superior moral

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[1] Robert Easton, *Reasons for Joy and Praise A Sermon Preached April 6, 1815; Being the Day of General Thanksgiving for Peace with the United States: In the Presbyterian Church. St. Peters Street, Montreal* (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1816) 14-15.

[2] Easton 15.

position over their rivals. Next, providence and national sin were utilized not just as tools to explain the war but also to help further define colonial Christianity and unite the disparate people together in shared repentance and recognition that God only chastised those whom he loved and planned to use. Building on that, the final section will offer traits of loyalty, as described and extolled by various Presbyterian ministers, that not only shaped the desired attributes of loyal colonists but also displayed a concern that even something as cataclysmic as war was unable to wholly remove American influence from the British provinces. In all these ways, the Presbyterian clergy were celebrating their transatlantic connections and denigrating their neighbours to the south. In order to assert their denomination within the colonial landscape, the Presbyterian ministers became vocal and stalwart proponents of England in order to ensure that the "bulwark of safety and independence" maintained a strong presence within the Canadas.

## I. "Blessed Not to be the Aggressor"

### *French Influence*

The first way in which the empire was shown to be superior to the republic in the Presbyterian discourse was in the attack on the American motivations for declaring war. A substantial amount of energy was invested on the American side to explain the various motivations that led to the declaration of war in order to assure the citizenry of the United States that theirs was a just cause. This was of special importance as those in the northeastern states were opposed to the conflict and condemned it as unjust and dishonourable. American Presbyterian minister, and Federalist Congressman, Samuel Taggart officially denounced the justness of the intended war within the halls of congress when he asserted "We contemplate the invasion of a foreign territory, to which no one pretends we have any right, unless one to be acquired by contest" before arguing that the Orders in Council[3] and maritime trade embargoes were poor motives because "It is to be a war of conquest upon land, undertaken with a view to obtain reparation for injuries we have sustained on the water." He even took issue with the slight to national honour many Congressmen from the south claimed had been made by Britain. Because honour was about more than reputation, but was also indicative of moral character, Taggart argued: "although our honor is said to be concerned in it, and that it is a war which cannot, consistent with honor, be avoided, I can see nothing very honorable in it."[4]

[3] These were a series of orders (with new ones being added almost every year from 1783 to 1812) that prevented allies or neutral nations from trading with Napoleon's France in order to crush the French economy and attack Napoleon's Continental System. Napoleon's system was attempting to do the same to Great Britain by preventing the empire from trading with the nations on the European continent. Given the British maritime strength, their series of blockades of French ports was fairly successful and American trade suffered terribly as well. This, along with the impressments of American sailors onto British vessels, was believed to be two of the strongest reasons for the American declaration of war in 1812. The point being made by the clergy was that even after the Orders in Council were repealed (prior to the declaration by Madison) the Americans still invaded British soil.

[4] "No one pretends that the war in which we propose to engage is purely defensive. No hostile armament that I know of is upon our border, menacing invasion, or endeavoring to effect a lodgement on our soil. No hostile fleet is hovering on our coast and menacing our cities with either plunder or destruction. None of our cities are besieged, nor is our internal tranquility threatened by a foreign invader. As it respects any disturbance from the foreign enemy with whom we contemplate to be at war, we may both lie down in peace, and sleep in safety in the most exposed situation in the country without anyone to disturb our repose. We contemplate the invasion of a foreign territory, to which no one pretends we have any right, unless one to be acquired by contest. It is to be a war of conquest upon land, undertaken with a view to obtain reparation for injuries we have sustained on the water. In

From his Lower Canadian charge, Robert Easton agreed with his co-religionist south of the border when he proclaimed that "the very critical time, and hasty manner of de[c]laring war, together with the sudden disappearance of all its ostensible causes in the negotiations for peace" produced a feeling of suspicion in those critical of the American decision. Also citing the removal of the Orders in Council, Easton saw much more sinister machinations at work and went on to declare that "the authors of this tragic-comedy were actuated with motives, which they durst not avow, and that patriotism had less share in their conduct than blind devotion to the despot of France."[5] Joseph Clark likewise saw in the declaration the violence of the French revolution visiting upon the shores of the new world. He chided:

> The vast southern continent, breaking away from its antient [sic] government, is now experiencing all the horrors of a revolutionary state. Heated by party rage, these miserable inhabitants are rushing on mutual destruction. Indeed, the general relaxation of the restraints of religion, which have taken place within the last half century, seem to have *let the world loose upon itself*, and rendered man, every where, the foe and scourge of man![6]

Although there is no evidence to suggest the veracity of such claims, these writings bound France and America together as allies both militarily and, due to the revolutions both nations engaged in, ideologically.

Alexander Spark also saw in the American motivations a decidedly French influence. Preaching in 1814 he asserted "it clearly appeared that the *ostensible* cause of the war, was not its *real* cause" but that the war in British North America was a costly diversion that threatened to destroy England for the aggrandizement and material success of both France and America. He wrote:

> A diversion was, therefore, wanted in favour of this expedition, something that might attract the attention of England, and withdraw a part of her force from the scene of operations in Europe. To form this diversion, and thus to second the views of the Ruler of France, was undoubtedly the real motive, which induced the Government of the neighbouring States to become our enemies, and to carry war into this remote corner of the British dominions.[7]

Because the Orders in Council were repealed with plenty of time to avoid warfare in British North America, Spark saw in this the devious desire of the Americans to ally with Napoleon with

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the first place, although our honor is said to be concerned in it, and that it is a war which cannot, consistent with honor, be avoided, I can see nothing very honorable in it [. . .] we are disposed to select that nation alone for our enemy with whom we have the greatest interest in being at peace, and who is able to do us most harm in the event of war." Congressman Samuel Taggart, qtd. in Murray Polner and Thomas Woods, ed., *We Who Dared to Say No to War: American Antiwar Writing from 1812 to Now* (New York: Perseus, 2008) 11-12.

[5] Easton 6.

[6] Joseph Clark, *A Sermon Delivered in the City of New Brunswick on Thursday July 30, 1812. The Day Set Apart by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for Fasting, Humiliation and Prayer* (New Brunswick, NJ: J. Deare, 1812) 4. Italics in the original.

[7] Alex Spark, *A Sermon Preached in the Scotch Church in the City of Quebec on Thursday the 21st of April, 1814, Being the Day Appointed for a General Thanksgiving* (Quebec: John Nelson, 1814) 13. Italics in the original.

no regard that such an act could destroy England, God's bastion of freedom, peace, and order in the world.

One of the tools of religion is to equate temporal events with the deeper spiritual power that undergirds them. In the case of the American invasion, charging that they were under the influence of French thinking was a moral challenge because France had, quite literally, attacked the church and attempted to destroy it in their country.[8] Implicit in such dialogue was the question: "What hope did the people of the Canadas have if the Americans—those acting in accordance with the dark land of France—actually won and were placed in charge?"[9] The fear of French governance reveals a more global political astuteness within the colonists than they are often credited with possessing. Such transatlantic awareness means that when clergy called France "dark" and England "light" they were not creating meaning but were adding other levels of meaning to ideas already in place within the culture. With that in mind, the clerical discourse chastising America for being too close in their sentiments to the French was a masterful rhetorical stroke.

*A Defensive War is Just*

Easton was appalled by the stated American motivations for invasion and offered his own interpretation of such beliefs which, he argued, "can be viewed in no better light, than as a rude attempt to force a contented child out of the fostering arms of an indulgent parent."[10] Easton saw God's hand at work because the British were "kept from being the aggressors in the war"[11] and, due to that fact, the people of the land were set free from any residual guilt over the destruction occasioned by the war or lingering fears that they were under the judgment of God. In contrast to what was perceived as the anti-Christian joy the Americans took in the prosecution of the war,

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[8] The churches did not supply the only rhetoric that challenged the American assumptions about the loyalty of the colonists. Isaac Brock's response to Hull provides another source that used the threat of Napoleon's France to strengthen British North Americans' fidelity to England. Looking to the brief history of the colony, he proclaimed: "It is but too obvious that once exchanged from the powerful protection of the United Kingdom you must be re-annexed to the dominion of France." Not happy with simple conjecture, Brock went on to inform the inhabitants that "this restitution of Canada to the empire of France was the stipulated reward for the aid afforded to the revolted colonies, now the United States; the debt is still due, and there can be no doubt but the pledge was renewed as a consideration for commercial advantages, or rather for an expected relaxation in the tyranny of France over the commercial world." While there is no evidence to support Brock's charges that the Upper and Lower Canada were to be returned to France, his statements, along with the similar themes in the clerical discourse, do offer more insight into the transatlantic concerns that leaders believed weighed on the minds of the colonists. In his work on this, C. P. Lucas states, "Brock's words show what was the feeling of the time, and how in Upper Canada resistance to American invasion was identified with the world-wide struggle in which Great Britain was engaged against Napoleon." See C. P. Lucas, *The Canadian War of 1812* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906) 16-17.

[9] An Anglican example of this follows: "In the actual situation of Europe, in which every individual power has to wage a war, for existence, against the unprincipled and mad ambition of a military adventurer, the Americans ought, as a duty they owe to civil society and to the cause of liberty, which they affect to cherish, to make cheerful sacrifices to the common cause; and they ought by a magnanimous conduct, founded on principle, and not on the groveling views of temporary advantage, to avail themselves of this opportunity of acquiring the esteem of foreign nations." See John Strachan, *A Discourse on the Character of King George the Third Addressed to the Inhabitants of British North America* (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1810) 87.

[10] Easton 7.

[11] Easton 5.

the British subjects were identified as "those, who took up arms with reluctance, merely to defend their British character and rights."[12]

The question of military morality would be ever-present throughout the war. Several of the clergy felt the need to answer the critique that the love of country was antithetical to Christian teaching. Therefore, the people—both civilian and military—were cautioned not to forget their Christian duty and were reminded to attend, and adhere to, a local church. Right living and the continued practice of God's laws united the civilians with their soldiers as both sought to expel the invaders with all the tools at their disposal. For the latter it was the musket and the cannon, for the former it was prayer and piety.[13]

In deference to the 1814 defeat of Napoleon, the war with America was considered by Alexander Spark as a "minor consideration" even though he was preaching his sermon from Quebec. While celebrating the fall of the French tyrant he went on to state that the contest with the United States remained "very important to us, in this part of the British Empire" before noting that the loyal colonists of both provinces suffering through "the war lately declared, by the Government of the neighbouring States, and chiefly directed against these Provinces" should celebrate because they, like their imperial counterparts, had cause "for Gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of Nations, that our enemies have not been permitted to 'rejoice over us.'"[14] This was not intended to minimize the seriousness of the war in the colony but was meant to unite the two causes in order to show the connection between the military threats close to the imperial centre with the similar concerns that were prominent on the periphery.

Also in Lower Canada, Charles Stewart similarly argued: "Some persons have very erroneously supposed that friendship and patriotism are not consistent with the Gospel, but the best proof to the contrary [. . .] is the example of Jesus Christ himself. He shewed a particular regard for Nazareth [. . .] and for John among his disciples."[15] Although the "Mother Country" might be superior in justice to those who sought its destruction, the successful American war for independence in the eighteenth century provided a potent example that the demise of the British

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[12] Easton 6.

[13] "Our fleeing from these vices, and eternally abandoning them, will procure us the grace of heartfelt thankfulness to the only wise God; and we shall be enabled to feel as in duty bound, the surprising blessings he has of late bestowed upon us, and on our Allies; and ardently to hope, that such kind of good, such victories will be our portion in this part of his Majesty's dominions. Thus helped by the strength and shield of the Lord, our hearts will greatly rejoice; our song, to use the language of the text, shall praise him." See Jacob Mountain, *A Sermon Preached in the Episcopal Church at Montreal, On the 13th of September, 1814, On the Thanksgiving in Consequence of the General Peace in Europe* (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1817) 13. Catholic Bishop Plessis singled out the people that were not able to fight in the altercation and invited them to wage a spiritual war on those who were threatening to remove Lower Canada from the empire. Naming his people "Warriors" he began his sermon extolling them "to stand like a wall against the attacks of the enemy" because while they were not called to carry arms they had a high calling nonetheless. In his address Plessis admonished the "priests, clerks, old men, women, invalids, children, [and] all you who are unable to serve as soldiers" to be united with their warring brethren and "not [to] wait in barren anxiety the development of the war" because they were called to "Join in heart and spirit with me your chief pastor. Serve your country all you can whether in private prayer at home or in church before the altar. Lift up your souls to God. Assault Heaven with a holy violence." See Joseph-Octave Plessis, *Thanksgiving Sermon for the Victory of Great Britain at the Battle of the Nile. Preached in the Cathedral at Quebec, January 10th 1799. By Monseigneur Plessis*, trans. Henri Joly (Quebec: Dussault & Proulx, 1906) 36.

[14] Spark 12.

[15] Charles Stewart, *Christ the Chief Cornerstone A Sermon Preached to the Members of the Select Surveyors' Lodge No. IX Held in the Seignory of St. Armand, Lower Canada, on their Celebration of the Festival of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist. A.D. 1811* (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1812) 7-8.

Empire was not an inconceivable concept. Therefore, patriotism was of significant importance to a transatlantic nation with a potentially limited future.[16]

To wage war as a Christian nation necessitated many confusing and potentially contradictory beliefs and, with so much at stake, the churches were forced to take every aspect of the war seriously as they attempted to understand, and teach, what God was doing. Arguably, the most important question that needed to be answered was whether or not a Christian was able to knowingly engage in combat that would result in the deaths of other people. Building on the positive traits of patriotism, John Bethune offered the motif of defending one's home to alleviate any concern the colonists might have related to warfare for the sake of the empire. His challenge to those who insisted patriotism had no place in the Christian's consideration went as follows:

> The Christian soldier loves his country. Were patriotism a determination to support our country when in the wrong, were it an inclination to do evil to promote her advantage, then might we admit it to be a narrow and illiberal prejudice; but the patriotism for which we plead, is an ardent and fixed disposition to promote our country's good by all the lawful means in our power; to sacrifice life, fortune, and every thing that we hold most dear, for its security and defence; not to seek its aggrandizement by the depression of other nations, or by doing any thing inconsistent with justice, piety, and virtue. It is that warm affection which a good man feels for the happiness of his kindred and friends, extended to the society of which he is a member.[17]

Bethune went on to caution that while the Christians of British North America could fight to "promote our country's good" they were not to delight "in the anguish of individuals, [nor approve] acts of hostility [except] what are necessary and conducive to the end and object of the war." His warning that the faithful fighter never forgets "that he is a Christian amidst the slaughter of the field"[18] showed that not even the horrors of war superseded the Christian's duty to remain faithful and loyal to God.

Such appeals were part of a larger argument about which nation could rightly claim the higher moral ground from the preceding war. Ascribing motivations to various actions was not merely an academic exercise but were tools through which the conflict was given meaning and such meanings were used not just to placate the people but also to further unite them together and construct a British world in the colony.

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[16] "[H]ad [Napoleon] succeeded against Great Britain, her fate would have been much worse than that of any other nation that submitted to his yoke; as his enmity against her was greater than against any other country in the world. The destruction of England was his great object, in all his wars." See James Reid, *A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church in the Seigniory of St. Armand, Lower Canada, on the Twenty First Day of May 1816; Being the Day Appointed by Proclamation for a General Thanksgiving to Almighty God "For His Great Goodness in Putting an End to the War in Which We Were Engaged Against France"* (Montreal: W. Gray, 1816) 10.

[17] John Bethune, "St. Andrew's Church (Williamstown) Register 1779-1814," Archives of Ontario, Toronto, MS107, 43.

[18] Bethune 43.

## II. Providence and National Sin

*Providential Protection*

Despite the prolific clerical writings of 1812 and 1813 that charged democracy with breeding the violence and chaos occasioned by the war, the British victory over Napoleon in 1814 provided a compelling example to the people of Upper and Lower Canada that if they desired success in their own struggle, they needed to emulate Britain. Like David Bell's[19] work on the construction of symbols and language suited to a particular time, place, and culture in order to make impersonal terms like "Empire" mean something to the pioneers of Upper Canada, the thanksgiving sermons of 1814, printed and disseminated throughout the land, offered spiritual hope based on an event that was too far removed to have much bearing on colonial life. However, the clergy were able to offer the victory over Napoleon as proof to their parishioners of God's providential care for the empire and challenge the colonists that if they desired similar success they needed to embrace imperial beliefs, repent of sins, and reject any religious or political construct that was deemed, in the words of James Reid, to be a "false philosophy" or "disorganized principle" that could achieve nothing except forcing the world to descend into a state, "worse than barbarians."[20]

When, in the spring of 1814, the so-called French tyrant Napoleon abdicated, it allowed the clerical discourse to, in a way not available to them throughout the war, hold England's military supremacy aloft as evidence of God's favour for the empire. Morality lessons and cautions took on new significance, as the clergymen were able to remind those who heard or read the contents of their messages that imitating the characteristics of such an empire could result in the same blessed outcome for the colony in its struggles against its violent neighbour.[21] The imperial victory in Europe was a crucial event in the further development of colonial Britishness because, in some aspects, it answered the question that had been dogging the confrontation—at least from a clerical perspective—from its inception: which nation does God favour?

Alex Spark's sermon from Quebec City in April 1814 would echo the theme of imperial unity and calls for spiritual fidelity among the colonists but would prove even more blatant in his comparisons between the colony and the empire. For him, the Atlantic Ocean provided little obstacle to his rhetoric as he ascribed the imperial traits of "success of our Arms,—the loyalty and unanimity, which prevail among all ranks, of people at home, —and the confidence placed in us, by foreign States" to the colony with no visible sense of discontinuity. For the Presbyterian rhetoric from the time, England was the bastion of liberty and stability for the entire world and, as the colonists continued to embrace Mother England, they, too, would be the recipients of that safety. However, the strengthening of the empire meant that each citizen had to do his or her part to maintain and enhance the spiritual integrity of the land.

Ultimately, the British celebrated the victory over Napoleon and the clergy believed—correctly as it would turn out—that it signaled a turning point in their own violent struggle.[22]

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[19] David V. J. Bell, "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (May 1970): 22-33.

[20] Reid 15-16.

[21] "Nations, like private persons, have their characters; and, according to their characters, so are they also dealt with by Providence" (Spark 16).

[22] "[Napoleon] is made to tremble for the safety of his own throne. 'This is the doing of the Lord;' and it demands the affectionate gratitude of all the Friends of order, justice, peace and virtue After a dark night of terror,

Hope defined the clerical discourse from 1814 as the clergymen saw God's providence mightily present to protect the integrity of the empire and its remaining colonies in America. To that end, many clergy called their parishioners to retain their hope in a loving and just God; the same God who had protected England was sure to do the same for England's loyal subjects in their hour of need. In this section the final word will be given to John Burns who, in a somewhat liberal translation of Proverbs twenty-four, gave a strong biblical and practical reason for the people of Upper and Lower Canada to retain their faith in the British king and constitution:

> 'My son, fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change'—Proverbs xxiv, 21. When a daring spirit of anarchy, and confusion seems to prevail through the world, it becomes the duty of every man, whose situation in life gives him the opportunity, to inculcate the lessons of obedience and subordination, contained in the words of the text; and to endeavor to extinguish that torch of sedition, which in the hands of a few misguided zealots is ready to scatter fire and devastation through the land.[23]

The Revolutions of France and America were simply following their natural courses of violence and anarchy that defined them at their core. For the Presbyterian clergymen of British North America, the war with America proved the immorality of their governance and the victory over Napoleon presented proof that God agreed.[24]

*National Sin*

The identification of the war as punishment for national sin, and the accompanying call for the people to repent, also provided opportunities to define the empire in ways that were tangible for the colonial context. The summation of Alex Spark's entire sermon, in which he extolled the virtues of the empire as he saw it, was to remind the citizens of Lower and Upper Canada of the need to be "grateful to the Supreme Disposer of events" because the character of the nation was rooted in its ability to honour God or, in Spark's biblical explanation of the empire, "to adopt the words of Solomon, that 'The Throne is established in righteousness.'"[25] Although calling their people to personal repentance, these men maintained a constant view of how individual devotion provided an opportunity for the subjects to place themselves within the larger rubric of, and in service to, the empire. As Spark wrote, repentance was "part of the duty" which was to be enacted by the individual as he or she was called, "to examine our ways and our doings; and wherein we are conscious of having heretofore violated the Divine Law, or dishonoured God, by

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suspense and alarm, we now behold a bright and cheering dawn of hope. In attempting our destruction, this implacable enemy hath brought ruin upon himself: The evil, which he had prepared for us, hath fallen upon his own head" (see Spark 12).

[23] John Burns, *A Sermon Preached in the Presbyterian Church in Stamford, Upper Canada on the 3rd Day of June, 1814, Being the Day Appointed by His Honor the President of Upper Canada, for a Provincial Thanksgiving* (Welland: W. T. Sawle, 1892) 3.

[24] "However deserving [the citizens of Lower Canada] have been of heaven's judgments [. . .] they were not the aggressors in relation to the United States. Canada did nothing to provoke hostilities. Nor was there anything new, oppressive and unnecessary in the measures of Great Britain, to justify the effusion of human blood" (see Easton 5-6).

[25] Spark 14.

our conduct, to repent and amend."[26] Spark then went on to contradict Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees," in which, according to a note in Spark's sermon, Mandeville attempted to show, "that 'private vices are public benefits'"[27] For Spark, because society was both larger than, but comprised of, individuals each subject's personal piety needed to be seen as part of the greater good. To that end he wrote:

> Though individuals die the nation still lives, and is liable, as a nation [. . .] Everyone, therefore, who professes to love his Country, if he would act consistently, ought not only to abstain from vice himself, but also, to the utmost of his power, to discountenance and suppress it, wherever it appears. As the aggregate of the nation is made up of individuals, hence the vices of individuals have a certain influence on the national character; and, contrary to what a late sceptical [sic] writer hath endeavoured to maintain, we do not hesitate to assert, that even private vices are public and national injuries.[28]

Robert Easton, though happy with the turn of events that had occurred in Europe also admitted the need for the people to "confess, with shame and sorrow our share in those sins, which procure his permission of public calamities" in the hopes that such prayers would cause God to act "in behalf of oppressed and suffering humanity."[29] Using Jesus' command to the woman caught in adultery as the text for his parishioners, Charles Stewart stated, "We ought to go and sin no more" out of fear that the temporal punishments of war were only a foretaste and that repentance was required "lest we be punished for our sins in the world to come." For him, like others, the punishment of war visited on the land was both "one of the greatest of [God's] judgments" but was also sent by God "to purify us from our sins, and to turn us from the vanities of this world."[30] Stewart reminded the people that "when [the American soldiers did come to Lower Canada], I am sure, we suffered less than our sins deserved. We ought to consider these our sins and our provocations against God; and his goodness and forbearance should lead us to repentance."[31] The necessity to serve God, prayer, and repentance were seen as the tools needed to avoid further calamities, like war, from occurring and gave a twofold manual for future action: repent and live accordingly. Both repentance and proper living were united not just to Christian teaching, but also to the rules and regulations that defined the British Empire.

*War Not as Disastrous as it Could Have Been*

Building on Stewart's claim that the people were not being punished as much as their sins deserved was another claim made by the clergy. James Reid saw God as the source of Napoleon's strength and argued "No doubt the Almighty girded this man with strength for the

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[26] Spark 15.

[27] See footnote on Spark 17.

[28] Spark 17. Italics in the original.

[29] Easton 4-5.

[30] Charles Stewart, *The Providence of God Manifested in the Events of the Last Year. A Sermon Preached on the First Day of January, A.D. 1815. In St. Paul's Church, in the Seigniory of St. Armand, Lower Canada*. (Montreal: Nahum Mower, 1815) 14.

