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Scotland's Mission and the Colonies' Reaction

The Rival Voices of Presbyterianism in the Maritimes

The creation of the Glasgow Colonial Society was at first greeted among British North American Presbyterians as evidence of a welcome if belated interest by wealthy members of the Church in the religious plight of Presbyterians in the colonies. At last, it seemed, a supply of ministers would be available — and presumably financial aid as well. These bright prospects soon faded, however, as it became obvious that the missionaries of the Church of Scotland came not as colleagues but as rivals of colonial Presbyterianism. Thomas McCulloch's complaint, that the new arrivals were not entering untended fields but were settling in areas already served by others, was only the first hint at a gradually unfolding pattern of divisive actions, rooted in the Kirk's assumption of its own superiority over all other branches of Presbyterianism, and especially over colonial branches.

McCulloch arrived in Scotland in 1825 in search of funds for Pictou Academy but soon found himself and the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia under attack by the Glasgow Colonial Society for his "selfishness" in suggesting a union of Presbyterian clergy and energies in the Maritime colonies. He attended one meeting of the Society's directors to discuss a memorial from his own synod regarding the Academy. The Rev. Robert Burns, secretary of the Society and brother of George Burns who had begun preaching at Saint John in 1817, seems to have believed every misrepresentation offered by his

informants in the Maritimes, so that the meeting proved useless.[1] Before McCulloch arrived back in Nova Scotia the Society's criticism of the Memorial and his reply in an Edinburgh paper had been reprinted in Halifax. McCulloch now tried once more through a series of open letters published on both sides of the Atlantic to show that the Society's missionaries were welcome, although still he protested the Society's arrogance and willful ignorance of colonial conditions. The two Church of Scotland ministers who had arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1817, and the two who came seven years later, added to this growing conflict by their exclusivist attitudes and by their claim, directed mainly at Highland settlers, that the Kirk was in danger from indigenous and inferior colonial Presbyterians.

By 1828 the Society's missionaries, sent with free passage and a promise of £50 *per annum* for their first three years, were at work in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Bilingual (Gaelic and English) preachers were being sought, and the directors were promising to build an academy at Halifax and found a Gaelic journal. In succeeding years the work of the Society was extended into Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and regularly in its annual reports the Society implied that it alone was serving Presbyterians in the colonies. Specific locations were cited where a missionary was supposedly wanted, without any acknowledgement that the other branches of Presbyterianism were already operating there. The exact number of missionaries sent is difficult to ascertain but in its first decade the Society sent more than forty to British North America. In 1833 the five Church of Scotland ministers in New Brunswick organized a presbytery and within two years the number of its ministers had doubled so that a synod was formed with two presbyteries — Saint John and Miramichi. A few months later a Church of Scotland synod of Nova Scotia was created, with three ministers in its Presbytery of Halifax, four in the Presbytery of Pictou and three in the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island, although at least three other clergymen of the Kirk in Nova Scotia did not join the synod at this time.

While the Church of Scotland was thus entrenching itself in the Maritimes at the expense of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, another Presbyterian body had also been organized there. In 1832 two missionaries of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland formed their own Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, thus bringing to four the number of separate Presbyterian organizations. Despite the intrusion of the Church of Scotland, the Church of Nova Scotia continued to grow in strength, at least in absolute numbers. Its nineteen clergy had, by 1834, increased to thirty-one — four in New Brunswick, six in Prince Edward Island, one on Cape Breton and twenty in mainland Nova Scotia. Census statistics for this

period are so incomplete that the relative strength of the various Presbyterian bodies can only be guessed at from the numbers of their clergy. In 1827 there were 37,650 Presbyterians or thirty per cent in Nova Scotia's population of 123,600, but 12,400 of them lived in the Pictou district and another 6,300 in Colchester County. A similar localized pattern of religious affiliation can be seen in Prince Edward Island where, in 1841, of a population of 47,000, fifteen thousand or thirty-two per cent were Presbyterians, of whom over nine thousand lived in Queen's County.

Even before the challenge from the Glasgow Colonial Society the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia had appointed a Committee of Missions to raise funds and organize missionary tours, and in 1820 McCulloch had, for £40 per year, added to his duties the position of Theological Professor at Pictou to train a native ministry. His first four graduates were licensed in 1824, but this association of theology with the curriculum, however indirect, brought charges in the Council of Nova Scotia that the Academy's purpose was being perverted.[2] A request for permanent endowment of the Academy was rejected, and in 1827 even the annual government grant was suspended. Next the school became completely mired in party politics because of unfounded accusations that McCulloch was involved in establishing a Liberal opposition newspaper. McCulloch responded by becoming an editorial writer for the offending journal, which served only to antagonize the politically-minded Anglican bishop and create rumours that the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was disloyal.[3]

A Liberal victory in the Nova Scotia election of 1831 did not save the Academy from the enmity of its opponents and particularly those in the ultra-loyal and ultra-respectable Church of Scotland. By 1831 the famous Academy was so close to bankruptcy that, as the price of obtaining an annual grant of £400 for the next ten years, its charter was revised. Henceforth no theological classes were given and four of the eleven trustees were appointed by the Governor. The new trustees included two Kirk ministers and the Roman Catholic bishop, and the lack of harmony under this mixed board finally induced McCulloch to abandon his educational child in 1838 in favour of the post of Principal of Dalbousie College at £200 a year. On the eve of his departure from Pictou, McCulloch's famous natural history museum was visited by the American naturalist John James Audubon, who received a gift of several specimens from McCulloch. As for the Academy it was closed four years later, to be reopened under different management.

Popular reaction in the Maritimes to the divisive actions of the Church of Scotland seemed to be muted by the undeniable fact that the Kirk had the support of the colonial governments and of the Church of England in its

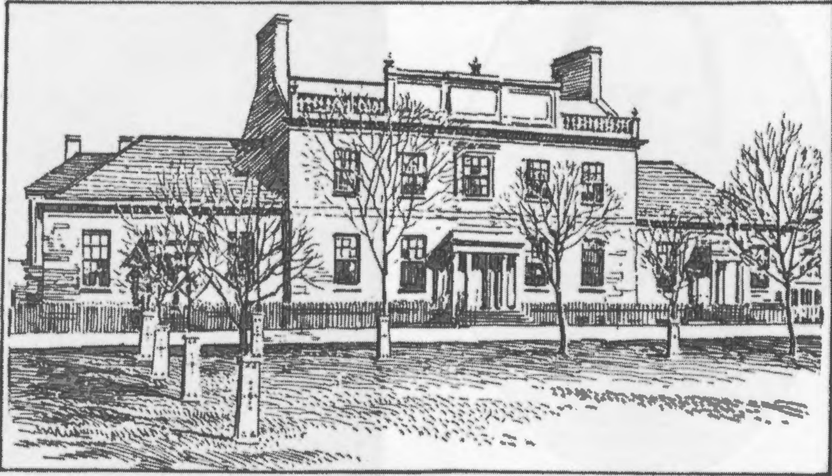
efforts to assume a position of social and political advantage. One contemporary, the Rev. John Sprott, friend of the two Burns brothers and admirer of the Glasgow Colonial Society, charged that his own synod was full of "jealousy." Sprott reported, "War was proclaimed and fighting men threw away the scabbard" — the Miramichi supporters of the Society literally used "sword and pistol" to seize control of the local Presbyterian church.[4] Despite its appeal to the popular feeling that the Presbyterian divisions in Scotland had no relevance to the colonial situation, and despite its continued growth in numbers, the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was definitely losing ground to the Kirk.

