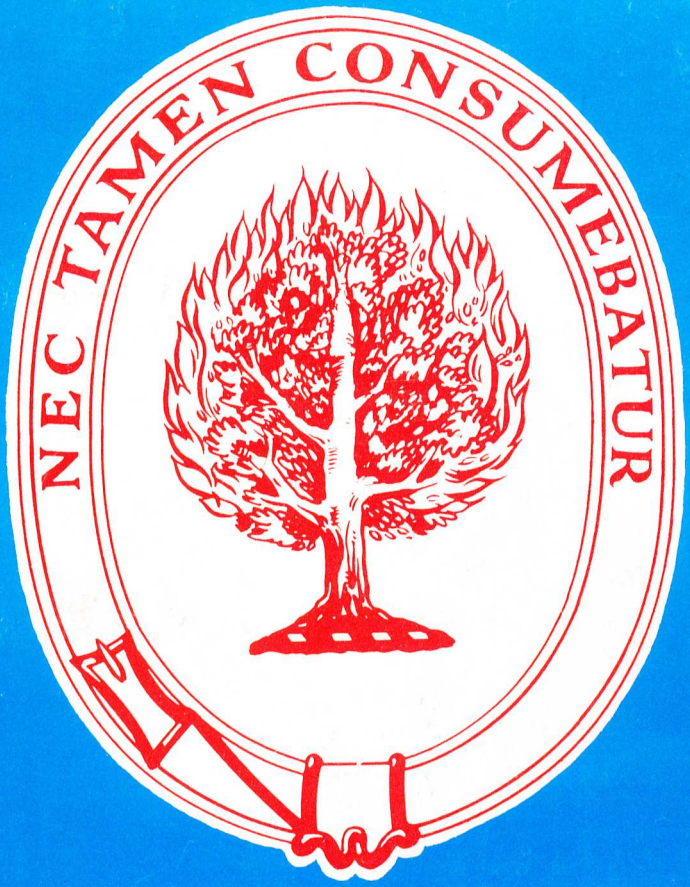

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA

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By

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FOREWORD

In making preparations for the observance of the centennial of Confederation in Canada many have expressed the desire that there should be made available a brief history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. There are several older histories of the church which have long been out of print. There are also numerous biographies of Presbyterian ministers and histories of local congregations. We are sadly lacking in studies of the history of the church throughout its existence in Canada.

The present volume does not attempt to present a definitive history of Presbyterianism in Canada. Many preliminary studies, involving research based on original sources, will have to be made before a definitive history can be written. The authors of this volume have set themselves the modest goal of providing a brief survey which may serve a useful purpose until a definitive history can be written.

In the introductory section I have attempted to give a survey of the conspicuous features of Presbyterian doctrine, church government, and worship. Professor A. L. Farris, of Knox College, has written the section on the history of the church up to 1850: Professor Keith Markell of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, has written the section covering the history of the church between 1850 and 1925; and I have attempted, in the third section, to give an account of the controversy over Church Union which resulted in the dividing of the church in 1925, and the events in the years of reconstruction between 1925 and the present.

Each author is responsible for his own section only. Each of us has endeavoured to present an accurate account of the period for which he has been responsible. We do not, however, desire to claim that our views or our interpretations of events should be regarded as the official views of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. It is our hope, simply, to provide a short work which

may be useful to those who want to know something about the main trends and events in the history of our church in Canada.

Because of the complexity of the Scottish background of Canadian Presbyterianism, charts are included to give a comprehensive view of the bodies which eventually merged to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. An appendix lists the dates on which various Presbyteries and Synods were formed, and the dates on which some of the unions were consummated prior to 1875. A short bibliography lists some of the more important publications dealing with the history of Presbyterianism in Canada.

Neil G. Smith

CONTENTS

PRESBYTERIANISM IN CANADA: THE FACE OF THE KIRK

The first Presbyterian minister to serve in Pictou, Nova Scotia, was the Reverend James MacGregor. He came to Nova Scotia at a time when his people had little to share with a minister except their hardships. Among the descendants of this pioneer minister were many men and women who played a conspicuous role in Canadian affairs. Among the direct descendants of James MacGregor there were four members of parliament, one Lieutenant Governor, one judge, four university professors, four ministers, eight lawyers, two physicians, seven engineers, one naval officer, eleven teachers, one artist, fifteen merchants, eight nurses, and five authors. Multiply this many times and we may form some estimate of the part taken in the shaping of Canada by the sons and daughter of the Kirk.

They served in the great fur companies which explored the country and established the trading posts which have grown into cities. They were active in the founding of colleges and universities which have flourished as centres of learning. Queen's University began as a college for the training of Presbyterian ministers. The first non-sectarian institute of higher learning in Nova Scotia was Pictou Academy. Its first president, the Rev. Thomas McCulloch, became the first principal of Dalhousie College in Halifax. The University of Manitoba grew from the small beginnings of Manitoba College of the Presbyterian Church. Sons of the Kirk sat in the legislatures, and they were among the founding fathers of Confederation. George Brown of the Globe came to Upper Canada when his father began publication of **The Presbyterian Banner.** Brown's great rival, John A. Macdonald, described himself modestly, but with some accuracy, as "a pillar of the Kirk, albeit an outside pillar:" Sons of the Kirk made their influence felt in many aspects of Canadian life, from the clearing of the forests to the founding of banks and the building of railways.

Now, a hundred years after Confederation, the Presbyterian Church in Canada claims the allegiance of approximately two hundred thousand communicant members. Grouped in eight synods and forty-nine presbyteries, from the Presbytery of Newfoundland on the east to the Presbytery of Victoria on the west coast, Presbyterian congregations are to be found in most of the larger centres of population. In terms of numbers of members and adherents

it ranks as the third largest Protestant church in Canada. While it draws most of its support, like other Protestant churches, from people of British origin, it ministers to other races in Canada. including Hungarians, Chinese, Ukrainians, Italians and French. It maintains missions overseas in British Guiana, India, Formosa, Japan and Nigeria. Its Canadian congregations are served by about 800 ministers and nearly 12,000 elders. New congregations are being established in rapidly growing metropolitan areas, and in newly developing settlements on Canada's expanding frontiers.

The three sections of this book trace the main events in the story of the Presbyterian Church, from the beginning to the present. Before entering upon this story it may be advisable to give some attention to the characteristic features of this church. We turn, first, accordingly, to what our reforming forbears called "the face of the Kirk," as seen in its organization, and the dominant traits of its doctrine, form of church government, and form of worship.

HISTORIC CONTINUITY WITH CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

In its official rules of procedure, **The Book of Forms,** the opening sentence states that the Presbyterian Church in Canada is in "historic continuity with the Church of Scotland as reformed in 1560." This statement does not imply that the Canadian church is in any way subservient to the Church of Scotland. She has often been guided by the practice of the Church of Scotland, but she is not obligated to follow any of its usages. She claims to be, subject to the Lordship of Christ, mistress in her own house.

As there was a development in Canadian politics from colonial status to nationhood there was a parallel development in the life of the Canadian churches. The parent churches, for the most part, gave every possible encouragement to this development. The statement that the Presbyterian Church in Canada is in historic continuity with the Church of Scotland is simply a statement of historic origins. The Canadian church has welcomed ministers and members from many of the Reformed churches of Europe. It owes much to the Presbyterian churches of Ireland and the United States. In doctrine policy, and worship, however, the dominant influence upon Canadian Presbyterianism has been the influence of the Scottish Presbyterian churches.

Our church has followed the church of Scotland closely in doctrine, church government, and forms of worship. As a member of the Alliance of Reformed Churches it belongs to the family of churches stemming from the work and thought of John Calvin (1509-1564). In Geneva Calvin had set up a form of Church government and discipline which appealed strongly to those responsible for leadership of the movement for church reform in Scotland. Calvin's system gave emphasis to the teaching ministry of the Church, and provided a closely-knit system of theology, summarized in **The Institutes of Christian Religion.** Through the influence of John Knox, who had ministered to the English congregation in Geneva, and who had high admiration for the pattern of church life as he saw there, a Calvinistic pattern was imposed upon the Reformed Church in Scotland.

The most conspicuous element in Calvinistic theology is its emphasis upon the sovereignty of God. It proclaims that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the world and they that dwell therein. In the hands of ale-cup commentators and speculating divines Calvinistic theology was sometimes distorted into patterns which John Calvin might have been reluctant to acknowledge. Calvinistic theology gave Scotland the Holy Willie of Burns' satire, who could solemnly pray:

> I bless and praise Thy matchless might,
> When thousands Thou hast left in night,
> That I am here before Thy sight,
> For gifts and grace,
> A burning and shining light,
> To a' this place.

It also gave Scotland the sincere piety of **The Cotter's Saturday Night.** Its stress upon what may be called the stewardship of abilities held before men's eyes the faith that man's chief end in this world is to glorify God by the diligent and faithful employment of all His gifts. John Knox's magnificent plan for an educational system for Scotland — a plan which was short-circuited by the greed of Scottish nobles for church lands and church treasure — was intended as a means of enabling the youth of the kingdom to develop their potential abilities for the

service of God and the state. Education was valued, not as passport to easier or more lucrative employment, but as means of enabling youth to be equipped for the service of the church and commonwealth.

Professor A. R. M. Lower has noted that Presbyterians brought with them to Canada "everything we associate with the term Calvinism, its good and its evil, its strength and its weakness." It brought the legalism which objected violently to the operation of canals and railroads on Sunday and the puritanical code which could brand cycling a form of recreation fraught with manifold temptations. It brought also the diligence and thrift and the stewardship of ability which contributed so much to the making of Canada.

DOCTRINE

Like other Reformed Churches the Presbyterian Church in Canada acknowledges Jesus Christ to be the only king and head of the church, and the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the only infallible rule of faith and practice. The framers of the **Scots Confession** of 1560 invited the testing of the system of doctrine and church government they had drawn up by the standards of scripture:

> Protesting that if any man will note in this our confession any article or sentence repugnant to God's holy Word, that it would please him of his gentleness and for Christian charity's sake, to advise us of the same in writing: and we, of our honour and fidelity, do promise unto him satisfaction from the Word of God (that is from His holy scriptures) or else reformation of that which he shall prove to be amiss.

An objector would probably have had difficulty in proving to John Knox and his associates that there was anything seriously amiss in the document which they had drawn up, but the statement is of value as a witness to the reformers' intention to be scrupulously faithful to the teaching of Scripture. The same loyalty to scripture in framing a system of government for the Church is evidenced in John Row's statement concerning the system devised by the reforming fathers:

> The ministers that were took not their pattern from any kirk in the world, no, not from that of Geneva itself, but

laying God's Word before them made reformation thereto, both in doctrine first, and then in discipline.

In doctrinal statement, in church government, in its teachings and ministrations Presbyterianism has endeavoured to be loyal to the letter and the spirit of the scriptures which it accepts as a supreme rule of faith and life.

The Church accepts the Westminster **Confession of Faith** (1646) as a subordinate standard of doctrine. It is designated as a subordinate standard, in the sense that it is accepted as a statement of faith subordinate to the scriptures. The church commends the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, drawn up by the Westminster Assembly of Divines as "agreeable to the World of God, and in nothing contrary to the received doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of this Kirk."

Like other Reformed Churches the Presbyterian Church accepts and makes use of the great, historic creeds of Christendom. In many congregations the Apostles' Creed is repeated in services of worship. In some the Nicene Creed is used at services of Holy Communion. All statements in its formularies concerning the Church emphasize the catholic and universal character of the Church. In the Scots Confession of 1560 we find the following statement:

> As we believe in One God — Father, Son, and Holy Ghost — so do we most constantly believe that from the beginning there has been, now is, and to the end of the world shall be, one Kirk; that is to say, one company and multitude of men chosen of God, who rightly embrace Him by true faith in Jesus Christ, who is the only Head of the same Kirk . . . which Kirk is catholic, that is universal, because it contains the elect of all ages, all realms, nations, and tongues . . . . out of which Kirk there is neither life nor eternal felicity.

The Westminster Confession similarly stresses the universality of the Church, and states that "the visible church, which is also catholic or universal under the Gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the Law) consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion, together with their children; and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is no ordinary possibility of salvation." No Reformed Church endeavours to confine itself to a particularistic interpretation of the Gospel,

stressing peculiar doctrines or peculiar practices as essential to salvation. In loyalty to the King and Head of the Church a Reformed Church endeavours to declare the whole counsel of God. People sometimes expressed surprise that the Scottish Presbyterian divine, Alexander Whyte, studied the writings of Roman Catholic mystics. They were surprised that he not only read them himself, but encouraged others to read them. His explanation was that "the true catholic, as his name implies, is the well-read, the open-minded, the hospitable-hearted, the spiritually-exercised evangelical," because he "belongs to all sects, and all sects belong to him." This attitude is consistent with the formularies of the Presbyterian Church concerning the universal character of the Church and its Gospel.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT

It is from its form of church government that Presbyterianism derives its name. The name is derived from the Greek word *presbuteros,* meaning elder. Presbyterian Church government is built around two types of elders, ruling elders who are elected by the congregations, and ministers, who are called to rule and teach, and have been licensed and ordained by a Presbytery.

The historical background of the office of the ruling elder is explained in the following paragraph in the Directory of Church Government:

> As there were in the Jewish Church elders of the people joined with the priests and Levites in the government of the church, so Christ, who hath instituted government and governors ecclesiastical in his church, hath furnished some in his church, besides the ministers of the Word, with gifts for government, and with commission to exercise the same when called thereunto, who are to join with the ministers in the government of the church, which officers reformed churches commonly call elders.

Through the influence of the Genevan system of Church government set up by Calvin there were elders in certain of the towns of Scotland before the triumph of the reformed cause in 1560. They were appointed, as Knox said, "to have the face of Kirk amongst us." The first **Book of Discipline** takes the office of the elder for granted. As requirements for the office it is

stated that the elders are to be men "of the best knowledge in God's Word, of cleanest life, faithful, and of most honest conversation that can be found in the Church." They were to be elected annually, "lest by long continuance men presume upon the liberty of the Church."

The Second **Book of Discipline,** framed under the influence of Andrew Melville, described the eldership as "a spiritual office, as is the ministry", and states that those called to it, and having gifts requisite for the eldership may not leave it. It was now assumed, that is to say, that the office of the elder was a lifetime office. Elders in the Canadian Church are elected by the congregation to hold office for as long as they are members of that congregation.

Elders in the Reformed Churches were appointed to fulfil what were taken to be the duties assigned to the elders referrd to in the Apostolic Church. There are many references in the New Testament to "elders" who were set apart as overseers of the Church. The model followed in such organization was probably the familiar pattern of the Jewish Sanhedrin. Wherever there was an organized Jewish community there was a Sanhedrin, composed of "elders" of the community, who wielded authority over the members of the community, settled disputes, and were responsible for the functioning of the synagogue. It would appear that when "elders were appointed in every church" in the apostolic age, it was this familiar form of community government which was being followed. Cut off from the Jewish community, the members of the local Christian churches formed Sanhedrins of their own, with elders chosen from their ranks. When St. Paul was speaking to the elders from the church of Ephesus he charged them to take heed to themselves, and to the flock of God over which the Holy Spirit had made them overseers, and to feed the Church of God (Acts 21:28). These, basically, are the obligations of those who are called to the offices of ruling or teaching elder in the Presbyterian Church.

There are few who would maintain that such a system of government by elders or presbyters is the only form of Church government sanctioned by the New Testament. All that is claimed is that this form of Church government has New Testament authority and precedent, and that it has commended itself in usage and practice for four centuries. As Dr. L. H. Fowler states in his **Manual for Ruling Elders:**

We believe this orderly government is God-given. We do

not, however, thereby say that other forms of government lack God's blessing. We often use the phrase "drawing near to God" generally applying it to prayer. We Presbyterians believe that in government also we draw near to God, and He draws near to us. The ordination of a minister or elder is a visible assurance, among other things, of what God's relationship is to the Church.

We have among our ruling elders a great number of able, dedicated and conscientious men who devote a great deal of their time and efforts to the affairs of the Church.

The Presbyterian system of government by "presbyters," ruling elders elected by the congregations, and ruling and teaching elders who are ordained ministers, functions through a graded system of church courts, the Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synod, and the General Assemblies. The Kirk Session consists of the minister, who presides at all Session meetings as Moderator, and the elders elected by the congregation. The Kirk Session makes provision for the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, admits candidates to the communicant membership of the Church, supervises the work of Christian Education in the congregation, and encourages the congregation's participation in the enterprises of the Church.

Each pastoral charge is represented in the Presbytery by the minister and an elder appointed by the Kirk Session. The Presbytery, consisting of ministers and representative elders from pastoral charges within a specified area, supervises the work of congregations within its bounds. It provides for the licensing, ordination, induction or transfer of ministers. It receives petitions and appeals made to it by Kirk Sessions. In a general way it may be said that the Presbytery carries out the functions performed in episcopal churches by the bishop. Ministers within its bounds are subject to its discipline and the congregations within its bounds are subject to its oversight.

The Synod consists of ministers and representative elders on the constituent rolls of the Presbyteries within its bounds. The Synods meet ordinarily once each year. They receive petitions and appeals from the Presbyteries on all departments of the Church's work.

The highest of the courts or councils of the Presbyterian Church is the General Assembly, which meets ordinarily once each year, usually in the month of June. It consists of one-sixth

of the number of ministers on the rolls of the Presbyteries, and an equal number of elders. Each General Assembly fixes the date and place of the next before it dissolves. During its meeting it reviews and disposes of petitions, overtures, references, complaints and appeals from other courts of the Church. It is authorized to deal with all matters respecting the doctrine, worship, discipline and government of the Church. It prescribes and regulates the courses of study of students preparing for the ministry. It has authority to admit ministers and licentiates from other churches to the ministry. It determines the policies of the missionary work of the Church at home and overseas. It receives reports from, and considers the recommendations made by the Boards and Senates of the Colleges, and from all the committees charged with the care of different departments of the Church's work. In general, it "adopts such measures as may tend to promote true godliness, to repress error and immorality, to preserve the unity of the Church, and to advance the Kingdom of Christ throughout the world."

WORSHIP

The point at which the "face of the Kirk" is most visible is in the service of public worship. The traditional form of worship in most Calvinistic churches placed emphasis upon the reading and preaching of the Word. Holy Communion was commonly celebrated only a few times each year in Scottish parishes; sometimes only once a year, sometimes twice a year, and in some parishes once each quarter. The ordinary service of worship was largely a service of the hearing and the preaching of the Word of God for the edification of the church.

In zeal to rid the church of all traces of "the dregs of popery" the Scottish Reformers abandoned the observance of the Christian Year. They took, as a convenient rule to be followed, that in the practice of worship, what was not expressly commanded in Holy Scripture should be regarded as forbidden. Apologists for Scottish Presbyterianism sometimes attributed the baldness and bareness of Presbyterian worship to the baneful influence of English puritanism. A strain of puritanism appears, however, in the very earliest documents of the Reformed Church in Scotland. The framers of the First **Book of Discipline** stated that they considered it necessary that Christ's Gospel be "truly and openly preached" in every church, and that "all doctrines

repugnant to the same be utterly repressed, as repugnant to man's salvation." They went on to say:

> By the contrary doctrine we understand whatsoever men by laws, councils, or constitutions, have imposed upon the consciences of men, without the express commandment of God's word, such as be the vows of chastity, for-swearing of marriage . . . to the superstitious observance of fasting days, difference of meat for conscience sake, prayer for the dead: and keeping of holy days of certain saints commanded by man, such as be all those that the Papists have invented, as the Feast (as they term them) of the Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, of Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and other fond feast of our Lady: which things, because in God's Scriptures they neither have commandment nor assurance, we judge them utterly to be abolished from this realm: affirming further that the obstinate maintainers and teachers of such abominations ought not to escape the punishment of the civil magistrate.

For three centuries the worship of Scottish Presbyterianism was probably the baldest and barest in Christendom. Only metrical psalms were sung, or paraphrases of scripture, and there was no musical accompaniment. The prayers were long, extemporaneous and rambling, and the chief feature of the service was the sermon.