[31] Stewart, *Providence*, 14.

battle; to be the scourge of nations for their wickedness; but when his purposes were, for the time, finished, he laid him aside."[32] Such statements placed even great threats like Napoleon under the sovereign will of God so that Charles Stewart could explain "[God] permits nothing to take place, and brings nothing to pass, but what in his good time shall manifestly contribute to his glory, and to the happiness of his people."[33] Thus, while the war was seen as a calamity it was also not as disastrous as it could have been. This interpretation of God's mercy once again reflected the special relationship God had with England. Easton, like his co-religionists, stated: "God certainly was just in hiding his face and leaving us in darkness and trouble" but for him, such a state of darkness did nothing to discount the superiority of British governance; rather he blessed God because "the sufferings of the war were [not] the fruits of disaffection to the government, under which we are placed."[34] Likewise, Clark saw in the American invasion not the sign of cursing but the sign of blessing. He stated that "a people signally favored must expect the visitations of his righteous displeasure, when they fall away to high-handed iniquity."[35]

The tribulation was equated with the biblical character of Job and his ability to endure was held aloft as an example for the people of the Canadas to gain inspiration from in their own times of trouble. It would be remiss to overlook the importance these sermons, printed and dispersed throughout the colony in celebration of the victory, played in advancing a colonial desire to emulate the empire that had been blessed by God with military victory. During a time when the Canadas were reeling from the losses that 1813 had brought and an American victory seemed more certain, the British victory became something the colonists were called on to celebrate as their own; not just for the sake of morale or unity, but as a spiritual lesson in what it took to achieve victory in the empire blessed by God.

## III. Loyalty from the Periphery

Easton's understanding that the empire was the truest champion of liberty and safety directly contradicted many of the American clerical writings that held the same belief about their nation.[36] Both England and America celebrated the liberty and safety they provided for their inhabitants and lauded them as evidence of the truly Christian nature of their country. However, for the empire, stability was found in the submission to the King and Constitution whereas American Republicanism saw those as the embodiments of slavery and the antithesis of security.

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[32] Reid 9.

[33] Stewart, *Providence*, 4.

[34] Easton 7.

[35] Clark 6.

[36] One example of such rhetoric around the superiority of the American side is Rev. Shackelford of the Georgia Association, who wrote out these ideals thusly: "Teach them to feel a general interest in the lawful prosperity of all men; and to commiserate the cases of the distressed. The laws of nature, and of God, announce that all men ought to be equally free both in civil and ecclesiastical governments. They know no difference between the rich and the poor, the wise and the simple. Therefore, suffer not those committed to your care, to tyrannise over and reflect on those, who, in other respects, may be their inferiors, because they are such; but teach them the equal rights of man, and the love of liberty, according to the golden rule, '*do unto all men as ye would that they should do unto you*'" (Shackleford, "Georgia Circular Letter, 1814," American Baptist Historical Society Archives, Atlanta, 3). Italics in the original. Within this is an understanding that the freedom of the individual is at the heart of Jesus' so-called "Golden Rule" and that America, more than England, had enacted that principle in their national governance.

*Refuse New Doctrines and Ideas*

John Burns' interpretation of Proverbs twenty-four provides the core of this first trait of British North American loyalty. In his translation he stated a biblical injunction to "fear thou the Lord and the King; and meddle not with them that are given to change" and it was in the rejection of new ideas, both political and religious, that the colonists were instructed to cling to the time-tested ideals that defined the British Empire. Robert Easton said it like this: "Still consider political union, as the bulwark of your safety and independence. Beware of any new doctrine in politics; lest it comes, as a thief, to steal away your treasure, and rob you of the honor to which you have attained."[37] The "political union" was a comment on those who believed that the proper way to ensure the future prosperity of the colony was to adopt certain measures that were more akin to the Democratic ideas taught in the American Republic. While the combining of American and European ideologies would become one of the dominant traits of a Canadian culture, in the days immediately following the war such concepts were criticized. To incorporate American plans was to invite disunion from the empire and instability within the land because, as the war had shown, the newer concepts were proving to be more chaotic than helpful.

James Reid also harkened his listeners to reflect on the superiority of the government they already enjoyed rather than courting new ideas. In 1816, he reminded the people that "There remained so much virtue, talents, and religious zeal, on the side of our excellent Constitution, and our Holy Religion, as arrested the torrent of political innovation" and that such a proven record was the surest protection from "skepticism in Religion [. . .] in its daring, sweeping progress."[38] Not that progress was to be condemned but that it was to be found within the context of the British system was the deeper point these men were attempting to make. For Burns, the English royalty had a biblical mandate to govern as "God's deputies or vicegerents here on earth" and instructed the people that the system of government they lived under derived power not from itself but from God and that such a system was put in place "to govern and protect the world in peace and quietness."[39] Although citing God as the ultimate reason for the success of the military effort in the Canadas, Easton also saw the ineptitude of the American government as proof that the people who fought for England had been wise in their choice. He preached: "Let us glance at the means under God, by which the Canadas have been preserved entire notwithstanding every effort, in the power of political delusion, to alienate and subdue them. This was owing to disunion abroad, unanimity at home, and the active perseverance of those, to whom the defence of them was intrusted [sic]."[40]

However, the people, eager to reestablish trade and commercial ventures were looking south to gain some of the prosperity of their American cousins. Such forgetfulness of the recent war caused fear that the "torch of sedition" was once again poised to "scatter fire and devastation through the land."[41] Conservative political ideologies were needed to ward off the tendencies of the American goals and nowhere was this seen more than in the American pursuit of material wealth. The rejection of that, along with the ideas that inspired such a pursuit, was the next defining trait of British North American loyalty.

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[37] Easton 15.

[38] Reid 16.

[39] Burns 6.

[40] Easton 8-9.

[41] Burns 3.

*Guard Against Luxury*

The pursuit of wealth was not denigrated as much as the pursuit of wealth at the cost of social responsibility. John Bethune argued that while every society had rich and poor the mark of "all good governments, and salutary institutions, the rich always pay for the poor, and they have reason to bless God that they are able to do it."[42] Such a sentiment reiterated the understanding that material blessings were sought not just for personal aggrandizement, but also to be used to bless others. In the rugged landscape of the post-war Canadas community became even more important to survival. Given that the majority of the people still subscribed to an agrarian lifestyle, Alexander Spark saw in the earth a cautionary tale that he gave to his people. He instructed them with a simple lesson from their daily lives: "whatever promotes a mode or fashion of living, too remote from the simplicity of nature, in consequence of which men ruin their fortunes by extravagance, destroy their own peace, impair the health of their bodies and the faculties of their minds;—all these things do obviously diminish the strength and resources of the nation."[43] The strength of the nation was located within the ability and the desire of the people to unite with their neighbours and share. Such unity and combined achievements did not diminish the individual but strengthened the nation, which, in turn, made it easier for all the inhabitants to realize their own dreams. In the submission to such principles the people of the Canadas could make the quality of life throughout the colony better than, as well as ideologically different from, America.

Easton also feared what the cessation of hostilities could mean to the spiritual lives of his parishioners and, using the tales of scripture, spoke the following:

> Peace has its dangers as well as war. Jeshurun, living at his ease, and having plenty to eat and drink, became vain and profligate: he 'waxed fat and kicked: then he forsook God who made him, and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation.' Selfishness, pride, and dissipation, are the very worst diseases, which can seize the members of a community [. . .]. Recollect that public virtue is public happiness. Never let the syren [sic] voice of unlawful pleasures, never let the deceitful charms of vice carry of your hearts from those duties, which, in general practice, form the strength and glory of a nation.[44]

As was quoted earlier, Easton feared that peace would undo all that the people had fought to defend. Nowhere was the threat greater than in the "siren song" of material gain. In the days before and during the war, the churches with stronger English connections used their access to crown funds as proof of their superior ability to care for the struggling farmers of the Canadas. However, with the war over, the lure of American business was once again threatening to usurp Britain's place in the colony. Therefore, a new concept was needed if the royal purse was no longer a strong enough motivation for loyalty and, as before, the clergy attempted to underpin their understanding of British governance through the use of Christianity. It was their hope that

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[42] John Bethune, *The following impressive Letter was addressed to the Congregation of WILLIAMSTOWN, in Upper Canada, by their late Reverend and ever to be lamented Pastor, a few days prior to his decease: To the Members of the Presbyterian Congregation of Williamstown, and of the other Presbyterian Congregations Connected with them in Glengarry. 16th September 1815*, MS 881 Reel 4, p. 2, Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

[43] Spark 17.

[44] Easton 16.

the people would recognize the Christian principles that undergirded all public policy and, as such, that they possessed all they needed to succeed without ever having to look beyond their own border.

*Christianity as Surest Guide of Public Policy*

Robert Easton would state the issue of the role of religion in shaping public policy plainly when he preached: "As christianity [sic] is both the purest source, and surest guard of public manners; so I would recommend the faith and practice of it, as essentially important."[45] That statement provides the strongest argument for the public role of faith within the colony. It was Christianity that provided motivation for true loyalty because, as Sydney Wise states, "society is incapable of sufficiently rewarding its members to ensure its own preservation"[46] But, as Charles Stewart understood society, the role of the individual was to live in such a way that he or she could garner the favour of God and the more people who did so, the more the entire nation could, and would, improve. He told the people "we ought to improve general and national providences. The public mercies and judgments of God concern every man; and every one of us ought to endeavour to make them profitable to himself and to all around him."[47] The nation was about more than just the individual and the nation was about more than just the community; it was about a collective of people honouring God and God honouring them. That was an idea that a secular explanation of nationalism could neither capture nor understand.

The God who "saw what was done in secret"[48] rewarded such moral attributes and it was through such ways that the individual character strengthened the nation. Because, as Easton explained it, "The wisdom of God is certainly greater than the wisdom of men" the people were called, through faith, to act in ways that honoured the will of God because only the plans that had divine sanction were "effectual for the right formation of human character" that were brought about by "an enlarged knowledge, and a steadfast belief of the gospel." Therefore, for the sake of the nation, Easton beseeched the people to "study your Bible, to make yourself familiar with the word of God [. . .] By being able to act in this wise manner, you will reap the advantages, and so will your country."[49] Christianity was not placed in the private sphere of individual tastes and proclivities but was considered, from the perspective of Easton and many others, to be on public display in order to strengthen the nation.

That was how loyalty to the empire was manifest in ways that united Great Britain with the Kingdom of God without necessarily equating the two as one and the same. Because of the ubiquitous belief in the power of providence, faith could not be left to the personal decisions of people without a deeper understanding of how faith impacted the formation of the nation. Religion and loyalty were enmeshed with each other and both informed the content and discourse of the other in ways not conceived of in the modern setting. That was why there existed so much concern within the ranks of the clergy who truly believed—along with all their other less than noble goals—that the strength of British North America lay in its connection to

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[45] Easton 17.

[46] Sydney F. Wise, "Sermon Literature and Canadian Intellectual History," *Pre-Industrial Canada 1760-1849*, ed. Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1982) 86.

[47] Stewart, *Providence*, 5.

[48] The Gospel of Matthew 6:4.

[49] Easton 17-19.

England and England's strength lay in its connection to, and worship of, God. With such an understanding in place it became impossible, from this perspective anyway, to be a good subject of the empire without also being a faithful follower of Jesus Christ. And it was equally difficult to be an adequate follower of Jesus Christ while also subscribing to the selfish and chaotic doctrines practiced and taught by the American-based churches. The national goals of both America and England altered their various denominations' theologies and what had been societal concern for the spiritual integrity of the Canadas in the pre-war days became a deeply important political issue as peace once again visited the land.

Since providence was seen as the source of all human hope, religion could never belong to only one but had to be considered in light of the larger community and the transatlantic world. In his celebration of Napoleon's defeat, Alexander Spark saw God at work not just to vanquish a foe but also to defend the beloved British Constitution, the document that sought to honour God through the governing of the English nation. Spark preached:

> This great scheme was to be the death warrant of the British Constitution, and to secure universal empire, to this new unprincipled Power, which affected to be the Arbiter of nations. But here, we behold interposed, the hand of a just and avenging Providence. We see the wicked caught in the snare, which he himself had spread. To adopt the language of the Psalmist, (Ps. 7:14), 'Behold he travaileth with iniquity, and hath conceived mischief, and brought forth falsehood. He made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch, which he made. His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate'[. . .] By the just judgment of, Heaven, defeat and ruin were the rewards of his temerity.[50]

Napoleon received justice for his actions but it was not just historically significant leaders that needed to heed the warnings of providence, it was every person who desired to remain within the will of God. In addition to that, the clerical discourse now added the idea that it was not just for personal benefit that such attention should be paid to the state of religion, but for the greater sake of the common good of the entire nation. Charles Stewart explained that "the first and best way of serving the public is, watchfully and diligently to perform our own duty."[51] The concept of doing one's duty served to unite the people in an understanding that what took place within their own home and even within their own consciences impacted their neighbours. Conversely, the beliefs and actions of their neighbours also impacted their own lives. In these ways, theology was used to construct community and give community definitions and traits around which people could gather and grow. Implicit in all of this dialogue was a challenge to the people of the Canadas to be wary of whom they welcomed as their neighbour. If too many American ideas and people began to infiltrate the British colony there was a chance that this bulwark of safety and independence for the entire world could be corrupted by notions of wealth and personal freedom that led to war and chaos and the rejection of what these churchmen believed was essential and inspiring about the British Kingdom.

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[50] Spark 11.

[51] Stewart, *Providence*, 4.

Although Robert Easton's sermon provided the outline for this paper on the unique character of British North American loyalty, the final word will be given to Charles Stewart. This Presbyterian minister recognized that it was in actions that reflected the care and heart of God that the people could expect continued blessings from God. To that end he wrote:

> Previous to the war we laid out some of our property, which God had given us, in building this house of worship, sacred to his worship; and we also erected places of education for our youth [. . .] we have studied to prevent injury and injustice taking place on our frontier, and to maintain peace and good will with our neighbours [. . .] The providence of God has smiled on these measures [. . .] We have also exercised charity, in commiserating the sufferings and contributing to the relief of our distressed brethren in Upper Canada; and this good work, no doubt, has tended to bless and secure our property [. . .] The public circumstances which I have mentioned, have in some degree, I am persuaded, recommended us to the particular favour of Providence.[52]

God had blessed the people of Upper and Lower Canada, God had prevented the flood of war from washing away all that they held dear, and, as long as the people continued to grow and define their land through the inspiration of scripture, so Stewart argued, they had no cause to believe that God would not also care for them and bless them in the unsure days that awaited them.

**Conclusion**

The War of 1812 was foundational for Presbyterianism in British North America because the ways in which the clergy condemned America and celebrated England allowed them to shape religious discourse in the Canadas for decades to come. What changed in the colony after the war was that all those who desired to serve God had to do so as loyal subjects of both George III and Christ. This would prove difficult for the American Methodist and Baptist Churches as they were forced to contend with the definitions of loyalty, definitions largely created by Presbyterian and Anglican clergy, who sought to expel them from the land. Presbyterian ministers were unanimous in their condemnations of the American declaration of war and their belief that England truly was uniquely blessed by God to further the divine mandate in the world.

With such understandings in place, the clergy of the Presbyterian Church were able to explain the war as both chastisement from God but also show the people that they could ease their suffering through repentance and the shared rejection of faulty, American theology. Arguments were made that Christians could fight in war without fear of divine reprisal because Jesus had shown partiality to certain disciples and Jerusalem as well. Finally, the rejection of new doctrines and ideas, the denigrating of the pursuit of wealth and the cost of social responsibility, and the use of Christianity as the guide for public policy were all utilized to both please God and separate the colonists from their American neighbours.

Ironically, it would be events from the war that would create one of the more prominent struggles for Presbyterians in the generations to come. Finances and access to crown resources would instigate a new dimension related to which church could rightfully and legally be considered the established church of the colony. As John Moir correctly summarizes:

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[52] Stewart, *Providence*, 15.

> Coming controversies over co-establishment in the Canadas first cast a seemingly innocent shadow in 1819 when the Presbyterian congregation of Niagara-on-the-Lake petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland for financial assistance in obtaining a minister. The American invaders had burned their church in 1813 and had wasted the property of members of the congregation, so that they now asked for charity [. . .] The petitioners did not care where Maitland might find the money, but suggested that the Clergy Reserves fund was one possible source.[53]

From such a seemingly "innocent" position was triggered a new contest that had been noticeably absent before and during the war. Although the Presbyterian Church had proven its loyalty and fidelity to England throughout the contest in the colonies, the Anglican Church of British North America fought against the possibility of co-establishment status with the Presbyterians; desiring to be the only established church in the colony. Such tensions would continue to manifest and divide the churches throughout the nineteenth century and, as such, are beyond the scope of this paper. For the topic at hand, it should be noted that the War of 1812 granted new prominence to this denomination and allowed the clergy of these various churches, attempting to function without an official Presbytery, to align with England, educate their adherents, and begin forging an identity within the struggling colony. Their official teachings reflected a celebration of England over America but the post-war years were the first time the Presbyterian Church came into its own and really began to assert itself as a necessary element on the cultural and religious landscape of the increasingly British, British North America.

[53] John S. Moir, *Early Presbyterianism in Canada: Essays by John S. Moir*, ed. Paul Laverdure (Gravelbourg, SK: Gravelbooks, 2003) 88.

# Developing a Denominational Structure: The Introduction of a Unified Budget

Peter Bush

Conrad Wright, during his 1983 Harvard Divinity School Alumni Day Address, complained about the inadequate attention paid by scholars to the development of ecclesiastical bureaucracies in American Protestantism. He noted,

> Our neglect of the general topic of denominational organization is manifested in part by our ignorance of how the present denominational bureaucracies got to be the way they are. Most people take them for granted as obvious, and presumably inherent in the nature of things. Few seem to be aware of how recent a phenomenon they are. The Christian church survived for centuries without stated clerks, suffragan bishops, district executives, or general superintendents [. . .]. One will look long and hard for a New Testament model for that.[1]

The same could be said about the development of Canadian denominations, which has received even less attention, and many people appear unaware that the denominational structures existing in the last third of the nineteenth century looked significantly different than the structures do at the start of the twenty-first century.[2]

This paper takes an extended look at one moment in the bureaucratic development of The Presbyterian Church in Canada: the changes occurring in 1912. The centralized finance and budgeting structures introduced at that time, it will be argued, gave the management of the mission of the Church to the developing church bureaucracy. This transfer led to a uniformity of practice which stifled experimentation and non-conformist outreach efforts. Most likely, limiting experimentation was not the intention of the rising bureaucracy, but in order to manage a rapidly growing and increasingly complex organization policies and procedures were established and applied. This organizational development resulted from a perspective which regarded the Church as a corporation producing a product. Efficient production was to be seen in the standardization of practices and systems across geographical regions and differing socio-economic realities. As long as grass-roots committees and other groups with arm's-length relationships to the church

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[1] Conrad Wright, "The Growth of Denominational Bureaucracies: A Neglected Aspect of American Church History," *Harvard Theological Review* 77.2 (1984): 178.

[2] In 1987, at Dr. John Moir's invitation, I presented my first paper to the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History. The paper, the result of work I did in Dr. Moir's graduate course on Canadian Religious Traditions, explored the history of the Knox College Student Missionary Society from its beginnings in 1845 to its heydays in the 1890s and the first decade of the twentieth century. The paper also documented the Society's rapid decline in the years immediately prior to World War I, a decline precipitated in large part by the bureaucratization of the Church's structures. After I presented my paper, the Rev. Dr. John Johnston thanked me for my paper and suggested those gathered could expect to hear more from me as I continued my research on the bureaucratization of the Presbyterian Church. I remember thinking, "I don't want to do research on that." What had drawn me to the KCSMS was not an interest in understanding the bureaucratization of the Church, but rather a fascination with the passion and vision for mission and outreach present among the students. However, over the last twenty-five years in doing my research, I have found myself stumbling over evidence that in the years immediately prior to World War I the Presbyterian Church made significant change in the way it did its work. This paper is the result of asking what happened and what the implications of that change were.

bureaucracy had access to funds which they could expend at their own discretion, the standardizing and homogenizing policies and procedures of the centralizing structures could be bent and even ignored allowing for the unusual and the experimental. Once centralized finance and budgeting was introduced such freedom was curtailed.[3]

The Presbyterian Church in Canada was not alone in developing a new organizational structure in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Samuel Hays has argued a new "organizational society" came to the fore in the United States of America between 1897 and 1929. As evidence of this shift Hays points to phrases such as: "efficiency," "scientific management," and "business methods" becoming common in fields ranging from industry to commerce to education to religion during this period. Those individuals having this new "progressive" view of society believed the methods and the structures needed to shape society for good could be found. The shift to the "organizational society" was marked by three things: technical systems were developed and applied to all aspects of human endeavour; new associations were created among people on the basis of their function and occupation, thereby creating specializations; and the focus of attention moved from the local to the cosmopolitan.[4] These shifts expanded the geographical scope of people's lives from local to national, from congregational to denominational. Even as the variety of specialists increased, the room for variation within each specialty decreased. Specialization led to conformity within the specialty: the Presbyterian congregation in suburban Toronto operated the same way, with the same worship style, as the suburban Vancouver congregation.

In his work on North American denominations, Gibson Winter argues the "organizational society" impacted Protestant churches in three ways: functional specialization through the development of boards and agencies; the elaboration of an administrative staff at the national level of the denomination; and centralized control of fund raising and budgeting.[5] John Thomas, in his 1991 dissertation, explored these three dynamics within the Methodist Church of Canada between the Methodist Union of 1884 and Church Union in 1925. Thomas demonstrates that the first two of Winter's patterns had been implemented within Canadian Methodism by the first decade of the twentieth century. The third, centralized fund raising and budgeting, was not implemented in Canadian Methodism until 1919, after World War I.[6] The Presbyterian Church

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[3] This paper was written at a particular moment in the life of The Presbyterian Church in Canada as the structures that evolved over the last century appear to be financially unsustainable. While the paper does not enter directly into that 2012-2013 debate, the discerning reader may catch hints of the author's views regarding the future structures of the denomination.

[4] Samuel Hays, "The New Organizational Society," *Building the Organizational Society: Essays on Associational Activities in Modern America*, ed. Jerry Israel (New York: The Free Press, 1972) 1-15.

[5] Gibson Winter, "Religious Organizations," *Large-Scale Organizations*, vol. 1 of *The Emergent American Society* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1967) 408-91. A later version appeared as Gibson Winter, *Religious Identity: A Study of Religious Organization* (New York: Macmillan, 1968). See also David Dawson, "Funding Mission in the Early Twentieth Century," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 24.4 (2000): 155-58. Dawson writes, "Following the lead of business and industry, churches developed models of efficiency, consolidation, and specialization that had the effect of producing the 'corporate denomination'" (155) .

[6] John Thomas, "'A Pure and Popular Character': Case Studies in the Development of the Methodist 'Organizational' Church, 1884-1925," diss., York U, 1991). Thomas explores the developing theology of stewardship within the Methodist Church in his "The Christian Law of Living": The Institutionalization of Christian Stewardship in The Methodist Church (Canada, Newfoundland, Bermuda), 1884-1925," *Canadian Society of Methodist History Papers* (1991): 109-28. What Thomas' work does do regarding finances is provide a careful

in Canada, which moved to centralized finance and budgeting in 1912, that is before World War I, was the first Christian denomination in Canada to do so. While chronologically there was only a seven-year lag on the Methodists' side, World War I stands between the two dates, and the war was a watershed event for virtually everything in Canada. It has been argued Canada went into the war a colony and came out a modern nation state. Such a change in the national psyche impacted the churches as well. Thus by making their move to centralized budgeting in 1912 Presbyterians were anticipating changes yet to be seen in other Canadian denominations.