The newly established Church of Scotland Synod of Nova Scotia sought to take advantage of all these factors. In 1833 its proposal of a union with its sister presbytery of New Brunswick met with little enthusiasm from that presbytery, but undeterred, the synod of 1836 appointed a committee to seek a union of all Presbyterians in the Maritimes. The older Secession synod responded favourably and charitably by turning the other cheek to the very body which had prevented unity just a decade earlier. Its response — a pro-union resolution in 1838 — prepared the way for negotiations, but in 1841 the synod discovered that absorption, not union, was the aim of the Church of Scotland. The Kirk's offer to receive into its ranks any or all members of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was firmly rejected, although negotiations were allowed to continue in a desultory fashion until finally ended by the 1843 Disruption in Scotland.

The Conflict of Tradition in the Canadas

The intrusion of the Church of Scotland into the two Canadas, Upper and Lower, did not begin until 1829. A larger number of recent immigrants had come there, especially to Upper Canada, but the United Presbytery could not meet their religious needs. It had no seminary in British North America, and the supply of secessionist ministers from Scotland was drying up. The second annual report of the Glasgow Colonial Society in 1828 recorded the receipt of letters from new settlements in Upper Canada deploring the lack of ministers. There were now eighteen clergy attempting to serve some thirty Presbyterian congregations in the colony. Two-thirds of these ministers were Secessionists, but because they still held the Church of Scotland in great respect there seemed to be hope for a Presbyterian union.

A pastoral letter from the Canadian Presbyterians to their brethren at



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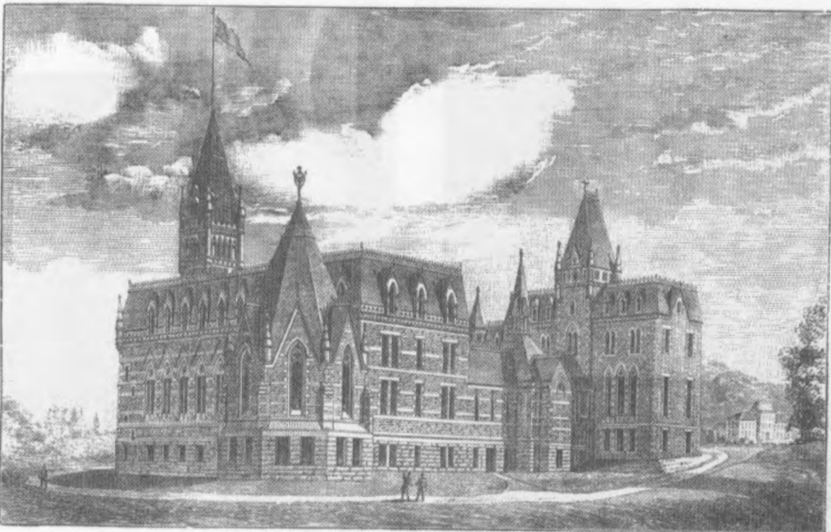
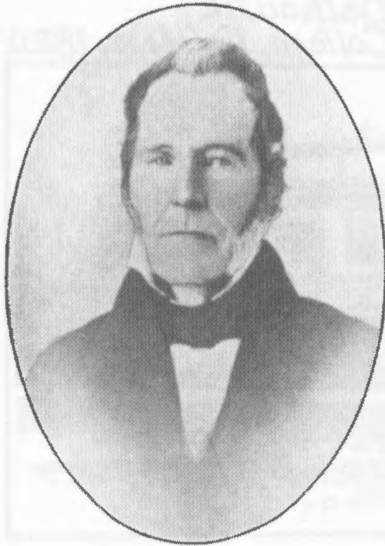
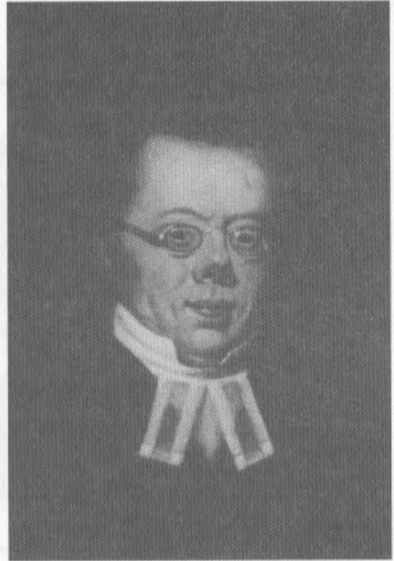
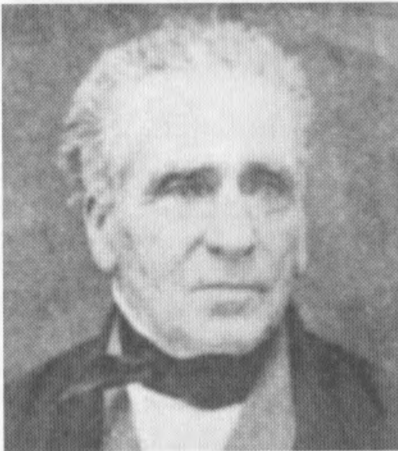


The Presbyterian College, Montreal


William Proudfoot


Robert Burns


William Morris

Isaac Buchanan

home underlined the various elements encouraging the Society to enter this new field. The privileged position of the Church of England was opposed by the Canadians, who pointed out that Anglican priests were assured of £200 if they came to the colonies, whereas the co-established Church of Scotland could offer no such inducements as long as its rights were ignored by the imperial and colonial governments. The writers hastened to deny that they were attacking the Church of England — they sought only just and legal deserts for their own national church.

The following year, when the Society's first missionary to the Canadas — the Rev. Alexander Ross — was despatched to Dundas County, the Society promised that more ministers would be sent to both colonies, and spoke of the need for a Canadian seminary to train a native ministry. Over the next fifteen years at least twenty-eight missionaries were sent out — three to Lower Canada and the remainder to Upper Canada.[5] Four died in the field, one was dismissed from his charge, and two returned to Scotland, but twenty-one were still serving at the time of the Disruption in Canada in 1844. One missionary, William Rintoul, had in fact arrived in Toronto in 1821, but was subsequently aided by the society which appointed him supervisor of missions in 1835. Generally one or two missionaries were added to the list each year, although no less than nine new men were sent in 1833.

On the whole the impact of these missionaries was less divisive in the Canadas than in the Maritimes because the need for ministers was greater and geographically more widely dispersed. There was less incentive, reason, or opportunity for overlap with ministries of the United Presbyterians. Even so there were occasional clashes, reminiscent of the circumstances surrounding the Society's intrusion in Pictou, although such conflicts seem to have been confined to the older settled districts in the eastern part of Upper Canada. At Perth, William Bell's denunciation of drunkenness and immorality in his congregation so offended some of the guilty parties that they got a rival minister from the Society in the person of the Rev. Thomas Wilson, whose sole aim was, according to Bell, "to divide my congregation."[6]

In frontier communities the Church of Scotland missionaries noted a lay propensity for congregationalism because the lack of presbyteries and synods left local congregations to their own devices, with results similar to those noted in the early days of Nova Scotia. To counter this unpresbyterian trend a "Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Connection with the Church of Scotland" was planned in 1831 by a convention of missionaries and other Church of Scotland ministers at Kingston on June

7. The initiative actually had come from Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray, who had written to Upper Canada's Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Colborne on 1 August, 1830, recommending such a move.