These usages of worship were carried over into the Canadian Church. Early reference to services in Canada make mention of the singing of the metrical psalms, the importance attached to preaching. They describe services of Holy Communion held at infrequent intervals, with services of preparation and thanksgiving. There was, in some respects, a more rapid development of worship in the Canadian Church than in the parent churches in Scotland. As early as 1854 the Free Church Synod recommended that Presbyteries and Sessions should give "due attention to the improvement of psalmody within their several bounds." As early as 1852 an organ was in use in St. Andrew's, Toronto. When it is considered that in 1863 Dr. Lee, one of the leaders for the enrichment of worship in the Church of Scotland, was called "a Jesuit in disguise" for introducing an organ into his Church in Edinburgh, the progressiveness of the Canadian Church in the improvement of worship is conspicuous. Changes were not made without opposition. The Synod of the

United Presbyterian Church in 1857, voiced a protest against the introduction of organs into the public worship of the Church. It passed the following resolution:

> That in the opinion of this Synod the introduction of instrumental music in the public worship of God is calculated to wound the feelings of many of God's people, is contrary to the well-known and long-established consuetudinary law of the United Presbyterian Church, and of the British Presbyterian Churches in general, and is especially at variance with that spirituality of worship which is the great characteristic of the Christian dispensation.

Such opposition vanished rather quickly. In 1862 we find the Kirk Synod of Canada ruling that "a prudent use of instrumental music in worship is not contrary to the Word of God or the standards of this Church." Since 1884 three hymn books have been issued for the use of the Church, **The Presbyterian Hymnal** (1884), **The Presbyterian Book of Praise** (1897), and the hymnal still in use, **The Book of Praise** (1918).

Concern over issues of public worship was manifested by the appointment of a committee on Uniformity of Worship. The trend towards the enrichment of worship was indicated in the statement of the convener of this committee that there appeared to be "a prevalent idea that the people should take some part outwardly in the worship of God, and that the whole service, except the singing, should not be left to one man, that is the minister." In 1908 the Committee on Uniformity in Public Worship became the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion. It published a **Book of Common Order** in 1922 which drew upon the great treasuries of the prayers of all the Churches, and which accomplished a great deal towards stimulating reverence, decency, and good order in the Church's services of public worship.

Observances of the main festivals of the Christian Year are now the rule, rather than the exception in the Presbyterian Church in Canada. The ordinary services of public worship consist of common prayers of confession and supplication, thanksgiving and intercession, the responsive reading of the psalter, a lesson from the Old and New Testaments, the offering and the sermon. Under the influence of the Liturgical movement, as it has affected the Reformed Churches, there are instances where

highly elaborate services are held, with responsive readings, Old Testament Lesson, Epistle and Gospel.

There is no disloyalty to the tenets of the reforming fathers of the Church in seeking to enrich the services of public worship for the edification of the Church. The reformers did not consider that they were legislating on such issues for all time to come. In the Scots Confession of 1560 its framers stated:

> Not that we think that one policy, or one order in ceremonies can be appointed for all ages, times, and places: for as ceremonies (such as men have devised) are but temporal, so may and ought they to be changed, when they rather foster superstition than that they edify the Kirk using the same.

The enrichment of services of worship by means of usages through which our people may worship God in spirit and in truth are not inconsistent with the Reformers' desire that the services should edify the Church.

Such are some of the more conspicuous features of the "face of the Kirk" as it appears in Canada today. It is a Church striving to minister in Christ's Name to its people, and to fulfil its obligations as a Church of Jesus Christ. While endeavouring to be loyal to its traditions from the past, it is endeavouring also to play its role in Canada for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of ministering, and the building up of the Body of Christ in our world. In the pages which follow we see the outline of the growth and development of this church in Canada.

PART I

1600 1850

by

Allan L. Farris

THE FRENCH REGIME

Presbyterianism in Canada owes much to Scottish and Irish influences. The preponderance of the Scots and Irish in the Presbyterian Church has at times, however, obscured the solid contribution of other racial groups of the Reformed persuasion. Indeed the first representatives of the Reformed outlook and practice on Canadian soil were the Huguenots, the French Calvinists.

The Edict of Nantes in 1598 brought to an end the long and protracted religious wars in France. Henry IV had been brought up a Protestant but in the interests of bringing peace to his country and securing the support of the Moderate Roman Catholic party for his claim to the crown he became a member of the Roman Church. "Paris is worth a Mass", he exclaimed. His Huguenot compatriots were of course bitterly disappointed, but his accession to the throne brought peace to France and emancipated the Huguenots from the severe restrictions and restraints which had formerly cirmuscribed their activity.

Some of the more adventurous Huguenots, therefore, sought and procured a charter for trade in New France. The charter was granted on the condition that a certain number of colonists be settled in the New World. The first attempt at colonizing was under the leadership of M. Chauvin who was given exclusive rights of trafficking in furs provided he transported 500 colonists to New France. The new settlement at Tadoussac on the lower St. Lawrence, however, was not destined to succeed. Disease, privation, and the death of M. Chauvin forced the abandonment of the settlement in 1601. A more successful attempt was made under the leadership of Sieur de Monts, an associate of Chauvin and a favorite of Henry IV. Together with Samuel de Champlain, the famous explorer and founder of Quebec City, De Monts was able to establish settlements at St. Croix and Port Royal. These settlements included both Roman Catholics and Protestants. The Huguenots were

granted the free exercise of their religion providing they did not try to evangelize the Indians. Conflict was, of course, inevitable. The long history of religious warfare in the homeland could not be forgotten easily.

Champlain, observing the strife, reported: "I have seen the minister and our curé attack each other with their fists upon the difference of religion. I know not which was the braver, or which gave the heavier blow, but I know that the minister sometimes complained to the Sieur de Monts that he had been beaten, and thus they settled their points of controversy. I leave you to decide if this was decent to behold. The savages were first on one side and then on the other; and the French took part according to their respective creeds, abusing each other's religion, although De Monts did all he could to keep the peace. These follies were truly a method of rendering the infidel more hardened in his infidelity."

The Huguenots did not long hold their advantageous position. In 1610 Henry IV was assassinated and De Monts lost his trading charter and was relieved of his governorship and recalled to France. Under Champlain who succeeded De Monts as governor the monopoly of trade was exercised by two more Huguenots, the De Caens — an uncle and nephew. Unfortunately, the De Caens quarrelled with the Jesuits who resented the presence of the Huguenots in the colony and as a result of their quarrel they lost their charter. The trade charter was then granted to "The Company of the One Hundred Associates" which operated under the control of Cardinal Richelieu who had begun his policy of achieving one religion in France. The terms of this new charter required that none but Frenchmen and Roman Catholics were to be permitted to settle in the country.

Thus, the process of excluding the Huguenots from the New World was begun. The Huguenots, in some respects, were to have swift revenge. Three brothers of the Huguenot faith, Sir David, Louis and Thomas Kirke, who were refugees from persecution, were placed in charge of an English expedition against the French colonies in North America. Many of the soldiers and sailors in the party were also refugees. This expedition, undertaken in 1627, succeeded in reducing the fortresses at Port Royal and Quebec. Champlain, the French governor, was taken captive and sent to England. In the ensuing peace negotiations, however, the territories were returned to France and

Governor Champlain released. Some Huguenots continued to attach themselves to the French colony, but the Jesuits made their stay increasingly unpleasant. Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 the meagre rights still possessed by the Huguenots were excised, and in the New World as well as in the Old, France was deprived of some of her ablest leadership and most devoted subjects.

The historian Parkman is probably right when he conjectures that "There is nothing improbable in the supposition that, had New France been thrown open to Huguenots emigration, Canada would never have become a British Province, that the field of Anglo-American settlements would have been greatly narrowed, and that large portions of the United States would at this day have been occupied by a vigorous and expansive French population."

At any rate the earliest representatives of the Reformed faith in Canada were largely silenced. That voice when it was heard again was to speak with an English rather than French accent.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS UNDER BRITISH RULE

France and England had long been rivals in Europe. Their monarchies were the most powerful in Europe. Conflict and warfare were the frequent outcome of their foreign policy. The New World inherited the ancient rivalries and added some new ones. The society of the Atlantic seaboard, as Professor Donald Creighton observes, stood for a cultural and political heritage which was very different from that of the French, and for interests in North America which were basically antagonistic to fur-trading. The seaboard meant settlement, and settlement meant the wreckage of the forests, the disappearance of the beaver, and the westward flight of the Indian tribes. The struggle in Europe and the inevitable rivalries in the New World could not help but make the colonies at once a pawn and a battle ground. The next thrust of Presbyterianism into the territory we now call Canada was the consequence of this struggle between France and England in the Old World and the New. Nova Scotia, which at that time included New Brunswick but not Cape Breton (Isle Royale), was ceded to the British in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, which brought to a close the War of the Spanish Succession but which did not end the struggle for supremacy in the

New World. The day of final decision was postponed almost fifty years when the forces of the English crown were to triumph.

Nova Scotia was largely settled by the Acadians who were given the opportunity to move to French-controlled territories by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht. Alhough Cape Breton was intended for the settlement of the Acadians by the French, yet the Acadians decided to stay where they were. Unfortunately their hostility to the English and love for France was inflamed by the unwise guidance of some of their clergy, particularly Abbé De la Loutre. Further the Acadians who refused either to leave the country or to take the oath of allegiance to the British Crown frequently were in league with the Indians in harassing the loyal settlers. To counteract the disloyalty of the Acadians the British authorities at first tried to outnumber them by increased colonization. Under the leadership of the Honorable Edward Cornwallis, the settlement of Halifax was established. It was to be both a centre of a new colony and a fortress to rival that of the French at Louisburg. In addition, colonists from Holland, Germany, and Switzerland settled in the Lunenburg area. The Acadians were warned to take the oath of allegiance and to relate positively to the English policies immediately.

Shortly after the founding of Halifax in 1749 two churches were erected for the inhabitants: one for the Anglicans and one for the non-conformists. The latter edifice known first as the Protestant Dissenters' chapel and later as St. Matthew's, became the spring-board for much valuable missionary work in the area.

The Acadians meanwhile became increasingly more intractable and hostile toward their English overlords. This potential threat of insurrection in their midst convinced the English that radical measures were necessary. In consequence, after the refusal of the Acadians to take an unqualified oath of allegiance, they were collected together, loaded on ships and transplanted to various localities in the English possessions to the south. To occupy the land thus vacated settlers from the old English colonies were invited to migrate northward. Since the majority of these settlers were non-Anglican and highly suspicious of any form of episcopacy, and in the light of the fact that it had already been decided that "the sacred rites and ceremonies of Divine worship, according to the liturgy of the Church established by the laws of England, shall be deemed the fixed form of worship, and the place wherein such liturgy shall be used shall be known

by the name Church of England, as by law established," it was necessary to give them assurances that they would enjoy perfect religious equality. Liberty of conscience was, therefore, promised to people of all persuasions — papists excepted. Liberty of conscience in practice meant liberty to erect houses of worship, to choose their own ministers, and exemption from those taxes which were used to support the Established Church of England.

Among the settlers who accepted the invitation to settle in Nova Scotia were many Presbyterians. Almost immediately they took steps to secure a minister. As a result of a petition to the New Brunswick Presbytery of New Jersey, Rev. James Lyons was sent to be their minister in 1764.

At the same time Irish settlers began to pour into the colony in large numbers. They too looked for a ministry. Appeals were sent to Scotland, but at first little help was forthcoming. What help did come in the first instance came from the Secessionist branches of Presbyterianism. Nova Scotia was remote and the prospects of ministering to scattered communities living under primitive conditions were not appealing. The Church of Scotland, moreover, was having trouble enough at home with the patronage issue without embarking on an outreach program abroad. In addition, the controlling party in the Church were moderates who lacked the zeal of the evangelicals who were more inclined to support the secessionist movement.

THE DIVISION IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

It is necessary at this point, in order to understand the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to describe briefly the dissensions which were sundering the Church of Scotland at that time because each of these divisions had its counterpart in New Scotland and the Canadas. Although the same conditions did not prevail in Canada as in Scotland, yet the convictions ran so deeply that the divisions continued to manifest themselves in Canada as well. Almost the identical pattern of division and reunion is observable in the history of Canadian Presbyterianism as in Scotland, although in Canada the reunion of the disunited family was accomplished more rapidly.

In 1690 at the Revolution Settlement the long conflict between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism was ended. Episcopacy was set aside and the presbyterian system of government with kirk-sessions, presbyteries, synods and General Assembly was estab-

lished by law. At the same time the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified as the standard of doctrine in the Church. But scarcely had the Settlement been put into practice than a new problem arose to distress the Church. At the Revolution Settlement the ancient right of lay patrons[1] to nominate ministers was abolished and the right to nominate was vested in the Protestant heritors[2] and the elders of the parish. The congregations were given the right to approve or disapprove, but Presbytery had the final voice. In the event that heritors and elders failed to make a nomination, Presbytery could after six months settle a minister of their choice. In spite of the fact that this method was working tolerably well, and without consultation with the Church of Scotland, the British Parliament in 1712 enacted the Patronage Act which restored the former practice of having patrons make nominations to Presbytery. The rights of heritors, elders and people were in a most high-handed manner completely set aside. The problem thus created was to plague the Scottish Church almost to the present time. Untold bitterness was created in the church which sundered her into many fragments. (See charts following P. 109.)

Those who opposed the Act argued from the thesis that the voice of the congregation was an essential feature of any call. This position had been set forth in the First Book of Discipline 1560 and underlined again and again by the Covenanters in their opposition to Episcopacy. Matters came to a head in 1732 when General Assembly attempted to make the best of a bad situation by legislating procedures for settling a vacant charge when the patron failed to present a nominee or his nomination was for some reason refused. General Assembly ruled that when a lay patron failed to present a nominee, then the Protestant heritors and elders were to call a minister and the Presbytery was to proceed to induct the nominee. Strong opposition to this proposal was voiced by the Evangelicals who demanded a voice for the people in the settlement of a minister. So strenuously did Ebenezer Erskine and three others object to the action of Assembly that they were first rebuked and later suspended. The four thereupon formally seceded from the Church of Scotland and set up "the Associate Presbytery" with Erskine as Moderator.

This Associate Presbytery was to split into two factions in 1747 over the question of the lawfulness of taking the Bur-

gess' Oath which demanded acceptance of "the true religion presently professed within these realms and authorized by the laws thereof." Those who favoured taking the oath were called Burghers and those who did not favour taking the oath were called Anti-Burghers. Ironically enough the Anti-Burghers excommunicated the Burghers and with them Ebenezer Erskine himself!

A further secession was to take place in 1752, and again the point of contention was the patronage issue. The Presbytery of Dunfermline refused to induct a minister nominated by a patron because of the congregation's objections. Thomas Gillespie of Carnoch, a member of Presbytery, was promptly deposed from the ministry for his part in the revolt. He continued to minister to his congregation who followed their saintly minister out of the Church of Scotland. In 1761 he was joined by two other ministers who formed themselves into a Presbytery of Relief. This Presbytery was more congenial to the Church of Scotland and less inclined to acrimoniousness than the First Secession.

In due course the various secession groups were to reunite. The Burgher and Anti-Burgher factions joined in 1820 to form the United Secession Church, and this group in turn merged with the Relief Church to form in 1847 the United Presbyterian Church. One more secession was to disrupt the Church of Scotland in 1843.

As we noticed earlier the Secessionist Churches were most alive to the missionary need of the day. The Burgher Synod sent a licentiate, Samuel Kinloch, to the region of Truro in 1766, but he remained only three years. The same year a young Irishman, Rev. James Murdoch, was sent out by the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Ireland, where the Scottish dispute had been carried. After ministering for a short while in the Protestant Dissenters' chapel in Halifax he became an itinerant minister in the regions of Windsor and Cornwallis until his accidental drowning in the Musquodoboit River in 1799.

FIRST PRESBYTERY

For some years the Dutch Settlers of Lunenburg had tried unsuccessfully to secure a ministry either from the old land or from the Dutch Reformed Church centred in Philadelphia. Finally they took matters into their own hands and chose one of their own number, a fisherman, Bruin Romcas Comingoe as their minister. Comingoe was a man of considerable native ability, piety,

and biblical knowledge, but he lacked formal theological education. Not only did he not possess the academic qualifications, but there was no Presbytery in existence to ordain him! But this did not deter the Dutch. Two Presbyterian ministers, Rev. James Lyons and Rev. James Murdoch, were invited to join with two Congregational ministers, Seccombe and Phelps, to form a Presbytery for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Comingoe. The four men acceded to the request, and on July 3, 1770, they constituted themselves into the first Presbytery to meet on Canadian soil, and proceeded to examine and then ordain Mr. Comingoe to the Christian ministry. The wisdom of the congregation in selecting Mr. Comingoe to be their minister is apparent when one learns that he exercised a diligent ministry for fifty years before his death in his ninety-sixth year.

This presbytery, of course, did not last beyond the time required to fulfil the special function for which it was erected. Although ministers were arriving in the colony from time to time to serve various congregations, no further attempt was made to organize a Presbytery until 1786. That year the Burgher Presbytery of Truro, composed of three ministers and two elders, came into being. The three ministers, Daniel Cock of Truro, David Smith of St. Andrews and Hugh Graham of Cornwallis were all sent out by the Burgher Synod of Scotland. George Gilmore, a native of Ireland but ordained by the Presbytery of Boston, was also present but did not become a constituent member. Because his sympathies were with the loyalist cause in the American Revolutionary War he was forced to flee to more friendly territory. After a brief stay in Quebec he settled in Windsor. Some doubt exists about the part played by Rev. James MacGregor in the founding of the new presbytery. He was sent out to Nova Scotia by the Anti-Burgher Synod to minister to a group of settlers in Pictou who had made application to that Synod for a ministry. He appears to have been present also at the founding of the Presbytery, but it is questionable to assume, as the historian Gregg does, that he was a constituent member. He was a minister under appointment by the Anti-Burgher Synod of Scotland and not at liberty to change his allegiance at will. Moreover, it is clear from his later criticisms of the Burgher presbytery that he still held firmly to the Anti-Burgher prejudices against the Burgher outlook.

Nine years later a second Presbytery came into being, the Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Pictou. In the formation of this

Presbytery Rev. James MacGregor. was the moving spirit. Associated with him were two elders and two recently arrived Anti-Burgher ministers from Scotland, Rev. Duncan Ross of West River and Rev. John Brown of Londonderry.

James MacGregor was an outstanding minister in those early days. He was a man of great physical strength and endurance, and possessed of great intellectual and spiritual resources. For forty-four years he gave himself unstintingly to his people and the cause of Presbyterianism in the Maritimes. In the summer he walked and paddled, in the winter he snow-shoed from place to place to minister to the needs of his people and so conduct services in both Gaelic and English.

> "Preaching in two languages and in two places so far distant from one another created many more difficulties", MacGregor reported, "for everything I wished the whole people to know needed to be told them four different times, viz.: in the two languages in the two places. Though I preached two sermons every Sabbath, yet the people heard but one sermon in two weeks, except those who understood both languages. Even this circumstance was sometimes productive of trouble; for some, who were backward to support the gospel, insisted that they who understood both languages, should pay a double share of the stipend. Sometimes the Highlanders complained that I did not give them their due of public services, but the rest complained that they got too much, and it was impossible to carry always with such an even hand as to please both parties."

The words of his good friend and colleague Thos. McCulloch inscribed on his monument best described the spirit and devotion of this great man. "When the early settlers of Pictou could afford to a minister little else than a participation in their hardships, he cast in his lot with the destitue, became to them a pattern of patient endurance, and cheered them with the tidings of salvaion . . . neither toil nor privation deterred him from his Master's work and the pleasure of the Lord prospered in his hands."