Research done for the Presbyterian Presence project, while exploring American Presbyterianism, provides some helpful ways of thinking about these organizational changes in Canada. Louis B. Weeks describes a process he calls "the incorporation" of the Church, as business models replaced communal decision-making styles in American Presbyterianism between 1880 and 1920. Weeks is gentle in his analysis arguing the proponents of "incorporation" did not see, and could not be expected to see, the long-term implications of replacing a decentralized communal decision-making structure with a centralized business model.[7] Craig Dykstra and James Hudnut-Beumler make a similar argument as they look at the broad sweep of American Presbyterian, arguing three stages of organizational life describe its denominational history: a Constitutional Confederacy was in place until sometime after the American Civil War when the Corporation started to arise, holding sway until the 1960s when it was replaced with the emergence of the Regulatory Agency. The Corporation was expansive and outward focused, creating cohesion within the denomination by inviting congregations and individuals to serve the mission of the denomination.[8] This paper explores how the rise of "corporation" thinking impacted the ways in which The Presbyterian Church in Canada raised and spent money.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada grew rapidly through the 1890s and first decade of the twentieth century, just as Canada itself grew. The Church's growth was seen in more congregations, more mission points, more church buildings, more theological colleges, more manses, more missionaries serving overseas, more of just about everything. The 2,942 congregations and preaching points of 1900 had grown by 1910 to become 4,215; growth of more than 40%, the bulk of which was in the West. In that same period the number of clergy serving in the denomination had risen by a third from 1,090 to 1,462. The denomination had

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analysis of the growth of stewardship language within Methodism and evidence of how that language was being framed to fit an increasingly middle-class and urbanized Church.

[7] Louis B. Weeks, "The Incorporation of the Presbyterians," *The Organizational Revolution: Presbyterians and American Denominationalism*, ed. Milton J. Coalter, John Mulder, and Louis B. Weeks (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 37-54. Weeks' conclusion moves the conversation from the past into the present: "Much as Presbyterians might affirm a doctrine of the church that centers on 'the body of Christ,' 'the work of the Holy Spirit among people,' and God's sovereignty, they still contend with and exist within an American [we can add Canadian] environment of voluntarism and corporation-induced values. How to balance necessary organization with self-conscious distance from a complex, pervasive atmosphere of incorporation will itself be a complicated task. It seems one worth the effort, however, if a Presbyterian identity remains important within the Christian family" (53-54).

[8] Craig Dykstra and James Hudnut-Beumler, "The National Organizational Structures of Protestant Denominations: An Invitation to a Conversation," *The Organizational Revolution: Presbyterians and American Denominationalism*, ed. Milton J. Coalter, John Mulder, and Louis B. Weeks (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992) 307-31.

sixty-four missionaries overseas in 1900; that more than doubled to 146 by 1910.[9] The Assembly Committees overseeing the mission work of the church both at home and overseas were, at first, led by volunteer convenors and committee members all who had other employment either as congregational ministers or in other professional occupations. As the church grew the committees and their convenors were stretched to the limit. The Home Missions Committee, Western Section, had been the first to try something different, asking the 1881 Assembly to appoint a Mission Superintendent. The General Assembly appointed the Rev. James Robertson to this role.[10] Robertson's office was wherever he was and he was everywhere across Western Canada. More activist than bureaucrat, his appointment nonetheless signaled a change in approach: there was space for mission or program specialists who were unattached to a congregation. At the time even some of the college faculty, for example the Rev. Dr. J. J. Proudfoot of Knox College, served congregations while teaching full course loads. Robertson's appointment was followed in 1892 by the Rev. R. P. MacKay's appointment as the full-time secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the western section of the church; a significant step towards the creation of a Church bureaucracy.[11] MacKay's work was done largely by mail as he connected with the growing number of missionaries overseas and addressed their policy and procedure questions. He needed an office from which to do this, and he eventually joined the church treasurer in the Confederation Life building in Toronto. From there things grew as the committee responsible for Sunday Schools and Young People hired a full-time secretary. And the Foreign Missions Committee hired an assistant to help MacKay. The Rev. John Somerville "became the salaried head of a business office" in 1906 when he was given "a permanent position in the Church offices." That the Assembly could speak of "the Church offices" indicates a distinct entity within the church had come into being. Somerville, as Chris Redmond has described, brought financial accountability to the life of the church and through his service on no less than seven national committees functioned as the communication link between various committees in the church.[12] An Assembly-level church office was coming into existence.

The growth of the Canadian Presbyterian church both at home and on the foreign mission field drove calls for better methods of collecting money from the people in the pews to fund this expansive mission. The demographic shift from rural and small town to urban changed how Canadian congregations functioned. Large urban congregations had staff beyond the minister, and expenses like utilities, maintenance, and mortgage payments on their large, prestigious buildings. Not only were urban congregations in the first decade of the twentieth century building large edifices to house their programs and staff, even small town congregations were replacing their clapboard and wood frame buildings built in the 1850s through 1870s with new large brick buildings. The total value of church property had risen from $14.7 million in 1906 to

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[9] *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Eighth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1912): Appendix 551.

[10] For more on James Robertson see: Peter Bush, "James Robertson: Presbyterian Bishop of the West," *Called to Witness: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians: A Supplement to Enduring Witness,* ed. John S. Moir, vol. 4 (Burlington, ON: The Presbyterian Church in Canada Committee on History, 1999) 38-51.

[11] For more on R. P. MacKay see: Peter Bush, "The Rev. R. P. (Robert Peter) MacKay: Pietist as Denominational Executive," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 35 (2010): 13-42.

[12] Chris Redmond, "John Somerville in the General Assembly: Case Study of a Presbyterian Unionist," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 13 (1988): 31-47.

$21.1 million a mere four years later. The debt on church property had also risen to a total of $2.8 million or 13% of the value of the property.[13]

No longer could congregations function financially from harvest to harvest, waiting for farmers to get their crop in and then make substantial annual donations to the church. In fact, a growing number of church members were not farmers. As a growing number of church members were paid weekly and as their congregations faced bills on a weekly and monthly basis, the pattern of giving changed. Through the first decade of the twentieth century the weekly offering envelope was introduced into many congregations. Such an introduction sought to create the habit of weekly giving to the church, and further gave to giving the appearance of being private. Everyone used the same kind of envelope but no one, except the counters, knew how much individuals gave. A variation on the weekly offering envelope was the duplex envelope, with its two pockets. The pockets could be separated from each other along the perforation in the center. Into one pocket was put contributions to the local congregation and in the other pocket contributions to "the schemes of the church." "The schemes of the church" being the work of the denomination both at home and overseas. Giving was thus regularized, standardized, programmed, and privatized, aspects befitting a corporatizing church.

Through the first decade of the twentieth century the committees and boards functioning under the General Assembly had no formal connections with one another, and there was no place other than Assembly where these entities interacted with one another. This decentralized approach was in part the result of each group taking responsibility for raising its own funds. In 1910 there were ten different "schemes of the church" to which congregations could contribute: Home Missions, Augmentation, Foreign Missions, French Evangelization, the theological colleges, Aged and Infirm Ministers' Fund, Widows and Orphans Fund, Assembly Fund, Moral Reform and Evangelism (which had been added to the schemes in 1907), and the Sunday School and Young Peoples' Committee. These groups competed with each other for financial support from local congregations, which in 1910 totaled $904,335.[14] Through their letters and personal presence the secretaries, convenors, and committee members along with missionaries on deputation work and other staff employed by the committees encouraged congregations to give to "the schemes of the church." As an increasing number of committees and boards had full-time staff, many of whom worked out of offices in the Confederation Life Building in Toronto, the competition between the various funds for money became an increasing irritant. Further, clergy and congregations felt harassed by seven or more sets of requests arriving before them either by letter or in person. The question was asked, "Why not have a unified budget at the Assembly level of the church?"

Calls for the introduction of business methods into the finances of the church were heard at the Laymen's Missionary Movement gathering held in Toronto in 1909. Canada's Missionary Congress, the Laymen's Missionary Movement highpoint, held in 1909, spent an entire morning of the four-day conference discussing "How to lead the Church to its Highest Missionary Efficiency." The speakers highlighted the important role the congregation's pastor played as leader of the missionary focus of their church, and discussed the make-up of mission committees. Raising money received attention from a number of angles. Former mayor of Toronto, Thomas Urquhart, argued "In the conduct of all business enterprises, and in the management thereof, two

[13] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 551.

[14] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 551.

things are necessary: 1. Education. 2. System."[15] The system was the weekly offering envelope for it was "businesslike and methodical and regular."[16] Mr. M. Parkinson, a Presbyterian layperson from an unnamed Toronto congregation, bore witness to the extraordinary impact introducing the weekly offering envelope had had in one congregation where contributions rose by 400%.[17] Together with a focus on proportionate giving (a scientific approach to giving), the weekly offering envelope would "solve all our problems of Church finances."[18]

These calls for the church to be more business-like impacted The Presbyterian Church in Canada. At the 1913 Pre-Assembly Congress a banner hung in Massey Hall, where the convention was held, depicting a conversation between a person dressed like a country squire riding a rocking horse and another person driving a car. The horse was named "Antiquated Methods"; the car was named "Business Methods in Church Finance." The driver of the car was saying "Get in, brother, and make some progress."[19] Progress was the goal, it being the element used to determine value. The car, the product of systematized and organized work in a factory, was superior to the rocking horse, which was most likely made in a workshop growing out of the seeming disorganization that exists in most workshops. Little else had to be said about how the denomination's leadership viewed the introduction of business methods to the church.

In response to the pressures to find more money to fund both the ministry of the local church and the mission of the denomination, the Assembly Committee on Systematic Giving called attention to offering envelopes as a means to increase giving to both congregations and the schemes of the church. The introduction of weekly offering envelopes, it was argued, needed to be accompanied by support from the minister and a systematic visitation of all households in the congregation. Following these practices would produce the product of increased contributions to the work of the church. By 1911, 456 congregations had adopted weekly offering envelopes and of those 370 were using duplex envelopes. Assuming those congregations which had adopted offering envelopes were predominately self-supporting congregations, this represented just over 20% of the self-supporting congregations in the denomination. Changing the giving patterns of congregations would take time. The committee was not discouraged by the slow rate of introduction. Even though the described system of "a thorough canvass of the members" had not always been used as part of introducing the offering envelope, only four of the 370 congregations using the duplex envelopes indicated significant problems.[20]

The new method by itself, the Systematic Giving Committee made clear, was not sufficient to increase giving or to deepen stewardship practices; those things happened only

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[15] Thomas Urquhart, "The Best Methods of Missionary Finance," *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council of Laymen's Missionary Movement, [1909?]) 201. The 4,000 delegates gathered in Toronto March 31 to April 4, 1909.

[16] Urquhart 204.

[17] M. Parkinson, "The Weekly Offering Envelope," *Canada's Missionary Congress* (Toronto: Canadian Council of Laymen's Missionary Movement, [1909?]) 207.

[18] J. Campbell White's comment. White, President of the American branch of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, was the Chairperson of this session. See *Canada's Missionary Congress*, 206.

[19] "Appendix: Charts Shown at Congress," *Pre-Assembly Congress: Addresses delivered at the Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress, held in Massey Hall, Toronto* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada Board of Foreign Missions, 1913) among the unnumbered pages at the back of the book.

[20] "Report of Committee on Systematic Giving,"*Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Seventh General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1911): Appendix 229.

when individuals and congregations experienced spiritual transformation. The 1911 report put it bluntly:

> Better organization and business methods are needed, but no great advance in giving will be chronicled, there will be no undertaking of the work in the sacrificial spirit of Christ's Cross, until there comes to our people a new vision of things unseen and eternal, and a new constraint of love from Him who though He was rich, for our sakes became poor.[21]

The committee believed that such a revival had yet to take place since on average Presbyterians gave five cents a week to the schemes of the church. Such a level was half what the Committee believed to be a reasonable target. The committee concluded many Presbyterians gave nothing to the work of the wider church, and those who did give gave little and irregularly; few people were giving sacrificially, and few "wealthy members" were "investing any adequate portion of their means in the effort to win Canada for Christ and give the gospel to every creature."[22] To address this problem a five-point plan was introduced. First, ministers needed to preach and teach so members were prepared to do nothing less than sacrifice for the cause of Christ. A discipleship program was to be introduced, the goal of which was "to have everyone who names the name of Christ come into fellowship with that Christ by learning that it is more blessed to give than to receive." The third step was the introduction of the duplex envelope because it was the best means to "secure frequent and regular contributions." Fourth, the level of giving expectation needed to be raised through developing accountability groups within the congregation where members encouraged one another to raise "the standard of giving." And finally, "those possessed of large means" needed to be confronted with the "finest opportunity for investment" namely service to Christ's kingdom.[23] The plan was a call to spiritual renewal and lived discipleship regarding the financial resources at one's disposal.

While in 1911 the committee recognized spiritual transformation as an essential part of seeing giving increased, they were still proposing a system to push ahead the hoped-for spiritual transformation. It is true that training of any kind requires having goals and planning to reach those goals, and training in living the spiritual life is no different. However, often spiritual growth happens in unexpected ways, coming out of unplanned moments. The danger of building a system to enhance spiritual growth is the serendipitous moments of unexpected grace may get programmed out of existence or labeled as outside the prescribed pattern. The accountability groups hoped for would have been a place where such serendipity and surprise could have been welcomed and celebrated.

The call to spiritual renewal was accompanied by changes to how the boards and committees of Assembly would communicate their financial needs to congregations. Instead of each of the Assembly's committees sending their requests to Synods and Synods dividing each of those requests among the Presbyteries and the Presbyteries dividing each of those requests among the congregations in their bounds, in 1911 permission was given to the Committee on Systematic Giving to calculate the whole amount required by all the committees of the church and divide that total among the Synods. Thus Synods would receive only one figure to divide

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[21] "Report of Committee on Systematic Giving," *Acts and Proceedings* (1911): Appendix 229.

[22] "Report of Committee on Systematic Giving," *Acts and Proceedings* (1911): Appendix 229.

[23] "Report of Committee on Systematic Giving," *Acts and Proceedings* (1911): Appendix 229.

among Presbyteries and Presbyteries only one figure to divide among congregations. This change was in fact the first step in creating a unified budget. Nineteen eleven was also the year the budget for all the schemes of the church combined reached $1 million. Having de facto created a unified budget, the Committee asked and received permission to circulate the 1912 allocation figures to Synods enough in advance that Presbyteries could inform congregations of their allocations for the 1912 year prior to congregational annual meetings in January 1912. In order to do this the Committee on Systematic Giving was using estimates not yet approved by the Assembly, for Assembly would not meet until June of 1912 to approve the 1912 budget.[24] Taking these actions to their logical conclusion the Committee asked Assembly to request all committees and presbyteries in the church to send their views on "the amalgamation of all funds for the prosecution of religious work" to the Committee by 1 April 1912.[25]

The creation of centralized finance and budgeting meant changes to how the committees and boards of the Church functioned and the way they related to congregations and individual members. Thus following the 1911 Assembly there was significant conversation within some committees of the church regarding the proposed change. The Foreign Missions Committee was pleased with the results of the experiment underway between the 1911 and 1912 Assemblies, declaring it "a decided improvement on the old plan." The Committee went on to note that R. P. MacKay, Secretary of the Committee and Moderator of the Assembly that year, spent the entire fall of 1911 visiting congregations and presbyteries promoting the unified budget and the advantages of weekly giving.[26] MacKay was a pietist with an extraordinary ability to re-frame administrative and financial matters as spiritual issues. He was therefore providentially the Moderator of the Assembly at this critical administrative moment in the life of the church.[27] The Home Missions Committee was supportive but required some assurances, namely: the Home Missions Committee would be represented on the yet-to-be-formed finance committee and the policies and procedures of the Home Missions Committee regarding the management of its mission mandate would not be fundamentally altered.[28]

The Board of French Evangelization was not as sanguine about the merging of fund-raising efforts, wanting recognition of the distinct challenges and needs of mission efforts among French-speaking Canadians. The board asked that: the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa be given special funds which the Synod could designate for the support of mission among French-speaking Roman Catholics; second, the special superintendent appointed to the Synod be fluently bilingual and would have the same status as the other superintendents across the country; and finally, the Mission School at Pointe-aux-Trembles receive a grant directly from the Assembly and the school be empowered to made direct financial appeals to congregations and Sunday Schools. The request for a direct appeal to congregations undermined one of the central reasons for having a unified budget: all financial appeals to congregations would come from one source

[24] *Acts and Proceedings* (1911): Minutes, 89, 90. In 1912, the Committee on Systematic Giving estimated the total Unified Budget at $1.1 million. The budget was changed by the 1912 Assembly to $1.2 million. But there is no evidence that the Committee on Systematic Giving revised the figures they had supplied to Synods in the wake of the Assembly decision. Therefore the Committee's report to the Assembly in 1913 speaks of the 1912 budget being $1.1 million. The Committee ignored the instructions of the Assembly.

[25] *Acts and Proceedings* (1911): Appendix 232.

[26] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 266.

[27] See Bush, "The Rev. Dr. R. P. MacKay."

[28] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 6.

and all the funds given by congregations would be distributed by the yet-to-be-created Finance Committee. The Board of French Evangelization was evidently concerned the distinct nature of ministry among French-speaking Roman Catholics would be lost under the homogenizing influence of centralized direction and management.[29]

Members of the Assembly's Committee on Systematic Giving had visited many presbyteries and synods between the 1911 and the 1912 Assemblies, explaining the changes proposed and the system for allocating to each congregation what they were expected to give to the unified budget. The year-long experiment had gone well, with giving to the national programs of the church having risen. Committee members participating in the 1912 pre-Assembly Missionary Conference held in Ottawa were again able to present the rationale for the change to General Assembly commissioners and were able to report to the General Assembly that those attending the conference had supported the changes. Twenty-eight presbyteries had responded to the remit asking their opinion on "the unification of the schemes;" eighteen were in favour, eight were opposed, and two reported their "indifference" on the issue. Given this support and the support from three of the committees of the Church, the recommendation from the Committee on Systematic Giving was to move ahead with the unification of the schemes.[30]

The tone of the committee's 1912 report was in marked contrast to its 1911 report. Where the 1911 report had framed the call to give in spiritual terms, an outgrowth of gratitude to God and an obligation to share what had been so abundantly provided, the 1912 report was about methods and processes. The corporatizing system was on full display. The standard method of introducing systematic giving was a banquet or series of banquets to interest people in the new method; a motion at the annual meeting accepting "the congregation's allocated share of Budget"; and an every member canvass by laypeople in the congregation with "the aim being to have each person earning an income promise to give a certain amount, however small, weekly through the envelopes provided." Following this method would lead to an increase in giving to the budget of the denomination and a growth in the local congregation's resources.[31] When the method did not work the cause was one of three things: the minister's failure to fully support the change to systematic giving and duplex envelopes; the lack of vision among key lay leaders in a congregation who were "looking backwards [. . .] self-satisfied with doing a very little"; or particular local circumstances of economic difficulty.[32] The committee assured the report's readers that progressive-thinking clergy and laypeople following the methods outlined by the committee would see dramatic increases in congregational giving.

The committee also introduced recommendations regarding the management of the Assembly level of the Church. A new Finance Board of The Presbyterian Church in Canada was to be created, replacing the Committee on Systematic Giving. The chairperson of the Board and twelve others, among whom there would be representation from each Synod, were not to be members of any of the committees presenting their budgets to the Finance Board. The other twenty-two members of the board would be representatives of the committees of the Assembly, the principals of the colleges, and the editor of the *Record*. Both the Home and Foreign Missions committees had two representatives on the Board, an acknowledgement of their size and

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[29] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 70.

[30] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 264-73.

[31] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 268.

[32] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): Appendix 267-68.

importance. The board was given the power to hire an individual to carry on its "executive work." In proposing the creation of the Finance Board, the committee was aware of the power being given to the Board "to which is entrusted in so large measure the financing of all the Schemes of the Church."[33]

The Finance Board had become a super-committee through which all funding decision would flow. The Eastern section of the Church (the Maritimes) had its own treasurer and processes, so the impact of the changes was somewhat muted although still felt in that part of the country. Given the makeup of the new board, a place had been created where the committees and boards of the church were compelled to meet and, it was hoped, work out together how they would do the work of the Church. The board was one more level of structure, further distancing the General Assembly from the staff responsible for carrying on the work of the Church. In hiring someone to manage the day-to-day financial leadership of the Church, the Assembly was recognizing that specialized skills and abilities were required in the leadership of the denomination; skills having little to do with the pastoral ability required in congregational life. The Finance Board would manage all requests to congregations for funding: direct appeals from committees and boards were no longer allowed. The Finance Board had the power to re-write the draft budgets of committees, thereby choosing if they wished, to privilege particular work of the church and disadvantage other work.

The development of centralized budgeting meant national committees knew what was being paid to the secretaries and other staff of all the other committees. Since all staff members working for the Church were to be paid from one source, bringing equity to the salaries paid was a priority. The 1912 Assembly made some changes to deal with a few glaring problems, and mandated the Finance Board to create "a permanent scale." With the Finance Board setting the salaries, the various boards and committees of the Assembly lost a tool by which they could express appreciation or disapproval of the work of their staff.[34]

In bringing together the mission work of the Church under one budget the logical decision was to re-organize some of the responsibilities between the Home and Foreign Missions Committees. Until 1912, work in Canada that was obviously cross-cultural, was largely regarded as foreign missions. Thus work among the Chinese immigrants, the Native people of Canada, and Jewish immigrants all fell under the Foreign Missions Committee. Even work among Francophones had its own Board, distinct from Home Missions. The Assembly, with the agreement of the Home and Foreign Missions Committees and the Board of French Evangelization, created a Board of Home Missions. This newly minted entity was responsible for all the work previously called home missions, plus ministry among the Native people, work among the Jews, and the work of the Board of French Evangelization. The school at Pointe-aux-Trembles had its own board appointed by the Assembly and therefore reported directly to the Assembly.[35] The work among the Chinese immigrants remained a responsibility of the Foreign Missions Committee because of links between the Chinese community in Canada and regions in China where the Presbyterian Church had missionaries. Disrupting those links it was believed would hamper the mission work in Canada. In this shift, ministries that had been recognized as

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[33] *Acts and P*roceedings (1912): Appendix 272-73.

[34] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): 65.

[35] *Acts and Proceedings* (1912): 64-65, Appendix 271-72.

cross-cultural were re-imagined as home missions work thereby losing their links to cross-cultural mission thinking.[36]

As these changes were being made, one of the rationales presented was more money would be raised for the mission of the Church. Given that these changes took place in 1911 and 1912, being completed only two years before World War I, it is not possible with any accuracy to say much about the long-term impact the changes had on giving to "the schemes of the church." The war and with it the imposition of federal income tax, the focusing of economic efforts towards the building of war materiel, and the loss of family income with men serving overseas in the military all reduced the funds available for donation to the church. That leaves 1913 as the only complete post-unified budget year with which any helpful comparative work can be done. The table at the end of this paper contains data in addition to what is discussed below.