In 1826 £750 *per annum* had been allocated for the Church of Scotland from the funds of the Canada Company, a Scottish-organized group developing the "Huron Tract" between Guelph and Lake Huron, and the United Presbyterians had asked for a share of these funds. Murray had no objection to public aid for Presbyterianism, but he wanted to deal with only one Presbyterian body and not with individuals. "By this arrangement the whole of the Presbyterian Clergy of Upper Canada would be placed on the same footing.., whereas under the present plan the Government has indirect connection with a part only of the Presbyterian body..."[7] This was the method of dealing with the Church of England and the Church of Rome, both of whom were incidentally inspired by the Church of Scotland's example to propose similar conventions involving their own laymen. Thus a Church of Scotland synod of four presbyteries, with nineteen ministers enrolled, emerged in 1832 from these mixed religious and political motives.

The Glasgow Colonial Society's funds were always embarrassed since its annual income was only £500, but the missionaries were accepted and supported by many colonial laymen. By 1836 the task of the Society in British North America was finished, the Church of Scotland was officially organized in the Maritimes and the Canadas. Almost without exception, however, its missionaries were Evangelicals, rather than members of the Moderate party whose control of the Kirk in Scotland was being increasingly challenged by the Rev. Thomas Chalmers and his supporters.

One week after the Kirk synod was created at Kingston the United Presbytery of Upper Canada met at nearby Brockville. High on its agenda was consideration of Murray's famous despatch. Union discussions had already occurred between members of the Church of Scotland and the presbytery, but, as these had failed, the presbytery now decided to present its case for government support directly to the Colonial Office. At the same time the presbytery reorganized itself as the United Synod of Upper Canada with two presbyteries and fifteen ministers. A year later the United Synod memorialized the king, that no redress had been obtained through the regular political agencies, that the churches of Scotland, England, and even of Rome were given large government grants, and that the United Synod ministers should receive equal treatment because voluntary givings in a new country were inadequate to maintain a ministry. The reward of the synod's loyalty and persistence came in 1833 — a government grant of £700 to be divided among eleven clergymen.

The union negotiations to which the United Synod had alluded began in 1832, but had been preceded by certain correspondence and meetings in the sensitive eastern area of Upper Canada. The United Synod had responded to the Synod of Canada's initiative by supplying information about its members, but soon discovered that the Synod of Canada would only accept them if they declared their adherence to the standards of the Church of Scotland and its Canadian presbyteries.[8] Despite these humiliating terms, the United Synod was willing to continue negotiations. The United Presbyterian Presbytery of Brockville met at Perth at the same time as its Church of Scotland counterpart in January, 1833. A sudden thaw prevented all but five ministers from attending, but in any case the insistence of the Church of Scotland men that the others sign a formula of adherence was refused as being "degrading," and the Kirk representatives then charged the United Presbytery with "insincerity."[9]

Although United Presbyterian laymen seemed pleased that the union had not occurred, their clergy still felt that an honourable union was desirable. Another meeting at York in the summer of 1833 opened on more friendly terms, but unfortunately McDowall, the only senior spokesman for the United Synod, had no knowledge of Scottish religious history and prejudices. By now negotiations were complicated by a Declaratory Enactment of the General Assembly in Scotland specifying the conditions under which it would assume jurisdiction in the colonies. One of those conditions was aimed at protecting its tradition of an educated ministry, by prohibiting the reception of any minister not ordained by a Kirk presbytery. The Synod of Canada was prepared in the interests of union to waive for the present this requirement for re-ordination, but the failure of Bell to give leadership or support in the negotiations tipped the balance. The psychologically ideal moment for union passed without any progress being made.

Although the Synod of Canada and the United Synod contained the bulk of the Presbyterians in the two Canadas, at least three smaller and separate bodies had come into existence before 1840. The missionaries of the Associate Church of North America, who had organized three congregations in the Niagara area in 1824, formed themselves into the Presbytery of Stamford in 1836. A much larger body, the independent Presbytery of Niagara, developed in 1833 around the work of Daniel W. Eastman, who had arrived from the United States in 1801. Two preachers supported by the American Home Missionary Society entered the Niagara — western Lake Ontario region in 1831 and within two years they and Eastman had gathered over a thousand members into some sixteen congregations.[10] These American Presbyterians brought with them traditions and habits that were at variance with those carried from Scotland, either by the Church of Scotland or the

secessionist United Synod, and this eventually caused the failure of the Presbytery of Niagara. The Americans introduced revivalism, temperance, and the use of Isaac Watts's hymns — three practices distasteful to British Presbyterians — and they advocated voluntarism, or the complete separation of church and state. Voluntarism was, of course, anathema to the Synod of Canada that was fighting for recognition as an established church and for a share in the Clergy Reserves, and also to the United Synod members who were intent on preserving their government grant. As if these factors were not enough to alienate Scottish Presbyterians from the Niagara Presbytery, there existed throughout Upper Canada a strong feeling of anti-Americanism, based on the memories of the Revolution and the War of 1812 and reinforced by general distrust of American democratic practices.

Despite these adverse factors, the Niagara Presbytery had seven or eight ministers, twenty-five churches and between seven and eight hundred communicant members by 1836. It had, however, reached the peak of its influence — crop failures and a major depression in 1836 so seriously eroded local financial support that the presbytery was reorganized as the Domestic Missionary Society of Upper Canada. A year later American support for the Upper Canadian rebels turned public opinion against anything connected with the neighbouring republic. In the wake of that abortive rebellion most of the presbytery's ministers returned to the United States, and congregations broke up as many members emigrated in search of a more congenial political climate. In any case too many adherents were religious gadflies who flitted from one new sect to the next, while temperance-minded churches held little attraction in a community where "3 and 4 dozen bottles of wine and brandy were drank" at a Church of Scotland ordination dinner.[11] Above all, emotional revivalism was out of style among Canadian Presbyterians — "We wish for no more erratic preachers," one missionary told the sponsoring American Home Missionary Society. "We have quite enough already of such disturbers ..." By 1849 the Independent Presbytery of Niagara was no more; the intrusion of American Presbyterianism into the British Colonies had been a failure.