UNION OF 1817

After the Presbytery of Pictou was erected in 1795 the Presbytery of Truro communicated with it suggesting that each Presbytery should recognize the other as a court of Christ's

Church and that on occasion they might consult one another on matters of mutual concern. It was suggested that since the conditions and circumstances which separated them in Scotland were not present in Nova Scotia, it would be possible for them to enter into friendly relations and hold mutual communications within the truth of the Gospel. The Presbytery of Pictou, however, was not inclined to accede to the request at the time. Prejudices were still strong, and convictions ran very deep; therefore, it was twenty years before the two presbyteries were able to draw together. During the years relations became more friendly, not only toward each other, but also toward the brethren of the Church of Scotland who were beginning to arrive in the colony. The reasons for remaining apart, grounded as they were in a peculiar Scottish situation, became more and more tenuous. Finally, on July 3rd, 1817, the two presbyteries of Truro and Pictou, together with a few ministers of the Church of Scotland, formed themselves into the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, generally designated as Synod of Nova Scotia, with three presbyteries, Truro, Pictou and Halifax. Nineteen ministers were on the roll, the majority being Secession in origin. This was the first of seven unions which have gone into the formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The newly formed Synod immediately grappled with the problems of church extension and the deepening of the church's life. A "Ways and Means of Promoting Religion" Committee was set up and it recommended to the Synod that the Presbytery meet frequently and, as part of Presbytery business, ministers in rotation ought to preach or lecture and be subjected to the critical comments of their brethren. Kirk sessions, moreover, were instructed to give diligent care to the instruction and examination of catechumens who were preparing for full membership in the church. Ministers whose circumstances would permit were asked to arrange to make missionary tours to areas destitute of religious ordinances. But this was hardly a solution to the pressing problem of Church extension. Experience had taught the Synod that a sufficient supply of ministers could not be expected from abroad. If the need were to be met the Church must provide a locally trained ministry.

This posed a serious problem for the Synod. Where were such ministers to be trained? The illiberal educational policy of King's College at Windsor made it impossible to have men trained there. The regulations governing student conduct read

in part as follows: "No member of the University shall frequent the Romish Mass, or meeting houses of Presbyterians, Baptists, or Methodists, or the conventicles or places of worship of any other dissenters from the Church of England, or where Divine Service shall not be performed according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, or shall be present at any seditious or rebellious meeting."

This situation was the more intolerable because the Anglicans were a religious minority in the colony and many settlers had come to Nova Scotia with the distinct understanding that there should be full equality among members of all churches — papists excepted — on matters religious.

One outcome of this intolerable situation was the establishment of Pictou Academy in 1817. Rev. Thomas McCulloch, a minister and grammar school teacher, who had arrived in Pictou in 1803, was put in charge of the enterprise. Government support was sought for the institution, but it was rather sparingly given. Anglican pressures, the coolness towards the project of the four Church of Scotland ministers who were in the colonies, together with McCulloch's obvious sympathies for the Reform Liberal policies of Joseph Howe prevented the Academy from receiving the support that it deserved. With the aid of one assistant McCulloch taught Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and Mathematics. From 1820 he also directed the program of training of the candidates for the ministry, teaching in addition Hebrew and Systematic Theology. Many students who later achieved distinction were graduated from the College, but in spite of this, due to the insufficient support of the government, the Church, and friends, the College was forced to close its doors in 1842. Dr. McCulloch, however, in 1838 accepted the principalship of Dalhousie College which also had grown up because of the illiberal educational policy of the Anglicans. Here he was to be bitterly disappointed because the Board of Governors with Church of Scotland sympathies decided in turn to adopt an illiberal policy towards the non-Presbyterian groups in the colony and actually denied a chair to the Baptists in the fledgling University. This resulted in the formation of what is now Acadia University. Dr. McCulloch, however, continued his struggle for a liberal educational policy in the colony until his death in 1843.

In an attempt to get redress of grievances and to win equal treatment in the educational field, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians (Seceders) joined together in 1826 and formed

The Nova Scotia Board of Dissenters. It sought to obtain four goals: (1) the right to marry by licence without the proclamation of banns; (2) the right of the various congregations to hold property, particularly for the erection of places of worship and for glebes; (3) the right to enjoy a proportional share of whatever monies were made available by the government for the support of religious ordinances in the Province, and (4) that admissibility to be trustees in Pictou Academy be extended to dissenters of all denominations.

Although no immediate success attended their efforts the pressure on the government was retained and redress was finally achieved.

GLASGOW COLONIAL SOCIETY

Although a few Church of Scotland ministers had laboured in the colony from time to time in various places, no organized attempt was made by the Church of Scotland to meet the needs of her people who had migrated to the new land. The work of ministering to Presbyterians was largely left to the Secession Churches. In 1825 under the prodding of the Evangelical wing of the Church, the Church of Scotland in some measure awakened to a sense of responsibility for her people who were finding homes overseas. At a public meeting held in Glasgow that year the Glasgow Colonial Society was formed with the purpose of "promoting the moral and religious interests of the Scottish settlers of British North America." The Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-General of British North America, was elected patron, and Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley (later of Knox Church and Knox College, Toronto) was chosen as secretary. The success of the enterprise depended almost altogether on the zeal and vision of its secretary. Ministers and members of the Church of Scotland who were already in the colonies were, of course, delighted with this turn of events. Ministers of the Synod of Nova Scotia, on the other hand, were fearful of the competition thus created and urged the society to act in co-operation with them. The request, however, was refused. During the next ten years approximately forty ministers were to be sent to the colonies by this society.

In 1833, as a result of the aggressive work of the Glasgow Colonial Society, the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland came into being with three presbyteries,

Halifax, Pictou, and Prince Edward Island. The Synod numbered only 10 members at its organization but very shortly doubled its numbers with representatives serving in Newfoundland and far away Bermuda to which the Glasgow Colonial Society had sent a minister in 1836. The Presbytery of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland, which had been formed in 1833, with five ministers on the roll, was invited to participate in the Synod but declined largely for geographical reasons. In 1835, when its membership had doubled, it formed itself into the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland with two Presbyteries, Miramichi and Saint John.

The Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland was not only an aggressive missionary church but also bent on promoting closer relations with all the Presbyterians in the colony. Approaches were made, accordingly, to the Synod of Nova Scotia. The Synod of Nova Scotia agreed that a union with the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland, if it could be effected on a proper basis, would be conducive to the furthering of the religious interests of the colony and commended to its members the task of reflecting on the best means how this could be accomplished. Conversations were carried on amicably between the two Synods until 1841 when unfortunately the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland adopted a resolution inviting the Synod of Nova Scotia (Secession) to united with them, and declaring further its willingness, if the Synod did not unite bodily, to receive immediately those ministers and congregations who might wish to join with them. The Synod of Nova Scotia (Secession) declined the invitation to merge, and in very restrained language warned the Church of Scotland Synod of the consequences of tampering with the loyalties of its ministers and members. Further conversations were interrupted by the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in the Old Land which in turn was to divide both the Synods of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland.

One other Presbyterian body deserves mention although it was never large. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of the Eastern Provinces professed adherence to the principles and practice of the Church of Scotland in what it conceived to be her purest times from 1638-49. Of rigorist and reactionary disposition the Church made little headway in the colony. The first minister was Rev. Alexander Clarke who was sent out in

1827 by the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of Ireland and who used Amherst, N.S., as the base of an operation which extended through Nova Scotia and parts of New Brunswick. A second minister, Rev. William Sommerville was sent out four years later. In 1832 these two men in association with two elders constituted themselves into a Presbytery and assumed the name The Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This Presbytery unfortunately divided over the question of how closely members ought to adhere to old covenanting principles in the New World. Mr. Sommerville, the more strict of the two, led one faction and Mr. Clarke the other. Eventually Mr. Sommerville was to be associated with the Old School Reformed Presbyterian Synod in the United States, and Mr. Clarke with the New School Reformed Presbyterian Synod.

In 1817, when the Synod of Nova Scotia was organized, William Gregg estimates the population of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island to be approximately 160,000. Of these about 42,000 were Presbyterians who were served by 26 ministers. On the eve of the Disruption of the Church, Gregg estimates that the Presbyterian population had increased to 110,000 who were served by 60 ministers.

PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE CANADAS

The English Conquest of French territories in the New World was finally accomplished with the Fall of Quebec before the forces of General Wolfe in 1759 and the surrender of Montreal to General Amherst the following year. What was known as Canada at that time consisted of a few settlements along the lower St. Lawrence, Quebec and Montreal being the principal towns; a few villages along the Ottawa river; and a scattering of settlements along the North shore of Lake Ontario between Kingston and Niagara (Newark). The majority of the inhabitants, numbering about 70,000 were Roman Catholic and French. The few Protestants who were in the Eastern part were hardly the kind of material from which one would expect an aggressive Protestant Church to be built! "I report them then to be in general," writes General Murray, Wolfe's successor, "the most immoral collection of men I ever knew . . ." His estimate of the Roman Catholics was much more complimentary, although he decried their illiteracy and ignorance. However, a considerable number of United Empire Loyalists had settled in

the vicinity of Niagara and presented a more favourable prospect for the beginning of Presbyterian work.

Presbyterian work commenced in this area as a direct consequence of Wolfe's victory. Soldiers from the Fraser Highlanders who were part of Wolfe's army, together with merchants from Scotland and New England who arrived in Quebec soon after the conquest, made up the first congregation under the leadership of Rev. George Henry, a Church of Scotland minister and an Army Chaplain. He was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Spark, under whose able leadership the present St. Andrew's Church was erected in 1810. Prior to that the congregation worshipped for several years in a room in a Jesuit College occupied by the British. Spark's stipend apparently was so meagre at the outset that he was forced to augment his income by gathering a small group of students and tutoring them in Classics and Mathematics.

The second congregation to be established in the newly conquered territory was at Montreal in 1786. Rev. John Bethune, a minister of the Church of Scotland who had served as a military chaplain in the American Revolutionary War, organized this congregation and after serving it for about a year transferred to the Williamstown region to minister to a group of United Empire Loyalists who had settled there. Here he laboured most acceptably for over 25 years, establishing strong causes at Williamstown, Martintown, Lancaster, and Cornwall. Strangely enough two of his sons achieved great distinction in the Church of England, one as the Dean of Montreal, the other as Bishop of Toronto.

The population of Upper Canada was rapidly increasing at this time due to the influx of the United Empire Loyalists who at great personal sacrifice expressed their preference for living under the British Crown. Being desirous of having a ministry to meet their spiritual needs the Loyalists addressed requests for help both to Scotland and to their fellow Presbyterians in the United States. Rev. John Young, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland who had been ordained by the Presbytery of Albany, New York, was sent to Montreal to minister to the congregation recently organized by Bethune. Under his leadership the St. Gabriel Street Church was erected and dedicated in 1792. Previous to this the congregation had worshipped in a church belonging to the Recollet Fathers. A grateful congrega-

tion gave to the Recollet Fathers as a token of their appreciation for hospitality received two hogsheads of wine and a box of wax tapers.

No organization existed as yet above the congregational level, but the presence of three ministers in the colony provided the possibility of forming a Presbytery. In 1793 Bethune of Williamstown, Spark from Quebec, and Young from Montreal formed the first Presbytery in the Canadas, but because of the geographical difficulties and the primitive methods of communication it did not survive. Ten years later, however, in 1803 the Presbytery was reconstituted as the Presbytery of Montreal to ordain and induct the Rev. James Sommerville into the pastoral charge of St. Gabriel Street, to succeed John Young, who had gone to minister to a congregation at Niagara-on-the-Lake.

An unsuccessful aspirant to the charge of St. Gabriel Street had been a certain John Strachan, a licentiate of the Church of Scotland who had come to take charge of a college at Kingston proposed by Governor Simcoe. Plans for the college did not materialize and in consequence Strachan had to search out other employment. Soon after his unsuccessful bid to become minister of St. Gabriel Street he took orders in the Church of England and was sent as a missionary to Cornwall where he also occupied his time teaching in a grammar school. Among his pupils were the two sons of Rev. John Bethune who eventually entered the priesthood of the Church of England. Subsequently he was to become Bishop of Toronto, a member of the Legislature, and Executive Council (Family Compact) of Upper Canada and President of King's College which he founded and financed with government grants. The strength of the Anglican Church of Canada in the Toronto diocese today is due in no small measure to the aggressive work of this erstwhile Presbyterian.

WORK IN UPPER CANADA

The first systematic effort to meet the clamant missionary needs of the Canadas seems to have been made by the American Dutch Reformed Church. In 1795 this Church sent Rev. John Ludwig Broeffle to minister to a large group of German settlers in the counties of Dundas and Stormont. Shortly after Rev. Robert McDowell was sent out by this same church to minister in a parish which extended from Brockville to York. Other

missionaries were also sent out by this church but none stayed any length of time. McDowell, however, laboured diligently for 40 years until his death in 1841. The report of a Committee on Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1800 gives us an interesting insight not only into the missionary outlook of that church but also into the conditions under which these early missionaries lived.

> "The committee appointed on the subject of missions beg to report that the frontiers of this state present a large field for missionary labours; but that the most promising prospects in this respect open from Canada. Singular and unexpected success has attended the labours of a missionary some time since sent out by the Classis of Albany. A committee of that Classis made a report at their January session, 1799, that the Rev. Robert McDowell, their missionary to Canada in 1798, had visited a great number of settlements in that country, and had formed into congregations the people of six large districts, who together with another district he did not organize into a congregation, consisted of about 420 to 430 families. He found the people very hungry for the bread of life, and very attentive under the preaching of the Word. He had several invitations to settle and has accepted a call from the congregation of Adolphustown, Ernestown, and Fredericksburgh, in Upper Canada, among whom he is gone to reside.
>
> From all the information which the missionary has communicated, and from other sources of intelligence, it is obvious that the Lord in his good Providence has opened in that quarter a wide door of entrance of the Gospel."

Due to the work of Broeffle, McDowell and others, eleven congregations were in existence by 1819. In due course these congregations were absorbed into the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland.

From the United States also came Rev. Daniel Eastman, the Father of Presbyterianism in the Niagara Peninsula. Mr. Eastman, a licentiate of the Associate Presbytery (Secession) of Morris County, N.J., on the first Sunday of July, 1801, preached his first sermon at Beaver Dams, near St. Catharines. A few days later he visited Stamford where he found a Scottish settlement and a Presbyterian Church with a small but creditable edifice but no preacher. He settled at Stamford and used it as a base

for moving out among the scattered settlements bringing the comfort and instruction of the Gospel to people who had had no experience of the means of grace for years. After his ordination in 1802 he settled at Beaver Dams on a fifty acre tract of wild land. He obtained permission from the government to perform marriages and throughout his ministry married over 3000 couples. In his early ministry these marriages provided an important source of his income. His wide-ranging ministry spanning fifty years took him to the regions of Stamford, Queenston, Drummondville, Chippawa, Grimsby, Barton and Ancaster. Prof. Gregg provides the following description of Eastman's labours but does not identify the author. "There was scarcely a mile square in the Peninsula which he had not traversed many times, riding his faithful horse through forest and marsh and tangled bush, swimming swollen streams and breasting storms and tempests, once at least chased by barking and hungry wolves to his very door, and his progress often heralded by chorused voices of beast and bird of prey. In season out of season he had preached the Gospel by the wayside and whenever and wherever two or three could be gathered to hear him; and in about every cabin there were books and tracts which he had left for the spiritual edification and comfort of his widely scattered parishioners." For long years Eastman was without formal Presbytery connection but later was associated with the United Presbytery of Upper Canada when it was organized. He withdrew from it, however, in order to join the Presbytery of Niagara.

PRESBYTERY OF THE CANADAS

The tenuous Secessionist strand of Presbyterianism represented by Eastman began to strengthen in the Canadas with the arrival of Rev. William Bell and Rev. William Taylor who had been sent out by the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Associate Synod to labour in the upper Ottawa area. Bell went to Perth and Taylor to Osnabruck. Rev. Robert Easton from the same presbytery came to Montreal to minister to a dissident group who were unhappy over James Somerville's call to St. Gabriel Street Church. Rev. William Smart, sent out by the London Missionary Society, settled in Brockville. These four men, all of evangelical persuasion and broad secessionist sympathies, formed themselves into the Presbytery of the Canadas in 1818 in order to ordain an Irish licentiate, Rev. Joseph Johnstone, who

had been teaching school at Cornwall. At first the group had petitioned the Associate Synod in Scotland for permission to organize the presbytery but then they decided that in view of the immense task facing them it would be preferable to be independent of any Scottish Church. This would enable them freely to enter into working relationships with any minister they might encounter in the field without undue concern about the Presbyterian body from which they came. Thus they proceeded to organize themselves into the Presbytery of the Canadas without the requested permission.

In keeping with their outlook the Presbytery decided to call a second meeting and to invite all the brethren of Upper and Lower Canada to be present "whose character and academical education" entitled them to respect. But, when the appointed time arrived only Eastman, Smart, Bell, Taylor, and Johnstone were present. The gentlemen were not deterred by this disappointment, however, and proceeded to establish the Presbytery of the Canadas on a permanent basis. It was agreed "that the doctrine, discipline and worship of the church of Scotland" should be recognized as the constitution of the Presbytery. This was a significant step because it laid open the possibility of close working relations with Church of Scotland ministers which eventually resulted in a merger of this secessionist strand with the "auld kirk" strand of the Church of Scotland. The decision also meant that these secessionist ministers repudiated the voluntaristic trend that was developing in the secession churches in Scotland. Voluntaryism called for a complete separation of church and state. In practice it meant the refusal of any state assistance in the support of religious ordinances, and the disavowal of any government action in the area of Sabbath legislation and the teaching of religion in the schools. The Secessionists had originally disavowed state interference in the settlement of ministers, but now they were moving towards a much more radical position of disavowing any relationship between church and state. The Presbytery of the Canadas was composed of men who did not share this extreme position. Indeed at least two of them were receiving grants already from the government and, as we shall see, they were not adverse to pressing for even greater support for their churches. Difficulties of distance militated against the proper functioning of this Presbytery, and in due course it was deemed expedient to form two Presbyteries, one in Lower Canada and one in Upper Canada. The Presby-

tery of Upper Canada which operated under the name of the United Presbytery of Upper Canada was alone successful in making any progress.

At the time of the establishment of the Presbytery of the Canadas in 1818 there were 16 Presbyterian ministers in Upper and Lower Canada. Those were difficult days, therefore, for Presbyterian ministers. Distances were great, congregations were scattered, the amenities of life were few, and stipends were meagre. With the exception of four ministers who received government grants for services rendered the others had to subsist on starvation stipends. The stipend problem was not made any easier when much larger stipends were enjoyed by the clergy of the Church of England which, through the efforts of its spokesman, Bishop John Strachan, had been able to capture a lion's share of the Clergy Reserve monies. Many Presbyterian ministers were tempted by the Bishop to accept orders in the Church of England and a few, weary of the financial struggle, capitulated before his logic.

STATE SUPPORT

In 1791 when for political reasons Canada was divided into two provinces, one-seventh of the revenues from crown lands in Upper Canada was set aside for the support of religious ordinances. Bishop Strachan, a member of the Family Compact, had been able to convince the Colonial Authorities that the only "protestant" church worth considering was the Church of England. His success in this undertaking provided him with funds to attract clergy, build churches, and inaugurate King's College, a liberal arts institution.

The ministers of the Church of Scotland in particular were not at all happy with this situation. In Scotland they belonged to the Established Church and were the recipients of state support. Naturally they resented being classed as non-conformists in Upper Canada and felt they were being unfairly discriminated against. In 1826 the government recognized the legitimacy of the claim of Church of Scotland ministers and made a grant towards their work of 750 pounds, even though the Church of Scotland was not formally organized in the colony. The United Presbytery hearing of this grant immediately applied for comparable assistance. The government replied to the re-

quest with the suggestion that if the Presbyteries would all get together in the colony, then it would be more inclined to pay out a grant to such a single, responsible body. The suggestion was acted upon, but not in the way the government intended. Two Synods immediately sprang into being. The unorganized ministers of the Church of Scotland formed themselves into the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland in 1831 with four presbyteries, Quebec, Glengarry, Bathurst, and York. There were 19 ministers on the roll. The secessionist ministers who had already formed themselves into the United Presbytery of Upper Canada in the same year formed themselves into a Synod with two presbyteries, Brockville and York. This Synod had by this time 15 ministers on its roll. A small grant was paid to the United Synod of Upper Canada in 1833 but the Government again stressed the desirability of making grants to a single responsible body.