The amount of money given to the schemes of the Church had been rising steadily through the late nineteenth century and on into the first decade of the twentieth century. The increases came from two places. First, as there were more communicant members there were more people giving and so more money was raised. Second, on average each Presbyterian gave more to the "schemes of the church" with each passing year. This increase needs to be read against the annual rate of inflation. The years 1909 and 1910 demonstrate the impact of inflation of the real (after inflation) funds available to the fund "the schemes of the church." In 1908, $667,914 had been given to "the schemes of the church;" that amount jumped by 25% in 1909 when $835,860 was given. About 6% of that increase was due to more members in the denomination. In 1909, the average Presbyterian Church member gave $2.99 to the schemes of the church, an increase of 19% over the previous year. With inflation at just under 3% in 1909, this was a real increase (after inflation) in giving of over 15%—a significant one-year jump. The following year, in 1910, giving to "the schemes" grew to $904,335, an 8% increase. Of this increase 3% was due to more members, and there was a 5% increase in average giving to the schemes rising to $3.14. However, with inflation running at 4.6% the purchasing power given by each person simply remained constant.[37]

In 1911, R. P. MacKay and A. S. Grant, the recently appointed General Superintendent for Home Missions, as noted above, spent the last six months of the year touring the country promoting systematic giving and the mission of the Church. Total giving to that mission endeavour rose by 10% to $997,315, falling just short of the $1 million goal. The average Presbyterian gave $3.37, an increase of 3.6% (after inflation) over the previous year. The discussion stewardship at the General Assembly and the MacKay and Grant fundraising campaign appears to have encouraged increased giving, although not to the level of increase seen in 1909.[38]

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[36] See R. Pierce Beaver, *Church, State, and the American Indian: Two and a Half Centuries of Partnership in Missions Between Protestant Churches and Government* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1966), 208; Peter Bush, "'Spoken with Native Languages': Presbyterian Evangelistic Efforts Among the Native People of the Prairies, 1908-1909," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History* 33 (2008): 29-42; Peter Bush, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission to Canada's Native Peoples, 1900-2000," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36.3 (July 2012): 113-20.

[37] *Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1913): Appendix 530.

[38] *Acts and Proceedings of the Forty-Fifth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1919): Appendix 518.

The Assembly in 1912, excited by the opportunities to do mission and hopeful that the promises of systematic giving would be realized, increased the 1912 goal from the $1.1 million recommended by the Committee to $1.2 million. In the end $1,132,513 was given, a 13.5% jump. This was just over twice the rate of inflation, which was running at about 6.25% in 1912. The average member gave $3.76, an increase of 6.5% above inflation, over the previous year.[39] Again the work of MacKay and Grant played a role, as did the significant amount of conversation the changes would have caused. A conversation about stewardship raises people's awareness of their own giving patterns, and may result in some people re-examining what they give. If no conversation about stewardship is taking place, fewer people are likely to think about it.

Contributions to the unified budget surpassed $1.2 million in 1913, for a 6% increase; after inflation this was about a 4% increase. The membership of the denomination rose by 4%. Factoring out inflation and membership growth, the average Presbyterian did not increase what they gave to "the schemes of the church" in 1913 over what they had given in 1912.[40] The intense focus on stewardship present in 1911 and 1912 was not repeated following the 1912 Assembly, and less attention on stewardship questions meant a lessened awareness of the issue. Second, 1912 was the first of the Church Union votes. While it is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate what impact the vote might have had on Presbyterians giving patterns, it is a factor that needs to be remembered in this conversation.

The unified budget may have made it easier to raise funds since committee and board staff had less need to go out and cultivate donors. Further, the competition among the agencies of the Church was reduced. But the evidence is less than compelling that offering envelopes, and in particular the duplex envelope, significantly increased the amount of money available to carry out the mission and ministry of "the schemes of the church." The envelope system by itself was just a system; changing what people gave was, as the Committee on Systematic Giving said in 1911, a spiritual issue. When attention was given to discussing the spiritual dimension there was an increase in what the average Presbyterian gave.

Three brief case studies follow which seek to demonstrate how the shift to a unified budget and the development of "corporation" thinking changed the mission life of the Church.

*Knox College Student Missionary Society*[41]

The Knox College Student Missionary Society (KCSMS) was the most influential student organization at Knox College from the college's founding until World War I. When the denomination would not provide adequate support to send Jonathan Goforth to China, the KCSMS found the funds to send him. During the school year the Society provided supply preachers to congregations in and around Toronto, as well as volunteers for the various city

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[39] *Acts and Proceedings* (1919): Appendix 518.

[40] *Acts and Proceedings* (1919): Appendix 518.

[41] For a longer discussion of the Knox College Student Missionary Society see Peter Bush, "Sending the Gospel: The Development of the Knox College Student Missionary Society, 1845-1925," *Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers* 12 (1987): 49-70. Knox College was not the only theological college with such an organization. Presbyterian College in Montreal and Queen's University also had influential Student Missionary Society's whose histories follow a similar trajectory to the one at Knox College.

missions Presbyterian congregations operated in Toronto. The flagship program of the Society was the provision of student ministers to congregations across Ontario and to the west.

The Society raised the funds to support these students through the donations of students and faculty, and more significantly through appeals to congregations in urbanizing Ontario. In 1901, the Society supported twenty-four summer student ministers on a budget of $5,090; in 1910, forty student ministers were being funded on an income of $14,330. The KCSMS along with the other student-led missionary societies in Presbyterian theological colleges reported to the General Assembly through the Home Missions Committee.

The unifying of national committee budgets squeezed out other Presbyterian entities from circularizing congregations with financial appeals. The funding model on which KCSMS was built was undercut in one fell swoop. With limited funds of their own and the previous source of fundraising blocked, the Society had no means of generating the monies needed to support summer students. The leadership of the KCSMS along with the leadership of the other colleges' student missionary societies met with the General Superintendent of the Home Missions Committee, the Rev. Andrew S. Grant, in early 1912. The result was "a closer relationship" between the student societies and the committee. This closer relationship gave the Home Missions Committee the power to choose which congregations would be assigned to which college, and from a list of names provided by the student societies the Home Missions Committee would assign students to the charges. The Home Missions Committee would accept the responsibility of ensuring there were adequate funds to pay the summer students. Further, the student societies would no longer receive space in the reports published in the *Acts and Proceedings*, their work would be included in the description of the Home Mission work.

The decision to move to a unified budget cut the ability of the KCSMS to fund its operations thereby ending the independence of the Society. By bringing the appointment of students to summer charges within the system of the Home Missions Committee the KCSMS was turned into a shell of its former self, sending summer students in name only. The process was entirely in the control of the Home Missions Committee. While World War I would end the KCSMS as a student society, being merged with the Theological and Metaphysical Society to become the Missionary and Theological Society (M&T), the development of a "corporation" church in 1912 had left it fatally wounded.

*Independent Greek Church*[42]

As early as 1898 Presbyterian Church leaders were aware of and were seeking to expand ministry opportunities with and to the Ukrainians arriving on the Canadian prairies. Connections were made between John Bodrug and James Robertson which led to special courses being offered to assist young Ukrainians in getting the training necessary to become teachers recognized by the Manitoba government. Further, with no Ukrainian priests present to serve the newly arrived immigrants, Bodrug and some twenty other Ukrainians who had had conversions to Protestantism or had leanings in that direction received rudimentary theological training at Manitoba College. By 1905 the Independent Greek Church had been born. The denomination within the Presbyterian Church was "Greek" in the sense that it used the Greek rite in worship and not as a statement of ethnicity or language. Services in the Independent Greek Church were

[42] For a further discussion of the Independent Greek Church see Peter Bush, *Western Challenge: The Presbyterian Church in Canada's Mission on the Prairies and North, 1885-1925* (Winnipeg: Watson Dwyer, 2000) 141-50.

kept to an hour and a half, had a sermon, and used a modified form of the Greek rite. The buildings in which they worshipped looked like Ukrainian Orthodox buildings. At its peak the Independent Greek Church claimed to have twenty-four pastoral charges and 24,000 members.

The experiment eventually failed. It has been suggested it failed because priests from the Ukraine finally arrived, and the Ukrainians returned to their historic expression of the faith rather than remain part of the denomination within a denomination. Alternatively, the suggestion has been made that the democratic values of the Presbyterian Church could no longer be suppressed and the Ukrainian community reacted by leaving the Presbyterian fold. John Webster Grant argued the cultural divide between Canadian Presbyterians and the Ukrainians was simply too great to be bridged, and the collapse was inevitable because of the cultural division.

These explanations fail to account for the events of 1912. Defining the exact nature of the relationship between The Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Independent Greek Church had always proven problematic. Many Presbyterians believed the denomination was part of the Canadian Presbyterian Church, while others argued there was an arm's length relationship. Reports about the Independent Greek Church appeared regularly in the *Acts and Proceedings* of the Assembly, and the Presbyterian Church oversaw the development of a Ukrainian hymn-book and catechism. Things were equally unclear to the leadership of the Independent Greek Church. Bodrug believed it was an independent denomination, while other Ukrainian leaders saw it as part of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. As 1912 brought a more business-like approach to the church, this confusion had to be clarified.

The Board of Home Missions described what happened:

> For some time The Presbyterian Church in Canada has been rendering assistance to the Independent Greek Church, and each year the Home Mission Committee set apart an apportionment for this purpose. The work assumed such proportions that the assistance proved inadequate. The Ruthenian [Ukrainian] ministers continued to urge for larger salaries and that homes and church accommodation be provided. The Board declined to spend money on property not vested in the Presbyterian Church, and hesitated to guarantee salaries to workers not our own, and consequently not under the control of the Board.[43]

The Board of Home Missions, which was established in June 1912, had by August ended an experiment the Home Mission Committee had been operating for nearly a decade. The lack of control over the funds expended was a critical concern, and so the Board cut its support to the Independent Greek Church and imposed a new accountability model. The Board would establish Presbyterian Missions in Ruthenian Settlements which would be placed "under the supervision of Presbyteries." This chain of authority treated the work within the Ukrainian community as though they were Anglo congregations: they were to look like, be like other Presbyterian congregations. Those individuals who had been serving as ministers in the Independent Greek Church were interviewed in a process to their becoming ministers or missionaries of the Presbyterian Church. The experiment had been regularized out of existence in an effort to ensure effective accountability of both the financial expenditures and the product produced.

[43] *Acts and Proceedings* (1913): Appendix 7.

*Mission to the Jews*[44]

The brief account that follows is provided as an exception to the pattern described in the previous examples, an exception whose contrast from the above highlights the ways in which the Church was corporatized in 1912.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada showed interest in the mission to the Jews as early as 1859 by sending a missionary to Palestine. In the 1890s Presbyterian congregations in Montreal sought to reach Canadian Jews. Then in 1907 the Foreign Missions Committee received permission from the Assembly to begin a "Mission to the Hebrew people in Toronto." In 1908, S. B. Rohold arrived from Scotland to begin the work in Toronto, and in 1909 he was ordained a minister in The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

With the changes of 1912, the Mission to the Jews became a responsibility of the Home Missions Board. The impacts noted in the previous case studies were not evident in the Mission to the Jews. The Christian Synagogue in Toronto was dedicated while the Assembly was meeting in the city on Saturday, 7 June 1913. Saturday was the day the Christian Jewish community met for worship. When Rohold addressed the Assembly that year he said, "Remember, we do not want the Jew to become a Gentile [. . .]. I have not left my people! I have not become a Gentile!" Rohold's missiological approach was to affirm that a Jew could remain a Jew and be a follower of Jesus Christ. The mission to Canadian Jews affirmed Jewish practice, refusing to support any attempt to assimilate into Presbyterian Gentile patterns; all the while being under the supervision of the Home Missions Board.

How was it then that the Mission to the Jews was not forced to follow the patterns of the corporatizing Church? The Mission to the Jews had funders who gave their money to The Presbyterian Church in Canada and designated it for the Mission to the Jews. The mission was fully funded through designated giving, and the donors included some influential figures in Canadian Presbyterianism including: the Rev. J. McP. Scott; Principal MacLaren of Knox College; and the Rev. A. B. Winchester of Knox Church, Toronto. With such financial and political backing for the mission in place, the business models that had been imposed on the less secure mission ventures were held at bay and Rohold was free to walk this non-traditional mission path.[45]

## Conclusion

The General Assembly's adoption of centralized fundraising and budgeting along with the related structural shifts changed the Church in unforeseen ways. The "incorporation of the church" changed the way mission was done, dramatically limiting the ministry experiments that had been previously possible including no longer giving freedom to distinct cultural groups within the Church to inculturate the gospel in their own context. The centralization of funding decisions had led to the centralization of other forms of decision-making. The use of emerging business practices in the management of finances opened the door to the use of business

[44] A longer discussion of The Presbyterian Church in Canada's mission to the Jews can be found in *Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Thirty-Sixth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (2010): 330-35.

[45] While the imposition of business models did not impact the Mission to the Jews in 1912, by the 1930s the relationship between the Mission and the structures of the Church were so strained that Morris Zeidman took the Scott Mission out of the denomination.

practices in determining how to do ministry and mission. The models used to find the money were the models applied to the use of the money in mission and ministry.

The leadership of the Church had other options besides turning to centralized fundraising and budgeting. The Church had for decades functioned in a de-centralized manner and while it was inefficient and cumbersome at times it meant the committees of the Church had the freedom to respond to mission opportunities in unconventional ways. The decentralized approach led to a variety of models and ideas being explored, rather than the one homogenous model being imposed on all. The Church could have developed a plan to raise funds through a unified effort and then allowed the committees and boards to spend the funds given to them in ways that each committee thought best; thereby creating space within which the committees of the Church were free to best carry out the work of the Church. Further, given the experience of the Mission to the Jews, the Finance Board could have allowed groups like the Knox College Student Missionary Society to nurture a collection of dedicated donors to support work that paralleled or supplemented work already being done within the denomination. Making such links between donors and mission would likely have found new money being given in support of the work of the Church. Both of these approaches would have required space within the corporate church model. The model was unable to do that, given its commitment to the values of uniformity and efficiency. The modernist drive towards conformity had no room for the non-traditional or the difficult to categorize.

Confronted with the financial challenge of finding funds sufficient to do the work of the denomination, the leadership of the Presbyterian Church turned, not unexpectedly, to the methods of the business community. It was money they were trying to raise, and the business community dealt with money. Finding in the business world the values of efficiency and systematization, the Church adopted them. In the process of this adoption de-centralization was replaced by centralization; appreciation for diversity was replaced with a call for conformity; and freedom for experimentation was replaced with systematization.

Comparison of Total Givings to the Schemes of The Presbyterian Church in Canada
and Average Giving Per Communicant Member (rounded to closest half cent),
in Actual $ and in Constant 1900 $
(1900, 1905, 1908-1913)

| Year | Total given to Schemes of Church | Membership (Communicants) | Average per Member | Inflation Rate | Total given Schemes in constant 1900 $ | Average/Member in constant 1900 $ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1900 | $ 461,597 | 213,671 | $ 2.16 | | $ 461,597 | $ 2.16 |
| 1905 | $ 405,615 | 241,511 | $ 1.68 | | $ 368,239 | $ 1.52.5 |
| 1908 | $ 667,914 | 269,688 | $ 2.51.5 | | $ 551,539 | $ 2.07.5 |
| 1909 | $ 835,860 | 279,556 | $ 2.99 | 2.8% | $ 674,625 | $ 2.41.5 |
| 1910 | $ 904,335 | 287,944 | $ 3.14 | 4.6% | $ 703,763 | $ 2.44.5 |
| 1911 | $ 997,315 | 295,935 | $ 3.37 | 3.8% | $ 753,828 | $ 2.54.5 |
| 1912 | $ 1,132,513 | 301,465 | $ 3.76 | 6.25% | $ 817,404 | $ 2.71 |
| 1913 | $ 1,203,396 | 314,832 | $ 3.82 | 2.0% | $ 856,205 | $ 2.72 |

Based on data from *The Acts and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1908): Appendix 511; *Acts and Proceedings* (1913): Appendix 530; *Acts and Proceedings* (1919): Appendix 518; "Board of Inquiry into Cost of Living (Government of Canada)," *Report of the Board* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915) 138-40, 510-11.

# Knox College and Knox Church: Going Separate Ways after Church Union

A. Donald MacLeod

On 7 March 1926, Professor J. Gresham Machen of Princeton Theological Seminary came to Knox Church, Toronto, as the anniversary preacher. The timing of his visit was highly significant: as a flag-ship Canadian Presbyterian congregation Knox Church had hosted, the previous June 10 as the birth of The United Church of Canada was being celebrated, the non-concurrents who gathered at the stroke of midnight to reconstitute The Presbyterian Church in Canada. The continuing church was reestablishing itself, the two colleges assigned to the minority were reconstituting, and congregations across the Dominion were dealing with the consequences of the vote (where there was one) as to whether they would go into the new United Church of Canada or remain with The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Machen came at the invitation of Knox Church's "minister in charge" Rev. "Jock" Inkster, an Orcadian who had been chosen in 1922 by his predecessor since 1901, A. B. Winchester, to work alongside of him while Winchester became "minister extra muros" and engaged in a wide-ranging conference ministry across North America. The relationship was not always straightforward as it soon became apparent that Inkster, though an excellent pastor and an adequate preacher (no match for Winchester, however), had a problem with alcohol and could on occasion be awkward and unpredictable. More seriously, since 1879 and the arrival of the American Henry Martyn Parsons as the fourth minister of the congregation, the character of the church had altered, becoming a major centre for the promulgation of premillennial dispensationalism,[1] with an all-consuming interest in the interpretation of prophecy.

When Inkster replied to Machen's acceptance of the invitation on 1 December 1925 it was clear that he had only a limited awareness of who he was inviting. "Kindly let me know something about your work, your books and your ideals for the future," he wrote.[2] Machen duly replied modestly stating, among other things, that he had in the previous four years written four books which (though Inkster would appear not to have known) established him as a major figure in New Testament, apologetic, and linguistic studies. Machen, in turn, also inquired about the history of Knox Church about which he knew very little. In response Inkster stated that in its 105 years "this church has given an unfaltering testimony to the authority of God's Word, the confession of Faith, and the Shorter and Larger catechism."[3] He added (with questionable accuracy in the case of the first two) "each of the ministers has been a believer in the

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[1] Premillenial dispensationalism was a system of Biblical interpretation originally promulgated by John Nelson Darby (1800-1882) that divided the Bible into seven "dispensations" and focussed on interpretation of Daniel's seventy weeks. Though identified with the "Plymouth Brethren," it came to North America and Presbyterianism through James H. Brookes, St. Louis (1830-1897) with whom H. M. Parsons cooperated closely in the Niagara Convention.

[2] J. G. Inkster, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 1 Dec. 1925, Westminster Theological Seminary Archives, Glenside, PA (WTSA). I express my thanks to Grace Mullen, Archivist at Westminster Seminary, for her assistance.

[3] J. G. Inkster, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 14 Dec. 1926, WTSA.

Premillenial coming of our Lord." He included a six-part statement of faith adopted by the church.

Machen's visit soon turned into much more than a Sunday preaching engagement. Andrew Grant, the General Secretary of the General Board of Missions, invited him to stay in his home. Grant's interest in Machen was as a professor who had a profound influence on students at Princeton Seminary.[4] Grant needed help in filling all the vacancies that Church Union had created and summer students could fill the gap. He was specific, in a letter to Machen, about the kind of person he was looking for: "We want only the men that are true to our standards and are prepared to bring the message of the Gospel to our people, as we are standing fast and making rapid progress along Presbyterian lines."[5]

A reporter from the *Toronto Telegram* interviewed Machen the day he arrived and the two-column spread started with a direct quote from Machen: "The Presbyterian Church in Canada seems to be an example to the whole Christian world of devotion to principle and to Christian truth."[6] The article spoke of Machen's *Christianity and Liberalism*, which had appeared three years previously, as "a statement of the conservative portion of the church." The article continued: "In discussing the question of modernism to-day, Prof. Machen declared that he and men who held views similar to his disliked the term 'fundamentalists' in that it appeared to denote a new type of religion, whereas it really represented the beliefs which had been handed down from the fathers."[7] Would that everyone describing Machen today had the insight of that reporter. The interview concluded with Machen saying, in answer to the argument that changing times required changing messages: "It is not true that evangelical Christianity fails to satisfy the needs of modern men. I think if you will take a large view of the condition of the church you will see that preachers who proclaim the old Gospel are holding the attention of men. And I think that there is something unsatisfactory in the vague offerings of modernism."[8]

Machen spoke three times at Knox Church that March 1926 Sunday. His morning and evening sermon titles were "The Mission of the Church" and "Christian Liberty." In the afternoon Bible Class he directed his Bible Class instruction ("What is Christianity?") to a wider and more academic audience. It took Inkster a few days to respond but he handwrote a fortnight later "I must tell you how much I thank you for your visit." But, he continued, he had another request:

> What I write about now is: several of our men—lay and clerical—have asked me: Is there any chance of getting that man for Princ[ipal] of Knox Coll[ege]? This is purely personal and perfectly private. Perhaps you will pardon this impertinence; but I—and many many others—are very anxious about the situation here. This is really the reason of this letter.[9]

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[4] There is correspondence and a telegram from Machen to Grant in regards to the appointment of Alex MacLeod (1901-1994) a second-year Princeton Theological Seminary student seeking an appointment to Windsor, NS (3 June 1926, WTSA).

[5] Andrew Grant, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 23 Jan. 1926, WTSA. A letter followed up on 20 Feb. 1926 (WTSA).

[6] "Presbyterian Faith as City Set on a Hill," *Toronto Telegram* 6 Mar. 1926: 25.

[7] "Presbyterian Faith" 25.

[8] "Presbyterian Faith" 25.

[9] J. G. Inkster, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 24 Mar. 1926 (WTSA).

Machen wrote back immediately,[10] thanking Inkster for his encouragement and the "splendid privilege of preaching at Knox which I shall always look back with the utmost gratification. Certainly I was received in a wonderfully cordial way." But the suggestion about the Principalship he declined: "In the first place, I should be unworthy of that honor, and in the second place my duty for the present, I think, is at Princeton." He went on to agree that "the position of Principal is of the utmost importance for your Church, and I hope and pray that you may secure some one who will be absolutely loyal to the faith of the Church and able to defend it in the scholarly sphere."

Inkster would not take "No" for an answer and five weeks later he wrote on behalf of a committee of four, all who were on the Assembly's College committee ("all of them sound and pronounced conservatives"). R. W. Dickie, the host minister of the 1926 Assembly, James MacKay of New St. James, London,[11] J. A. Milne, manager of Canadian General Electric, and himself. "The committee unanimously agreed that I should write you asking you definitely if you would allow us to nominate you at the Assembly for the Principalship of Knox College." Inkster was pressing:

> I earnestly hope you will grant us this privilege. On every hand, even among the liberals, one hears this 'If we could get Machen—he is the one man whom our whole church would unite.' There is a call there for you so imperative that I do not see how you can say to us—'Do not nominate me.' All the churches in Canada are looking to the Canadian Presbyterian Church to see what they meant by their reaffirmation of their faith and the standards of Presbyterianism, at the last Assembly. The laity of our own church as well as a large number of the clergy are looking and longing for a strong leader in conservative, scholarly, constructive theology.

With a jab about the "hundreds of others [who] are praying that you will be led to allow us to make this important nomination"—and an enclosure from H. R. Horne of Moose Jaw—how could Machen refuse?

But he did. Writing by return of post Machen said he felt "overwhelmed by the honor." But he was prescient in saying "that Princeton Theological Seminary is in just about as critical condition as is Knox College." He referred to his continuing conflict with Ross Stevenson (unnamed) who as President had split the faculty ("evenly divided between the two ways of thinking—that is, not between Modernism and Christianity, but between a theological pacifism and consistent evangelicalism"). The consequences of conceding to the theological pacifists would mean Princeton Seminary would take "the same downward path as has been followed with such disastrous results by other theological seminaries of our church. That would be a very great disaster, and in order to avert it my vote and my labors in the faculty—unimportant comparatively as they would be in other circumstances—become quite necessary."[12]

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[10] J. Gresham Machen, letter to J. G. Inkster, 30 Mar. 1926, WTSA.