The third and last of these new Presbyterian groups to enter Upper Canada — the United Secession Church of Scotland — was destined to have a more lasting and important influence on Canadian Presbyterianism. In 1832 three missionaries arrived in Montreal — William Proudfoot, William Robertson and Thomas Christie. Robertson died soon after, but the other two proceeded to western Upper Canada where Christie took charge of three congregations in the Gait area and Proudfoot settled in London. Seven more missionaries — Gaelic speaking — arrived before 1836 and, except for one congregation in Montreal, their work was concentrated in the new Scottish settlements be-

tween Lake Ontario and Lake Huron. Like the American missionaries the United Secession missionaries were voluntarists and temperance supporters, and evangelical Calvinists if not revivalists. Unlike the Americans, however, they had unimpeachable British origins. In 1834 these newcomers organized themselves into the Missionary Presbytery and added William Jenkins who had left the United Synod because it accepted government money. The presbytery expanded rapidly — by 1839 it had fifteen ministers, thirty-four preaching stations or congregations, and six hundred and fifty members. Its dominant figure was Proudfoot, a tireless traveller whose voluminous diaries and letters provide an invaluable record, not merely of his own and the presbytery's work, but of the religious and social history of western Upper Canada during the 1830s.

Much of the popular appeal of this Missionary Presbytery was undoubtedly due to local conditions, rather than to Old World associations. Britishness and Scottish Secession traditions were important, but temperance and anti-establishment feelings were much in evidence in this rapidly settling area west of Toronto. With local whisky selling for as little as twenty-five cents a gallon, alcoholism had become so serious a problem that temperance societies sprang up about 1830, as they did in all the other colonies. Baptists and Methodists were the most forceful advocates of temperance, but all Christian denominations were involved to some degree. Presbyterians from Scottish Secessionist or American backgrounds generally supported the movement, but even many Kirkmen who in Scotland had been moderate drinkers joined it when confronted by the excessive drinking common in North America. In 1840 the Kirk Synod directed its Commission to investigate the provincial licensing system because of the widespread public intemperance in a province where taverns outnumbered schools by ten to one![12] The Kirk also showed a laudable concern about violation of the Sabbath by persons who engaged in worldly conversation, "idle visiting and receiving of visitors," travelling, failure to do chores before Sunday, and neglect of public and private means of grace.[13]

The increasing breadth of church interests was reflected in the founding in 1836 by the Rev. Robert McGill of the monthly *Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Review* as an unofficial voice of the Kirk. Its pages reported events that indicated this growing awareness of problems beyond the narrow boundaries of parish life. Home missions were a particularly urgent problem because of the shortage of ministers and the great distances to be travelled. One minister covered seven or eight townships spread over one hundred miles of territory, and he lived twenty miles from the nearest post office.[14] The cost of attending synod meetings was prohibitively high for most members, and poor attendance caused a lack of continuity in synod personnel and policies.[15]

Synod considered starting a mission to the Canadian Indians.[16] Collections were taken up for the Scottish General Assembly's East India Mission and in June, 1839, the *Examiner* noted with approval the formation in Montreal of a French Canadian Missionary Society to bring the gospel to "the benighted habitants." At that moment, however, the Kirk was having its own language problem with a minority of Gaelic-speaking elders west of Toronto who, although they were bilingual, boycotted "all-English" services after presbytery had ordered the English services to be held before Gaelic.[17]

The Quest for Co-Establishment

If change was in the very air of Upper Canada during these years, so also was a growing conviction that church establishment in all its forms — land endowments, educational monopolies, legal preferment, denominational privileges and social advantages — had no place in an egalitarian and democratic new world.

By 1840 at least two major and one minor Presbyterian tradition were reflected by Presbyterianism in British North America. In the Maritimes the Kirk represented exclusivism and a church-state connection, whereas the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia was the product of those indigenous Presbyterian developments that had culminated in the union of 1817. No serious differences of belief regarding social, political, or doctrinal issues divided the two bodies — there were, for example, no Clergy Reserve lands to covet — so their separation continued only because the Kirk was not prepared to recognize the validity of the local Presbyterian tradition. In the Canadas the situation was more complex. There the relations of the Kirk's Synod of Canada and the United Synod also turned on the issue of recognition of other ministries. Both had, however, sought and received government aid, and now were under pressure to unite if more money was to be granted. The two smaller bodies in the Niagara region did not, for political reasons, leave any enduring mark on the general development of Canadian Presbyterianism. But the newest group, the small Missionary Presbytery, combined the growing antagonism towards any state-church connection with the traditions of loyalty and Scottishness.

In March of 1826 Archdeacon John Strachan of Toronto went to Britain in connection with the interests of the Church of England. His business, which kept him there for seventeen months, was primarily concerned with obtaining a charter for a provincial university. Although the university was to be open to students of all denominations, the charter for King's College required all

professors and members of the college Council to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles; the bishop of Quebec was the Visitor, and the Archdeacon of York the President. Despite the control given to the Church of England, this charter was, as Strachan correctly said, the most liberal university charter ever granted by the British Crown, yet it was not liberal enough to suit the religiously pluralistic society of Upper Canada. Strachan himself had hoped for a less exclusively Anglican faculty, but once the charter was granted he was prepared to defend its terms to the death.

Perhaps there would have been less public opposition to the charter but for Strachan's actions regarding the Clergy Reserves. A year after his arrival in England the question of who were the "Protestant Clergy" arose in connection with a bill to sell a large part of the 2.4 million acres of Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada to the Canada Company for colonization — (the 675,000 acres in Lower Canada were not involved in this transaction). When the imperial parliament delayed action on the Clergy Reserves sales bill to gather more information on the legal status of the denominations in Upper Canada, Strachan hastily produced a forty-page pamphlet to demonstrate that "Protestant Clergy" referred to the Church of England, and to that church alone. Appended to the pamphlet was an "Ecclesiastical Chart of the Province of Upper Canada" based on the one drawn up by Strachan three years earlier, but this time largely from Strachan's memory. The Chart's gross inaccuracies particularly annoyed the numerous Methodists, but it also disturbed Presbyterians — and the Church of Scotland's General Assembly drew the attention of the Colonial Office to the matter. Governor General Lord Dalhousie, as a staunch Kirkman, informed his superiors in London that the chart was "incorrect and erroneous to a degree that utterly astounds me."[18] Objections from both the Church of Scotland and the United Synod against the Anglican monopoly of the Reserves had, however, been blunted by a promise of £750 from the sale of lands to the Canada Company. The money was for colonial ministers "acknowledged by the Kirk of Scotland" and recommended by the Kirk for such salaries. To fulfill its new responsibility the Kirk's Committee on Colonial Churches asked for detailed information about the situation in the Canadas.[19] In reply, committees of St. Gabriel Street and St. Andrew's churches in Montreal drew up a petition, to be signed by all Presbyterians in the Canadas and delivered to the imperial parliament by J. C. Grant, a Montreal lawyer. The next step was a meeting of Kirk representatives only at Cornwall in January, 1828 — its objects, to work for co-establishment with the Church of England in Canada, for a proportional share of the Clergy Reserves monies, for government grants toward church building and school teachers' salaries, and for government payment of half

the stipend of Kirk ministers. To achieve these objectives the Church of Scotland in Canada asked for the support of the mother church.