Negotiations were, therefore, begun between the two Synods. The United Synod declared that it was willing to enter such a Union only if her ministers were recognized as having equal status with those of the Church of Scotland. At first the Church of Scotland Synod was insisting that the United Synod ministers present certificates of good and regular standing when they did not expect in turn to present their credentials for examination. These difficulties were ironed out and the Union was consummated on July 3, 1840. The United Synod brought into the Union 17 ministers while the Church of Scotland Synod contributed 60. The name which was adopted was The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland. With the organization of this Synod, which brought Secessionist and Auld Kirk strands together, the government recognized the claim of the Presbyterians to a share of the Clergy Reserves, but still a disproportionate amount was given to the Anglicans.

Practically the same conditions applied concerning attendance at, and graduation from King's College, Toronto, as applied at King's College, Windsor, which we have already described. Bishop Strachan was of the opinion that educational opportunities were to be the exclusive property of Anglicans. His attitude on the Clergy Reserves issue and matters such as these contributed to the unrest which brought forth the abortive rebellion of 1837 under William Lyon MacKenzie, a reform liberal from

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a seceding Presbyterian background. Although the rebellion was stillborn, yet the Colonial authorities were sufficiently impressed thereby to look more favourably thereafter on the just claims of the dissident groups in the colony. Several unsuccessful attempts had already been made by the Presbyterians, particularly the United Synod, to have a chair in the College with a Presbyterian professor who would have equal rights with the Anglican appointees. In consequence the new Synod proceeded immediately to found an institution of higher learning of their own. The result was the formation of Queen's College which came into existence in 1841. The whole project received enthusiastic support from the churches.

OTHER PRESBYTERIAN GROUPS

In 1832 another Presbyterian body appeared in Upper Canada strongly committed to the Voluntaristic position. That year the United Associate Secession Church of Scotland (Union of majority of the Anti-Burgher and the Burgher Synods in 1820, see chart after p. 109) decided to undertake missionary work in Upper Canada. Accordingly Rev. William Proudfoot of Perth, Rev. William Robertson of Cupar, and Rev. Thomas Christie of the Orkneys, were sent to Upper Canada. Robertson unfortunately died of the cholera shortly after his arrival in Canada, and the other two proceeded to what is now Western Ontario and began their missionary labours. Years later the work begun by these two men had enlarged to the extent that they were able to erect a Presbytery on Christmas day 1834 called The Missionary Presbytery of Canada in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church of Scotland. The new presbytery was strongly committed to the voluntary principle; in fact it was this strong voluntaryism that prevented Proudfoot and his co-workers from joining forces with the brethren of the United Synod of Upper Canada who were, as we have seen, much more moderate in their views of government support for religious ordinances. The Presbytery changed its name to the United Presbyterian Church in 1847, following the example of the parent body in Scotland (see chart after p. 109).

Two other Presbyteries also came into existence in this period under discussion both under American influences, the Presbytery of Stamford and the Presbytery of Niagara. The Pres-

bytery of Niagara was organized for the purpose of overseeing the work of congregations founded by Rev. Daniel Eastman. He was the moving spirit in its organization, withdrawing himself from the United Presbytery with which he had been associated. This presbytery organized by Eastman in association with two other ministers in 1833 had no connection with any Synod. In a few years it doubled its size and extended its labours to include Oakville, Eramosa and Brantford. By 1837 the Presbytery had 25 churches under its care. The Rebellion of 1837-8 proved very disastrous to the operations of the Presbytery because of the withdrawal of the American ministers. Mr. Eastman returned to the United Presbytery and the Presbytery was allowed to lapse and the congregations placed under the care of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in connection with the Church of Scotland.

The Presbytery of Stamford was begun as a result of a misreading of a document. At Stamford a member of the Associate Church of North America (Secession) wrote a letter to the headquarters of the Church asking that one of its ministers visit Stamford to administer the sacrament of Baptism to a member of his family. In the letter the writer set forth information about several convenient stopping places. The Church authorities mistook this to mean that here were places demanding the services of a missionary. The letter was laid before the Synod of the Associate Church and in the face of the great spiritual destitution in the province as indicated by the letter, it was decided to send three ministers "to itinerate in Canada three months each, or thereabouts". As a result of their labours in which they visited Stamford, Ancaster, Dundas, Esquesing and Galt, Churches were established and the Presbytery of Stamford erected in 1836. In due course this Presbytery was to disband and the congregations were absorbed by the main line Presbyterian Church.

RED RIVER SETTLEMENT

Our study of early settlements and the beginnings of Presbyterianism in the period under review would not be complete without some mention of the Selkirk settlement on the banks of the Red River. This settlement is significant because of its ability to maintain its Presbyterianism for so long without ministerial leadership, and because it was the springboard for

much of the missionary thrust of the Presbyterian Church in the Canadian West.

The Red River Colony was founded by the Earl of Selkirk, a man of benevolent and energetic spirit. Following a trip through the Highlands of Scotland he became concerned over the plight of many of the Gaelic speaking inhabitants and resolved to help them by means of a large scale plan of emigration. Settlements were organized first in Prince Edward Island and then in Upper Canada. His most notable achievement, however, was his establishment of a colony on the banks of the Red River. In 1810 he purchased a huge tract of land from the Hudson's Bay Company on which to settle a colony. In so doing he assumed the cost of transporting, equipping annd protecting the settlers.

At first the settlement was harassed by agents of the North West Company, the rival of the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result of the hardships encountered and the harassment experienced almost three quarters of the members of the initial settlement soon left the territory and accepted offers of 200 acre farms in Upper Canada. The remainder of the colony after being warned they must leave also took refuge in Norway House. But they were induced to return and with a fresh band of immigrants took up the struggle against the elements and their enemies. In 1816 Mr. John Semple, governor of the Hudson's Bay territories, was killed along with twenty of his attendants. The colonists were now at the mercy of the half-breeds and Indians who had attacked the governor and they were forced once more to leave the colony and take refuge at Norway House. Lord Selkirk visited the colony the next year and tried to bring order out of chaos and to anticipate the problems of the future. He persuaded the settlers to take up their lands and tried to make restitution for their losses. Two lots of land were set aside for a church and a school and a minister of the Church of Scotland was promised to them. Upon Selkirk's return to the Old Country a minister was selected to be sent to Kildonan (as it now came to be known) but he delayed his departure in order to perfect his knowledge of the Gaelic language. He never did reach the colony, however, but an elder, James Sutherland, who was given permission to marry and baptize, was sent to supply until the minister arrived. He did yeoman service in meeting the spiritual needs of his congregation

until he was forcibly ejected from the colony by servants of the North West Company. He lived out the rest of his days in West Gwillimbury in Upper Canada to which many Red River settlers had previously come, continuing to preach and baptize until the year of his death in 1828. The Red River settlers were not to have a minister of their own until John Black, an early graduate of Knox College, arrived in 1851 under the auspices of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Free) to provide the kind of ministry for which the settlers had waited so long.

THE DISRUPTION OF PRESBYTERIANISM

In May 1843 the Church of Scotland suffered a terrible blow when 474 ministers out of 1203, and about a third of the membership left to form the Free Church of Scotland. The repercussions of this terrible split were felt in far away Canada and Presbyterian people of Scottish extraction felt it necessary to take sides on the issue at stake. Although the conditions which gave rise to the Scottish Disruption were not present in Canada yet the Mother's quarrel became the daughter's quarrel and churches holding association in Canada with the Church of Scotland were sundered in the same manner as in Scotland.

What gave rise to this disruption? It was the old problem of patronage which had already caused the first and second secessions under Erskine and Gillespie. The Evangelical wing of the Church of Scotland had been growing in strength after the turn of the century and like the Erskines these Evangelicals also demanded a large rôle for the congregation in the call and settlement of a minister. The practice of patronage, however, did not permit this and congregations were always confronted with the possibility of having an unwanted minister intruded upon them. In an attempt to forestall such an eventuality the General Assembly, under Evangelical prodding, in 1834 passed the Veto Act by which Presbyteries were forbidden to proceed to an induction when the congregation was not agreeable to his settlement.

THE FREE CHURCH CONTROVERSY

Two test cases soon arose which were to result in the Veto Act being declared ultra vires by the highest civil courts

of the land. The Church of Scotland apparently was not free to settle ministers according to her own laws and regulations; nor could she change the procedures involved in the settlement of ministers without state legislative action.

Shortly after the passage of the Veto Act by the General Assembly the parish of Auchterarder fell vacant. The patron presented a certain Mr. Robert Young. Only three persons in the congregation signed "the call" whereas 287 recorded their unwillingness to have Mr. Young as their minister. Presbytery, under the terms of the Veto Act, refused to proceed and were upheld in an appeal to General Assembly. The patron and Mr. Young took the matter to the civil courts, which decreed that the Presbytery had acted erroneously and declared that if after examination Mr. Young was found to be spiritually and intellectually qualified, Presbytery must proceed to settle him without regard to the congregation's wishes. In subsequent appeals to higher courts the Veto Act itself was declared contrary to the legal constitution of the Church of Scotland.

On the other hand at Marnoch in the Presbytery of Strathbogie another intolerable situation arose. The patron presented a certain Mr. Edwards. Four signed the call but 261 recorded their veto. In accordance with the terms of the Veto Act General Assembly instructed the Presbytery not to induct Mr. Edwards. The patron then presented a certain Mr. Henry who apparently proved acceptable. But Mr. Edwards determined to be minister, took the matter to the civil courts and secured an injunction against Mr. Henry's induction. The majority of the Presbytery, feeling that the law was on the side of Mr. Edwards, decided not to induct Mr. Henry and to proceed to the settlement of Mr. Edwards. The Commission of General Assembly prohibited the induction of Mr. Edwards but the majority of the presbytery decided that the law of the land was the first judge and sustained the call to Mr. Edwards. The Commission then suspended the majority of Presbytery and instructed the Evangelical minority to carry on the work of the Presbytery. The Evangelical minority were non-intrusionists who did not favour any minister being settled in a congregation against its wishes. The next meeting of General Assembly upheld its Commission. The majority of Presbytery continued in their charges as though not suspended and actually secured an interdict against the minority, who had Assembly's support, from coming

into their parishes. The minority defied the court order but nothing happened. Mr. Edwards having passed his trials before the moderate majority of Presbytery was accordingly inducted to the charge of Marnoch against the wishes of the people and against the express order of Assembly. As a result of this impertinence the moderate majority were deposed from the ministry in 1841. Clearly it was an intolerable situation. Ministers were put in the impossible position of either disobeying Assembly or the Civil Power no matter what they did. Something had to give. Finding no sympathetic ear at Westminster, and failing in a direct appeal to the Queen, the Evangelical non-intrusionists decided on radical action. They would withdraw from the Church of Scotland to form a Church of Scotland free from the troublesome interference of the state on the matter of pastoral settlement. Thus, when Assembly met in St. Andrew's Church in George Street, Edinburgh, in May 1843 and no word was forthcoming from the Queen's representative concerning relief, the Moderator, Dr. Welch, followed by a great host of ministers, walked out of the Assembly and at a previously rented hall proceeded to form the Free Church of Scotland. They did not disavow the establishment principle, namely, that the state could establish a church by law and provide for its support, but they did by their action disavow the intrusion of the civil power into the interior discipline and affairs of the church. The church, they believed, must be free to conduct its own affairs under mandate to the Lord Jesus alone.

This tremendous disruption had a corresponding and parallel effect upon the Presbyterian churches in Canada which were associated in any way with the Church of Scotland. For example, in the Maritimes there were at the time four Presbyterian Churches, but only two were affected. The Synod of Nova Scotia (Secession) and The Presbytery of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were unaffected; but the Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland was disrupted as was the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland.

The Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland in 1844 repudiated all connection with the Church of Scotland and changed its name to the Synod of Nova Scotia adhering to the Westminster standards (later known as the

Free Church of Nova Scotia). Five men, however, dissented from this action. It was ten years before those who opposed severing connection with the Church of Scotland were able to reorganize under the old name. In the Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland, however, the majority favoured retaining the connection with the Church of Scotland. The three ministers dissenting from this decision immediately formed themselves into the Synod of New Brunswick adhering to the Westminster Confession (later known as the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of New Brunswick).

In the territory known as the Canadas there were also four Presbyterian Churches with only one being affected by the Disruption. There were: (1) The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland; (2) The Missionary Synod of Canada in connection with the United Associate Secession Church in Scotland, later known as the United Presbyterian Church; (3) The Presbytery of Niagara; and (4) The Presbytery of Stamford.

The Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland was deeply concerned with what was happening in Scotland and in 1841 had passed a resolution offering prayers for the success of the Scottish church in her struggle against the encroachments of the civil power. The Synod met in July 1843 two months after the Disruption had taken place. By a vote of 28 to 11 it passed a declaration noting that the Synod regarded with "the deepest concern the present condition and prospects of the Church of Scotland, and do hereby record their deep and affectionate sympathy with those of her rulers and members who leaving the establishment at the bidding of conscience have thereby sacrificed temporal interests and personal feelings to an extent that must even command the respect and admiration of the Christian Church."

During the year and before Synod met again delegates from both churches had visited Canada and of course everywhere stirred up much excitement. The ensuing meeting of Synod, therefore, was charged with dangerous emotional overtones. Dr. John Cook of Quebec, while holding considerable sympathy for the Free Church cause, could see no virtue in breaking off relations with the Church of Scotland which many suggested was the proper thing to do. He proposed a motion

in which Synod affirmed its independence, expressed a willingness to receive ministers of all Presbyterian churches holding the same standards, and counselled abstention from correspondence with the parent church for the time being. Rev. John Bayne of Galt, however, was convinced that fraternal relations were no longer possible with a church which had compromised its spiritual independence and trampled under foot the "Crown Rights of the Redeemer." Thus, he moved that the phrase "in connection with the Church of Scotland" should be dropped from the name of the Synod, and that the Synod seek legal action for the change, and if it meant loss of endowments that the Synod be willing to accept this consequence.

Dr. Cook's motion carried the Synod by a vote of 56 to 40. The next day on July 10th, 1844, Mr. Bayne presented a dissent from the Synod's decision signed by himself, 20 ministers and 19 elders who felt they could no longer continue to be associated with the church which maintained its connection with the Church of Scotland. Included among those who signed the dissent were the moderator and the Clerk.

The seceding body adopted the title The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada but was popularly known as the Free Church. Immediately the New Synod informed the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland of its action. It also set up machinery to prosecute the cause of home missions and to provide for the education of a ministry.

FOLLOWING THE DISRUPTION

The years immediately following the Disruption were productive years for all the Churches. Colleges were established, home missions vigorously prosecuted and overseas missions begun.

Colleges were established by the Synod of Nova Scotia at West River in 1848, and by the Synod of Nova Scotia adhering to the Westminster Standards (Free) at Halifax. Knox College, Toronto, was founded by the Free Church in 1844 with the majority of the first class of students coming from the Auld Kirk College at Queens. The Missionary Synod likewise established a Divinity Hall in London in 1844 under the able leadership of Wm. Proudfoot.

The Free Churches, of course, set out to provide a Free Church in every settlement. The success of their efforts can be

illustrated by examining the number of churches in Canada which bear the names Knox, Burns, or Chalmers.

John Geddie from the Synod of Nova Scotia (Secession) was the first Presbyterian overseas missionary from Canadian soil. With the support of all of the Synods of the Maritimes he began work in 1848 among the aboriginals of the New Hebrides. At the same time, the two Maritime Synods in connection with the Church of Scotland inaugurated a mission to the Jews and began the India Orphan Mission. The Free Churches in the same area sent out a missionary to work among the Greeks in Asia Minor. The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Free) meanwhile established two missions on Canadian soil which were both classed as foreign missions. Work was begun in a colony of Negro refugees from United States who had settled at Buxton. Then in 1851 a missionary was sent to the hardy Selkirk settlers on the banks of the Red River who had been waiting for such a person since 1811. This important settlement under the ministry of Rev. John Black was to provide the first educational opportunities in the area and to be the base for the evangelization of the West. Concern was expressed for the evangelization of the French, and some support was given to the work of the French Canadian Missionary Society.

Three stands of Presbyterianism can now be distinguished in Canadian Presbyterianism, each deriving from Scotland. There is the secessionist strand now fully committed to the Voluntary position; the Free Church strand holding a non-intrusionist position which was willing to accept government support of religious ordinances and a legal relationship to the state providing there was no interference in the court structure of the church; and the Auld Kirk strand which in the interests of maintaining a legal relation with the state and receiving government support was willing to accept some control of its domestic affairs. The issue was to turn sharply around the interpretation to be placed upon Chapter 23 of the Westminster Confession of Faith and how far the civil magistrate designated therein should be allowed to participate as magistrate in the affairs of the church. Each one of the succeeding unions as the Presbyterian family begins to draw together was to be forced to negotiate some agreement concerning the thorny problem of Church-State relations.

NOTES

1. Patrons were those on whose property a church was built and who provided the funds necessary to build and maintain it, and provide support for a ministry. In some instances the patron could be a town council or similar body.
2. Heritors were land-owning gentry.

PART II

1850 - 1925

by

H. Keith Markell

PRESBYTERIAN DIVISIONS

An observer of the Canadian Presbyterian scene in 1850 would almost certainly have been struck by the fragmented character of the denomination. It had never been unified, but the Scottish Free Church Disruption of 1843 had added to the already existing divisions. All of the Church of Scotland Synods in Canada felt the divisive effects of the Disruption, and three new Free Church Synods were formed, one in the Canadas and two in the Maritime Provinces. Consequently, by 1850 there were in what is now Canada at least seven distinct Presbyterian organizations, not to mention several congregations and small groupings which were unconnected with any of these bodies.

Nevertheless, the forces of disunity, which had hitherto been in the ascendant, were now about to retreat before the drive toward unity. The previous disunion may be ascribed mainly to three causes. First, Presbyterianism, particularly in Upper Canada, had stemmed from two sources, Scotland and the United States, and organizations had been formed having ties with one or other of these parent bodies. By 1850, however, the American Presbyterian movement in Upper Canada had lost its momentum, and its congregations were in process of being absorbed by other groups. Secondly, geographical influences had contributed to the multiplication of ecclesiastical organizations. As long as the British North American provinces were politically separated, and in the absence of modern techniques of transportation and communication, it was almost inevitable that the Maritime Provinces and the Canadas should maintain separate religious organizations. The achievement of political confederation and the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, linking the Maritime Provinces with the rest of the country, facilitated the national consolidation of the churches. By far the most prolific source of disunity, however, was the transplantation in Canada of the ecclesiastical divisions of Scotland. In 1850 the three major strands of Scottish Presbyterianism:-

Church of Scotland, Secession, and Free Church — were represented in Canada by separate organizations. Yet, while these Scottish divisions had sprung from profound conviction and resolute adherence to principle, they always remained to some extent exotic in Canada. They were rooted fundamentally in divergent attitudes toward the whole subject of Church-State relationships both in its theological and practical implications. While this was a burning issue in Scotland where there was an established church still liable to state intervention in its internal affairs, the situation was quite different in Canada where the whole controversay had a certain air of unreality.

Canadian Presbyterians could not long remain unmoved by the spectacle of churches divided over issues which were not clearly relevant to their situation. The first moves toward greater unity were made by those of Secession and Free Church backgrounds. Both of these groups had originated as secessions from the Church of Scotland. They had in common their opposition to that body, and their insistence on the spiritual autonomy of the church. They still differed somewhat in their overall views on Church-State relations, the Secessionists taking the position that the State had nothing whatever to do with the Church and its work, the Free Churchmen holding that there was no impropriety in the Church receiving recognition or benefits from the State. In the past, this divergence had been focused on the question of whether churches could or should accept financial aid from the State, which in Canada had usually meant a share of the Clergy Reserves. With the final secularization of the Reserves in 1854, this issue became largely an academic one. Since there no longer existed any State fund from which churches could expect to derive much pecuniary assistance, it seemed rather pointless to continue the debate. Another obstacle to union had thus been removed.