[11] MacKay was active at the debate at the Assembly and was described in a press report as "Dr. Eakin's foremost opponent." He made an amendment nominating R. W. Dickie of Montreal instead, but withdrew it on hearing Ephraim Scott's assurance of Eakin's orthodoxy and Eakin's subsequent defence: "In view of the statement Dr. Eakin has just made so wholeheartedly [. . .] I beg leave to withdraw" (*Montreal Gazette,* 8 June 1926).

[12] J. Gresham Machen, letter to J. G. Inkster, 12 May 1926, WTSA.

There followed a reference ("I take you into my confidence") to his nomination two days earlier to the professorship of apologetics and he announced his intention to accept. "This election needs to be confirmed by the General Assembly that meets the latter part of this month; but bitter though the opposition to me is, I have not the slightest notion that the unprecedented step will be taken of contesting such a confirmation of an election by a Board of Directors of one of our seminaries." He stated further that "It would be treason for me to leave the institution for any reason whatever. At Princeton we have, I think, the greatest stronghold of the Reformed Faith, and if we stand firm we may perform a service to the rest of the church that no other institution could perform."[13] But contest his nomination they did; it did not go through, and the 1926 General Assembly appointed a special committee to look into tensions on the Princeton Seminary faculty.[14] The rest is history: the reorganization of Princeton Seminary, its change of course theologically after 117 years, and the formation of Westminster Theological Seminary. Machen's position—and his leadership—in all this is key and one wonders what would have happened had he come to Toronto and become Principal of Knox College in 1926. Things would definitely have been different both in Canada and the United States.

Meanwhile Machen advised Inkster, his informal committee, and his hundreds of friends about "what is the decisive fact in the whole situation in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. A right decision here will make all the difference between life and death," a position that appears (from Winchester's letter after the final decision was made) to have had considerable impact. Inkster, in reply, stated that "Your reasons however, have convinced you that under the circumstances you are doing the right thing [. . .] Nevertheless we are left stranded: no doubt the Lord has a man for the position."[15]

On 16 May Machen again returned to Canada, this time to be the anniversary speaker at St. Paul's Peterborough, a leading non-concurring congregation. The arrangements had been made through an elder there, James Dutton, who would play a leading role in the future in the denomination.[16] On 6 March 1926 the Session of the congregation had passed a resolution, subsequently approved by the Presbytery of Peterborough on 31 March, and sent on to General Assembly, "about the need for the exercise of extreme care in the choice of professors for our colleges in order that the teaching in these colleges may be maintained in harmony with the declared faith of our church and that the spiritual welfare of our people may be safeguarded." The overture was placed in a wider context, in both Canada and the United States, "of unscriptural teaching in the leading theological colleges." [17] Machen spoke in the morning on "Has the Church a Message?" and in the evening on "The Claims of Love." After addressing the Peterborough Rotary Monday noon, he provided two lectures for the general public in the afternoon and evening, titled "What is Christianity?" and "The Present Issue in the Church."

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[13] J. Gresham Machen, letter to J. G. Inkster, 12 May 1926, WTSA.

[14] The motion approved by the General Assembly 2 June 1926 was: "That the Assembly appoint a Committee of three ministers and two elders to make a sympathetic study of conditions affecting the welfare of Princeton Seminary and to cooperate responsively with seminary leaders in striving to adjust and harmonize differences and to report to the next Assembly" (Edwin H. Rian, *The Presbyterian Conflict* (1940; Philadelphia: Orthodox Presbyterian Church, 1992) 47.

[15] J. G. Inkster to J. Gresham Machen, 15 May 1925 (WTS Archives).

[16] James Dutton (1872-1963) Chairman of the Board of Administration of The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1933-36 and 1948-60.

[17] "Resolution of the Session of St. Paul's Peterborough" (6 Mar. 1926) and "Overture of the Presbytery of Peterborough 31 Mar. 1926" (WTSA).

Again, Machen's visit elicited "great appreciation: for his "spiritual, scholarly and instructive addresses." On 22 May, as storm clouds were gathering for him, the Peterborough elders passed a motion of support:

> Prof. Machen should be advised of its sympathy and approval of the stand he has taken in support of the fundamentals of the faith, and of their prayer that he may be used more and more by the Holy Spirit to strengthen and deepend the devotion of all the members of the Body of Christ in these days of doubt and apostasy.[18]

In Toronto the approaches continued. John Stenhouse, a Toronto physician and a commissioner to the forthcoming Assembly, wrote Machen with great passion on 18 May:

> Our College is in the throes of a new birth and we want it to be well-born, in fact noble born. For that purpose we must have an outstanding man. It is a question on which we must rise above petty parochialism and I know some of our best men are looking anxiously to you for help in this impasse. We have no man who can fill the position, if we take into consideration the three requisites of either Principal or Professor—sound scholarship, with a firm grip of the fundamentals; magnetism, which will attract and inspire students and give leadership in our Church councils; and aptness to teach, which would be enhanced by popular gifts on the platform. A student may acquire much information by his own study, but if he gets no inspiration by living touch with a great soul he leaves college poor indeed![19]

On 20 May Machen replied patiently in a two-page response, citing his recent nomination and adding: "I can only say that I am glad you have the matter of Knox College so much at heart. If the source of ministerial supply is poisoned, the really unparalleled opportunity which is before your church will be lost [. . .] It is not merely your battle but the battle of the whole Christian Church that you have been fighting."[20]

As the fifty-second General Assembly prepared to convene in Knox-Crescent Church in Montreal on 2 June 1926, commissioners received the findings of the various committees. The Report of the Board of Management of Knox College nominated, as its first recommendation, Thomas Eakin, PhD, DD, to be Principal of Knox College. Eakin, an Ulsterman, had been minister at St. Andrew's King Street Toronto during the war and in 1920 was appointed professor of practical theology at Presbyterian College, Montreal. For the past year he had been

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[18] "Resolution of the Session of St. Paul's Peterborough 22 May 1926" (WTSA).

[19] Dr. John Stenhouse, MA, BSc, MB, 175 Bloor St. East, Toronto, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 20 May 1926 (WTSA). Received from the United Presbyterian Church Scotland (Barrie Presbytery minutes 29 May 1888, File #1977-3006-1-2, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office, Don Mills), ordained and served Dovercourt Church Toronto from 1890 but by 1896 had made medicine his full-time profession.

[20] J. Gresham Machen, letter to John Stenhouse, 20 May 1926 (WTSA). Stenhouse was author of the 1920 pamphlet "Junkerism in the Presbyterian Church: Decentralization and not a Merger the Administrative Need of a Living Church" arguing for a single theological college for all ministerial candidates in The Presbyterian Church in Canada. "All these students could be accommodated in the new Knox College our costly white elephant and high grade boarding house for students in other faculties." Also: "The Union Resolution: What Does It Mean Now?" (1921). Thanks to Bob Anger, Assistant Archivist, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives and Records Office.

serving as acting vice-principal of Knox College and the Board expressed its "high appreciation" and "especially desires to call attention to the able manner in which he handled a very difficult and delicate situation with satisfaction to all concerned and with honour to himself."[21] Eakin had studied under J. Frederic McCurdy[22] at University College, Toronto. Ironically, in the light of the subsequent debate, McCurdy had attended Princeton Seminary where he was a student of the conservative William Henry Green, though his subsequent study at Gottingen and Leipzig made him open to German Higher Criticism. Eakin was, if anything, even more open to Higher Criticism and his time at St. Andrew's Toronto identified him as being in a different axis than Knox Church Toronto, the two representing opposite polarities in the new Presbyterian Church in Canada. He had sparred with W. D. Reid in Montreal Presbytery and was regarded with suspicion by the confessionalists who promptly set upon the recommendation with great vigor. The debate lasted for three sederunts.[23]

At the final discussion eighty-year-old Ephraim Scott, editor of the *Presbyterian Record* and a highly respected leader in the anti-Unionist coalition, rose to speak:

> At a previous session of this Assembly, in supporting the nomination by the Board of Knox College of Dr. Thomas Eakin as Principal of that College, I stated that Dr. Eakin had said to me in the intimacy of private conversation—'I have already taken, at my different inductions, the vows required by our Church of her Ministers, and when occasion requires, I am ready to take them again, and without any evasive equivocations.[24]

He then itemized his beliefs, particularly "the inspiration of the Scriptures that holy men of old spoke as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Scott then said that he had checked with Eakin and he confirmed the statement. James MacKay's alternative nomination of R. W. Dickie[25] of Montreal was withdrawn and all seemed harmonious until A. B. Winchester stood on his feet to move, J. G. Inkster seconding, "that a Committee, to be selected by the Moderator, representative Synodically and Spiritually shall consider a name to be submitted as Principal of Knox College."[26] Winchester, the newspaper report stated the next day, "claimed that he had been trying to get the floor since the opening of the debate"[27] but the timing meant that his amendment

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[21] *Acts and Proceedings of the Fifty-Second General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1926): 34-35.

[22] James Frederic McCurdy (1847-1935), Professor of Oriental Languages, University College, Toronto. A native of Chatham NB and a UNB grad, he was class of 1871 at Princeton Seminary and stayed on to tutor Oriental languages until 1882 when he went to Germany. He was ordained an evangelist by the Presbytery of New Brunswick in 1878 the same year he was granted a PhD by Princeton University (then the College of New Jersey). He taught in Toronto from 1888-1914.

[23] "Sederunt" is the Presbyterian term for sessions of an ecclesiastical meeting, Latin for: "they are seated."

[24] *Acts and Proceedings* (1926): 37 [3395].

[25] Robert Wilson Dickie (1878-1927) Crescent St. Church, Montreal, 1909-1918; Knox-Crescent, 1918-1927. He was apparently embarrassed when the attempt to nominate him to the Principalship failed, and after the final vote told the Assembly "We are now to have a principal of Knox College who is sound in the faith of Presbyterianism. If I have done or said anything or left undone anything which might have seemed to reflect on the good faith of Dr. Eakin, I did it for the good of the Church" (*Montreal Star* 11 June 1926).

[26] *Acts and Proceedings* (1926): 37 [3395].

[27] "Rev. T. Eakin, DD, appointed head of Knox College" *Montreal Star* 11 June 1926.

came across as mean-spirited and contrary to the harmonious atmosphere that had prevailed. His amendment lost and the recommendation that Thomas Eakin be the Principal of Knox College quickly passed. After the other recommendations appointing J. D. Cunningham and E. Lloyd Morrow to Knox College faculty passed, Stuart Parker, minister of St. Andrew's King Street Toronto, rose and moved:

> that this Assembly reaffirming its own adherence to the Standards of the Presbyterian Church, and hearing with much satisfaction the full Statement regarding his own acceptance of the same by Dr. Thos. Eakin, express its complete confidence in Dr. Eakin and his teaching, regret that through any cause doubts should have been cast upon his fidelity and desire that the entire Church should know with what unanimity the General Assembly has given to him the office of Principal of Knox College.[28]

A deeply upset A. B. Winchester went out immediately from the Assembly and sat down in the correspondence room at Knox-Crescent Church to write on Assembly stationary his "dear brother Lewis" an impassioned and emotional letter "to relieve myself of some 'human' expression":

> The most crucial question of the Assembly was the appointment of a Principal for Knox College [. . .] Prof. Eakin has ever been known as an advanced Modernist but last Ass[embly] when he saw the determination on the part of an overwhelming majority to emphasize loyalty to the Standards, to our surprise he voted in favour of a re-subscription to the Formula. Now he represents that he has been slandered and that he stands 4 square on the Confession without evasion, equivocation or mental reservation. Well one may seem hard-hearted & uncharitable not to accept at full value such a st[atement], but alas! The Professors & ministers of yesteryear who went out from us all made this statement, until the time of voting and then declared they now believe the Confession but with mental reservation & now wished to be freed from the paralyzing 'dead heat' of the 17th Century. [29]

He then addressed the business of the previous hour:

> With energy & persistence they presented their plan of effectively shutting off discussion by one ruse after another so that only those in the secret counsels of the Com[mittee], c[oul]d get a chance. To-day before the vote, the Moderator, a life-long friend, in his desire to get the vote without further discussion was going to forbid my speaking at all, when I was compelled to appeal to the Court and they

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[28] *Acts and Proceedings* (1926): 37-8 [3395-6].

[29] A. B. Winchester, letter to Lewis Sperry Chafer, 10 June 1926, Dallas Theological Seminary Archives, Dallas. I am grateful to Lolana Thompson, DTS archivist, for her usual invaluable help and assistance. Lewis Sperry Chafer (1871-1951) was the later co-founder, with Winchester and W. H. Griffith Thomas, of the dispensationalist Dallas Theological Seminary. See my "In an Atlanta Hotel, 7 March 1922: Winchester with Chafer and Thomas" Evangelical Theological Society Annual Meeting, Atlanta Hilton, Atlanta, 18 Nov. 2010. Available on my website: adonaldmacleod.com.

> granted me the privilege of ten minutes. To one of my temperament & type of mind, 10 minutes is not even an introduction—but I poured forth what I c[oul]d in the time & came away. It is conclusively proven to my mind that the 'Compact' in the Assembly have determined to allow no 'Pre-mil' a place or an expression either in Com[mittee] or the Assembly.'

And then a final shout of defiance: "I have in one form or another served the Church for 50 years & more—43 years preaching the Gospel, but feel I am force out. I will not lift my certificate but just ignore the Church courts."

Winchester could find other opportunities for service outside The Presbyterian Church in Canada. He poured his energies into the foundation of a new Evangelical Theological College in Dallas (later named Dallas Theological Seminary), where he had already been involved along with another Canadian reject, W. H. Griffith Thomas.[30] Jock Inkster led Knox Church into increasing isolation and non-participation in the wider denomination and its finances, Knox being through its endowments the wealthiest Presbyterian church in the Dominion.

Many confessionalists, identifying with Knox Church, increasingly felt that the church of their hopes and prayers when the Union vote was taken was not to be. They had voted to remain Presbyterian because they hoped a purged Presbyterian Church in Canada would be "sound" but this, they felt, no longer would happen. It would always be a denomination of theological extremes, held together because they did not want to haemorrhage more members. The ultimate result of the Assembly vote on 8 June 1926 appointing Thomas Eakin as Principal of Knox College was a deeply polarized and divided denomination. Many confessionalists felt excluded and disenfranchised. The church was the poorer for their non-involvement and isolation.

The final word about the 1926 General Assembly should be, however, a more positive one. A week later, George Colborne Heine wrote a letter of reassurance to Machen. The discussion about Thomas Eakin, he reassured him, in spite of taking up three sederunts "was characterized by courtesy, and charity, and ended in harmony and good-will [. . .] There was no compromise whatever, but the utmost frankness on the part of Dr. Eakin, in fully accepting the standards of the Church without reservation. So I suggest the peace of the church is assured." He commented on the fact that this post-Union Assembly was the largest he had seen. Of all the General Assemblies he had attended none was "more jealous for the Standards: and they were a fine working body of men, serious, all intent on 'contending for the faith once delivered to the saints.' I am most hopeful that this shaking up of the Church may serve not to hinder, but rather promote the Cause we all have so much at heart."[31] Six months later Heine was dead.

These were two vastly different assessments, suggesting some of the complexity of the nascent and reconstituted Presbyterian Church in Canada. Two older clergy, both retired, one striving to preserve what was left of the denomination after union by refusing to admit its wide theological diversity, the other seeking a wider audience, caught up in popular Evangelical trans-denominational loyalties, and no longer emotionally committed to The Presbyterian Church in

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[30] W. H. Griffith Thomas (1861-1924) was on the staff of Wycliffe College from 1910 to 1919. Like Winchester he found fulfillment in a wide summer conference teaching ministry across North America which created jealousies.

[31] George Colborne Heine, letter to J. Gresham Machen, 12 June 1926, WTSA. Heine (1846-1926) was from Studholm, NB, a graduate, class of 1876, of Princeton Seminary, and minister, Chalmers Church Montreal 1881-1909. A neighbor of W. D. Reid in Westmount, he died suddenly 26 Dec. 1926.

Canada, as an earlier vision of a post-Union denomination unitedly confessional and Biblical no longer seemed possible.

The truth that emerged with the appointment of Thomas Eakin was quite different from the imagination of either man. Eakin's twenty years at Knox College were, to say the least, controversial.[32] And in the meantime, the career of J. Gresham Machen pursued its own unanticipated course: the breakup of "the old Princeton," and subsequently division and further separation, while Canadian Presbyterians lost much of their immediate momentum following union. Knox College and Knox Church, three blocks apart, no longer shared a common vision of what their denomination should be, Knox Church became increasingly isolationist, and both congregation and denomination were the poorer.

It is only today in 2012 that the circle is finally squared between Knox Church and Knox College. John Vissers, a former minister of Knox Church Toronto, Principal of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, for fourteen years, has been appointed to the faculty of Knox College. At the same time Vissers was chosen Moderator of the denomination. Perhaps years of suspicion have been reversed and, with their new minister Phil Reinders, the engagement of Knox Church Toronto in the life and witness of The Presbyterian Church in Canada (and in Knox College) will be affirmed and strengthened.

[32] See Brian Fraser's *Church, College, and Clergy: A History of Theological Education at Knox College, 1844-1994* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens UP, 1995) 161 for an assessment of Eakin's troubled principalship, the Morrow-Eakin conflict, and continuing unrest at Knox College during his tenure as Principal.

# Testing 1966: Unrest in Montreal[1]

Jo-Ann Dickson

Thirteen years had passed since the decision to ordain women to the teaching and ruling eldership in The Presbyterian Church in Canada. The scene was Montreal, the year: 1979. A testing ground for the 1966 decision was about to emerge. Despite the fact that the ordination of women had become church law in 1966, discriminatory practices toward women in the realm of Ordained Missionary appointments for graduate students became a hotbed of contention in the Presbytery of Montreal in the late 1970s. This issue emerged not only within the distinct cultural and social setting that was the Quebec of the 1970s, but also within a secular world distinguished as a period of enlightenment for women. During this time women made their presence felt in both the legal profession and politics, and used their "legal skills to challenge laws they found discriminatory to them as a group."[2]

Along with this, the Quebec setting was vibrant with the spirit of Rene Levesque. Soldiers patrolled the streets of Montreal in response to the FLQ crisis and the resulting War Measures Act. Gregory Baum was responding to Vatican II at the Newman Center. Montreal, the largest city in Canada, was a powerful force in The Presbyterian Church in Canada. McGill University, which housed The Presbyterian College, a part of the Montreal Institute for Ministry, was totally integrated within the city. The Presbyterian College proved to be actively involved in the concerns of women in the 1970s by updating the curriculum to reflect women in ministry. One new course, "Women's Issues'" was taught by a guest lecturer, Dr. Letty Cox[3], a therapist in sexuality. Another course, "The Church in the World," expanded its frame of reference when women's issues came to the fore to include group dynamics and civil disobedience.[4] This helped the students to determine what to do about their plight. In addition, a female student at The Presbyterian College, Jean Armstrong, had been Chaplain at the Newman Center for a period of six years, and had even received communion there. Montreal society lived on the cutting edge of change.

It is possible that a conference entitled "The Marginal and the Prophetic" served as a catalyst to spark women's interest in their role in the world.[5] The timing of this conference was crucial as it immediately preceded interviews conducted by the Superintendents of Mission of The Presbyterian Church in Canada with the graduating students of The Presbyterian College. All of this produced a testing ground for these students as concern had arisen over the restrictions

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[1] This paper is one-third of a Master of Theological Studies thesis which was submitted in 2008 at Knox College. It focuses on the aftermath of the 1966 decision by the General Assembly to ordain women to the teaching and ruling eldership. Here I am dealing only with the teaching eldership.

[2] Jan Coomber and Rosemary Evans, *Women: Changing Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford UP, 1997) 64.

[3] Jean Armstrong, personal interview, Fall 2007.

[4] Jean Armstrong.

[5] Jean Armstrong.

placed on Ordained Missionary appointments. Historically, the Ordained Missionary System had been created to address a very specific problem—the issue of "winter supply for student mission fields."[6] By 1979, it had become the standard way of placing graduates. According to a later report in *The Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Twelfth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1986), the Ordained Missionary System created "a schizophrenic approach to our 'doctrine of ministry'!"[7] Arising out of it then was the need to "rationalize both the Presbyterian doctrine of ministry and its understanding of call."[8] In the Ordained Missionary System, The Board of World Mission was the final arbiter of the graduate's call. As such, this Board walked a fine line with presbyteries. The Board had the authority to determine whether a candidate had a genuine call and was suitable for the appointment. The Board of World Mission also represented the calling congregation, without the candidate preaching for a call. Not only was this a conflict of interest, but a hiatus existed between call and appointment. As early as 1977, The Board of World Mission was experiencing difficulty in the process of placing candidates and therefore, ultimately, it saw the need to remove itself from the task of making such appointments in the future.

As part of the Ordained Missionary appointment system, students made three choices of call from a master list of possibilities. There was a single list for both men and women, but the options open to women were strictly controlled. Apparently, some of the superintendents did not really want women in their particular regions. They seemed more interested in testing the ordination of women to the teaching eldership in other regions first. For the most part, it was not the congregation that placed limitations on women. Nevertheless, the graduating students appeared to have a case for prejudice and discrimination against women, and this was fed in part by the unique nature of the student body at The Presbyterian College in the late 1970s. It was comprised mainly of married students, and all but two female students were married to ministers. Difficulties arose when female graduates were sent to areas where their spouses might not find any, or their particular type of, employment. And so, the mood of the times was ripe for action. Not only that, one professor had "confessed that if women have been accepted as ordained ministers without prejudice since 1966, then we cannot tolerate any form of prejudice."[9] The graduating students were prepared to go forward with the support of three of The Presbyterian College professors. A kairos moment had arrived!

By 2 March 2 1979, a telegram, along with a petition of thirty-eight names, was forwarded to one of the Superintendents of Mission of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. The telegram read:

> We bring to your attention the prejudice experienced by women in the appointment process. The choices available to women have been severely restricted based upon congregational preferences for men and the unquestioning implementation by the Superintendents of Synods and the Personnel Committee

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[6] *The Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Twelfth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1986): 462.

[7] *Acts and Proceedings* (1986): 463.

[8] *Acts and Proceedings* (1986): 463.

[9] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

with respect to preferences. This is contrary to the 1966 article of the Assembly in agreeing to the ordination of candidates without regard to sex.[10]

Of the thirty-eight signatures on the petition, thirteen were women and twenty-five were men, three of whom were professors at The Presbyterian College. The thirty-five Presbyterian College students and graduates were a cohesive group who rallied around events, and hence came to be referred to as the "Montreal mafia." This cohesiveness was significant for the events which would follow, and the Presbytery of Montreal, which met within The Presbyterian College, fully supported the students.