Disturbed by these efforts to topple the Church of England from its exclusive position as the legal church of the colonies, Bishop C. J. Stewart accused the Canadian Kirkmen of sending false and misleading information to parliament, and he organized a counterpetition in defence of his church's sole possession of the Clergy Reserves.[20] The rival petitions were in due course presented to a parliamentary committee appointed to investigate all the current political and religious controversies in the Canadas. On behalf of the Kirk, the Rev. Dr. John Lee requested aid for its Canadian members because, he said, it was the largest Protestant denomination in the colonies. Grant followed with his own ecclesiastical chart, which was probably as inaccurate as Strachan's. The committee's report on these religious issues was something less than a victory for the Kirk and co-establishment. The Church of Scotland, it said, had a right to share in the Reserves, but because neither national church was numerically strong in the colonies, other denominations might well be given some government support too. In the determination of any colonial religious policy, however, the committee advised the imperial government to listen carefully to public opinion in the colonies.[21]

Public opinion in Upper Canada had already made itself heard. Egerton Ryerson, the young Methodist saddle-bag preacher, had astounded the colony with his convincing public refutation of Strachan's claims about Anglican superiority in numbers and loyalty. A committee of the local legislature had also heard damning evidence against the Archdeacon's chart, and against religious privilege in general. This committee concluded that a church establishment was unnecessary for the colony, that public opinion favoured the use of Clergy Reserves funds for "public improvements and the support of education" without regard to "any distinction on account of religious profession or belief."[22] On the strength of this report, the Upper Canadian Assembly called for separation of church and state in the province. Voluntarism had found its political voice in Canada.

Between 1827 and 1830 the unstable state of political parties in Britain encouraged all the Canadian contenders — Anglican establishmentarians, Church of Scotland co-establishmentarians, and the Methodist and Baptist voluntarists — to deluge the Colonial Office with petitions in support of their own points of view. The secessionist United Presbyterians of Upper Canada joined the swelling chorus late in 1829 with an offer to unite with the Kirk, and a request for recognition "as being worthy to participate equally in any provision that has or may hereafter be made for the Presbyterian ministers ."[23] This was the motivation for Colonial Secretary Murray's despatch of 1 August, 1830,

authorizing Sir John Colborne to promote a union of all Presbyterians. As the tempo of voluntarist attacks on, and Anglican defence of the establishment principle increased, the Upper Canada ministers of the Church of Scotland hastened to deny Bishop Stewart's allegations that they were associated with dissenting sects, but then added, "If, however, to assert what they regard as a right, belonging as well to their Church as to the Church of England, is to be construed as 'an attack' upon the vested rights of the latter, then, indeed, Your Majesty's Petitioners must admit, that the charge is not unfounded."[24]

By late 1831 the liberal-minded and reforming Whig government in Britain was prepared to accept religious pluralism as a fact of colonial life. The official policy was summed up in a confidential despatch to Colborne in 1832 — in view of the difficult situation in Upper Canada, "a state of Religious peace is, above all things, essential...." The following year the grant to the Church of Scotland Synod was increased to £900.[25] The imperial government had also ordered Colborne to get a provincial law restoring all Clergy Reserves lands to the Crown. In 1832 and 1833 such bills never got beyond second reading in the Tory- and Anglican-dominated Assembly, but when a bill did pass in 1834 it was rejected by the Legislative Council.

More than a year later, in May, 1836, the General Assembly's Committee on Colonial Churches reported that another petition regarding the Canadian synod's claims on the Clergy Reserves had been delivered to the Colonial Office, but the imperial government refused to take any action. The Committee recommended that the General Assembly should continue to exert pressure on the home government, and also should try to provide Scottish ministers and parish teachers to the colony. As for the Canadian request for closer association with the mother church, nothing could be done unless the colonial governments in Canada first gave legal recognition to the Canadian synod.[26] By now, however, the practice of giving grants to religious bodies other than the Church of England had become so general that even the Church of Rome asked for a share of the Protestant Clergy Reserves.

Apparently because of the political deadlock after 1834 between the newly-elected, Reform-controlled Assembly and the tory Legislative Council of Upper Canada, the imperial government was unwilling to impose on the colonies any settlement of the religious issues. This situation, however, suddenly became critical in 1836, a year of economic depression in the colonies, with the discovery that Lieutenant-Governor Colborne had created and endowed forty-four Anglican rectories (thirteen other patents were prepared but never signed) just days before his successor, Sir Francis Bond Head, arrived in the colony. Head soon clashed with his executive when the Assembly refused to pass money bills because of Colborne's "arbitrary" act in creating the Anglican rectories,

and that summer, acting as his own prime minister and campaign manager, he defeated the Reformers in a general election. Although Presbyterians seem to have voted for Head's conservative candidates (so said the *Christian Examiner* of June, 1838), they were not willing to let the rectories question go by default. In the spring of 1837 the Church of Scotland congregations prepared yet another petition to the king, claiming equality with the Church of England under the union of 1707, and denouncing the Anglican monopoly of the Clergy Reserves and the existence of the rectories as "an Infringement on their Rights."[27]

William Morris, a successful Perth merchant and leading lay spokesman of the Kirk, member of the Assembly from 1820 until 1836 when he was appointed to the Legislative Council, was the chosen agent of the Synod of Canada to lay this complaint at the foot of the throne in the summer of 1837.[28] Officials of the Colonial Office informed Morris that they had been "thunderstruck" to learn of the creation of the rectories, and had immediately asked for a judicial opinion on their legality. They also told him that the Church of Scotland had a right to share in the Reserves and that an initial payment of £500 had been ordered in Lower Canada. Just one week later, on 8 June, 1837, the law officers of the Crown announced their opinion — "the Erection and Endowment of the Fifty-seven Rectories by Sir J. Colborne are not valid and lawful Acts."[29] Morris did not actually learn the terms of the opinion until 11 July, but if the Rectories had been scotched, there still remained other questions bearing on the status of the Kirk in the colonies. The churches of Scotland and England should share the Reserves, he asserted, but if each received one-third the remaining portion could be given to other denominations, even if they were voluntarists.[30]

In Scotland, Morris' contacts with the mother Church of Scotland had been simply disheartening. The leading Kirkmen refused all assistance — Thomas Chalmers even recommended giving in to the Church of England in all matters. Morris at one point was so discouraged by "this extraordinary treatment" that he was almost ready "to bundle up my papers and return without pushing my negotiation with Lord Glenelg," but, "after all we have got on better than I expected."[31] Colonial Secretary Lord Glenelg, however, was at heart an appeaser, and he invited the Church of England to comment on the 'law officers' opinion regarding the rectories. John Strachan produced such a masterly defence both of the deliberate policy behind creating rectories and of their legality, that the law officers reversed their decision and found the rectory patents valid.

Strachan's arguments did not go unanswered by the Synod of Canada. the *Canadian Christian Examiner* of January, 1838, published a letter from the Rev. Robert McGill accusing Strachan of adopting the disloyal style of the rebel William Lyon Mackenzie, and two months later the same magazine

carried from Dr. John Rae, famous Upper Canadian teacher and economist, a reminder to Strachan that the determined Archdeacon had once tried to be appointed to St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church! A deputation from the Synod were shown the documents from the law officers by the lieutenant-governor, but they remained unconvinced of the legality of the rectories. Congregational meetings at various churches passed resolutions condemning the rectories and synod sent protests to the lieutenant-governor and the Upper Canadian Assembly. The most emotional reply, however, appeared in a printed statement by Alexander Gale, Moderator of Synod. "Is there really a just cause why Scotchmen should not enjoy equal privileges — why they should be held inferior in Canada to Englishmen?" "Canada is a British, not an English Colony"[32] All these protests proved vain — the forty-four Upper Canadian rectories remained as part of the Church of England establishment.