In 1860 the (Secession) Synod of Nova Scotia and the Free Church Synod of Nova Scotia united to form the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America. In 1866 the Free Church Synod of New Brunswick amalgamated with this body. In 1861 the (Secessionist) United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church Synod of Canada merged to form the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. So far as institutions were concerned, the distinction between Free Church and Secession had now disappeared. A similar closing of ranks was taking place among those in the Church of Scot-

land tradition. In 1868 all of the Church of Scotland Presbyterians in the Maritime Provinces were united in one body which assumed the name of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces of British North America in Connection with the Church of Scotland. Canadian Presbyterians now stood on the threshold of complete national unification. Political confederation in 1867 afforded an opportunity and a challenge to the Canadian churches to achieve denominational consolidation. In the quarter century following Confederation most of the major denominations did establish national organizations. The Presbyterians enjoy the distinction of being the first to accomplish this.

THE UNION OF 1875

By 1870, as a result of the regional unions mentioned above, the number of Presbyterian groups in the country had been reduced to four, two in the Maritime Provinces and two in central Canada, two of Church of Scotland background and two in the Free Church-Secessionist stream. In all of these groups the sentiment in favour of a national union now began to develop rapidly. The first concrete proposals for union emanated from the two western Synods. In 1870 Dr. William Ormiston, a former Moderator of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, wrote to Dr. John Jenkins, a former Moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, suggesting a union of all the Presbyterian Churches in Canada under one General Assembly. "It seemed natural and right," he wrote, "that Churches, holding the same standards and administering the same Scriptural form of Church government and discipline, should unite their efforts in the great common work of evangelizing the entire Dominion." Dr. Jenkins submitted the correspondence to his Synod where it was favourably received, and copies of the letter were despatched to the other three Churches. All four bodies appointed small committees to meet and discuss the proposal for a general Presbyterian union.

The first meeting of the Joint Committee was held at Montreal in September, 1870, where it was agreed that union was both desirable and feasible, and where it was apparent that there was a general inclination to seek accord on any potentially controversial matters. The four separate committees reported to their respective Churches in 1871. All agreed that the union

negotiations should be pursued, and appointed enlarged committees to prepare a Basis of Union. This task occupied them until 1875, at which time the highest courts of the four Churches resolved to unite in one body to be called the Presbyterian Church in Canada. As in all church union negotiations, there were difficulties to be overcome, accommodations to be made, comprises to be accepted, and matters to be deferred in the hope that time and goodwill would prove effective solvents. The Joint Committee was obliged to take cognizance of many matters pertaining to the life and work of the negotiating Churches, such as worship, theology, finances, missions and education. For the most part, the discussions were harmonious and marked by a sincere determination to discover mutually satisfactory solutions. In a few instances, however, the necessity for compromise left its mark on the united Church.

Two examples may suffice to illustrate the type of problem with which the negotiators had to grapple, and the resolution of the difficulty at which they ultimately arrived. The first had to do with the theological colleges of the uniting Churches. Prior to 1875 each of the four Churches had established colleges for the training of its ministers, and five such colleges were then operating. Since this number of colleges seemed excessive for a Church which would start with a communicant membership of approximately 88,000, and since certain of these institutions were in close geographical proximity, it was felt by some that the number should be reduced through amalgamations. None of the Churches, however, wished to dissolve a college which had become endeared to it by past association and it was finally decided that all five institutions should be retained. While this action might be construed as simply following the line of least resistance, it could be justified on the ground that the anticipated future growth of the Church would render all of these colleges serviceable. In fact, while one of the five institutions was soon to become defunct, the Church would within a few years establish several new colleges in Western Canada.

In the matter of doctrine, the four Churches shared a common heritage and all accepted the Westminster Confession of Faith as their subordinate standard. There was no great difficulty, therefore, in securing adoption of this Confession as the subordinate standard of the united Church. At the same

time, there were certain differences of outlook between those of the Free Church and those of Church of Scotland background. Some of the latter were disposed to accept the Confession only with reservations, or to favour some relaxation in the terms of subscription to it. Although theological liberalism had not become widespread in Canadian Presbyterianism by 1875, there were liberalizing tendencies among some of the Church of Scotland clergy which aroused a certain amount of apprehension in Free Church circles. With reference to one section of the Confession, however, it was the Free Churchmen (intermingled, as they were, with those of Secession background) who entertained reservations. The Westminster Confession had been framed at a time when a close relationship between Church and State was taken for granted. Chapter XXIII of the Confession had conceded wide powers to the civil magistrate in administering the doctrine, worship and discipline of the church, even going so far as to allow that he had power "to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God." The Free Churches, both in Scotland and Canada, had come increasingly to question the right of the civil magistrate to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs. To meet these Free Church objections, the Basis of Union adopted in 1875 stipulated that the Westminster Confession was being accepted with the understanding that nothing contained in it "regarding the power and duty of the civil magistrate shall be held to sanction any principles or views inconsistent with full liberty of conscience in matters of religion." The ambiguity of the phrase, "full liberty of conscience in matters of religion," was to prove troublesome, and the Church would later seek to clarify its interpretation of this proviso.

The union was consummated at Montreal on June 15, 1875, and Dr. John Cook, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Quebec, was elected Moderator of the first General Assembly. The Church was divided into four Synods, those which presently constitute the four Eastern Synods, and thirty-three Presbyteries. There were approximately 600 ministers, 700 congregations, and 88,000 communicant members. The union was not absolutely unanimous. Some twenty-one ministers and about twenty-five congregations, most of them connected with the former Church of Scotland Synods, declined to enter the union. In both the Maritime Provinces and central Canada the Synods connected with the Church of Scotland continued to function for some

years, but gradually these non-concurring congregations were absorbed into the main Presbyterian body. For all practical purposes Canadian Presbyterianism was unified in 1875, and stood poised for a great forward thrust.

THE GROWTH OF THE CHURCH

In the half century after 1875 the newly formed Presbyterian Church in Canada experienced marked numerical growth. Synods increased in number from 4 to 8, Presbyteries from 33 to 79, ministers from 602 to 1,708, communicant members from 88,000 to 380,000. In relation to population growth in the nation at large, the most rapid rate of increase was in the first twenty-five years. In the two decades, 1881-1901, population increased by a little less than 25%. During the comparable period, 1875-1900, the membership of the Church grew by more than 125,000, representing an increase of 143%. In the decade 1901-1911 the increase of population was over 34%, while the membership of the Church rose by some 75,000, or an increase of 35%. Between 1911-1925 the population increase was approximately 18%, while the Church added about 92,000 members for an increase of 32%. In the national census of 1911 the Presbyterians for the first time showed the largest constituency of any Protestant denomination, with a total of 1,115,324. The Methodists, however, still claimed a larger number of communicant members.

The leap in membership from 88,000 to 380,000 between 1875 and 1925 was due in part to large-scale immigration. Prior to 1895 immigration was at a low ebb, but rose sharply thereafter. In the two decades, 1901-1921, more than three and a half million immigrants entered Canada. Not all of them remained here, some returning to the lands from which they had come, others eventually making their way to the United States. In spite of such losses, however, the Canadian population underwent a notable growth in the three decades after 1895. Since the majority of the immigrants were English-speaking and Protestant, coming from either the United Kingdom or the United States, nearly all the Protestant denominations experienced significant additions to their memberships. The Presbyterians were no exception to this. At the same time, accessions to membership bore little relation to immigration statistics. It was reported

to the Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress of 1913 that, although some 40,000 adult Presbyterians had been admitted to Canada in the preceding year, the membership of the Church had increased by only 8,000. It was evident that in the great movement of population, many were being lost to the Church.

The growth of the Church after 1875 was geographical as well as numerical. One of the major developments of this period was the peopling of the Canadian West. Almost a whole new country was opened to settlement west of the Great Lakes. What began as a tiny trickle in the years from 1885 - 1895 became a veritable flood after 1900. Settlers flocked to the prairies in droves from almost all quarters of the globe, from the British Isles, from Europe, and from the older sections of Eastern Canada. Sizeable towns and cities sprang up almost overnight. The population of both Alberta and Saskatchewan increased by 400% or more in the decade 1901-1911.

To carry the ministrations of religion to this shifting and expanding population became one of the primary responsibilities of the Canadian churches. To follow their own people westward, to minister to the material and spiritual needs of hundreds of thousands of new immigrants taxed their energies and resources to the utmost. In all of the denominations a few names stand out as pioneers in Western work. In the Presbyterian Church, that of Dr. James Robertson towers above all others. Appointed Superintendent of Missions in the Northwest in 1881, he dedicated the remaining twenty years of his life to the exacting task of Presbyterian church extension in the new West. A forceful, forthright man, he spared neither himself nor others. One of his hardest tasks was that of securing men to keep pace with the rapid spread of the work at a time when the West was a less attractive field of labour than some other sections of the country. Time and again he toured the East, pleading, pushing, sometimes scolding men into Western service. Ever impatient, he chafed at the dilatory wheels of ecclesiastical machinery. "The gambler, the rum-seller, and the strange woman," he wrote in one of his annual reports, "travel by fast express — the Church by slow stage. We follow when we should accompany or precede." Somehow he obtained his men, and assurerdly he got results. In an article published shortly before his death, he could claim that, while the population of the West had increased by 83% in the decade 1891-1901, the mem-

bership of the Presbyterian Church had increased by 168%. When he received his appointment in 1881, there was but one presbytery in the West. When he died in 1902, there were eighteen presbyteries and over 1,100 preaching stations. In the years which followed, expansion was even more rapid, and by 1925 the four Western Synods were numerically stronger than the whole of the Presbyterian Church in Canada at the time of its formation in 1875.

The other main area of growth was in the cities. Western agriculture stimulated Eastern manufacturing and industry, and the cities began to dominate the entire culture in a way they had not done before. The trend which was to make Canada a predominantly urban nation was discernible at least as early as the 1880's, but became much more pronounced after 1900. The proportion of the population classified as urban rose from 14% in 1881 to over 49% in 1921. Immigration and the movement of people from rural to urban areas were responsible for much of the increase. In the decade of peak immigration, 1901-1911, the increase of urban population was more than double that of the rural. Between 1891 and 1921, to mention only the four largest cities, Montreal grew from 219,616 to 618,506; Toronto from 181,215 to 521,893; Winnipeg from 25,637 to 179,087; Vancouver from 13,709 to 117,217. As the nation became more urban in character, so did its churches. Here lay the largest opportunities for expansion, as well as many of the most pressing problems of the age. Though perhaps in varying degree, power and influence in the denominations came more and more to be concentrated in the burgeoning cities.

The growth of the cities was achieved in part at the expense of the rural districts, and spreading urbanization meant a dwindling rural constituency. This was not uniform throughout the country. In Quebec the rural population was still holding its own, while in the West it was growing. Elsewhere, however, it was declining. The settlement of the West and the exodus from the country to the city meant that many rural areas, especially in the Maritime Provinces and Ontario, were being depopulated. A survey of Huron county, Ontario, conducted jointly by the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in 1913, disclosed that the rural population in sections of that county had decreased by 40% since 1875. It was reported to the Presbyterian Pre-Assembly Congress of 1913 that, in the three central

Synods of the Church, 60% of the Presbyteries in 1912 had indicated an overall decrease of nearly one thousand families. Urban gains were being to some extent offset by rural losses. With the inevitable drop in memberships, many rural congregations found themselves hard pressed to maintain their buildings, organizations and programmes. The situation was rendered more difficult by the fact that it was often the younger and more enterprising members of the community who migrated West or were attracted to the city. Among other things, concern was being voiced after 1900 over the shortage of candidates for the ministry. It was pointed out that a large proportion of these had formerly come from the rural parishes, and that the decline of the rural church was jeopardizing this source of supply.

THE WORK OF THE CHURCH

It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the church-going habits of the people. In the main, it would appear that church attendance remained at a fairly high level. Now and again the lament was heard that attendance was falling off, or that some particular class in the community was drifting away from the church. The consensus would seem to be, however, that at least until World War I there was no alarming slump in church attendance. While this was probably true of the regular Sunday services, there were some indications of a slackening of interest in other areas. It was observed, especially after 1900, that with the acceleration of life's tempo and the more materalistic outlook prevailing there was a waning interest in week-day services and considerably less attention being paid to family worship. It was further noted that there appeared to be a growing apathy toward church ordinances on the part of the male population, and a more noticeable preponderance of women at all the services. This was true even in connection with Young People's work, which was acquiring greater prominence in the churches in the last quarter of the 19th century.

A great deal of the work of the Church during the half century after 1875 was directed toward problems and situations which were more or less peculiar to this era in Canadian history. Reference has already been made to the settlement of the West and the vigorous programme of church extension which this necessitated. Efforts were also made to cope with the swelling tide of immigration. In 1896, immigration had fallen to its

lowest level since Confederation. Beginning in that year, however, Canada entered upon a period of unprecedented economic prosperity and population growth which continued unabated until 1914. In the peak year of 1913, 413,000 immigrants entered the country. In the twenty years from 1896 to 1914 nearly three million immigrants arrived. When it is remembered that the total population of the country in 1896 was only slightly in excess of five million, one can appreciate the strains which this sudden, massive influx imposed on all the nation's institutions, including the churches. While a majority of the immigrants were English-speaking and could be assimilated fairly readily, several hundred thousand were non-English-speaking. Fifty-nine different nations were represented in the immigration of the year 1912. The churches, therefore, were faced with the task of evangelizing the foreign born, "foreign work at home" as it was sometimes designated. Attempts were made to minister to these people through the establishment of churches, missions, schools and hospitals. In 1911 the General Assembly organized the "Department of the Stranger" for the purpose of meeting immigrants on their arrival in this country and assisting them in their settlement. Among other activities, this Department sponsored school-homes where the children of foreign settlers could reside and receive instruction in Christian faith and democratic principles. Between 1902-1925, fourteen such school-homes were opened in the Western provinces. By 1915 the Church was also operating fourteen hospitals, mostly in non-Anglo-Saxon communities. It was reported to the General Assembly in 1914 that the Home Mission Board had instituted work among the foreign born in fifty-two different centres, and among eleven different ethnic groups. Other denominations were engaged in similar programmes, but all conceded that they were doing little more than touching the fringes of the problem. With the outbreak of World War I immigration dropped off sharply. The nation was afforded a breathing space, and the task of ministering to the foreign born was partially overshadowed by other concerns.

As has been noted, the settlement of the West, the reception of vast numbers of new immigrants, and the shift of population from rural to urban areas resulted in a rapid growth of the Canadian cities. What was termed, "The Problem of the City," figured ever more prominantly in church periodicals and the deliberations of ecclesiastical courts. Urbanism was accompanied by the conditions which everywhere attended the rise

of the modern city in western culture:- poverty, slums, overcrowding, intemperance, commercialized vice, a restless and rootless urban proletariat. Among other matters, the problem of the downtown church came to the fore as those in more favoured circumstances moved from the centre of the city to the suburbs, a transition which was greatly facilitated by the introduction of electrically operated tramways in the 1880's and 1890's, enabling people for the first time to live at some distance from their place of employment. In his pastoral letter to his congregation at the close of the year 1891, the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, observed that: "Nearly every interest of the congregation is affected prejudicially by the distance at which a large proportion of members and adherents reside." He proceeded to point out how attendance at Sunday School, the evening service, mid-week meetings, and meetings of the various organizations had suffered from this cause. The tendency of many congregations, faced with this problem, was to abandon the downtown site and follow their people to the newer residential areas. To the more far-sighted church leaders of the early 1900's, this appeared to be a dereliction of responsibility. For at the very moment when the churches were moving out of the downtown areas, thousands of industrial workers and new immigrants were moving into them. It was felt that the churches were deserting the central portions of the cities at the precise moment when their ministrations were most needed. The whole question was widely discussed in the years after 1900. While it was generally agreed that something should be done, there is not much evidence that a great deal was done, or that the exodus of congregations to the suburbs was checked.

One reason for the anxiety manifested over the removal of churches from the inner city was a deepening conviction that the Church was beginning to lose its grip on "the masses", this term comprehending not merely the poor, but the working classes in general. A common view was that the churches were assuming the character of middle class institutions with the labouring classes being conspicuous by their absence. Some were claiming that the church buildings had become so elaborate, the services so ornate, the attire of the worshippers so indicative of affluence that the ordinary artisan felt out of place and preferred to remain away rather than suffer humiliation. The apparent indifference to the Church on the part of many in the

downtown districts led in some cases to the establishment of city missions. Although a limited success attended these efforts, the situation was not greatly improved, and the missions themselves were exposed to attacks by reformers. Why, it was urged, should the well-to-do worship in comfortable churches, and the poor in dingy mission halls? Was this not lending countenance to class distinctions which should have no place in the Church of Christ? At any rate, the problem of attracting those designated collectively as "the masses" continued to engage the attention of church leaders all through this period.

The emergence of the moral and social problems associated with urbanism and industrialism produced the Canadian version of the social gospel movement. One is conscious of a changing climate of opinion in much of Canadian Protestantism after 1900. It is generally assumed that Christianity has a message for society as well as for the individual, and that the social implications of the gospel must be worked out both in theory and practice. For a few years, social issues became matters of engrossing interest. Church periodicals were filled with articles on social questions, sermons on social problems resounded from the pulpits, social service agencies were formed under denominational auspices, and departments were formed in the various denominations to deal specifically with moral and social issues.

In 1907 the General Assembly organized "The Department of Temperance and Other Moral and Social Reforms," stipulating that: "It shall be the duty of this Committee to study the moral and social problems confronting our people in the different provinces, such as the relation of the Church to labour, political and commercial corruption, gambling, the social evil, the liquor traffic; to establish a Bureau of information on moral and social questions; and to indicate lines of action calculated to remove existing abuses and improve conditions in these regards." The name of the Department was altered several times, and in 1911 it became "The Board of Social Service and Evangelism." In this same year the Assembly adopted a comprehensive report by the Board dealing with what were deemed the most pressing social issues of the day. The report urged ministers and congregations to acquaint themselves with the conditions of human life in their neighbourhoods, and to co-operate in every effort for the removal of existing abuses. Theological colleges were directed to provide for the instruction of students in the social

principles of the gospel, and the methods of applying these principles. The extent to which the social gospel ideal had captured the interest and imagination of Presbyterians may be gauged by the fact that at the three day Pre-Assembly Congress of 1913, one whole day was devoted to the social application of the gospel. Of the forty addresses delivered at this Congress, eighteen bore directly on current social issues, several more were indirectly related to social problems, and many of the addresses on other themes had a strongly social flavour. It is doubtful if any assembly of Canadian Presbyterians, before or since, has been as socially conscious.

All of this social gospel sentiment found practical expression in a fairly wide range of activities. Some of these were matters which had long evoked the sympathies of the churches, such as Sabbath Observance and Temperance. By the 1880's it was becoming increasingly difficult to preserve the traditional Sunday. The first major battles were waged against the railway and steamship companies, which were anxious to increase their profits by operating on Sunday. To resist these and similar inroads, the several denominations formed Committees on Sabbath Observance, and in 1888 the interdenominational Lord's Day Alliance was organized at Ottawa "for the protection and preservation of the due observance of the Lord's Day." Presbyterians played a leading role in the organization of the Alliance, and gave it their zealous support. Yet, the forces which were transforming Canada in the early part of the 20th century were slowly but steadily undermining the Victorian Sunday. Industrialization, with the demand for a seven day work week; increasing wealth and sophistication; new and faster means of transportation, from the bicycle to the motor car; the mounting interest in outdoor recreation; the arrival of thousands of immigrants from lands where Sunday was not strictly observed; and the influence of the freer American Sunday were all cited as contributory causes. The continuing concern of the Presbyterians is evidenced by the fact that the Assembly of 1899 appointed a Committee on Sabbath Observance and Legislation to foster such legislation as was deemed necessary to safeguard the Sunday.

Another cause that elicited the support of the Church was that of temperance, the General Assembly setting up a Committee on Temperance in 1880. By this time, opinion in several of the denominations had crystallized in favour of legal

prohibition of the liquor traffic. Although the Presbyterians were less belligerent than the Methodists in advocating the use of the ballot to coerce political candidates and legislatures, on occasion they resorted to this device. The Assembly of 1886, for example, approved the report of the Committee on Temperance which expressed the hope that "electors in their choice of members of Parliament will seek to elect able and good men, who are well known to be in full sympathy with prohibitory legislation." As a rule, however, resolutions in the Assembly supporting prohibition were not unanimous, there nearly always being a dissenting minority who felt that this was not the best answer to the problem of intemperance.