In another corner of the country, in southern Ontario, were Knox College and its graduating students. These students were not caught up in the upheaval of Quebec society, yet they had a significant role to play as graduating students in 1979. Although their circumstances were quite different, several of them were also contemplating ministry as couples. However, there was an element of insecurity among the students here, brought on not only by their youth (ministry would be their first career), but because they were recovering from the death of a beloved principal the year before, and also adjusting to new professors on the faculty. On the plus side, it was evident to the Chairman of The Board of World Mission at the time that when these students entered Knox College, they were quite a unique group. The Chairman, who fully supported both women and couples in the ministry of Word and Sacrament, had the foresight to realize that placing these graduates in the customary manner would be challenging. It was not enough to meet the requirements of congregations and indeed, to fill pulpits. Instead, it was necessary to pastorally satisfy the call of students. Therefore, as early as 1977, the Chairman dialogued regularly and informally with the Knox students. In so doing, he was able to determine what types of call they wished to pursue. For example, one couple wanted half-time ministry in one charge, but this would require a change in church polity which did not allow for half-time ministry. Another couple wanted single charges within close proximity, while another student, who was a medical doctor, requested specialized palliative ministry. As a result of the dialogue, students at Knox College trusted the policy-makers and felt very much a part of making new policy, while students at The Presbyterian College felt that the policy-makers could not be trusted. Finally, at the presbytery level, there was uneasiness among the Knox College students, particularly the female students, who were grilled during interviews for licensing about their marriages and the possibility of having families after being educated (fully paid tuition) at the College. This left the students fearful and very emotional.[11] A letter to The Presbyterian College graduating student, Jean Armstrong, described the prevailing mood at Knox College. The six female graduating students at Knox College were in agreement with the findings of The Presbyterian College graduating students, but were either too overcome with emotion or just too scared to act. In fact, a male student had telephoned one of the superintendents, concerned about whether his appointment would be sustained.[12] Yet, all the Knox male and female graduating students had also been subjected to discrimination in the Ordained Missionary appointment process. The Montreal situation was not an isolated incident; both of these theological colleges had been affected. The Knox letter further stated that the courage of The Presbyterian College

[10] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[11] Brooke and Linda Ashfield, Knox College Class of 1979, personal interview, Winter 2008.

[12] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

graduating students might influence the appointment proceedings, and the letter writer concluded by saying that, in her view, "the whole appointment process needs to be revamped."[13]

On 6 March 1979, a follow-up letter was sent to The Board of World Mission after the appointments had been made, to reaffirm the following two suggestions:

> "We request another meeting with the Superintendents and Personnel Committee."
> "We request a review of possible appointments with reference to sex."[14]

Following the telegram, petition, and letter, the action shifted to the floor of the Presbytery of Montreal where Mrs. Alison Stewart-Patterson, a 1977 graduate student who had received a choice appointment as associate at St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal, and Miss Linda Corry, the first women graduate of The Presbyterian College (1976), jointly submitted and reported on "A Statement of Affirmation for Women in Ministry."[15] This report included some very serious questions on "PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION,"[16] and was presented to the Presbytery of Montreal on 13 March 1979, on behalf of the female students. It was a well-organized, thought-provoking, powerful statement that began by pleading the women's case. The presenter, Alison Stewart-Patterson, began by transporting the listeners back to the setting of the tomb, early that Sunday morning of Jesus' resurrection. It was there that women had been given the message of their calling. Yet, over the centuries, that message had been virtually ignored. Stewart-Patterson continued passionately that "it is not just I who stands before you tonight. It is a long line of women, starting with the two Marys, coming through Linda [Corry] and I and continuing on into the future."[17] All of the women mentioned had withstood prejudice and discrimination against them as ministers of Christ because they were women.

The Statement went on to reiterate the basic theological issue of The Presbyterian Church in Canada on the ordination of women which arose out of the report of The Committee on the Place of Women in the Church to the 1965 General Assembly. In part, the report stated: "The call of Jesus Christ to women is to bring all their distinctive gifts into a partnership with men in every relationship of human life, and the concomitant call of Christ to men is to accept such a giving and to respond to it wholeheartedly."[18] And so it seemed "partnership" was fundamental to our belief, and the church appeared ready to accept it.[19] At this point, language would be crucial in ensuring that both women's "call" as in Christ and "partnership" with their male colleagues would be clearly stated. However, the third recommendation of the report which stated "that The Presbyterian Church in Canada affirm the right of women, who believe themselves called by God, and in whom the church is able to discern the necessary gifts, to enter and share the ministry of Word and Sacrament in all its aspects,"[20] was later withdrawn with the

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[13] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[14] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[15] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[16] Capitalization in the original.

[17] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[18] *The Acts and Proceedings of the Ninety-First General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1965): 384.

[19] *Acts and Proceedings* (1965): 384.

[20] *Acts and Proceedings* (1965): 385.

consent of Assembly, and sent down to the Presbyteries subject to the language of the Barrier Act which states overtures in a more official legal language. The transformation appeared as: "By enactment of the General Assembly, women are eligible to become ministers of the church, and any reference herein or hereafter in the Book of Forms to men as candidates for the ministry, as licentiates or as ministers shall refer *mutatis mutandis,* to women, where applicable."[21] The right of ordination of women to the teaching and ruling eldership in The Presbyterian Church in Canada was enacted into law in the thirteenth sederunt of the 1966 General Assembly.[22] The women who presented the Statement believed that the crucial part lost in translation to Barrier Act language was to be found in that area where women suffered most discrimination against their ministry. The language had lost the sense of call of Jesus Christ and the gifts to be shared by women in ministry as a partnership with men, both of which were found in the spirit of the 1965 report. To have the law was simply not enough. The law must be expressed carefully so as not to lose the intent of the original proposal. The words "call," "gifts," and "partnership" were all significant components of women's ordination.

As the two presenters, Alison Stewart-Patterson and Linda Corry, pointed out later in their report, the swelling of the ranks of women as teaching elders progressed very slowly. From 1966 until the first women graduated from The Presbyterian College in 1976, the "fullness of the vision may have dimmed."[23] Only eleven women had graduated from the Presbyterian theological colleges in Canada in those years (1966-1975).[24] Thirteen years after the law to ordain women had been enacted the language of that law itself was of no help and was in fact inadequate. Stewart-Patterson noted that when she entered college she had asked her minister what had happened to the women who had graduated, because she had never seen a woman who was a minister. He replied that many had gone into other forms of ministry rather than that of Word and Sacrament. Her reaction was "Why that seems funny!"[25] However, she came to realize that "funny" was not the operative word, given the situation that she discovered in her final year at The Presbyterian College. What lurked all around women candidates for ministry was prejudice and discrimination. What a letdown for female graduating students after years of study! The document entitled "A Statement of Affirmation for Women in Ministry" was presented to the Presbytery of Montreal. It listed a number of comments framed by the words "discrimination is." These comments were directed by male ministers, Church Office personnel, committee members, several of whom were females, and male congregants to ordained women seeking a call. All have been included below because they are both revealing and varied:

"That's a difficult congregation. It would be better to put a man in there."

"It's going to be difficult to place you. Maybe you could take another degree."

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[21] *The Acts and Proceedings of the Ninety-Second General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1966): 7.

[22] *Acts and Proceedings* (1966): 78.

[23] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[24] See the reports of the senates of the theological colleges in *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1968-1977).

[25] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

"You are a problem to place because you are female, married, have children and were divorced."

"Your husband is supposed to support you. Why do you want to work?"

"X was the first girl minister this charge has had. She had to prove herself and she did a good job. But I sincerely hope for her own sake she does not seek the ordained ministry. She'd make a good teacher or social worker."

"It may be necessary for you to wait two or three years for an appointment."

"We can appoint you to Africa, but you will probably have to put your children in boarding school."

"What is going to happen to your children" Don't you think you should stay home and take care of them?"

"Do you realize you are decreasing your husband's effectiveness?"

"Churches want a minister's wife to support him, not go to another church herself."

"How would it be if we appointed you to the same church as your husband. You could keep house, and take care of the church when your husband is on a continuing education programme. Maybe you could even be an interim-moderator sometime."

"Why do you want to be ordained anyway? Wouldn't you be happier at home with your family?"

"If you really want to be ordained, have your husband resign his church and take his job, and be ordained that way."

"Any man is better than a woman."[26]

The above comments were not innocent suggestions. They expressed "a complete denial of women's 'call' by Christ to his ministry. The jokes and slurs could not be tolerated for they were part of an utter disregard shown by men—themselves called by Christ and living out that call—for Christ's call to another, particular child of God, who happens to be a woman."[27] To confirm this, the paper went on to quote Peter's words in Acts 10:34-35: "Then Peter began to speak to them, 'I truly understand that God shows no partiality, but that in every nation, anyone who fears him and does what is right, is acceptable to him'" (NSRV).

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[26] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[27] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

The attitude of prejudice challenged women to test that they had a call, that the call was necessary, and that it was from God rather than a product of their emotional imaginations. Women were asked to make the same vows and commitments at ordination as men. Yet, the authenticity of their call was not fully acknowledged. A comment by the Rev. Linda Bell, first woman Moderator of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, verifies the importance of call in the following words: "the challenges of the times [caused me] to re-examine my convictions and sense of call, and to recommit to the Lord's service, for you cannot take your call for granted when you are being challenged."[28]

Alison Stewart-Patterson and Linda Corry posed a question to the presbyters that night: "Do you really accept that Christ can and does call women to be his ministers?" hoping and praying that the presbyters could give an honest "yes" as an answer. This would release women to get on with Christ's work, free from the chains of innuendos, slights, and prejudice. Believing in the strength of God's call to each of them, and completely convinced that the forces of prejudice were evil and very strong, was what had brought them before the Presbytery of Montreal that night of 13 March 1979. The Presbytery was supportive, and responded with a Memorial to the 105th General Assembly in 1979. These two women drew attention to the fact that "a particular type of discrimination was being experienced by each minister, licentiate or graduating student who is a woman."[29] Disregarding General Assembly policy, it had become the practice to permit congregations applying to presbytery for permission to proceed to a call, or for a Board of World Mission appointment, to say publicly that they would not interview, hear, or accept a candidate who was a woman. Testing was indeed part of the struggle. Thus it was incumbent upon the seven Presbyterian College ordinands who were women, and who had been faced with a restricted list of choices to receive them, to speak out in this statement, and share their experiences of congregations and superintendents who allowed congregations to follow that course.

The presentation ended with three recommendations to the Presbytery of Montreal, and an appeal by the women for the court to accept its responsibilities by affirming General Assembly policy on the ordination of women and to support the struggle of the women who were presently under the care of the said court. "The struggle is both for the equality of opportunity, and the freedom to minister as God calls them, not at the whim of his people. The struggle is against any and all prejudice and discrimination, whether intentional or innocent, against women as ministers of Christ."[30] The recommendations to the Presbytery of Montreal were:

> RECOMMENDATION 1: That this court approve and support the substance of the telegram sent to the Board of World Mission by students, faculty and ministers concerning the restriction of appointments for candidates who are women, and that the students be allowed to quote this support when they visit the Board of World Mission. [The text of the telegram appeared here and can be found on p. 2-3 of this paper].

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[28] Taped address to the 132nd General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, Women in Ministry Committee (2006).

[29] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[30] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

RECOMMENDATION 2: That this court affirm the policy of the General Assembly and the law of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, enacted in 1966, concerning the ordination of women in the following ways:

a.) Presbytery will not pass on the application of a congregation for an appointment by the B.W.M., if it [the congregation] is not willing to accept whoever the Board appoints, regardless of sex.

b.) Presbytery will not give permission to moderate in a call to a congregation which is not willing to interview/hear women and men candidates. Presbytery will instruct interim-moderators that congregations are not permitted to make public statements about their preferences for a minister, based on sex.

RECOMMENDATION 3: That the question of the re-education of this court, its congregations, ministers and laity, concerning "women in ministry" be referred to the Presbytery Life Committee; and that they be instructed to bring forward a programme/workshop to be conducted at a presbytery meeting later this year.[31]

These recommendations were received and approved by the Presbytery of Montreal on 13 March 1979. Three days later, on 16 March, the student contingent from The Presbyterian College arrived at National Office for its annual visit. Even a bomb scare on arrival at Union Station would not appear as a bad omen and dampen the students' spirits for the mission ahead: to contest the inequalities in a decision that had been history since 1966. As one superintendent wrote in a later letter, "What a tale of horror would be told that day, the ides of March plus one at the Don Mills inner sanctum of the Women's Missionary Society."[32] And he went on:

Not for frail females was the fray that day.
Amazons, bold, in battle array disdained their prey.
Forever, and forevermore, would womanhood
Be preferred for work throughout the kirk.
But what a farce was to unfold![33]

Alas, the shoe was on the other foot! That day, women were perceived to be the predators. The superintendents were trapped between them and a position of making appointments that they perceived no longer worked. However, women would be challenged at the meeting since everything was carved in stone and would go according to the plans of the superintendents.

It was in that large Women's Missionary Society board room that the action was played out. In attendance were superintendents from across the country, executive staff, and members of The Board of World Mission Personnel Committee, female student spokesperson from The Presbyterian College, Jean Armstrong, along with the male spokesperson who was president of the graduating year at The Presbyterian College. The room was configured so that this group encircled the eleven Presbyterian College students. Employing the strategies learned in their "Church in the World" course of study, the students in the center maintained their silence throughout, while the authority to speak was given to the two spokespersons. The silence was

[31] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[32] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[33] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

unnerving and powerful, but as a strategy to get things done, it worked. This "sullen" silence angered the superintendents as did the "curt, defiant, refusal [of an apology] from the spokeswoman."[34] Although supportive of this approach, Knox College graduating students were not in attendance that day. Their work had been ongoing with the policy-makers over the two previous years.

The petition and actions of The Presbyterian College students on 16 March 1979 created fallout, and raised the ire of at least one superintendent. In two different letters dated 26 and 28 March, he went on to express his feelings in the following points:

- that the claims of the graduate students could not be substantiated
- that the purpose of the students' action was to manipulate the church toward a preferred status for women ministers
- [that] it is lamentable that the Presbytery of Montreal should ever approve and support such behavior
- that any trusted and respected teachers would seriously associate themselves with such as that and even attach their names
- [that] now we must become crusaders for the equal rights of women in ministry
- [that] it is alarming that so many P.C. female graduates approach the superintendents and the Board of World Mission with so much self-interest and the insistence that the Church should adjust to meet their desires
- [that] perhaps we need a system of recall for women models in ministry so that they can be recycled to acquire a sense of mission.[35]

The above comments demonstrated that the feelings of the superintendents arose out of anger. Most of their comments should never have been written. It is lamentable that some at least did not respect the rights of women to be ordained. Women had been demeaned in the process and were supposed to keep a stiff upper lip. They had been subjected to a lot of horse-trading at the hands of the superintendents who in fact, rarely spoke to them and would never invite them to sit at table with them in the hotel where they were staying. Through a process of intimidation, much pressure was placed on the women to change their story and withdraw from the situation. One female was told that there would be no future for her in The Presbyterian Church in Canada if she continued to support the "trouble-maker" Jean Armstrong.[36]

To the male president of the Class of 1979 went these words from one of the superintendents in a letter dated 28 March 1979: "Greater folly hath no woman, or man, than this—to slander and slur and smear, to deride, discredit and defame the Superintendents."[37] There was no question that the superintendents were angry and felt betrayed by the actions of The Presbyterian College graduating students on 16 March 1979. In fact, the same superintendent inferred that "the cranial equipment of some PC graduates is sometimes infinitesimal and frequently much below average [. . .]. You have probably striven to forget [. . .] that

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[34] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[35] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

[36] Shirley Gale, personal interview, June 2008.

[37] Shirley Gale.

sickening scene—the cowering Board of World Mission elite, about to be decimated, dismembered, disemboweled and decapitated by their adversaries, the PC women libbers."[38]

In our world of litigation, it is hard for us to identify with the stance that people in leadership roles took here. The superintendents should have been role models despite the challenges. They needed to act responsibly. The language was not only harsh, but downright abusive. The fact still remained that women had by church law been ordained since 1966, and so it was up to the superintendents to make the law work. They travelled around; they knew the mood in presbyteries. They needed to respond to changing times and needs. They needed to counter ignorance with education; they needed to use more equitable methods of assigning appointments. It was up to them to keep education in the forefront and to respect 1966 as a defining moment. There was no need for divisiveness where a law had been put in place. The superintendents needed to be of one mind in their interpretation of that law.

The women were perceived to have lost, since, according to the superintendents, they, themselves, had been fair and just and not discriminatory against women, and women had received some plum positions in keeping with their spouses' geographic location and workplace. To Jean Armstrong, the spokeswoman for The Presbyterian College graduating students, went these words from another superintendent: "It was with surprise and considerable regret that I learned that you were in the forefront of the 'telegram episode' and had indeed phoned to Toronto to try to get women in Knox III to sign the petition to accompany it."[39]

Jean Armstrong was appointed to an Edmonton charge. She had received the appointment that she desired, as had most of the others. Jean was not being self-serving in this process, but simply wished to support others who had not received the appointment that they had requested. She felt strongly that women be considered for any charge without reference to sex. This, in fact, is supported by Valerie Korinek's comment: "Women's ordination in the United Church of Canada illustrates how difficult it is to change the gender ideology that suffuses the workplace."[40] In the end, Jean Armstrong was accused of being protectionist and sexist since her appointment was within the bounds of her husband's employment. The superintendent reminded Jean that

> in accepting the appointment made by the Board of World Mission annual meeting to the [name] congregation, I want to remind you again that these people have gone through troubled times and you will have strong personalities with which to deal. When I mentioned this to you in Montreal you told me you could defuse situations. Unfortunately, you did the very opposite last month. The [name] congregation cannot afford agitation and confrontation. It needs a loving, caring, understanding, wise, pastoral outreach ministry.[41]

In fact, Jean did carry out her appointment and then her call to this congregation in a highly professional manner for a period of seven years in which the charge flourished. The

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[38] Shirley Gale.

[39] Shirley Gale.

[40] Valerie Korinek, "No Women Need Apply: The Ordination of Women in the United Church, 1918-65," *The Canadian Historical Review* 74.4 (1993): 509.

[41] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

admonishment which she received was for a particular place and time in which she was willing to take a stand on an issue that should really have been a non-issue. Jean embraced the issue without fear, and with the best interests of all her colleagues in mind.

Another candidate had an additional hurdle to cross. Shirley Gale was appointed to St. Matthew's congregation in Montreal where a male student minister had served and had subsequently been appointed. That individual reneged on his appointment saying that Shirley needed that particular charge to be close to her husband who ministered in the Presbytery of Montreal. However, the original appointee simply wished to return to his home province of Nova Scotia. This left Shirley Gale at the mercy of an interviewing committee composed entirely of males from St. Matthew's. Despite the comment "you can come and prove yourself" from one member of the committee and the fact that the church had burned down previous to the appointment, Shirley went on to have a very fruitful ministry in that congregation. Not only that, she was asked to serve on the Board of World Mission where there had been encouragement throughout for women to hang in. Undoubtedly, her experience would be highly valued in that position.

All of these events created a need for the Presbytery of Montreal to act on behalf of ordained women throughout The Presbyterian Church in Canada. By 27 March 1979, the Presbytery had drafted a Memorial to the 105th General Assembly as a response to a motion placed on the floor of the Presbytery on 13 March 1979, to appoint a Special Committee to undertake the following:

1. Education of the church in the implications of its law and commitment with regard to the ordination of women;

2.a. Change in the attitudes which cause congregations to be unwilling to consider a woman as their minister; interim-moderators to be unduly influenced by this prejudgement; presbyteries to permit this prejudice; and boards and committees of Assembly to be insensitive to the issue of discrimination against women in ministry;

2.b. Change in the attitudes which cause congregations to be unwilling to consider women as ruling elders; presbyteries which permit this prejudice amongst their members;

3. Modification of the church's language and terminology, both oral and written, on all church bodies, so as not to be exclusive of women, with particular attention to the Book of Forms, the Book of Common Order and the Book of Praise; or to take whatever action the General Assembly in its wisdom deems best.[42]

The preamble to these recommendations praised The Committee on the Place of Women in the Church which gave the "how" and "why" men and women should accept each other as equals. However, the framers of the Memorial believed that "the harmonious partnership in the image of God" was lost in the change from vision to law.[43] Along with the law, the church must provide

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[42] *The Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Fifth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1979): 467.

[43] Personal papers of Jean Armstrong.

means to educate clergy and laity in the concept that "men and women alike are the objects and servants of the purpose of God, which the church has been created to express and fulfill."[44]

In every other part of society, women were claiming the parity that the church had offered for thirteen years, yet women in ministry continued to experience prejudice and discrimination. The plea was then that "all women members of the church should accept the responsibility and be given the opportunity of serving Jesus Christ and their fellow human beings in all areas and occupations of life as the members of his Body."[45] The Memorial did indeed speak to these concerns. In addition to the Memorial, The Presbyterian College Report of the Senate 1978-79 included a recommendation #5 which requested that the Board of Ministry establish a Task Force which would seek to discover ways: "1. "to eliminate discrimination against women in the appointment and the call procedure [. . .] and 2. to educate presbyteries, sessions and congregations regarding the partnership of men and women in ministry."[46] It appears that the women had made their point at all levels. On the one hand, The Presbyterian College graduating students had worked effectively through their Presbytery, while the Knox College graduating students had worked successfully with the policy-makers. In the end, both angles were covered.

Although the Memorial was not in proper form, a special committee was appointed to report to the 106th General Assembly. Its report was very comprehensive, including a bibliography and a fact-finding questionnaire based on the ideas stated within the body of this Memorial. There was a strong response rate to the questions (42%).[47] In the process, the committee drew the attention of the whole church to the issues raised by the women at The Presbyterian College in 1979, and the report as a whole was adopted.

It can be concluded that the graduate and graduating students of The Presbyterian College had successfully drawn to the attention of the wider church the prejudice and discrimination that characterized church polity since the ordination of women to the teaching and ruling eldership had become law in 1966. Clearly, this study reveals that there was resistance to women taking their rightful place in the ministry of Word and Sacrament. The door had barely opened in thirteen years. Virtually nothing was found in the secondary literature on the situation at The Presbyterian College and Knox College in the years leading up to the Presbytery of Montreal's Memorial to the 105th General Assembly. In his book *Enduring Witness*, Dr. John Moir, the historian of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, reported on the 1979 Memorial as follows: "negative attitudes towards women were certainly in the minority, but most sessions had not discussed the issues."[48] The "liberty of conscience" debate precipitated by Daniel MacDougall's request to the Presbytery of East Toronto would follow and trigger new challenges for women in their chosen call. It can be concluded, though, that the Memorial sent by the Presbytery of

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[44] *The Acts and Proceedings of the Eighty Ninth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1963): 307.

[45] *The Acts and Proceedings of the Ninetieth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada,* (1964): 466.

[46] *The Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Third General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1977): 273.

[47] *The Acts and Proceedings of the One Hundred and Sixth General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (1980): 394.

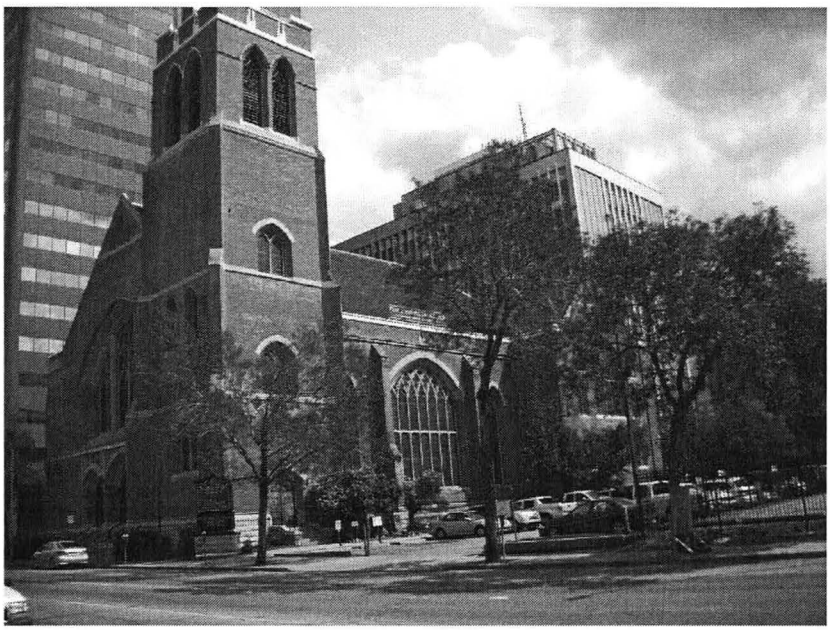
[48] John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Don Mills, ON: Presbyterian Publications, [1975]) 280.