Lest anyone should misconstrue the synod's intentions, the *Canadian Christian Examiner* of November, 1838, pointed out that nine-tenths of Upper Canadians believed there was no place for an established exclusive church in the colony, and so the Church of Scotland was really only seeking equal treatment for all, not selfish co-establishment. Outsiders could be excused for doubting the Kirk's liberality in view of another petition from the synod to the Legislative Assembly just three months later, demanding equality with the Church of England. Alexander Gale at least was sensitive to public opinion and he warned William Morris that anything that suggested sacrificing the interests of other Christian bodies to get "special advantages for our own Church" was not only morally wrong but "politically a great blunder."[33]

Co-establishment Achieved

That the Clergy Reserves and rectories had been a major contributing factor to Mackenzie's abortive Upper Canadian rebellion in 1837 was the firm conviction of Lord Durham, the High Commissioner sent to British North America in 1838 to investigate the causes and remedies of colonial unrest. "The great practical question ....is that of the clergy reserves. The prompt and satisfactory decision of this question is essential to the pacification of Canada," he wrote in his famous Report. His recommended solution, which agreed with public opinion in the province, was to secularize the 3,750 square miles of Clergy Reserves and leave the proceeds to the local parliament for disposal. The rectories constituted, in his opinion, "the chief pre-disposing cause of the recent insurrection, and....an abiding and unabated cause of discontent."[34] At this point in time the Church of England in Upper

Canada had twice as many members as the Church of Scotland, yet it received five times as much financial aid from the imperial and provincial treasuries, in addition to £7,000 a year from the Clergy Reserve Fund, a fruit which the Kirk was still forbidden to taste despite all government statements about legal equality of the two national churches. The hopes of the United Synod for a share of the Clergy Reserves funds did not rest on any claim of legal equality (since the Synod had none), but on the proposal of the British government to support all denominations on the so-called semi-voluntary system used in New South Wales — namely to match from the Clergy Reserves monies all amounts raised by the denominations themselves. This proposal was rejected by the Upper Canada legislature, which instead, after an exhausting and troubled session in 1839, passed its own solution, to divide the Reserves and use them for religious purposes. The difficult task of making specific proposals was left to the home government.

"The principal *[sic]* of a national church has been abandoned," wrote John Macaulay, Strachan's only supporter in the Legislative Council.[35] John Strachan still believed in the necessity of an established church for any civilized state, but he was now convinced that his opponents could be bought off. "The Scotch and other Presbyterians" if formed into a single body would be satisfied with a fifth of the Reserves and the Kirk's leaders in Scotland were "reasonable and not difficult to deal with."[36] In pursuit of his plans, and to be consecrated first Anglican bishop of Toronto, Strachan went to Britain in the summer of 1839. There his lobbying on behalf of the Church of England monopoly of the Reserves proved unnecessary — the Upper Canadian Legislature's Clergy Reserves bill had been declared *ultra vires* on a technicality, and the whole problem of a settlement was handed over to the new Governor General of Canada, Charles Edward Poulet Thomson.

Thomson's task was to implement those parts of Lord Durham's Report that had been approved by the British government. His estimate of the problem coincided with Durham's. A re-union of the two Canadas was a prerequisite to settling the Clergy Reserves question. "The Clergy Reserves have been, and are, the great overwhelming grievance — the root of all the troubles of the province, the cause of the rebellion — the never-failing watchword at the hustings — the perpetual source of discord, strife, and hatred. Not a man of any party has told me that the greatest boon which could be conferred on the country would be that they should be swept into the Atlantic, and that nobody should get them...."[37] His solution, however, was a compromise — give the national churches of England and Scotland each one quarter of the Reserves' income, and divide the remainder among all other denominations on the semi-voluntary principle.

Strachan's immediate reaction was a loud cry of "robbery," and although the synod's Commission passed resolutions against the Clergy Reserves bill because its division of proceeds was inequitable and the rectories had not been abolished, Thomson already had won the confidence of individual Methodists and Presbyterians. His Presbyterian right hand, William Morris, was busy pushing the Synod of Canada and the United Synod towards the long-delayed union, a fate now made more attractive by the prospect of sharing in the Reserves. Both synods had agreed in 1839 to reopen union discussions. A meeting in the Legislative Chambers, engineered by William Morris, revealed a certain reluctance on the part of the Church of Scotland, and Morris suggested privately that the Governor General urge the two bodies towards union, to "simplify the duties of the Provincial Government in making provision for the support of the Ministers of both......"[38] William Smart begged Morris to support the claims of the United Synod, whose ministers "may be considered as the Fathers of Presbyterianism *[sic]* in the province," and whose loyalty to and suffering for the British connection deserved a reward.[39] Ten days later he had Morris's promise of help, and the union was arranged in the summer of 1840. The enlarged synod now included over seventy settled ministers, seventeen of them from the United Synod. "I should have felt better," Smart reflected, "if the courtship had not been quite so long, and if the Marriage had taken place when our feelings were youthful and warm, however, as the Union or Marriage has now taken place, it only remains for the parties themselves, and their friends to make it as happy and prosperous as they can."[40]

Sharing the loaves and fishes of the Clergy Reserves might ensure prosperity for this political marriage, but happiness between the parties would be harder to achieve. Thomson's powers of persuasion — his "magic wand" — got his Clergy Reserves bill through the Upper Canada legislature, and he warned the Colonial Office about Strachan's latest petition against "spoliation" of the Church of England. The bill must be supported in Britain, "for *here* it cannot come again without the most disastrous results." "This settlement," he boasted, "will be of more solid advantage than all the loans and all the troops you can make or send. It is worth ten Unions & was ten times more difficult." "If you will only send me back my Union and the Clergy Reserves," he pleaded with his superior, Colonial Secretary Lord John Russell, "I will guarantee you Upper Canada."[41]

The shaky Whig government of Lord Melbourne could not ensure delivery of Thomson's settlement. Under pressure from the bishops in the House of Lords, that government agreed to test the validity of Thomson's Clergy Reserves bill. To its surprise and political horror, the judges of England

decided that the colonial legislature had no right to change the terms of the Constitutional Act that had been passed fifty years earlier by the mother of Parliaments. A new settlement would have to be enacted in Britain, under the hostile and watchful eyes of the Anglican bishops. Apparently the Archbishop of Canterbury dictated the new terms. All income from the quarter of the Reserves sold before 1840 would be shared by the Churches of England and Scotland in the proportions of two to one. All income from "New Sales" after that date would be divided in two — the first half going to those same two churches in the same proportions, and the remainder, three-eighths of the whole, would be divided among other denominations whenever a surplus accumulated. In the meantime the government payments to the Methodists and the Roman Catholics were also charged against the Clergy Reserves funds by the terms of the act that reunited the Canadas. If sharing in the Clergy Reserve funds made a church "established," Canada now had not one but four established churches, but at least it would be several years before a surplus was available to tempt other denominations to join this many-headed enemy of voluntarism.