In the early years of the 20th century the moral fervour of the Church was focused on another problem, what was euphemistically referred to as the social evil, namely organized prostitution and the white slave traffic. It was scarcely a new problem, but there were forces at work at this time to bring it to public attention. The rapid growth of the cities, the movement of thousands of young women from the country to the city, and the influx of immigrants many of whom were unable to speak English, all contributed to the problem. The efforts of the churches to counteract the evil took several forms, the printing and distribution of literature designed to furnish information and alert the public to the situation, the seeking of prohibitory legislation, and the opening of redemptive homes for victims of the traffic. The Presbyterians were particularly energetic in this form of social service, and in 1911 the General Assembly appointed Miss Marie Christine Ratte as General Supervisor of Redemptive Work for Girls. The co-operation of the women of the Church was enlisted, and it was reported to the Assembly of 1913 that nearly a thousand women throughout the Church were engaged in such welfare work. By 1914 the Church was operating six Redemptive Homes for Girls in as many different centres.

Efforts were not lacking to reach those in the central portions of the cities who were out of touch with the regular churches. A few Institutional Churches were established, and a number of downtown churches incorporated institutional features in their programmes. One of the earliest of these was the Nelson Street Institute opened by St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, in 1890. City missions and social settlements were organized,

combining evangelistic outreach with a wide range of social welfare services. By 1915 the Presbyterian Church was operating four Evangelical Social Settlements:- Chalmer's House, Montreal; St. Christopher House, Toronto; Robertson Memorial Institute, Winnipeg; and First Church Institute, Vancouver. The General Assembly appointed Miss Sara Libby Carson as General Supervisor of Evangelical Settlement Work.

The social concern of the Church in this period manifested itself in other ways. Prison reform and political integrity were two other causes which received attention, although efforts in these directions did not go much beyond the passing of pious resolutions. The Board of Social Service and Evangelism prepared and circulated a large amount of literature bearing on all the pressing moral and social issues of the day. Some attempts were made to gain an insight into industrial conditions and relations, partly with a view to bridging the widening gap between capital and labour and winning a more sympathetic hearing for the Church from some sections of the labour movement. A number of social surveys were made in both rural and urban areas, in several cases the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches collaborating on these projects.

All in all, a good deal of the thought, energy and resources of the Church, especially between 1900-1915, were expended on the social application of the gospel. After 1915 these issues became somewhat less engrossing. World War I served to divert some of the activities of the Church into other channels. It also brought an abrupt check to the flow of immigration, which had been responsible for many of the social problems of the preceding two decades. The growth of the labour movement and the enactment of social legislation by government action made somewhat less imperative the intervention of the church in this field. Finally, the church union controversy was taking the centre of the stage and thrusting other interests aside. It is difficult to determine to what extent the ordinary church member shared the social gospel concern. There is some evidence that more radical pronouncements were not too well received in certain influential quarters. It seems likely that those who were vitally concerned with these matters constituted a relatively small minority, but that they did succeed for a time in arousing at least a measure of interest in the Church at large.

No account of the work of the Church in the half century

following 1875 would be complete without reference to its share in the world mission of the Christian community. Although Presbyterians had initiated overseas missions work before the middle of the 19th century, they were prevented by circumstances from undertaking any very ambitious projects. They were divided into several groups, most of which were small in size and limited in resources. Coupled with this was the fact that Canada itself was still something of a mission field, partially dependent on overseas aid in both men and money. For a time, certain sections of Canada, notably the West, were regarded as falling within the scope of "foreign missions." At the time of the union of 1875 the different branches of Canadian Presbyterianism had established missions in three overseas areas, the New Hebrides, Trinidad, and North Formosa. There were eleven overseas missionaries at that time, including two or three in India attached to Scottish or American Churches.

The union of 1875 imparted a powerful impetus to overseas missions. By 1900 there were 61 missionaries on the foreign field, and by 1925 the number had increased to 225. New mission fields were opened in British Guiana; North Honan, China; South China; Jhansi, India; the Indore district of Central India; and Korea. Work was also continued and expanded in Trinidad and Formosa, but the New Hebrides mission was turned over to the Presbyterian Church of Victoria. In 1925 the Church had more than 300 men and women serving on the overseas fields. Together with some 800 native workers, they ministered to 56,120 Christians on eight fields. There were 1,032 places of worship, 720 Sunday Schools with an enrolment of 36,120, 16 hospitals and 25 dispensaries, which in 1924 provided medical treatment for over 100,000 patients. In addition, in some of these areas the Church supported Christian schools.

Some difficulty was experienced after 1875 in co-ordinating the overseas mission programme of the Church, different sections of the Church being jealous to retain oversight of the work which they had initiated. At first there were two foreign mission committees, one for the Maritime Provinces and one for central Canada. In 1886 a united Foreign Mission Committee was formed, but was divided into Eastern and Western sections. In 1892 a wider measure of unified direction was achieved with the appointment of the Rev. R. P. MacKay as the first Foreign Missions' Secretary. Finally, in 1915, the Board of Foreign Missions was

formed to supervise all the overseas missionary work of the Church.

The interest in overseas missions was stimulated by the active role which the women of the Church played in this enterprise. At the outset, there were a number of regional women's societies. The General Assembly in 1876 approved the formation of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society for the "Upper Provinces." At this time there were similar societies in Montreal and in the Maritimes. In 1910 the ladies of the Martimes joined forces as the Women's Foreign and Home Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Eastern Division). In 1914 the Women's Missionary Society (Western Division) was formed.

Contributions for the support of missions increased from $18,819 in 1876 to $463,562 in 1924. The average per capita givings for this purpose rose from .20 in 1876 to $1.50 in 1925. In terms of the total amount raised for all purposes, approximately 5.4% was expended on overseas missions in 1924 as compared with 2% in 1876. The amounts allocated for this work were never adequate to meet the need.

THE THOUGHT OF THE CHURCH

It has been said that religion in Canada in the period under review was not highly intellectualized, and it is probable that this judgment is substantially correct. Canadians were more concerned with the concrete problems of church extension and the social issues resulting from the onset of the industrial age than with abstract theological speculation. Their theologies were largely derivative, and relatively little of a creative character was produced in this country. A few significant theological works were produced by Canadian Presbyterians, mostly by men who had been educated in Scottish universities, and a number of these attained some international recognition. Generally speaking, however, energies which might have been devoted to creative scholarship were channelled into more practical pursuits.

Nevertheless, Canadian Presbyterians could not remain unaffected by the winds of change which were sweeping across the Christian world. The late 19th and early 20th centuries were a time of theological ferment. Protestant Christianity in particu-

lar seemed to be imperilled by threats to its inherited systems of thought. Creeds and concepts which had stood the test of centuries were suddenly exposed to grave challenges. Those which excited the greatest alarm were the evolutionary hypothesis, popularized in the English-speaking world through the work of Charles Darwin, and the historical-critical method of Biblical study and interpretation. These disquieting new views and methods made their presence felt in Canada a little later than in some other parts of the English-speaking world, but eventually they found their exponents.

By the 1880's, and in some instances earlier, considerable discussion was taking place concerning the advisability of revising the Westminster Confession of Faith. This was doubtless in part an echo of similar debates in the Scottish Churches, which resulted in the adoption of "Declaratory Acts" by the United Presbyterian Synod in 1879 and the Free Church Assembly in 1892, both of which permitted greater latitude in the matter of creedal subscription, and represented departures from the more rigorous Calvinism of the past. As early as 1871, the Rev. George Monro Grant, then minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, and later to be principal of Queen's University, was contending that the stringent form of subscription then required by the Church was an anachronism which only had the effect of driving worthy men from its ministry. He considered, however, that since the age was one of criticism rather than construction, it was not a propitious time for the preparation of a new formula, and that the most expedient course for the Church to pursue was to retain the Confession "without pressing it in detail."

The matter came to the fore when the General Assemblies of 1876 and 1877 were obliged to deal with the openly expressed doubts of the Rev. D. J. Macdonnell of St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, concerning the teaching of the Confession on the doctrine of everlasting punishment. Above and beyond the specific doctrine involved lay the larger issue of creedal subscription. There was a general desire to reach an amicable settlement, and in 1877 a compromise was accepted which, outwardly at least, satisfied all parties concerned. Although Mr. Macdonnell's personal doubts and difficulties were not wholly resolved, he agreed to honour his ordination vows and adhere to the official teaching of the Church. He was not really re-

conciled to the Church's position relative to the Confession, however, and continued to urge that it be reconsidered.

In the twenty years from 1890 to 1910 numerous articles anent the Confession appeared in various church publications, reflecting considerable diversity of opinion. Some writers professed themselves to be thoroughly satisfied with the Confession as a subordinate standard, and saw no good reason for tampering with it. Others placed themselves squarely on the side of revision, or proposed, in the language of one critic, that "the venerable document be placed on the shelf among historic relics." Still others conceded that they found portions of the Confession hard to accept, but manifested little interest in revision, advocating merely some flexibility in the terms of subscription. The whole debate was productive of little in the way of action, the Church making only one minor adjustment in its relationship to the Confession. From 1886-1889 the General Assembly considered Chapter 24, Section 4, of the Confession, which states: "The man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman of her husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own." The real issue was less the validity of this particular section in the Confession than the deeper principle of what at the time was called "the liberty of the Church in a constitutional way to revise her standards." After an animated debate, the Assembly of 1889 agreed to permit complete liberty of opinion with regard to this section. The Church did not, like many Presbyterian bodies, adopt a Declaratory Act, or modify in any official manner the terms of subscription. This may have owed something to the fact that after 1903 the Presbyterians were engaged in union negotiations with the Methodists and Congregationalists. This entailed, among other things, the preparation of a statement of faith which would be acceptable to all three of the negotiating Churches. In these circumstances there appeared to be little point in undertaking a revision of the Confession, even if there had been any strong inclination to do so.

The historical-critical method of Biblical study and interpretation was relatively late in reaching Canada, but by 1890 it was winning acceptance and within two decades had entrenched itself in all the Presbyterian theological colleges. The first school to become thoroughly committed to this approach was Queen's University under the influence of such men as Principal G. M.

Grant, Principal D. M. Gordon, Professor W. G. Jordan and Professor E. F. Scott. Other pioneers of the critical approach were Professor J. E. McFadyen at Knox College, Professor A. R. Gordon at Montreal, and Professor H. A. Kemp at Halifax. By 1910 the **Presbyterian** could affirm editorially that the critical approach to the Scriptures "is held, so far as we know, by all the men who teach the Bible in the theological colleges of the Presbyterian Church in Canada." To say that it was held by all the Biblical professors was not, of course, equivalent to saying it was held by all the ministers and church members, and this was clearly not the case. There were those, individuals or congregations, who distrusted these innovations, and occasionally protests were registered against what was branded as unsound teaching. In 1893-4 the Presbytery of Montreal and the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa were obliged to deal with the case of Professor John Campbell of Montreal who was charged with heretical teaching concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures and the doctrine of God. The final proceedings, however, were marked by a conciliatory attitude, and a rather nebulous compromise formula was accepted by the parties concerned. In 1904 a Toronto congregation withheld its annual contribution to the College Fund of the Church because of the teaching of the "higher criticism" by Professor J. E. McFadyen of Knox College. Yet such incidents appear to have been comparatively rare, and Canadian Presbyterians could and did boast that, unlike their sister communions in other lands, no man had been deprived of his pulpit or professorial chair because of his teaching. They were especially prone to contrast their record with that of the Presbyterian Church in the United States where the introduction of historical criticism had spawned a succession of highly publicized heresy trials, and had promoted deep-seated dissension within the denomination.

If Canadian Presbyterianism was spared serious discord over theological changes, this was probably due less to any exceptional tolerance than to widespread indifference to these issues. The **Presbyterian** was doubtless expressing a common viewpoint when it declared in 1909: "Our Canadian Churches have too much urgent and important work to do to waste time and strength on bootless wrangling about criticism and interpretation." Professor Jordan of Queen's, surveying the whole development at a later date, ascribed the comparative absence of strife to the same cause. "The desire," he wrote, "to avoid

ecclesiastical controversy with resulting divisions was partly due to the feeling that the pressure of practical work in Canada was too great to justify the expenditure of much time and energy on these academic disputes." It may be judged from the above quotations, and they could be multiplied, that this was not a theologically minded generation. The concern for theological integrity had yielded to an activism which placed the major stress on deeds rather than creeds.

It is scarcely possible to determine with any exactitude the extent to which views propounded in college classrooms or church periodicals filtered down to the rank and file of the membership. It seems reasonable to assume that, while some remained relatively unaffected, many others were influenced in their thinking to a greater or less degree. The later 19th century had witnessed a steady erosion of the Calvinistic orthodoxy with which Presbyterianism had traditionally been identified. In part, this was in the direction of a Methodist type of pietism which placed the primary emphasis on feeling and experience rather than on purity of doctrine. In part, it was in the direction of theological liberalism with its confidence in progress, its optimistic assessment of human nature, and its faith that enlightened human effort would usher in the Kingdom of God on earth. In such an atmosphere the sombre creed of Calvinism seemed an alien intrusion, and many Presbyterians were induced, consciously or unconsciously, to dilute it or adapt it to altered circumstances. Some were coming to believe that all creeds were in essence pretty much the same, that they complemented rather than contradicted each other, that they should no longer be allowed to keep Christians apart, and that the practical needs of the Church in Canada must take precedence over denominational peculiarities. This general frame of mind was one of the ingredients which went into the making of the church union movement.

THE DIVIDING OF THE CHURCH

The period, 1850-1925, opened with movements for uniting Canadian Presbyterianism, and closed with the disruption of the Church. This history of the 20th century church union movement will be considered more fully in the following chapter. Here we shall merely note some of the forces and factors leading up to it.

It might be said that the fundamental difference between those who advocated and those who opposed the organic union of the Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists was that the former were persuaded that such a union was the will of Christ for His Church, while the latter were not convinced that this was the case. Although this may have been true, yet there were certain tangible reasons why the union movement occurred in this particular time and place. Some of these applied to Protestantism generally in this era, while others were more or less peculiar to the Canadian scene.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries witnessed the emergence of a good deal of ecumenical sentiment. The older denominational isolationism of the mid-19th century was breaking down, giving rise to a number of interdenominational organizations and a growing measure of interdenominational co-operation. Examples of this were the Evangelical Alliance (a Canadian branch of which was formed in 1874); the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.; Sunday School Unions; temperance movements and organizations to conserve the Sunday, such as the Lord's Day Alliance. In all of these, people of evangelical persuasion in the different denominations learned to work together in the pursuit of common objectives. They came to know and understand each other better and, in many instances, to wonder whether such co-operative efforts might not presage a broader Christian unity. Once the movement for church union had been officially launched, co-operation, especially as between Presbyterians and Methodists, was extended into other spheres, including home missions, social service and theological education. Some of these joint activities, however, may be esteemed effects rather than causes of the union movement.

Reference has been made above to some of the changes in the theological climate which characterized this period. One result of the impact of these changes was to make many Christians much less sure of themselves and of their positions than they had formerly been. A spirit of relativism was corroding the older certitudes. A good many things that had once seemed vitally important no longer appeared to be either certain or indispensable. Included in this category were denominational peculiarities of doctrine and polity, the very things which had originally brought the different denominations into existence and which still held them apart. The Canadian periodical, **The Week,**

referred in 1890 to what it called the "theological thaw" which was slowly but surely melting historic doctrinal and ecclesiastical barriers. In Canada, this shifting theological climate had special relevance to the relations between Presbyterians and Methodists. On certain points at least, these two churches had once seemed to stand far apart. Th lines between Presbyterian Calvinism and Methodist Arminianism had at one time been sharply drawn, but were now becoming increasingly blurred and indistinct. Theologically speaking, many Presbyterians probably stood much closer to Methodism than their forefathers had done. In any case, the theological barriers to union no longer appeared to be insurmountable.

The spread of ecumenical sentiment and the obscuring of theological landmarks are not of themselves sufficient to account for the church union movement, for these developments were by no means confined to Canada. To explain why the first major interdenominational union in modern church history took place in this country, it is necessary to regard certain local conditions. One of these is the fact that by 1900 Canadian Protestantism had attained a high level of denominational integration. By 1875 virtually all Presbyterians were included within the one Presbyterian Church in Canada. Scottish Presbyterians were reunited in the one Church of Scotland only in 1929, fifty-four years later, while Presbyterianism in the United States has not yet reached this stage. Nearly all Canadian Methodists were brought together in the Methodist Church of Canada in 1884. It was only in 1939, fifty-five years later, that American Methodism achieved a comparable unity. Although there is no reason why denominational unification must precede interdenominational mergers, there is a certain logic in this sequence of events. Moreover, in working toward denominational unity, Canadian Protestants had become union conscious. They had acquired a certain facility in the art of compromise, of understanding and appreciating divergent viewpoints, an art which forms an integral part of union negotiations. Some had been captivated by visions of larger and more inclusive unions. Both at the time of the Presbyterian union of 1875 and the Methodist union of 1884, prominent leaders of these Churches had voiced the hope that their respective denominational unions would be only a prelude to far larger unions in the future. The official church union movement was inspired to some degree by the success of these earlier denominational consolidations.

Finally, there was the accumulation of practical problems confronting the Canadian Churches in the early years of the 20th century:- the massive immigration, the settlement of the West, the mushrooming cities, the decline of the rural church. All of these developments confronted the churches simultaneously, especially in the twenty years from 1895 to 1915. So far as could be foreseen they were likely to continue increasing both in scope and intensity. It might be hyperbolic to suggest that they induced a state of panic or hysteria, but it would be fair to state that they produced a widespread conviction that the nation and its churches faced an emergency requiring drastic action. For many, an organic union of the churches appeared to offer the most effective means of grappling with these issues. This whole combination of circumstances governed the thinking of many of those who supported the union cause. As a future Moderator of the United Church of Canada was to write in 1925: "The original impulse of Union arose out of the practical necessities of the case; and though in more recent years other considerations have added strength to the Union movement, it is hardly to be denied that the argument of practical necessity has been the main factor in making for Union."

Other considerations did give added impetus to the union movement, but the factors outlined above would appear to have been paramount. In their cumulative effects they presented Canadian Presbyterianism with the most serious crisis in its history, culminating in the rupture of tthe Church in 1925.

PART III

1925 and After

by

Neil G. Smith

During the years between 1875 and 1925 the Presbyterian Church in Canada enjoyed an unparalleled period of growth and prosperity. In the last twenty-five years of this period there was also a growing rift in the church's membership over the issue of organic union with other branches of the Christian Church, a rift which resulted in the division of the church in 1925 between those who joined with the Methodists and Congregationalists to form the United Church of Canada, and those who believed that they should endeavour to maintain the doctrines and usages of the Presbyterian Church. In considering this "ground swell of denominationalism" we must turn to the events leading up to the union of 1925 which resulted in the formation of the United Church of Canada. As far as the Presbyterian Church is concerned this movement towards organic unity was a movement of disruption, creating havoc in our congregations, disrupting the fabric of our church organization, and leaving our Church with only a fraction of its former strength. Attention is turned to this movement, not to stir up painful memories of past conflicts and ecclesiastical battles of long ago, but to account for the present position of Presbyterianism in Canada.

The movement towards organic union of the Methodist, Congregationalist, and Presbyterian Churches in Canada was preceded by a period of happy and fruitful co-operation among the major Protestant denominations. Presbyterians in Canada showed a remarkable willingness to co-operate with other denominations. In 1770 two Presbyterian ministers and two Congregationalists formed themselves in a Presbytery to ordain Bruin Romcas Comingoe. A number of settlers in Lunenberg who belonged to the Reformed faith had sought in vain to obtain a pastor from abroad. Mr. Comingoe, one of their own people, was singled out as having gifts suitable for the ministry, and was ordained by this self-constituted Presbytery. Such an action, which would have been regarded as highly irregular in ordinary circumstances, was accepted as a practical necessity.