Montreal to the 105th General Assembly regarding the discrimination and prejudice against women was at least one factor, if not the only one, in precipitating the "liberty of conscience" debate.[49]

[49] Besides the "liberty of conscience" debate in the 1980s, there were additional challenges to be faced by women in the 1990s. These included the election of the first woman moderator of The Presbyterian Church in Canada as well as the appointment of the first woman principal of Knox College.

# Centennial Reminds Congregation of Inherent Dilemma: The Case of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton

Kenneth Munro



On Sunday, 2 June 1912, the city of Edmonton was abuzz with excitement as the most influential protestant congregation in Alberta prepared for the official dedication of its new church building at 11:00 am.[1] Those attending this dedication service were awestruck by the magnificence of the structure and the beauty of the sanctuary. One hundred years have passed since this remarkable event and on Sunday, 3 June 2012, the congregation celebrated the centennial of the dedication of the building which remains the home of the First Presbyterian congregation in Edmonton.

Over the past century, the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton has had a splendid structure in which to worship God, an enormous building with a multiplicity of rooms in which to draw the congregational community together for various functions, and a solid base from which to reach out into the community supporting social justice and other Christian causes. Housed in a new building in 1912, the congregation could concentrate its efforts almost entirely on the work of the Presbyterian denomination. However, as time passed and the building required upkeep, more and more effort had to turn to keeping the structure in good repair, thus taking away volunteer hours and financial resources from Christian endeavours. By 2012, the

[1] In his book, *McQueen of Edmonton,* E. A. Corbett incorrectly stated that the dedication of the new church building occurred on 3 June 1912. The 3 June 1912 was a Monday; the dedication took place on Sunday, 2 June 1912. See E.A. Corbett, *McQueen of Edmonton* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, [1934]) 91. *The Edmonton Journal* indicates clearly that the building was dedicated on 2 June. See *Edmonton Journal* 3 June 1912: 6.

dilemma, or choice, facing the congregation of First Presbyterian Church was how to keep a balance between the needs of maintaining a physical home for the congregation while still fulfilling the congregation's Christian obligations and maintaining a Presbyterian presence in society. This paper will attempt to assess how successful the congregation has been over the past one hundred years in securing a balance between these two competing forces and explain why this dilemma was on the minds of congregational members as they celebrated the centennial of their church building.

After one hundred years, this late-Victorian Gothic Revival structure still shines as a beacon of Presbyterianism in the very heart of Edmonton. The massive brick edifice inspires members to worship God with "its stained glass, hand-crafted wooden panelling [. . .] and a labyrinth of rooms."[2] Like so many major churches in western Canada, the structure of First Presbyterian Church is merely an interpretation of early types of churches found in small Ontario towns, lacking a distinctive Western Canadian architectural style.[3] Nevertheless, its Gothic architecture is distinguished and impressive in the modern age. Like the gnarled old maple at its south-east flank, this enduring and endearing edifice stands quite unique, surrounded by vacant lots used temporarily for parking lots and overshadowed by concrete high rises and towering business complexes which represent the bustling secular society of twenty-first-century Edmonton.

The structure's exterior is clad in Redcliffe pressed brick from southern Alberta and Bedford stone trim put in place by the builders McMillan and Brown. Predominately English-inspired in style, the church also incorporates some French Gothic elements, such as the triple-arch motif of the main porch. As well, the large pointed arched windows on the side and front façade are filled with French Gothic flamboyant tracery, characterized by its flowing and flame-like motif. On the southwest corner of the church, a tower soars over thirty-four metres into the air. Aesthetically, the tower is a handsome structure which awaited chimes at the time of dedication in 1912. Because of cost over-runs, corners had to be cut. Consequently, the materials used in the top two stories of the tower and the brick used for the construction of the back of the church are of poorer quality than in the reminder of the structure.[4]

The interior features a basement of concrete and stone foundation. Behind the sanctuary is a huge handsome hall—the Arthur Newcombe Room named after a long-time organist and choir director (1945-1972)[5]—with hardwood flooring and beamed ceiling in the style of the medieval period. The minister's study and secretarial offices are housed on the north side of the hall and a small kitchen and room furnished like a drawing room are located on the south side, raised several steps above the sexton's living quarters below. The Sunday School is found above the Arthur Newcombe Room with a gallery with open cubicles; two small rooms are also nestled into the structure at the top of the stairs on the same level as the Sunday School. In addition, on either side of this Sunday School Room are steps leading to two large rooms which have been used for various purposes during the history of the church. This complex of rooms constitutes a third floor of the church. The fourth floor, the size of the Sunday School main assembly hall has never been completed. In front of this myriad of rooms, stairs and balconies is the sanctuary, a

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[2] *Edmonton Journal* 4 June 2012: A3.

[3] Gilbert A. Stelter, "What Kind of City is Edmonton?," *Edmonton: The Life of a City*, ed. Bob Hesketh and Frances Swyripa (Edmonton: NeWest, 1995) 8-9.

[4] Kenneth Munro, *First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton: A History* (Victoria: Trafford, 2004) 94-95.

[5] Munro 200, 304.

visual gem with a U-shaped gallery, a semi-dome in the east wall housing the organ, a double vestibule, oak and fir woodwork, gothic stained glass windows, and vaulted ceiling.

This sanctuary was built to be conducive to worship. The richly finished oak panelling and benches are enhanced with soft light shining through warm-coloured stained-glass windows. All lines of sight in the sanctuary are directed up to the solid and heavy-looking oak engraved pulpit towering front and centre in this sacred area well above the main floor and built to aid ministers preaching the word of God. The sanctuary was completed in time to welcome the delegates from across the country who attended the Annual General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1912. Years later, this was the venue for the opening service of worship of the Annual General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 2005, the centennial year of the province of Alberta. In this setting, the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton has worshipped God for over one hundred years.

While the preaching of the Word is the high point of any Presbyterian worship service, the sermon is usually enhanced and supported by music. This has been the case at First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton since its founding. In 1909, the congregation then located at 103rd Street and Jasper Avenue bought an organ from Casavant Frères in Saint-Hyacinthe, Quebec for this very purpose. Being frugal and wise, the congregation decided to move the organ, a Casavant Opus 371 built by the company, to the new 105th Street location in 1912. Besides an oak case and mahogany console, the organ consisted of 1,572 pipes which ranged in length from ⅜ of an inch to sixteen feet and in dimension from ¼ of an inch to one foot square. The choir and swell were enclosed and were governed by a balanced pedal from the console. There were three towers of pipes, separated by several flat panels, and the case pipes were in gilt. When the organ was moved, some sections were added, pipes as well as a chime stop. This organ thus became an integral part of the church building and aesthetically, an integral part of the architecture of the sanctuary.

While caution prevailed in the area of music with the recycling of the pipe organ, such inhibitions did not prevail in deciding to build a new church rather than adding on to the existing structure at the 103rd Street and Jasper Avenue location. The decision to build a new church was not taken lightly, nor without considerable discussion and many heated words. The debate began as early as 1906 when the Board of Managers listed the 103rd Street property on the market. There were no buyers at that time, but as the economy of Edmonton flourished by the end of the decade, demand for this choice property on Jasper Avenue grew. In the end, the congregation accepted the proposal to build a new church with the handsome revenue received from the sale of the existing church property.[6] Rev. Dr. David McQueen was most pleased with this decision and most willing to guide his congregation in a new grandiose edifice which suited his personality.

Born at Kirkwall, Ontario, on Christmas Day in 1854, David McQueen attended the University of Toronto and then Knox College. With the departure of the first Presbyterian minister in Edmonton in 1887, Dr. Andrew Baird, who had established the presence of First Presbyterian Church in the city, the Board of Missions sent out Rev. McQueen to take over the charge. Alas, he began his ministry with great trepidation as the congregation did not like the idea that he had been appointed without consultation with them. Nevertheless, they accepted him but reserved the right to issue a call only if and when the time was right. After serving faithfully for six years as an ordained missionary, he finally received and accepted the call to

[6] *Edmonton Bulletin* 10 May 1910: 5.

serve as the Minister of First Presbyterian Church in March 1893.[7] From that point on, there was no turning back and both the congregation and Presbyterianism in the west flourished under his guidance.

From his base in this 105th street building, McQueen was a key figure in promoting and maintaining the Presbyterian denomination in Canada. He was a force to be taken into account in both religious and secular matters. McQueen was the only Presbyterian minister to have served as Moderator of the Church twice, once in 1912, and secondly as interim moderator in 1925 at the time of the "Union Crisis."[8] He was a person of influence in the Edmonton community,[9] and as the renowned leader of the congregation, it was appropriate Rev. Dr. McQueen preside over the laying of the cornerstone of the new building on Wednesday, 26 July 1911.[10] During that evening ceremony, he was presented with a silver trowel on behalf of the architect, a mallet on behalf of the builder, and a plumb on behalf of the clerk of works—objects which remain on view in the Social Room today.[11]

The celebratory ceremony masked concerns within the congregation about the new church. The proposed cost of the new building was established at $85,000[12] with seating for 1,250. In the end, over $172,000 was spent on construction and it was late in completion. The Board of Managers termed the "cost of the new church excessive."[13] The fact that the old Church property had sold for $195,000 and the new church cost $172,000 may well have been the reason for the complacent acceptance of the final price for the new building.[14] At the time, one journalist wrote that "It is expected that the new church will meet the needs of the congregation for some time to come."[15] How true that foresight has been!

Although the congregation left their old premises in March 1912 and re-located to the new, unfinished building, everything was ready for a dedication service in the new structure on the first Sunday in June. Thus, on 2 June 1912, leading divines who had planted the seed of Presbyterianism in the West travelled to Edmonton and presented sermons and dedication addresses. Rev. Andrew Baird, the first minister of the church in Edmonton in 1881, took a prominent part in the services. He read the dedication act and offered the dedicatory prayer. In the afternoon, he addressed the Sunday School and dedicated the new Sunday School Room.[16] Rev. David McQueen, who was celebrating his twenty-fifth anniversary as a minister, naturally took a prominent role in the services of worship as host of the celebration. One of the most

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[7] *Edmonton Bulletin* 4 May 1893: 6.

[8] Corbett 91-92, 110-11.

[9] Corbett 58, 74-77, 88.

[10] *Edmonton Journal* 27 July 1911: 4.

[11] *Edmonton Journal* 27 July 1911: 4.

[12] Harrold Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton," diss., Vancouver School of Theology, 1974, 47-48.

[13] Morris 48-49.

[14] Morris 48-49.

[15] *Edmonton Journal* 22 July 1911: 1.

[16] *Edmonton Bulletin* 3 June 1912: 1.

outstanding Presbyterian preachers of this period, the Rev. G. M. Milligan, DD, of Toronto, was invited to deliver the sermons for the morning and evening services.[17]

In his sermons, Rev. Dr. Milligan revealed the dilemma, or choice, faced by the congregation, and appeared to contradict the message given by Rev. Dr. S. W. Dyde at the laying of the cornerstone a year earlier. Milligan spoke about what Christ wanted to teach the Jews about the Temple. He explained that "holiness was not confined to any particular place. The foundry and the machine shop were as holy as the church."[18] This simple truth exposed the dilemma faced by this Edmonton congregation. Here was a "handsome new building" with "beautiful features of [. . .] structure"[19] but the Church was more than a building. Implied in the message was that while a church home was important, the Christian life of the congregation was even more critical. In contrast, a year earlier, Rev. Dr. Dyde, president of the Alberta Presbyterian theological college, had indicated that a building, a place of worship, was very important for a congregation. He explained that "Man is a political and social being, and must satisfy the needs of his nature by recognizing and worshipping God publicly."[20] Dyde believed that if Christians provided no places for social worship and ceased to organize our religion, "we would be left to our own ideas of God which might often become narrow, whimsical and inadequate." He stressed that "It is good for us to meet together and worship Him in public."[21] And thus it was that this outstanding structure should radiate Christian teaching and service not only within Edmonton, but throughout the whole West. But on that dedication day of 1912, did the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton hear Rev. Dr. Milligan's ominous caution that the Christian's primary task was to reach out into the community to do the work of the Lord, and not to focus solely on buildings? This question seemed irrelevant in 1912.

With a new, well-built Presbyterian church in good repair, there seemed to be nothing to stop the spread of Presbyterianism in western Canada now. With the Roman Catholic Church as the other pole of Christian attraction in Edmonton, the Presbyterians dominated all aspects of city life. Members of this denomination were most influential in business, politics at all three levels of government, the provincial civil service, municipal affairs, and the teaching profession. The minister of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Rev. McQueen was friends with all the movers and shakers of society. He not only preached to them on Sundays, but played golf and curled with them during leisure time. He associated with *la crème de la crème* of society and had their ear on matters of importance. The year 1912 was the climax of the boom in Edmonton and thus all things seemed possible.[22] The boom made life intoxicating and McQueen must have wondered if he could hold his congregation at 1,200. But as quickly as the boom appeared, the bust followed and was made more severe by the Great War when Edmonton lost over a third of its population.[23]

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[17] *Edmonton Journal* 3 June 1912: 6; *Edmonton Bulletin* 3 June 1912: 1.

[18] *Edmonton Journal* 3 June 1912: 6.

[19] *Edmonton Bulletin* 3 June 1912: 1; *Edmonton Journal* 22 July 1911: 1.

[20] *Edmonton Journal* 27 July 1911: 4.

[21] *Edmonton Bulletin* 27 July 1911: 4.

[22] James G. MacGregor, *A History of Alberta* (Edmonton: Hurtig, [1972]) 217 and 219.

[23] J. G. MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History,* 2nd ed. ([Edmonton]: Hurtig, [1975]) 226 and 240. Edmonton did not regain its 1914 population numbers until 1929.

Time also began to take its toll on the structure of First Presbyterian Church which meant more and more resources had to be diverted to the upkeep of the building rather than nurturing spiritual growth. Within twenty years of completion, the church building showed signs of wear and tear. Until the 1930s, regular restoration work had been successfully undertaken without jeopardizing the evangelical and social work of the congregation. Even twenty years after construction only simple redecoration of rooms within the structure was necessary. However, these "restoration projects" continued to occur at regular intervals. The "Social Room" for example, was redecorated and refurbished in 1934[24] followed by an improvement to the hardwood floor of the room a decade later.[25] The room was renovated yet again in 1960. The walls, ceiling, and fireplace were repaired and redecorated. The unsightly water pipes and radiators were enclosed, the floors re-finished, and a valance board erected along the east and south walls. All furniture was repaired and polished; two new Axminster rugs were purchased. A work party sorted, cleaned, and replaced the books on the shelves and cleaned and re-hung pictures. By November 1960, all was in order for an "at home" to take place in the newly renovated room.[26] Finally, in 1986, the Social Room was again restored to its original beauty. In addition, new cupboards and a dishwasher were installed in the kitchen off the room.[27] This is but one example of the financial and human resources of the congregation which were required to maintain one room in the church building in good repair.

In addition to the Social Room, the minister's office and secretarial office,[28] Sunday School,[29] Arthur Newcombe Room[30] and Wallace room[31] have all undergone repeated upgrading and repairs over the last one hundred years. Most important, the structure of the building itself had to be maintained. In 1943, supports were placed under the auditorium floor (later known as the Arthur Newcombe Room).[32] Then, in 1984, the wooden columns in the boiler room supporting the Arthur Newcombe Room were replaced with steel.[33] In addition, support work was undertaken above the Sanctuary ceiling in order to eliminate sideways pressure on the outside walls.[34] The following year, an extensive project was completed: three "A" frames above the Sunday School were installed to provide much needed structural support for the building. At the same time, the south-east corner of the whole structure was raised.[35]

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[24] Munro 155-56.

[25] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1944): 4.

[26] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1960): 21.

[27] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1986): 6 and 10.

[28] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1950): 4-5; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1983): 6.

[29] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1953): 4; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1984): 9.

[30] *Annual Report* (1984): 9; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1991): 3.

[31] *Annual Report* (1950): 4-5; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1982): 3; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 17 Jan. 1981.

[32] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1943): 4.

[33] *Annual Report* (1984): 9.

[34] *Annual Report* (1984): 9.

[35] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1985): 6.

Despite these improvements, repairs to the church continued decade after decade. In the late 1980s, the Board decided to repair the basement floor. Old rubble had been used as a base in the original construction, thus the entire floor was excavated, new steel re-enforcement was laid, and the new floor was later tiled. Volunteers took care of moving appliances and furniture, disconnecting the gas and plumbing, and the re-connecting of everything once work had been finished. The "Wallace Room" was restored by 1989 with new wiring; water pipes were replaced; lighting was intensified; and the room painted. The kitchen was fully restored and new washrooms for Ladies and Gentlemen with facilities for the handicapped were built.[36] The electrical wiring of the building has been in constant need of improvement.[37] Recently, electrical wiring was extended to the third floor room on the south side, and the fourth floor room. The sound system in the sanctuary and elsewhere in the church have required upgrading over the years,[38] the roof has needed replacing every few decades[39] and the steps and doors leading into the church have necessitated repairing.[40] In the last century year the heating system has also required attention. In 1946, the Board agreed to convert the heating system from coal to gas,[41] and in 1950 a provincial inspector's report forced the boiler's replacement.[42]

As costs of the upkeep of the building mounted, the Board of Managers attempted to find extra resources so that the structure could be kept in good condition, but at the same time ensuring the ongoing spiritual work of the congregation could continue unabated. A partial solution to this dilemma was found by turning to the province for financial help through grants designated for historic resources. The Board of Managers was successful in its quest for these funds. On 19 November 1978, the Board succeeded in having the province of Alberta designate First Presbyterian Church an Historic Resource of the province.[43] The one drawback in taking this route for funding meant that the church could not be sold, changed, or altered in any way without permission of the Minister of Culture of the province of Alberta. But at the same time, the church became eligible for grants from the provincial government to be used in the maintenance of the building and the government of Alberta made expert advice available on upkeep of the structure.[44] These government resources have helped the congregation in its attempt to balance spiritual work with maintenance on the building. For example, in 2005 the steps to the entrance of the building were repaired and a matching grant of $71,600.00 was

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[36] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1989): 6.

[37] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1957): 6; *Annual Report* (1984): 9; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1987): 6.

[38] *Annual Report* (1950): 3; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 9 Jan. 1951; *Annual Report* (1960): 33; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1974): 4; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1975): 6; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1993): 6.

[39] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1980): 5; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1990): 7; *Edmonton Journal* 18 Aug. 1990.

[40] *Annual Report* (1980): 5; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (2005): 5; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (2008): 2; First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (2010): 3.

[41] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1946): 4.

[42] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1949): 6-7.

[43] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1978): 5; *First With the News* 9.4 (1978): 6-8.

[44] *Annual Report* (1978): 5.

received from the Alberta Historical Resources Foundation.[45] This provincial money ensured that the spiritual work of the congregation would not be starved of financial sustenance.

The congregation had earlier learned how to use government grants judiciously through the preservation and upgrading of the 1909 Casavant organ. The first major repair of the organ was undertaken because of the urging of Arthur Newcombe, who became Musical Director of the church on 4 January 1945.[46] Persuaded by Newcombe, the Session decided to rebuild and enlarge the organ in 1951 at a proposed cost of $9,000 with an additional $700 to rehabilitate the chimes.[47] For the most part, the funds were raised within the congregation,[48] but the congregation also took advantage of a government program reducing costs if the organ were designated as a memorial to those who had fallen in World War II.[49] Casavant Frères sent a certificate attesting to that designation. A plaque was affixed to the organ stating that it was a War Memorial and a dedication Service took place on 23 September 1951 with an organ recital performed by Dr. Charles Peaker of Toronto the following evening.[50] This positive experience paved the way for the decision to accept the provincial designation of the building as an historic resource and the acceptance of government matching grants in 1978. The tapping of this source of money was deliberate on the congregation's part in order to keep the balance between structural restoration and the spiritual outreach of the church.

Since that time, the church fathers have continually sought help for the upkeep of the building from the Alberta government. For example, another project which dealt with the music of the church was partially funded by government grants. As the decade of the 1990s drew to a close, the then choir director, Kevin Heshedahl, promoted the restoration of the chimes in the tower. They had not been in working condition for some time and the pigeons had found a comfortable home there. By 1998, the tower was made secure from collapse and the offal from the pigeons was taken away in a huge industrial garbage bin. Work was then begun on the restoration of the louvers, chimes, and operating mechanisms and the work was completed because of a donation from a congregational member which matched the government's generosity.[51] Finally, on Sunday, 17 September 2000, the freshly restored chimes rang out and Rev. Fourney re-dedicated them at a "Service of Celebration" to honour all those who had helped build the Church and the congregation over more than a century.[52] The chimes could be played from the console in the sanctuary or from a newly installed keyboard in the tower. Unfortunately, the chimes cannot be heard once one enters the sanctuary, but for those outside, it provides sheer joy![53]

The third refurbishment of the organ in 2007 revealed the dilemma the congregation faces today. No government funding was required to repair and enhance the organ as a musical instrument. All of the $300,000 was raised by the congregation for this project. The purpose of

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[45] *Annual Report* (2005): 5.

[46] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 8 Jan. 1945.

[47] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 10 Sept. 1951.

[48] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1951): 5.

[49] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 9 Jan. 1951.

[50] *Edmonton Journal* 24 Sept. 1951:13; *Annual Report* (1951): 3.

[51] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1998): 7.

[52] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (2000): 7.

[53] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (2001): 13.

this refurbishment was undertaken so that it could be used not only for worship, but for outreach through concerts. The work done on the organ was intended to keep the original warm characteristic sound and to re-voice and re-wind some stops and replace others. Some stops were added, including a thirty-two-foot stop in the pedal. Finally, a modern wind system and new, electric combination system was added. The organ now is certainly one that can serve a wider variety of purposes and be used by organ societies for concerts. In addition, more than the required $300.00.00 was raised. Unfortunately, the congregation is not able to raise such large sums for the ongoing Christian mission of the church.

After one hundred years, the congregation is now faced with restoring the stained glass windows at a cost of over $2 million. In addition, the fourth floor is finally being prepared for use year round. The cost of this initiative has not been presented to the congregation as yet. Such repairs and enhancements of the building were not required in 1912 and thus the congregation was able to concentrate almost solely on the Christian mission of the congregation.

At the Sunday morning centennial anniversary in June 2012, members of the congregation undoubtedly reflected on the spiritual work of the church in 1912. Then, the congregation had a splendid home from which to carry out God's work in the world. First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton was the leading Presbyterian congregation in Alberta and the congregation rose to the challenge of Presbyterian religious evangelization. One of the responsibilities of leadership involved the training of ministers for the new areas opening in the West. Consequently, McQueen was very open to the suggestion by Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, President of the University of Alberta, that the Presbyterians establish a Presbyterian Divinity College affiliated with the University. Synod agreed and the General Assembly gave its approval at its meeting in Halifax in 1910.[54] Robertson College was duly founded with McQueen on the Board of Management and on the Senate. He remained in those positions for the brief life of Robertson College which merged with the Methodist College at the time of Union. In these early years, fifty-two young ministers of the Church in the West were trained at the institution.[55] The congregation of First Presbyterian Church supported the College through an organization called *The Roberson College Guild.*[56] Church Union in 1925 brought a sudden halt to these endeavours.