Under the 1840 Clergy Reserve settlement the Church of England, with twenty per cent of the population, received forty-two per cent of the income, and the Church of Scotland, which now claimed almost as many adherents, got twenty-one. Thirty-eight per cent was therefore left for the remaining sixty per cent of Upper Canada's population, including those denominations sworn in the name of voluntarism to reject all public financial support. Former ministers of the United Synod had been excluded from sharing directly in the Clergy Reserves, but the Church of Scotland in Canada agreed to make them beneficiaries in the bonanza. If Strachan believed the Church of England had been robbed of its rightful patrimony, the Church of Scotland had suffered from the blatant inaccuracy of the most recent religious census. "The Scotch," Thomson warned Russell, "are however furious at having been *jockeyed* out of their fair share."[42] The Rev. Robert McGill accused the Colonial Office of *"systematic humbugging."* "Plain honest men are not fit to deal with them, they are sure to be cheated."[43] Thomson once more used his personal charm on William Morris, and reported triumphantly, "The Scotch I have in hand.. . . I have had a meeting with their principal Lay Leaders and shall keep them quiet."[44] Morris still regretted the "blunder" in the census, but he assured the Governor General, "I would most reluctantly see any attempt to agitate the public mind on the nature of the settlement now made of this tiresome subject."[45]

Unfortunately for Thomson (who had now been made Lord Sydenham), the Church of Scotland ministers, not the lay leaders, felt the injustice most. Within two weeks of Sydenham's interview with Morris, a special synod

meeting sent a memorial of protest to the Colonial Office. Nothing came of their complaints — perhaps nothing had really been expected. After all, the co-established status of the Church of Scotland had been recognized. Robert Burns, secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society, offered a small rag of consolation to the Canadians — Scottish voluntarists were sending a delegate to Canada, "to *persuade* the Presbyterian Dissenters of Canada to *decline accepting* any part of the boon! If so, possibly a little more out of the *Surplus* may come our way yet."[46] The Clergy Reserve settlement of 1840 was now a fact of life. Voluntarists still opposed the principle of establishment, the Church of England and the Church of Scotland both felt cheated, but for better or worse that settlement had seemingly ended a religious controversy that had torn at the very vitals of Upper Canadian society for a generation.

Colonial Presbyterianisim and Educational Interests

Although Dalhousie College's buildings had been started in 1820, no faculty was appointed until McCulloch became principal in 1838 and two Church of Scotland ministers, Alexander Romans and James McIntosh, joined him as professors. Dalbousie thus suddenly assumed the appearance of a Presbyterian college, although it was intended to be a nondenominational provincial institution. There was no question of the excellent qualifications of the three men, but McCulloch's appointment was opposed by Anglicans and suspected by Roman Catholics.[47] In addition, Nova Scotian Baptists had expected the appointment of one of their numbers as professor of classics, and they intended thereupon to close their own academy at Horton and transfer its students to Dalhousie. Incensed by the appointment of only Presbyterians to Dalhousie, the Baptists converted Horton Academy into Acadia College as a rival for Dalhousie.

McCulloch felt forced out of Pictou Academy by the long-standing opposition from the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. He also regretted that the Baptist educationalist had been passed over because that did make Dalhousie look like a denominational college. McCulloch felt that the popular apathy towards Dalhousie would cause its failure, but nevertheless he threw himself into the task of building up the college with his characteristic energy despite his sixty-one years. In addition to his work as principal, he continued to teach theology as he had at Pictou. Competition from Acadia and political interference were not, however, all that he had to contend with in his new position. Working behind the scenes the governors of Dalhousie had offered the Roman Catholic bishop a professorship for a Rev. Mr. O'Brien.

Such denominational interests were contrary to the college's charter, and when McCulloch, the author of *Popery Condemned,* was approached privately with this proposal, he replied, "When Mr. O'Brien comes in at one door, I go out at the other."[48]

He was also distressed by the continual fault-finding of outsiders with the condition of Dalhousie College — there was evidence that some of the college governors were deliberately trying to make the institution fail. In the summer of 1841 he escaped temporarily from these pressures by revisiting Scotland. A new law that year to make the college board more representative came into effect too late to relieve McCulloch's problems.[49] The charges of inefficiency were raised again after his return and it was proposed to reduce his salary, but in September, 1843, Thomas McCulloch died, still in educational harness. With him died Dalhousie College, his second educational offspring, not to be reopened until twenty years later. In the Canadas, the need for institutions of higher learning had inspired the founding of McGill College in Montreal and King's at Toronto, but both remained paper institutions for two decades after their creation. Besides the lack of opportunity for education in the arts and sciences there were no facilities for the formal training of ministers. Among Presbyterians, Secessionists generally believed that the church should leave secular education to the state or to private individuals, and should only establish theological halls in connection with secular universities. The Church of Scotland, however, supported the idea of a church-established university in which secular and theological education would be carried on together.[50] This difference in approach explains both the Secessionist opposition to the Anglican character of King's College, and the Kirk's attempt to establish its own denominational college, as a counterpart to King's and as proof of their claim to be an established church.

For economic reasons none of the smaller groups of Presbyterians in the Canadas attempted to establish theological colleges until the mid-1840s, but the Church of Scotland Synod in 1832 received a request from the Presbytery of Toronto to acknowledge the need for the education of a "native" ministry and to ask for government financial assistance to this end. In November a synod commission petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Colborne for the endowment of "a Theological Institution, or Professorships, for the Education of Young Men for the Ministry in connection with this Synod."[51] At the same time the synod petitioned for an alteration in the terms of King's College charter. No action was taken by the government, so another petition was sent in 1833 expressing a desire to see King's College in operation under a charter that would "render it generally available and secure to it the confidence and support of all denominations of Christians in this Province."[52] When more

petitions followed annually with equally negative results, the Presbytery of Toronto reported in 1836 on a project for a separate Church of Scotland institution, without, however, giving up a claim to have its own professorships in King's.

The synod accepted the project but within a year prospects of success had dimmed. The colonies were sunk in a depression and not one presbytery had taken any action to support the proposal. Since the revision of King's College charter was being undertaken by the provincial legislature of Upper Canada in 1837, the synod commission now advised its committee to work for Church of Scotland representation in the college Council, and if provision was being made for theological teaching at King's, to seek the endowment of a theological chair for the synod, a recommendation actually made in 1828 by a committee of the imperial parliament and now approved by the Colonial Office. The charter was in fact revised, but without any concession to the Church of Scotland which now tried to get support in Scotland for its own college. Little interest was shown by the mother church in this colonial project, and the Canadian rebellions of 1837 postponed any positive action until 1839, when another synod committee produced a draft bill to incorporate "St. Andrew's College."