The economic impossibility of supporting several denomin-

ations in small and impoverished communities often gave an impetus to the formation of friendly alliances with other Churches. One of the pioneer ministers complained that the only way a Presbyterian minister could live comfortably in Nova Scotia would be to be provided with a Jacob's ladder on which he might mount to heaven on Sunday night and return to minister to his flock the following Sunday. Other denominations had similar difficulties.

From the beginning of co-operative work among the Protestant Churches of Canada Presbyterians entered wholeheartedly into such projects and contributed much to them. C. E. Silcox has drawn attention to this willingness of Kirk folk to co-operate with other denominations in common tasks:

> It is well to note that in certain types of activity the Presbyterians proved quite as co-operative, if not more co-operative than other denominations. Thus in the work among French Canadians they loyally supported the inter-denominational French Canadian Missionary Society, when Baptists, Anglicans, and Methodists set up their own work . . . Again in the Maritime Provinces they continued to support Dalhousie University when the Baptists and Methodists had diverted their interest to denominational colleges.[1]

In the light of the contribution which Presbyterians have made, both before and after 1925, to such co-operative projects, no one should mistake the opposition which developed towards organic union of the Churches as an indication of ecclesiastical isolationism.

The formal movement towards organic union in Canada was launched by a speech delivered by Principal William Patrick of Manitoba College. In 1902 the Quadrennial Conference of the Methodist Church was meeting in Winnipeg. Three Presbyterian Ministers, George P. Bryce, the Moderator of the General Assembly that year, C. W. Gordon (widely known as a novelist under the pen-name of Ralph Connor), and Principal Patrick, were delegated to convey the greetings of the Presbyterian Church to the Methodist Conference.

Principal Patrick had at this time been in Canada for only a little more than two years. Most of those two years had been spent in Western Canada, where he had seen and heard much

1. Charles Edward Silcox, CHURCH UNION IN CANADA, p. 101.

about the evils of over-lapping in the work of the Churches. He had been impressed, as many others had been impressed, with the urgency for co-operation in such work. The conviction had grown upon him that it would be easier, from a practical standpoint, to unite the Churches, than to arrange and carry out any equitable system of co-operation based on the number of members of a denomination in a district, or any other principle of division which could be devised.[2] In bringing greetings from the Presbyterian Church he presented a passionate plea for the uniting of the Churches. In his account of the speech he delivered he says:

> I was the last of the three delegates to be called on, and as soon as I rose I plunged at once into my subject, arguing and pleading for union as the most valuable agent for furtherance of Home Mission and Christian work in Western Canada. I disclaimed any title to speak for the Presbyterian Church.[3]

While he did not claim to be speaking on behalf of the Presbyterian Church he was an official delegate of that Church, and the members of the Methodist Conference assumed, not unnaturally, that he was voicing an opinion which had a considerable following in that Church. In response to his suggestion the Methodist Conference issued an invitation to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches "in no spirit of exclusiveness towards others not named" to consider the possibilities of organic union. They indicated that their Church "would regard a movement with this object in view with great gratification."[4]

The invitation was accepted with alacrity by the Congregationalists, who, as early as 1887, had affirmed their willingness to participate in any movement towards the union of the Churches "consistent with the New Testament principle of righteousness and freedom." In the regular procedure of Presbyterian courts the invitation of the Methodists was presented to the General Assembly of 1903, and was referred to the Assembly's Committee on Correspondence with Other Churches. This Committee met with representatives of the Methodist and Congregational Churches in April, 1904. They reported to the General Assembly in the following June that they looked upon the proposal for or-

2. W. Patrick, "The Case for Church Union", in THE PRESBYTERIAN, May 12, 1910.

3. IBID.

4. The text of the communication from the Methodist Church is printed in the MINUTES of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, 1903, p. 264.

ganic union of the Churches as "both desirable and practicable." The General Assembly accepted their report, and appointed a separate Committee to confer with the other Churches.

During the meetings of the Committee on Union steps were taken to devise a Basis of Union and explore the lines upon which the union of the Churches might be carried into effect. In reporting to the Assembly in 1905 the Presbyterian Committee made the following statement:

> It was universally recognized in the joint committee that a question so important and far-reaching in its results was not one to be unduly hurried: that a union of the churches, to be real and lasting, must carry the consent of the entire membership, and that no final step could be taken until ample opportunity had been given to consider the whole question in the courts of the various Churches, and by the people generally.[5]

The negotiations leading towards eventual union were being generally viewed with favour in the Methodist and Congregational Churches, but among the Presbyterians it was evident that many looked upon the whole project with disfavour. When the report of the Committee on Union was presented at the General Assembly of 1906 the opponents of union proposed an amendment to the effect that any further negotiations with the other Churches should be along the lines of a federal, or co-operative union. The Assembly decisively rejected this amendment, by a vote of 179 to 22, and in pressing on towards the goal of organic union issued an invitation to the Anglican and Baptist Churches to join with them.

The Anglicans replied that they would be happy to appoint a committee to confer with the other Churches, as long at it was understood that no action taken "can be binding on the Church of England in Canada until approved by the General Synod, acting in full accord with the Anglican Communion throughout the world." They made it plain that they would consider no proposals for union which were inconsistent with the statements of the Lambeth conference which required acceptance of the historic episcopate.[6] Since the negotiating churches were not prepared to accept the historic episcopate at this stage, no further overtures were made in this direction. The Baptists, too, indicated their

5. Appendix, MINUTES, General Assembly, 1905, p. 280.
6. The full text is printed in E. L. Morrow, CHURCH UNION IN CANADA, p. 42.

reluctance to enter upon negotiations for organic union. The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec indicated in their reply that in loyalty to their principles they found it necessary, for the present, "to maintain a separate existence." They stated, furthermore, that they did not consider organic union of the Churches necessary for Christian unity:

> They recognize with thankfulness the gracious operation of the Spirit of God among the brethren of other denominations, and feel themselves to be one with them in many of those things which concern the progress of the Kingdom of God on earth. At the same time they do not admit that organic union of all Christians is an essential condition of Christian unity, or even the necessarily productive of it.[7]

Those within the Presbyterian Church who were opposed to the movement towards organic union, and who eventually refused to enter it, were sharing an attitude towards it assumed by both the Anglicans and the Baptists.

By 1909 the Joint Committee of the three negotiating churches had completed the draft of the Basis of Union. The Presbyterian General Assembly directed that this be sent down to the Presbyteries. A number of dissents were recorded when this action was taken. It was alleged that faith had not been kept with the membership of the Church in informing them of developments or giving them an opportunity of expressing any opinion on the desirability of the union sought. It was alleged that the proposed Basis of Union would legislate the Presbyterian Church out of existence, and that the General Assembly could not, constitutionally, invite Presbyteries to pass judgment on a proposal which would involve their extinction. It was pointed out that the Barrier Act, under which the judgment of the Presbyteries was sought, was never intended to be used for asking the Presbyteries of the Church to commit suicide.[8] Discontent was voiced, too, that those opposed to the union had so little opportunity to express their views before the Assembly. Although these dissents were recorded a majority of Presbyteries of the Church expressed their approval of the Basis of Union and the desirability of proceeding towards the consummation of the union with the other Churches.

The Methodists and Congregational Churches accepted the Basis of Union, and were eager to proceed with final negotiations.

7. The Baptist reply is printed in E. L. Morrow, OP. CIT., pp. 34-39.
8. See the report of speeches in THE PRESBYTERIAN, June 16, 1910.

The leaders of the union movement in the Presbyterian Church had to reckon with a vigorous opposition which insisted that the members of the Church be permitted to vote on the issue. The report of the first vote was presented to the General Assembly of 1912. In answer to the question, "Are you in favour of organic union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches?" the following votes were recorded

	Elders	Members	Adherents
Yes	6,245	106,755	37,175
No	2,475	50,733	14,174

Since many had not voted (the total communicant membership at the time was 287,619) less than half the communicant membership had indicated a desire for union. When the Presbyterian Union Committee met to consider the vote they were impressed at the size of the minority in opposition, and agreed to report that in view of this opposition to the project union would not be possible at present. Members of this Committee attending the meetings of the General Assembly in Edmonton submitted to the Assembly the following resolutions:

> The Assembly rejoices that a large majority of those voting have declared themselves in favour of the proposed organic union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational Communions in Canada, and believes that organic union will soon be consummated.
>
> The Assembly re-affirms the position taken by previous assemblies that organic union is the end to be aimed at and striven for, and assures the other negotiating churches of its sincere and ardent desire to complete such union within a brief period. In view, however, of the extent of the opposition, indicated by the vote, the Assembly deems it unwise to proceed to the immediate consummation of the union.[9]

The Assembly refused to accept this statement. After considerable discussion the reference to the Presbyterian Church being committed to organic union was omitted. Some of those opposed to the union were added to the Union Committee, and all agreed that in the meantime closer co-operation be carried on among the negotiating churches in the work of Home Missions, publications, and theological education.

The admission of opponents of union to the Church's Union Committee was a conciliatory gesture, but since they were

9. MINUTES, General Assembly, 1912, p. 302.

outnumbered in the Committee there was little they could accomplish. The following year the advocates of union again expressed the hope that union with the negotiating churches "may be consummated without unnecessary delay." The members of the Church were asked to vote again on the issue of union. In this second vote, in 1915, out of 344,740 communicant members, 113,600 voted "Yes" and 73,735 voted "No." It will be noted that in spite of the increase in the total number of communicant members there was a very slight increase in the number expressing a desire for union, and that there was a significant increase in the number expressing themselves as opposed to it. In both years there were many who indicated their indifference to the whole issue by not voting at all. The number voting in the report of 1912 was only 55 per cent of the communicant membership, and the number in 1915 was slightly less, 54.3 per cent. The size, and the increasing strength of the opposition to union, flourishing in spite of a barrage of propaganda in favour of union should have been a warning of the serious consequences which might follow an attempt to press forward towards the proposed union.

The opposition towards the union took definite form in the organization of a Presbyterian Church Association, formed by a meeting of opponents of the union held in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto. The meeting passed the following resolution, which may be regarded as the charter of the Association:

> We, members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, assembled in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, while affirming our belief in the spiritual unity of all believers, our cordiality towards our brethren of other communions, and our willingness for all feasible co-operation with them in the interests of the Kingdom of God, express our conviction that the time has not arrived for the discontinuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. For—
>
> WHEREAS the Union Committee in its first report, and the General Assembly of 1905 in adopting that report, laid down as a condition of organic union that a Union of the Churches to be real and lasting must carry the consent of the entire membership'; and
>
> WHEREAS the first vote of the people in 1911 was taken on the understanding that the proposed Union must carry the consent of the entire membership; and out of a total member-

ship of 298,916, 113,000 voted in favour of the Union and 50,733 against; and

WHEREAS the Assembly of 1912 on receiving that vote declared it unwise, owing to the extent of the minority, to proceed immediately to Union; and

WHEREAS in the vote of 1915, out of a total membership of 338,322, 113,600 voted in favour of Organic Union and 73,735 voted against; and

WHEREAS according to the foregoing from 1911 to 1915 the membership of the Presbyterian Church in Canada increased approximately 40,000, the vote for Union increased only 600 while the vote against Union increased 23,000; and

WHEREAS only about one-third of the entire membership has declared itself in favour of the proposed Organic Union; and

WHEREAS the action of the General Assembly at Winnipeg was manifestly untimely and ill-advised; and

WHEREAS the foregoing facts indicate that the case in favour of the proposed Organic Union has not been established;

THEREFORE, in view of these facts, as well as for other reasons, it is hereby resolved that our present duty is to maintain and continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and to this duty we solemnly pledge ourselves.

The "other reasons" mentioned in the concluding paragraph of this resolution were acrimoniously elaborated in the heat of controversy. It was asserted that the proposed Basis of Union was a poor substitute for the traditional Presbyterian standards. In a letter to **The Presbyterian Record** spokesmen for the opposition to the Union said that the Basis of Union "is seriously defective as an expression of Scripture truth and Christian faith and as a system of Church polity, and not worthy to be a substitute for the standards and polity of the world-wide Presbyterian Church which it seeks to displace."[10] It was claimed that all the goals sought in the proposed union could be achieved through co-operation of the Churches, without the friction and loss which would inevitably come if the issue of union were pressed. It appeared

10. Letter of John Penman and T. Wardlaw Taylor in THE PRESBYTERIAN RECORD, January, 1915, p. 10.

to the opponents of union that its advocates were more intent upon seeking a distant goal of Christian unity than in seeking the peace and welfare of the Church as it was;

> There is the ever deepening conviction that a movement which claims—as its foundation principle—the desire for larger union, and persists in creating disunion in our own Church; which claims as its animating spirit love to other denominations and disregards the convictions of a large part of its own membership, and would compel them out of their Church by ending it; which claims to be a fuller expression and manifestation of Jesus Christ to the world, and presses its own aim without having regard to covenants past or consequences to come—is not a movement which indicates the Hand and Voice of God.[11]

In such statements the ground swell of denominationalism, loyalty to the traditions and usages of one particular branch of the Church, was very apparent.

Majorities in Church courts had carried forward negotiations towards a Union which many of the members regarded with indifference, and towards which some were bitterly opposed. Complaints were made that those negotiating with the other Churches and carrying the Presbyterians into Union were exercising clerical tyranny and were not speaking for the Church. Many who saw the disadvantages of a divided Protestantism shrank back from an amalgamation of Churches in which their distinctive traditions might be lost. The leadership of the movement to Union underestimated the strength of the opposition. Down at the grass-roots of the Church there was a great deal of indifference towards the whole project, and in some quarters an increasingly vocal hostility towards it. To congregations in solidly Presbyterian settlements, as in many parts of Ontario and the Maritimes, the possible advantages of uniting with Methodists and Congregationalists appeared to be remote issues. Their congregations had maintained their own work for years, without undue friction with their Methodist neighbours. Evils of rivalry and overlapping, so much talked about by the proponents of Union, were not particularly apparent among the well-established congregations of Eastern Canada. Their members were not persuaded that the time had come for them to abandon the distinctive witness which they felt their Church was called to bear.

In an article in the **Harvard Theological Review** in 1915

11. IBID., p. 12.

Dr. D. J. Fraser pointed out that behind the reasons put forward by the opponents of organic union there were the ties of loyalty and sentiment to a Church whose traditions and usages had commended themselves to the people;

> There are a great many silent folk who are governed by sentiment rather than by reason. Church loyalty, like patriotism, is not always rational. Many private members have an instinctive reluctance to merging their Church in this big union, although their feeling is hardly articulate. They are almost bewildered by the enthusiasm of their leaders in planning the sacrifice of their Church's identity.[12]

The leadership of the movement for organic union, underestimating the strength of this factor among the opponents of union, kept hoping that the opposition would subside, and that the reluctant minority could be persuaded to enter the Union without protest.

In response to numerous petitions and overtures from Presbyteries of the Church the General Assembly of 1917 agreed to defer action on Union until after the war should be over, and called for a truce between advocates and opponents of the project. The following resolution was adopted:

> That inasmuch as the resolution of the last Assembly sets forth that further action will not be taken until the second Assembly after the close of the war, to secure peace in the meantime, the Assembly urges that controversy on the matter of Organic Union be dropped by all parties; that no further attempt be made at the present time to set forth in detail the action appropriate to a future period, but that the Church patiently await the new light which it may receive by Divine guidance through the growing experience of the people, and the lessons of the war.[13]

At the same time it was agreed to consolidate the work of the negotiating Churches wherever possible, and in localities where union was feasible and desired, to set up union congregations. By 1923 it was estimated that local unions between congregations of the negotiating Churches had been effected in more than 1,200 pastoral charges.

At the General Assembly of 1921 the decision was made

12. D. J. Fraser, "Church Union Movements in Canada", HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, v.viii, 1915, p. 377.
13. MINUTES, General Assembly, 1914.

to proceed with steps towards union "as expeditiously as possible." The advocates of union were quite aware by this time of the risk of disruption of the Church, but believed that they had gone too far to turn back. Commitments had been made to the other Churches involved. Constitutionally a majority of ministers and members had declared themselves to be in favour of the proposed union, and it was held that the dissenting minority were obligated to abide by the decision of the majority. As Dr. George C. Pidgeon stated:

> What we had to point out to those who proposed the shelving of organic union was that there was no possibility of either going back or remaining as we were. The Church had decided on Union and was in honour bound to keep faith with the other two churches.[14]

Both sides now undertook to present their position to the membership of the Church. Through public meetings, through pamphlets, and through the public press, inflammatory statements were made, and the Presbyterian Church became involved in the bitterest controversy in Canadian Church history. Congregations were divided. Ties of friendship, and even family ties, were strained by the division. Legislation for the Union had to be passed by the parliaments of the provinces and the federal government. The struggle to secure such legislation gave unhappy publicity to the division of opinion which existed in the Church.

The minister of St. Andrew's, Toronto, Dr. Stuart C. Parker, came to Canada in May, 1923, and cast in his lot enthusiastically with those opposed to the Union. In addressing the Women's League, an auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church Association, he stated his stand on the issue, which is of interest as the judgment of an observer who came upon the scene when the controversy was at its height:

> It is true that I am comparatively a stranger in Canada. But I have been long enough in the country to see what is going on and to deplore it. I have been long enough here to deplore the rending of a great Church—for that is what is being done in the name of Union. The Presbyterian Church in Canada was doing a useful and godly work, functioning as an honourable member in the body of Christendom. Now it is being torn asunder. Surely it is a sight to move the angels to tears! And to

14. George C. Pidgeon, THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA: THE STORY OF UNION, p. 59.

this work of demolition the name of 'union' is applied! Obsessed with the thought of gathering in a certain number of Methodists they reck nothing of the casting out of a vast number of fellow-Presbyterians. I confess I see no Union here at all. You begin with the object of gathering three Churches into one. When the end comes you have not accomplished that. You are left with at least two Churches—for we Presbyterians will stand apart. You have merely shuffled the people of Canada in new combinations, creating endless heartburnings, and marring the unity of the Spirit in the process.[15]

These sentiments were widely shared. What was championed by the leaders of the Union movement as a great step forward towards Christian unity and the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer that His followers might be one, was looked upon by those eager to maintain the witness of Presbyterianism in Canada as the disruption of a great Church.

One of the factors which irritated the opponents of Union most was the claim, supported by the legislation effected in the civil legislatures, that the Presbyterian Church was entering the Union, and that those who remained out of the Union should not be entitled to call themselves the Presbyterian Church in Canada. W. G. Brown, known as "Brown of Red Deer," stressed this aspect of the Union as an effort to rob us of our name, and closed his address by quoting the fiery challenge of the MacGregors whose name had been proscribed:

They may rob us of name, they may hunt us with beagles,

Give our roofs to the flame and our flesh to the eagles . . .

While there are leaves on the forest or foam on the river

MacGregor despite them shall flourish forever!

Both sides attached importance to the name. To the advocates of Union it was important that it should be understood that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was entering the Union. By action of the Church courts, and by approval of the civil legislatures, it was the Presbyterian Church in Canada which was entering the Union. The opponents of the Union were equally eager to maintain that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was continuing its witness. They were inclined to interpret the action of

15. Stuart C. Parker, THE BOOK OF ST. ANDREW'S, p. 117.

their opponents as an attempt to coerce a minority, and to rob them of a name which they cherished.

The Church Union Act received its final assent on July 19, 1924. It was provided that the Act should not come into force until June 10, 1925, and that any congregation had the right to vote before this date on whether it would enter the United Church. Unless a congregation voted to remain out of the Union it was to be assumed that it entered the United Church. The Presbyterian Church Association was active in encouraging the taking of votes in congregations. It kept opponents of the Union informed as to their legal rights, provided speakers for public meetings at which the issue was discussed, and issued literature setting forth reasons for opposing the Union and continuing the existence of the Presbyterian Church. Those who favoured the Union were equally active. In some congregations opinion was so closely divided that the majority one way or the other was very small. Because of the different methods used in voting there are various estimates of the number of votes cast for and against union. When the lines of division were drawn there remained in the communicant membership of the Presbyterian Church 154,243. The membership in 1924 was reported to be 379,762. The number of those who did not choose to enter the United Church was sufficient to ensure that a Presbyterian Church could be maintained.