Besides supporting Presbyterianism through the theological education of ministers, the congregation of First Presbyterian Church also helped establish new churches in the Edmonton area and beyond. In 1909, Robertson Presbyterian Church was organized with the help of First Presbyterian Church, and a new home for the congregation was dedicated in 1910.[57] Not only was this new congregation mentored by First Church members, many of them living in Edmonton's west end left First Church and joined the new congregation. A similar situation occurred on the south side with Knox Presbyterian Church. Under the leadership of McQueen, the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton started not only these congregations,

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[54] *Edmonton Bulletin* 27 Apr. 1910: 3.

[55] A brief history of Robertson College can be found in Alex Mair, *Gateway City* ([Calgary]: Fifth House, [2002]) 114-15. Also see John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925* (Toronto: General Board, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1925) 83-84.

[56] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1912): 28-29.

[57] Morris 45-46.

but several others as well.[58] These new churches were visible signs of the vigour of First Presbyterian Church and the leadership role in things spiritual that it assumed in Alberta.

It was not only new congregations which First Church members established. The congregation helped set up "school homes" in Vegreville and Belmont to teach families—with boys and girls learning the regular curriculum and mothers and fathers learning English. A Presbyterian sponsored Stony Plain school taught "practical lessons" about farming as well as reading, writing, and arithmetic.[59] Rev. McQueen served as Protestant School Inspector for four years for the area north of Red Deer under the North-West Territorial government.[60] Presbyterians also sponsored hospitals at Vegreville and Lamont. The Women's Home Missionary Society was very adept at working with new immigrants and helping new congregations in mission fields within Alberta. For example, the Women's Home Missionary Society donated a communion service to Rev. Forbes who went to work in the Grande Prairie area in 1910.[61] This group also supported the Bonnyville and Cold Lake hospitals from 1917 until 1925. In 1938, the group helped equip and run a hospital at Rocky Mountain House.[62] A Foreign Missionary Society was formed within the congregation to work in areas beyond Canada's borders. In 1947, Miss Hazel Reaveley from the congregation was sent as the first ambassador of Christ to go to India under the auspices of First Presbyterian Church.[63] The Women's Missionary Society remains an active organization in the church in 2012, although numbers and energy have diminished from those early days when members showed spark and energy within their new 1912 church building.

Another organization whose presence within the congregation over the past century helped spread the gospel was the Sunday School. It was thriving in 1912 and so large in the early years of the 1912 church that it split into several groups, or "Branches," and classes were held in public schools as well as the church proper.[64] Today it is a shadow of its former self but still very active. The report to the congregation in 2008 indicated that there were approximately twelve children in all areas of the Church School,[65] and that number remains about the same today with three youth from First Church attending *Canada Youth 2012,* a conference for Presbyterian youth which was held at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ontario in July of this year. Although the Church School and youth groups are not flourishing, the members of the congregation through the Session have expressed a determination to continue to minister to the children and youth of the church. To help keep the youth active, the youth ministry is conducted in co-operation with other Presbyterian churches in the city of Edmonton, and a newly hired Church School co-ordinator is injecting a new-fired spirit into this area of spiritual life of the younger children; indeed, more of them are already being attracted to Church School.

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[58] Raymond Grant, *Helen Learmonth's Reminiscences of Early Edmonton,* First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton Archives, 9.

[59] Grant 6.

[60] Munro 41.

[61] Munro 66-67.

[62] Munro 67.

[63] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1947): 3.

[64] Munro 90-91.

[65] *Annual Report* (2008): 9-10.

In the 1980s, the church began two major outreach projects which have continued to this day: one was to help the Edmonton food bank distribute food to the needy,[66] and the second was the establishment of a refugee committee to sponsor refugees[67] and to help the government in bringing refugees to Canada. Both of these undertakings are more recent in origin and help with the social justice aspect of Presbyterian life in the city of Edmonton.

Other groups within the congregation have continued from early times to the present, but these groups have been more social than spiritual. For example, the Ladies Aid has helped decorate various areas of the church and is still active today, but there is nothing particularly evangelical about the organization. There have been many other groups such as the Craft Group and the Burns suppers in January which have been sponsored by the church and held on the premises. Many of these groups have come and gone with time and the aging of the congregation. The Board of Managers and the Session continue to encourage more spiritual growth within the congregation. With the congregation eating into the principal of its endowments, the church is surviving and attempting to react with very slender means to necessary changes in society which require Christian undertakings. The dilemma of the congregation is to discover the balance between spending on the building and on the Christian mission of the church at the same time. Often, the building seems to be a very heavy weight on the balance scales. Yet, through ingenuity, the congregation has managed to bring these two seemingly opposite poles of attraction together to support both structural maintenance and Christian endeavour through judicious use of the church building in promoting Christian outreach.

The Church building has also been the site of numerous activities within the Edmonton community which have produced funds beyond the regular contributions of members. For example, the Christian presence of the Presbyterian community in Edmonton was reinforced when the first state funeral ever held in the province of Alberta took place at First Presbyterian Church. On 17 March 1937, the Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta, His Honour Philip Primrose died in office. Since he was the first representative of the Crown to die in office, he was accorded a state funeral, and because he was a Presbyterian, the province held his funeral at First Presbyterian Church. The funeral service itself was conducted by D. F. Cameron, Librarian of the University of Alberta, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Osborn of First Presbyterian Church.[68] Other important funerals not connected with our congregation have also been held in the church building. The Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, attended the memorial service of the president of the Luscar Coal Company, Sir David Mitchell, when he died in 1983.[69] Then, when his successor, Mary-Jean Mitchell Green died in August 1990 and a memorial service was held at First Presbyterian Church, both former Prime Minister Trudeau and former premier Peter Lougheed attended along with eight hundred friends and relatives from around the world.[70] These religious events brought national attention to First Presbyterian Church and its Christian

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[66] *Annual Report* (1983): 5. First Presbyterian Church joined the Food Bank group in the fall of 1983 and has continued to help the Edmonton Food Bank organization since that time.

[67] *Annual Report* (1986): 9. See also Munro 474-81.

[68] *Edmonton Journal* 19 Mar. 1937: 1, 13; *Edmonton Journal* 22 Mar. 1937: 15 (pictures of casket leaving the church).

[69] *Annual Report* (1983): 5.

[70] Munro 473.

presence even though the majority of funds received as gifts from the participating families went to support the building.

Other cultural organizations and business groups not directly connected with First Presbyterian Church have held meetings, concerts, and educational activities at the church which have brought needed funds into the church coffers and furthered the Christian mission of the congregation. For example, during World War II, some women in the congregation established a Red Cross Unit at the church with Mrs. Lillian Bailey as convener.[71] Following World War II, controversy erupted within the congregation over whether to welcome community groups to use the church facilities. In 1949, the request by the church's Young People's Society to sponsor a series of symphony concerts by the Edmonton Philharmonic Society in the Church Auditorium was turned down by Session.[72] Yet within weeks of this decision, Session granted the Royal Alexandra Hospital the use of the church facilities for graduation services![73] Clearly those arguing that the sanctuary could only be used for religious purposes had set a precedent which could not be overturned. Thereafter, the church building was open for the use of community groups which conformed to the rules and regulations set out by Session. Monies gleaned from these organizations have helped provide monies for both spiritual work and building upkeep.

Although progress in this regard was slow, by 1967 Session had reiterated that service in Christ in the community involved the use of church facilities. Several groups made use of the church building that year alone: the Rotary Carol Festival, the Edmonton Boys' Choir, the Retired Teachers' Association, a group of Writers known as "Words Unlimited," and others.[74] In 1970, the Young Women's AA Group held meetings at the church.[75] In 1979, Session approved the rental of the organ for practice sessions for students from The King's College and that institution held its opening convocation ceremony at First Presbyterian Church. The Sons of Scotland Benevolent Society and the Salvation Army also made use of the building.[76] In addition, Session approved the use of both the Arthur Newcombe Room and the sanctuary as practice space for the professional Pro-Coro Choir.[77] In the last quarter century, the church facilities have been used by a wide variety of organizations from aerobic dance movement classes[78] to the Festival City Winds. Wendy Grasdahl is the artistic director and principal conductor of this group with the advanced band having its home at First Presbyterian Church. Workshops and recitals have been held at the church in addition to concerts by such organizations as the "Sundays at Three" organ concert series. These are but a few of the "organizations outside the church" which use First Presbyterian Church facilities and provide limited funds for both spiritual undertakings and building repair.

While initiatives undertaken by First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton to connect with the community are commendable, almost none of the honoraria or donations given to the church by those groups are designated for the work of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Some money

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[71] Munro 204-205.

[72] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 14 Feb. 1949.

[73] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, Session Minutes, 4 Apr. 1949.

[74] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1967): 6.

[75] Munro 337.

[76] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1979): 4.

[77] *Annual Report* (1980): 4.

[78] First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, *Annual Report* (1981): 4.

does find its way to the national Church through Presbyterians Sharing. However, none is designated to Presbyterian World Service and Development, or the Archives, or the *Presbyterian Record*, for example. Only funds collected on special Sundays for specific purposes are sent to such causes. Since no budget line in the church's budget indicates this amount, no one knows exactly how much First Presbyterian Church contributes. Most of the funds collected through gifts from community organizations is spent on upkeep of the church or spent on the ongoing administrative costs of the two-hundred-member congregation. In the struggle for limited funds and volunteer labour, the balance appears to be tipping in the direction of the building upkeep rather than towards the ongoing work of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

With the help of the choir and minister, this beautiful and magnificent building has inspired worship since 1912. However, now with a fraction of the membership of 1912 and with the needs of upkeep of the building more pressing than ever, this structure is taking a toll on the congregation and its ability to do the work of God. Nevertheless, defiant as always, the congregation is struggling to carry out the church's evangelization and spiritual work in the context of a very secular twenty-first century. As fewer people with less money join the congregation to replace older, wealthier members who depart, this balance between repairs and upkeep of the building and the work of the Lord becomes more and more difficult. The one-hundredth anniversary of the church building raised hope in the congregation that members will be able to overcome this dilemma. Only the future will reveal whether this hope is satisfied.

# In Memorium: John Sargent Moir

Stuart Macdonald

As many of us know, our colleague and friend, John Sargent Moir died recently. The last few years have been years of illness as Parkinson's certainly took its toll. But it was not too long ago that John was actively writing and teaching. His last time teaching the Presbyterian History course here at Knox College was in 1996. We do remember his wife, Jacqueline, and their family. We also need to remember the various contributions which John made to church history in Canada.

*Contribution to Canadian church history, including Canadian Presbyterian history*

John's contribution was immense. With John Webster Grant he worked to bring church history as an academic discipline—that is written from a non-partisan, non-confessional perspective—into the mix of Canadian history. John's work on nineteenth-century Canada, on clergy reserves, and John Strachan, are important themes, and his study *Church and State in Canada West* (1959) remains important. Two of his best known works are: *The Church in The British Era* (1972)—the second volume in the series on the history of the Christian church in Canada; and, *Enduring Witness* (1975), his history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada which came out for the centennial year of the denomination and has been republished in a second and third edition. *Enduring Witness* is probably the book I know best. And in terms of establishing key questions and interpretations it is invaluable. When students are doing almost any topic in the history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada my advice is always: "Start with Moir. What does John Moir have to say about the topic?" That in itself speaks volumes to his ongoing contribution. John gave us an interpretation, a place to start. He also wrote several congregational histories, and a monograph looking at Biblical Studies in Canada. He wrote ecumenically. He was an editor of many volumes, including one of the volumes in the *Called to Witness* series, and the first of the *Gifts and Graces: Profiles of Canadian Presbyterian Women*. Some of my favourite writings by John Moir were his articles, particularly the reflective ones or the ones which tried to communicate difficult ideas such as "Who Pays the Piper....Canadian Presbyterians and Church-State Relations." These were recently collected in two volumes, both edited by Paul Laverdure: *Christianity in Canada: Historical Essays* and *Early Presbyterianism in Canada.*

*Contribution to Graduate Students*

John also contributed greatly through the students he taught: those in his classes at the Scarborough campus; those here at Knox College; his graduate students, which included Paul Laverdure, Ron Sawatsky, Michael Owen, and Mark McGowan; and those many other students who John guided along the way. His contribution in this area continues as those influenced by him write and explore the themes of Canadian church history.

*Contribution to The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History*

John was a founding member of this society. He presented papers here, including "Through Missionary Eyes: The Glasgow Colonial Society Papers as a Source of Social History" (1986) and "The Stool of Repentance: The Disciplinary Role of the Presbyterian Courts" (1995). His active encouragement and response to other papers also made a great contribution.

It does seem appropriate that we just take a moment of appreciation for our colleague and friend, John Sargent Moir.

# THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

## Minutes of the Annual Meeting 29 September 2012, 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 1:05 p.m. The Secretary-Treasurer, Mr. Michael Millar, acted as Secretary for the meeting.

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, Ms. Olive Anstice, Dr. Rudi Bauer, Rev. Calvin Brown, Ms. A. L. Burwash, Rev. Peter Bush, Mr. Al Clarkson, Ms. JoAnne Dickson, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay, Rev. Dr. Geoff Johnston, Professor Stuart Macdonald – Society Vice-President, Rev. Dr. A. Donald MacLeod – Society President, Ms. Phyllis Mattar, Mr. Michael Millar – Society Secretary-Treasurer, Dr. Kenneth Munro, Mrs. Kate Revington, Professor Mary Rogers, Rev. Dr. Donald Smith, Margaret Stephenson, Rev. Kathryn Strachan. (20)

Regrets:

The President called for regrets. Professor Phyllis Airhart, Rev. Dr. J. S. S. Armour, Mr. Bob Anger – Society Webmaster, Ms. Kim Arnold, Mr. Mark Boundy, Mr. Gerry Boyce, Hon. Lorne Clarke, Rev. Dr. Zander Dunn, Hon. John Gammell, Rev. William Haughton, Professor Brian Irwin, Mr. Ross Lamb, Dr. Paul Laverdure, Mr. Ian Mason, Miss Elizabeth Millar – Editor, Mr. Chris Redmond, Rev. Dr. Fred Rennie, Rev. Ritchie Robinson, Rev. Dr. Victor Shepherd, Rev. Angus Sutherland, Rev. John Vaudry, and Rev. Dr. Jack Whytock, (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 Dr. Hay, seconded by Dr. Anderson, the agenda as presented, was the agenda for the meeting.

Minutes of the 2011 Annual General Meeting:

On motion of the Mr. Brown, seconded by the Secretary-Treasurer, the Minutes of the 2011 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. An update was provided to the meeting and the revised T. O. R. will be posted on the Society website. Member Mr. Ross Lamb, presently a student under Professor Macdonald, has given notice that he intends to apply for the Bursary.

(2) ING Bank. It had been suggested at a previous meeting that the Society might do better with the GIC's invested with ING rather than with the Bank of Montreal. In light of the fact that ING has now been taken over by the Bank of Nova Scotia, it is thought to be prudent to leave the GIC's with the Bank of Montreal.

The late Dr. John Moir. The Society, and Canadian church history, has suffered a great loss with the death of our last living Founder Member, Dr. John Moir, on the 6th of March. The President called the meeting to stand while Professor Macdonald read an appreciation of Dr. Moir's life and work that he had prepared. The appreciation concluded with prayer by the President. It was agreed that a copy of Dr. Macdonald's appreciation will be sent to the Editor for inclusion in the 2012 Papers.

President's Report.

The President then circulated copies of 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, and will be printed with the 2012 Papers.

Editor's Report.

The report of Society Editor, Elizabeth Millar, was read by Editorial Committee member, Rev. Dr. Eldon Hay. At the conclusion the Report was approved on Motion of Dr. Hay, seconded by Dr. Johnston.

Webmaster's Report.

The Webmaster's Report was read by the Secretary-Treasurer. At the conclusion the Report was approved on Motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Dr. Munro.

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. No change from 2011, although the list should be purged because a number of people on it have not renewed their memberships, some for several years.

On Motion of the Secretary-Treasurer, seconded by Professor Rogers, the financial statement was circulated and discussed. The Secretary-Treasurer informed the meeting that we are in quite good financial shape. Not counting the Bailey Bursary money – cash and GIC – we presently have just over two thousand six hundred ($2600.00) in the Bank. Payments will have

to be made to Knox College for the lunch today and for printing the 2011 Society Papers. With respect to the printing of the annual Papers, 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 Professor Macdonald, "That the Financial Report as a whole be approved." Carried.

New Business:

(1) 2013 – there will not be a meeting in Toronto. The meeting will be held at the Presbyterian College, Montreal in conjunction with the Stanford Reid symposium.

(2) 2014 meeting, 27th September – as agreed at the 2011 meeting, the theme for 2014 will be the Great War and the involvement of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Election of Officers:

The Secretary-Treasurer had submitted his resignation to the President in January of this year effective with this meeting. The President indicated that a possible successor had declined at the last minute and that at present we have no other candidate. It was Moved by Dr. Johnston, seconded by Dr. Hay "That the Executive be given Power to Issue in the matter of a new Secretary-Treasurer." Carried.

Moved by Mr. Clarkson, seconded by Dr. Munro "That the President, Vice-President, Editor and Webmaster be continued in Office for the coming year." Carried.

The President then thanked the Secretary-Treasurer for his many years of service to the Society and presented him with a Card of Thanks, signed by those present, and a Gift Certificate from Chapters – Indigo Books. Mr. Millar thanked the meeting for its kindness and consideration. He said that it had been both an honour and a privilege to have served the Society as Secretary since the Rev. Ernest Nix resigned in 1995 and then with the addition of the Treasurer's position since the 1st of January 2000.

Adjournment:

There being no further business, the 2012 Annual General Meeting was adjourned at 1:55 p.m. on motion of Mr. Clarkson, 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.

## Report of the President
## To the 2012 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
## 29 September 2012

This is my fifth report as President of the Canadian Society of Presbyterian History, entering its thirty-eighth year. This past year was significant because it closed a chapter in our history. With the passing on March 6 of John Moir, Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Toronto, 86, we have now lost the final member of the three who were our founding fathers: Mel Bailey, John Johnston, and now John Moir—the passing of an era. They have left their mark.

And this meeting concludes years of faithful service by our Secretary-Treasurer Michael Millar. It is hard to imagine the Society without Michael at the receipt of custom. He has been a true servant, meticulous and thorough in every detail as only a philatelist can be, and possessed of a good Yorkshire work ethic (and a Calvinist to boot). Thank you Michael.

Planning our annual meeting is always a challenge but this year the task was made easier by the willingness of individuals to provide a paper on interesting and significant themes. We were sorry that Denis McKim's year-long appointment at Mount Alison meant that he had to withdraw, though he has expressed a willingness to share another year. Several of our presenters have come from a considerable distance at their own expense and we thank them. As you will see from our financial statement our pecuniary resources, though well managed, are not over abundant so their willingness to step up to the plate is much appreciated.

Next year's annual meeting in Montreal will require some thought if we are to fit in with the announced theme of "Christian Faith and the University," though the unique contributions of The Presbyterian Church in Canada to post-secondary education in British North America should be highlighted—particularly as we meet at McGill University whose founder, James McGill (1744-1813), is characterized in Stanley Frost's biography as being "moved by no religious fervour of his own" and furthermore "he has left no hint of any personal convictions" (*James McGill of Montreal*, 113). This in spite of the fact that in 1786 (though a member of Christ Church of England), McGill contributed to the start-up of the St. Gabriel St. Presbyterian Church, the first Presbyterian congregation in Montreal. Is this an opportunity to give another perspective on the faith of James McGill? Other themes for papers, since it is a celebration of the centenary of Stanford Reid, could revolve around the fascinating history of Stanley [St.] Church, Allan Reid's years as synod superintendent, the three Reid brothers at the time of church union and the separate ways they took, and more generally the full story of Quebec Anglophone Presbyterianism which needs to be recovered before it is irretrievably lost.

Our tireless and professional Editor is Elizabeth Millar of Mount Alison University Library, and our webmaster is Bob Anger. Our Programme Committee and our Editorial Committee continue, all with our thanks.

Respectfully submitted, A. Donald MacLeod

## Canadian Society of Presbyterian History
## Editor's Report for the 2012 Annual General Meeting

The 2011 *Papers* have been printed and mailed out to members not attending the 2012 Annual Meeting. Members who confirmed their attendance at the meeting will be able to pick up their copies there. As well, updated versions of the Indexes have been submitted to the Website Administrator and will be posted to the website very soon.

I would like to thank the individuals who present papers each year, for their important contributions to the Society and for making my work so interesting. My appreciation also goes to members of the Society's Executive, as well as Dr. Eldon Hay and Dr. Jack Whytock of the Editorial Committee for their ongoing assistance.

Submitted by,

Elizabeth Millar
Editor, CSPH *Papers*
September 2012

# CSPH Website Administrator Report 2012

The website remained relatively static in 2012 with no major revisions or expansions. The host for the website is Doteasy, which continues to provide decent service. No problems or difficulties, or breaks in service, were encountered over the year.

The following sections are at present included on the website:

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.

Over the past few years there has been talk of digitizing more papers and adding them to the website. Your website administrator has begun scanning and converting past papers in preparation for this possibility, but questions of copyright continue to make the actual placement of papers on the website challenging.

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 29, 2012

# THE CANADIAN SOCIETY OF PRESBYTERIAN HISTORY:

## FINANCIAL REPORT - 29 September 2012:

| Item: | Income: | Expenses: | Balance: |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Balance forward 24 September 2011:** | | | **4974.47** |
| Memberships 2010 | 240.00 | | |
| Memberships 2011 | 360.00 | | |
| Memberships 2012 | 440.00 | | |
| Corporate memberships 2010. | 120.00 | | |
| Sale of papers. | 40.00 | | |
| Bank Interest - Sept. '11 to August '12 | 0.47 | | |
| G. I. C. 9078920 (20 October 2011) | 2,000.00 | | |
| G. I. C. Interest | 17.96 | | |
| Luncheon charges 2011 meeting - paid | 135.00 | | |
| Luncheon charges 2012 meeting - paid | 210.00 | | |
| Donations | 60.00 | | |
| **Total Income.** | **3,623.43** | | **3,623.43** |
| **Sub-total.** | | | **8,597.90** |
| Postage - Secretary-Treasurer | | 560.48 | |
| Photocopying - Secretary-Treasurer | | 2.00 | |
| Office Supplies - Secretary-Treasurer | | 4.52 | |
| Catering, 2011 meeting, Knox College | | 224.98 | |
| Kidney Foundation donation - John Moir | | 100.00 | |
| Editor, honorarium 2010 Papers | | 100.00 | |
| Kwik Kopy Barrie 2010 Papers | | 569.66 | |
| Printing - 2012 meeting brochures | | 56.50 | |
| Website upgrade | | 115.90 | |
| Website - Domain Name renewal - 5 years | | 254.25 | |
| G. I. C. 2313-9078920 maturing 19 October 2012 | | 2,000.00 | |
| **Total Expenses.** | | **3,988.29** | **3,988.29** |
| **Balance Forward 29 September 2012:** | | | **4,609.61** |
| **Assets** - G. I. C. @ 2000.00. | | | 2,000.00 |
| **Total - Balance Forward plus the G. I. C.** | | | $6,609.61 |

Michael Millar, FRPSC.
Secretary-Treasurer.