Already cash and lands had been donated for the new college, but some Kirkmen felt it was too ambitious a project for a church with less than 75,000 members. Would it not be better to settle for a theological hall, and let King's and McGill provide general education? Nevertheless, the synod of 1839 made various amendments to the draft bill, changing the name to the Scottish Presbyterian College, sharply reducing the proportion of lay trustees, and fixing Kingston as the site of the college. So certain now was synod of popular support for its educational infant that a circular requesting donations announced that the Moderator expected "a shout of triumphant liberality from Kamouraska to Sarnia."[53] William Morris introduced the bill to the legislature that summer. The provincial government agreed to an annual grant — perhaps £1,000 — from King's College funds, to support a chair of theology in "Queen's," a new name deliberately chosen as a counterpoise to Anglican "King's." The future of the college seemed assured, when the Governor-General suddenly refused to allow such a royal title as Queen's to be handed out by a mere colonial legislature, so an Act to create a "University at Kingston" became law in February. The endowment for the professorship of theology was already uncertain when Morris and others asked young Queen Victoria to approve the name Queen's and to grant a royal charter.[54] The name and charter were granted in 1841, but only at a cost of £700 and in return for the disallowance of the provincial act of incorporation and the eventual loss of all claims for an endowed chair of theology at King's.[55]

From its inception Queen's College at Kingston was an exclusively Church of Scotland institution, patterned largely after the University of Edinburgh and intended primarily for the training of ministers. Like King's, Queen's imposed no religious test on arts students, but all divinity candidates, all professors, and all lay trustees had to subscribe to the Westminster Confession. Its charter was as exclusive as King's, and more illiberal than the charter that Bishop Strachan had hoped to obtain for the provincial university in 1826. Popular opinion had consistently opposed the element of Anglican control over an institution endowed with more than 225,000 acres of public land — popular opinion would certainly be equally opposed to any public support for a Church of Scotland or any other denominational college. Further, ministerial control of Queen's had made laymen suspicious of "so much clerical power",[56] of the unexplained silence of Dr. John Cook and the Rev. William Rintoul who were negotiating with Governor-General Lord Sydenham for an endowment and who later went fund-raising in Scotland.

Only six months after their return did Cook and Rintoul admit that the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, which had appointed the Rev. Thomas Liddell as principal of Queen's, had reneged on a promise to endow a professorship and would give only £300 per year. In all the two men had returned with only £1250. "[It] seems that Queen's College will after all be nothing more than a *Canadian project,"* complained Robert McGill. Morris was inclined to agree. "We would do much better to free ourselves of the Edinburgh fetters and proceed at once by a great Provincial effort to raise the necessary funds and open the institution."[57] In the depth of the winter of 1842 Liddell toured the country vainly soliciting funds, and encountering such primitive conditions as being forced to sleep on the floor of unheated bar-rooms.[58] Although £15,000 had been subscribed in Canada, less than £5,000 had actually been collected.[59] Despite these discouragements the trustees spent £1100 of their total resources of £7,000 to buy land for a college site. With only £163 left for the salary of a third professor,[60] the opening of Queen's College had to be delayed another year.

In March, 1842, in rented quarters Principal Liddell, assisted by Professor Peter Colin Campbell, began teaching ten matriculated and five other students. Within three months, however, the financial situation was critical. Two trustees suggested to Morris, chairman of the Board, a radical new approach to higher education. Canada had simply too many colleges (the Methodists and Roman Catholics were also in the process of founding universities in Upper Canada) and not enough students to fill them. Why not a "united University" with King's teaching arts and the churches of England and Scotland having separate chairs of theology? Morris quickly approached

the new Governor-General, Sir Charles Bagot, a staunch Anglican, but got no encouragement for this proposal. When, a few weeks later, the Colonial Office announced that it had no funds available to help Queen's, Principal Liddell took the lead in seeking amalgamation with King's. He advised the trustees to work for college union, and he wrote privately to Egerton Ryerson, principal of Victoria, the Methodist college, who apparently also favoured university reform. By the spring of 1843 they agreed that the Wesleyan Methodists and the Church of Scotland would approach the government separately, and although the Methodist Conference did not in fact act, the synod presented a formal petition in favour of university union.

The Church of England and King's College authorities denounced the amalgamation idea as an attack on the Church of England and the Wesleyan Methodists remained uncommitted, but Baptists accused the Church of Scotland of a selfish desire to share in the King's College endowment. Within the Church of Scotland, however, there was something less than unanimity on the "University question." *The Banner,* a newspaper founded by Peter Brown and his son, George, in the interests of the growing Free Church movement in Scotland, favoured university reform, but was only lukewarm to the denominational exclusiveness represented by Queen's. Meetings were held throughout Upper Canada, and the Church of Scotland, Wesleyan Methodist and Congregationalist representatives, both lay and clerical, petitioned the legislature against the sectarian character of King's. In October, Robert Baldwin, an Anglican and leader of the Reform-dominated coalition government, responded by introducing a bill to make King's into a nonsectarian arts college in the "University of Toronto," with Queen's, Victoria, and Regiopolis (the Catholic institution at Kingston) as satellite theological halls with a guarantee of £500 for four years in exchange for their degree-granting powers.

Bishop Strachan insisted that this proposed legislation would "place all forms of error on an equality with truth," but not all Anglicans agreed with his emotional defence of King's and Anglican control of its endowment. The most effective defender of King's purity was "Sweet" William Draper, the persuasive lawyer and Conservative politician who argued for over two hours in the Legislature that erecting universities was the exclusive prerogative of the Crown. In the end Strachan was victorious, but not because of any inherent justice in his cause. Baldwin's cabinet resigned in November over the issue of responsible government, and his university bill (but not the university question) disappeared with the government. Supporters of Queen's were disappointed, but the Synod of the Church of Scotland in Canada already faced a more deadly issue — the sympathy of recent Scottish immigrants

for the newly created Free Church of Scotland.

Besides the university question, Canadian Presbyterianism was concerned with elementary education in those years. in 1834 the Rev. Alexander Mathieson had asked the young Church of Scotland Synod to work for the establishment of schools in connection with each congregation.[61] In April, 1837, the *Canadian Christian Examiner* also complained that Upper Canada lacked adequate schools and that the existing system did not give people enough control over curriculum and expenditure. When Mathieson went to Britain as a synod commissioner in connection with the Clergy Reserves, he was directed to urge the necessity of creating parish schools for the Church of Scotland in Canada.[62] A year later he pointed out that, wherever the Church of Scotland had been active in Upper Canada, no Scotch-man had joined the recent rebellion which had been caused, he claimed, by a lack of educational facilities."[63]

After the reunion of the two Canadas in 1841, Governor-General Lord Sydenham introduced in the first session of the united parliament a bill to restructure elementary education in both Upper and Lower Canada. Thirty-nine petitions were received, each asking that the Bible be a prescribed text for any school receiving public money, but Bishop Strachan and the Roman Catholic bishops of Kingston and Quebec requested separate publicly supported denominational schools for their own flocks. Speaking in the Legislative Council, William Morris indicated the possible divisive results of these demands. "If," he said, "the use, by Protestants, of the Holy Scriptures in their Schools, is so objectionable to our fellow-subjects of that other faith, the children of both religious persuasions must be educated apart; for Protestants never can yield to that point, and, therefore, if it is insisted upon that the Scriptures shall not be a Class-book in Schools, we must part in peace, and conduct the education of the respective Bodies according to our sense of what is right."[64] This issue of using the Bible in schools was eventually referred to a committee that offered a compromise — in future, denominational schools could be established "whenever any number of the Inhabitants of any Township, or Parish, professing a Religious Faith different from that of the majority" so desired. Thus unwittingly, and without any apparent opposition, the foundations were laid for the future separate school system of Ontario, and for all the bitterness that has surrounded that system through subsequent generations.