The Presbyterian Church Association issued instructions as to the procedure to be followed in maintaining the continuity of the Church. In Presbyteries and Synods the opponents of Union were advised to present at the last meeting before the consummation of Union a Claim of Right and Protest. They would continue in session after the formal closing of the Court, affirm their purpose of continuing the Presbyterian Church in Canada, transact such business as might be necessary, and then disperse. These steps were taken to maintain the position that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was not entering the Union, but maintaining its life and witness.

Similar steps were dramatically taken at the meeting of the General Assembly which was held in College Street Church, Toronto. On June 5 the report of the Union Committee was presented. When it was moved that the report be adopted the opponents of Union entered the following dissent:

> We, the undersigned, and all who care to associate themselves with us, beg leave to enter our dissent from the findings of

this Assembly on the matter of Church Union, for the following reasons:

1. In the face of the claim that the Presbyterian Church in Canada is going into Union at the present time, approximately 700 congregations have thus far declared by their vote their opposition to the organic union of the negotiating Churches in terms of the United Church of Canada Act, and their determination to continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

2. Of the communicants in Canada who have thus far recorded their vote, a majority of approximately 5,000 have declared their opposition to the proposed organic union, the reports from two provinces not being yet available.

3. That this General Assembly is not representative of the mind of the Church; in proof of which it is sufficient to state the fact that in the Provinces of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, of the communicants who have voted on the question, 3,432 have voted for Union, 7,755 have voted against Union; the 3,432 having 71 commissioners at this Assembly, while the 7,755 have only one commissioner.

Further, that from the whole Synod of British Columbia there is only one non-concurring commissioner, while the great metropolitan Presbytery of Montreal has not one non-concurring commissioner; further, that out of 79 Presbyteries 49 have no non-concurring members of the Church within their bounds; and that no Assembly constituted in such a manner can give a fair representation of the mind of the people who constitute the Church.

In answer to this dissent the Union Committee presented a reply on June 9. It was explained that the "dissent or refusal of any minority, however substantial," does not affect the decision of the Church speaking through its courts; that to the number of those who voted for the Union must be added the membership of those congregations which had agreed to enter the Union without taking a vote; and that the commissioners to this Assembly had been appointed in the usual manner. While technically correct in every detail this answer scarcely does justice to the claim made that the Assembly was not representative of the mind of the Church.

As the Assembly adjourned the following Claim of Right

was presented by Dr. T. Wardlaw Taylor on behalf of the 78 dissenting commissioners:

We the undersigned Ministers and Elders, commissioners to this fifty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, although feeling painfully the solemnity of our position, and deeply distressed in view of the impending separation, do nevertheless, in our own name, and in the name of all who may choose to adhere to us, hereby solemnly protest that,

Whereas the Presbyterian Church in Canada as a Church of Christ, composed of certain four Presbyterian Churches in the Dominion that entered into a Covenant of Union in 1875, and of such additional persons as since then have chosen to unite themselves with her, constituted upon (a) the Scriptures of Old and New Testaments as being the only infallible rule of faith and manners, upon (b) The Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catecisms as her doctrinal standards, declaring how the Church interprets the teaching of the Scriptures on the several matters embraced in the documents, and upon (c) the recognized principles and practice of the Presbyterian Churches as laid down generally in "The Form of Church Government" and the "Directory for the Public Worship of God" as to her government and worship, all set forth in the Basis of Union of 1875;

It is her faithful adherence to the aforesaid standards of doctrine and worship, and forms of discipline and government, adequately secured unto her by the said Covenant of Union of 1875, that the real historical and hereditary identity of the Presbyterian Church in Canada consists, as well as her continuity as the lawful successor in this Dominion of the Reformed Churches of the Motherland;

And whereas the Basis of Union negotiated between the Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian Churches contains very many features inconsistent with the standards of the Church secured unto us by the Covenant of Union of 1875;

And whereas the Ministers met in this General Assembly have come under a solemn engagement to maintain and defend the government of the Church by Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and to follow no divisive course from the present order established in the Church;

And whereas the Elders met in this General Assembly

have come under a solemn engagement, and still lie under it, to maintain and defend this government of the Church by Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies.

We do further protest that we cannot comply with the course pursued by the prevailing party, or acquiesce in their decision to merge the Presbyterian Church in Canada in another Church under the aforesaid Basis of Union;

And whereas the resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada held in the City of Winnipeg in 1916, approving of the said Basis of Union, together with all things since done to implement the said resolutions were beyond the power of that or any other General Assembly,

We do further protest that, notwithstanding the action of the Assembly in 1916, or any further action by the prevailing party in this Assembly, it shall be lawful for us, together with such other commissioners as may adhere to us, to continue in session in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, on Thursday, June 11th, 1925, as commissioners to the fifty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and there, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, and maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and standards of the Church as hitherto understood, to adopt such measures as may be competent to us for the continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to the advancement of God's glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour throughout the world, and the orderly administration of Christ's House, according to His Holy Word;

And finally, we do protest before the great God, the Searcher of all hearts, that we, and all those who shall adhere to us, are not responsible for this schism in the Church, or for any consequences which may flow from this enforced separation. In humble submission to His will, we give this our testimony. To Him we commend our cause, and we pray that in the days to come His richest blessing may rest upon the Church of our fathers, which Church we are resolved by His help to maintain.

In witness of this our Protest and Claim of Right, and as commissioners to this fifty-first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, we subscribe our hands, at Toronto, this ninth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-five.

This Protest and Claim of Right was signed by seventy-eight commissioners. Continuing in session these non-concurring commissioners elected the Rev. D. G. McQueen of Edmonton to preside, and agreed to adjourn to meet again at 11:45 p.m. in Knox Church.

Great throngs of men and women eager to perpetuate the witness of Presbyterianism in Canada gathered in the evening for a service of prayer and praise in Knox Church, aware of the solemnity of the occasion, and convinced that they were taking a decisive step to keep the faith of their fathers alive in Canada. At the appointed hour the Assembly was constituted. W. G. Brown describes the scene which followed;

> We were there, and every corner of that big church was filled to the last inch of standing room. As the clock struck 12, the hour when the Church Union Act was to come into force, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada was supposed to be annihilated, the General Assembly was in session, and the Moderator called upon the whole congregation to rise and sing, **O God,** our help in ages past —and didn't they sing it? No one who was present will ever forget that historic meeting.

In spite of the action of majorities in Church courts and civil legislatures the determined minority had taken decisive action to demonstrate that the Presbyterian Church was still a living entity in Canada.

Looking back upon the whole controversy in the perspective of some forty years the observer today can see the sincerity with which both sides contended for what they believed to be best for Christ's cause in Canada. The controversy had in it some of the elements of a Greek tragedy. Dr. Archibald Fleming, speaking before the Assembly of the Church of Scotland deplored the bitterness with which the issue had been fought;

> The civil war within the Canadian Presbyterian Church for bitterness, intensity, and tragic acrimony, has had no parallel since the Scottish disruption in 1843. The melancholy thing is that all this un-Christian strife has been going on in the name of Christian unity; and without doubting their good motives, it is permissible to question the statesmanship of those who in the sacred name engineered so lamentable a disruption.[16]

The goal of those who had prayed and laboured for organic

16. Quoted in John McNab, "Why I Remained a Presbyterian in Canada" in CHRISTENDOM, v.1, no. 4, 1936, p. 686.

union of the three churches was achieved in part only, and that part was achieved at the costly price of rancour, bitterness, and unchristian strife. The legacy of bitterness remained in some communities for many years, and the strife left deep scars which healed but slowly.

It is noteworthy that the authors of a recent history of the Ecumenical movement (Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill, **A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517 - 1948,** pp. 456 - 7) comment upon the fact that the church union movement in Canada raised most acutely the "moral, as against the legal rights of a majority." A plurality of votes in church courts gave the leaders of the union movement a legal right to proceed towards the consummation of union. This legal right they exercised with scant regard for the rights and privileges of those who did not share their enthusiasm for a united church.

This who remained out of the union were often derided, during the years of controversy and afterwards, for stubbornly maintaining their denominational allegiance and obstructing a great experiment in ecclesiastical unity. At the time of the division many felt that if they were to enter the union they would be entering a hastily-contrived organization, constructed upon compromises, and forsaking an historic branch of the Church whose labours had been richly blessed. Whether they were right or wrong later generations will be in a better position to judge than we are, but surely it is not altogether reprehensible to feel ties of loyalty to a church in whose fellowship we have been nurtured, whose forms of worship we have learned to love, and whose traditions we have learned to cherish.

THE YEARS OF RECONSTRUCTION

When the long controversy over Church Union was ended and the lines of division drawn the Presbyterian Church found itself in a difficult position. Many of its congregations were left without ministers. Minority groups from congregations which had entered the United Church were left without places of worship, and in many instances, without ministerial leadership. In some localities Anglican and Baptist congregations graciously placed their churches at the disposal of minority groups. Such friendly gestures were deeply appreciated. Some groups met in hired theatres or public halls until arrangements could be made for the purpose of erecting a church. In some instances minority groups were able to buy church property from the United Church and make use of former Presbyterian or Methodist buildings which had been vacated by the uniting of two congregations. In a few instances ownership of church property was disputed in the law courts. Where there were such incidents new fuel was added to the fires of the old controversy. Many of the members of the boards and committees of the Church, the secretaries, and the college professors, entered the United Church. The whole organization of the church had to be rebuilt, and new leadership had to be found for the church's enterprises.

The church came through this trying period remarkably well. The Presbyterian Church Association had done admirable work in assisting congregations preparing to maintain their connection with the Presbyterian Church. The Association was organized in 1916, but when the proceedings towards Union had been halted in 1917, the Association disbanded and closed its offices. In 1922 the Association was reorganized, and an office was opened in Toronto in January, 1923. When the Church Union Bill was passed by the Canadian parliament the Association appointed Provisional Standing Committees to deal with matters which would have to be attended to in the re-organization of the church's work. Committees were appointed to deal with Home and Foreign missions, publications, rules and forms, and organization. Mr. Thomas McMillan served as Chairman of the Association, and Dr. J. W. MacNamara, who later became a Clerk of the General Assembly, served as its Secretary. As the first Assembly after the division the preliminary work of the Association and its officers permitted the Church to move quickly in re-building its organization. Organizers were appointed for various dis-

tricts, and standing committees were named to carry on the ministry of the church.

There was noticeable in the early years of reorganization a tendency to give much greater authority to the laymen of the church. Many felt that their ministerial leaders had failed them in leading the church into a union of which so many of the people disapproved. Dr. Ephraim Scott, the first Moderator of the church after the division, voiced the sentiments of a strong section of the group in pointing out that the people are the church.

> Presbyterians come behind no other church in giving their ministry, when worthy of it, their respect and trust . . . But they acknowledge no class or class privilege, or power, in the church . . . There has been departure from this ideal, and some of these servants in the church have claimed ownership and control of the church; have assumed to be themselves the church, having the right to do with it whatever they may choose, the right to wipe it out and replace it by another church of an entirely different type, and to transfer the people into that other at will . . .
>
> On this our Jubilee we return to our Divine ideal and proclaim anew the liberties and rights of the people, the whole people, as the Church of Christ.

The temper of the church found expression in the setting up of a Board of Administration to be composed entirely of laymen. This Board, not to exceed forty in number, was to be "composed of laymen experienced in business and finance" to have oversight "of all business and financial affairs of the church."

The General Assembly of 1926 sent a letter of greeting to other Presbyterian Churches in which it reported its progress:

> The recent action of a section of our brethren in Canada in uniting with the Methodist and Congregational Churches has seriously injured our work and raised for us many difficult problems.
>
> But we acknowledge with gratitude to Almighty God that the disaster caused by Church Union in our Dominion has left the Presbyterian Church in Canada still strong in numbers and with a richer spirit of consecration than any among us have ever known in the past. There remain with us 154,000 communicant members, 1,100 congregations, and nearly 600 ministers, and daily these numbers are being increased.

The letter went on to say that two colleges remained for the training of ministers, that a government commission was charged with the division of assets between them and the United Church, that Foreign Mission work was being restored as rapidly as possible, and that Home Mission work would soon return to normal. It concluded by expressing confidence that with God's blessing the Church would return in a very few years to its former influence and effectiveness. The following year they were able to report:

> Our shattered organization has been repaired and we have resumed every type of work formerly carried on by us . . . Only the supply of ordained ministers is still inadequate . . . In numbers we have grown from 154,000 communicants to 163,374, so that we are, by a generous margin, the third largest Protestant Church in the Dominion of Canada.

These optimistic reports do less than justice to the magnificent effort made in the face of grievous handicaps to maintain the work of the Church. Many of the minority groups, handicapped by lack of numbers and lack of means, and without adequate ministerial leadership, faced an almost hopeless situation. Some of them disintegrated, with their members going into the Anglican Church or one of the other Churches in their communities. The slow increase in membership of the Church since 1925 has been partly due to the loss of some of these smaller groups in localities where there was little or no increase of population to give additions to membership.

In reporting to the General Assembly of 1929 the Committee on Correspondence with other Churches stated frankly some of the handicaps encountered in endeavouring to reconstruct the fabric of a Church which had been left in 1925 as "a bleeding, ecclesiastical fragment."

> It has been the earnest endeavour of your Committee to foster Christian fellowship, and to ensure that the Presbyterian Church in Canada shall maintain a creditable place among the Churches. We believe that these endeavours have met with success, and that our Church is no less honoured and respected today than in past years. It was at first difficult for other Churches to grasp the situation in Canada created by the disruptive "Union" of 1925. Contradictory reports reached them from unofficial or untrustworthy sources, with the result that it was not known whether those remaining Presbyterian in the Domin-

ion were a handful or a multitude, whether they had acted according to historical precedent or in an irregular and disorderly way, whether the people and the Law of Canada had set their faces against them or favoured them. In such circumstances the other Reformed Churches were, for the most part, disposed to "wait and see" how the Canadian Church situation would work out. Each year since 1925 has made them better acquainted with our ideals and circumstances. Each year has seen our wholehearted participation in inter-denominational activities. Today, in consequence, it is quite generally understood that the Presbyterian Church in Canada is no small group of recalcitrants, but a large and vigorous Church, fruitful in Christian works, and as devoted as ever to those interests which all the Churches have in common.

The difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of ministers remained an acute problem for several years. To supply vacant charges ministers were received from other communions in considerable numbers. Some applied to be re-admitted from the United Church. Some came from the Presbyterian Churches of the United States, from the British Isles, and from Australia. Many of these men admitted to the ministry of the Canadian Church rendered admirable service. Others were maladjusted malcontents who had not found suitable employment in their own Churches. A few were erratic and eccentric individuals whose behaviour brought discredit to the Church in communities where they laboured. Irreparable harm was sometimes done to the prestige of the Church before a hopeless situation could be dealt with by the regular processes of Church discipline.

In the period between June, 1925, and June, 1926, there were 103 applicants for admission to the ministry, of whom 41 were received. The following year there were 69 applicants, of whom 33 were received. In the period between 1925 and 1933 there were 388 applicants, of whom 180 were received as ministers.

The number of men graduating from the theological colleges maintained by the church, Knox College, Toronto, and the Presbyterian College, Montreal, were far from adequate to meet the needs of the church. All members of the teaching staffs of the theological colleges entered the United Church, with the exception of Dr. Thomas Eakin, and Dr. D. J. Fraser, both on the faculty of the Presbyterian College, Montreal. All of the colleges

of the church except Presbyterian College, Montreal, and Knox College, Toronto became colleges of the United Church. Possession of Presbyterian College, Montreal was, for a time, in dispute. The last General Assembly before the consummation of union declared the positions held by Dr. Fraser and Dr. Eakin vacant, appointed a new acting-principal and a new Board of Management, and instructed them to take possession of the colleges immediately. The new appointees are said, in the report of the Board of Management in 1926, to have taken formal possession of the college buildings, entered Principal Fraser's office in his absence, removed the seal, registers, and other official documents, and placed detectives at the doors to prevent the use of the building by those remaining with the Presbyterian Church. The Legislature of Quebec awarded the building to the Presbyterians and the college came again under the control of the church in June, 1926. Competent teaching staffs were recruited for both colleges, at Knox under the principalship of Dr. Thomas Eakin, and at Montreal, under the principalship of Dr. D. J. Fraser.

The Church was fortunate in the years of reconstruction after 1925, in having in its colleges men whose scholarship and character made a deep impression upon succeeding classes of students. Mention may be made particularly of Dr. Thomas Eakin and Dr. D. J. Fraser, who bore a heavy load of organizational responsibility in addition to academic duties. The long association of Dr. W. W. Bryden with Knox College, first as Professor of Church History and History and Philosophy of Religions, and later as Principal, contributed a great deal to a theological awakening in the church. The similar association of Dr. F. Scott MacKenzie with the Presbyterian College, Montreal, as Professor of Systematic Theology, and as Principal, held before the eyes of students and the church at large, the ideal of the Reformed ministry in which learning is welcomed as an ally of faith.

A new training college for women, Ewart College, was opened in 1962, on the site of the old Missionary and Deaconess Training School. A residence for Presbyterian students is maintained at St. Andrew's Hall, on the campus of the University of British Columbia. A similar residence is maintained in Saskatoon for students attending the University of Saskatchewan. The Presbyterian College, Montreal, has erected a new building on the east side of the campus of McGill University. The new

building, opened in 1963, gives adequate accommodation for classes, a residence with accommodation for 35 students, and has all necessary facilities.

The number of men graduating from both colleges is still far short of meeting the demand for ministers. A more vigorous recruiting policy is now being carried on, and it is hoped that eventually our Church will be able to provide enough recruits for the ministry to meet the requirements of our expanding work.

In the division of Overseas Mission work after 1925 the Presbyterian Church assumed the cost of maintaining its fields during the period in which the arrangements for the division were being carried out. These costs amounted to $180,000. To assume this obligation the church went into debt. Congregations involved in their own building programmes, and struck a little later by the great depression of the thirties, found the burden of supporting current obligations a heavy one. The deficit remained with the church for years. Several well-directed attempts to raise funds to clear the deficit met with apathy on the part of ministers and congregations struggling with their own local problems.

In the difficult years after 1925 the position of Secretary of the Board of Missions was held by Dr. A. S. Grant, a shrewd and competent administrator, who had wide experience in the work of the church. He had taken part in the mission maintained by the church in the Klondyke during the period of the gold rush and was remembered as "Grant of the Yukon." The church had confidence in him, and he rendered yeoman service in supplying the needs of the church at home and overseas in the difficult years of readjustment. He was succeeded by Dr. W. A. Cameron, who had spent most of his ministry in Western Canada, and had played a large part in helping to build up the few causes which remained with the Presbyterian Church in the province of Saskatchewan after 1925.

The Women's Missionary Society was re-organized immediately after June 10, 1925, and new officers were installed by the General Assembly. It has continued to provide assistance on the mission fields of the church, at home and overseas. It has recruited personnel, provided help for study groups in the church, and works closely with the Board of Christian Education in its programmes. It has often helped too, in the extension work of the church, in providing deaconesses and workers in the field of

Christian education, in new or growing areas where the church is seeking to establish its cause. The work of its secretaries and staff are maintained by the devotion of local societies in the congregations of the church. In May, 1964, the Western Division of the Society celebrated the centennial of its existence as a society.

The Presbyterian Record was one of the few official organs of the church existing prior to 1925 which carried on after the disruption. It had been under the editorship of Dr. Ephraim Scott, a staunch champion of the Presbyterian cause. In the columns of the Record he and his successor, Dr. W. M. Rochester, gave encouragement to those endeavouring to maintain the Presbyterian cause. Under the editorship of Dr. John McNab, and under the leadership of the present Editor, the Rev. De Courcey H. Rayner, the Record continues to be a valued source of inspiration and information to the church.

In the work of re-organization steps had to be taken to supervise the work of Christian education in the Sunday schools of the church. For some time before 1925 the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches had worked together in the production of Sunday school lesson helps and supplies. These were no longer available, and the church turned to the Presbyterian Church in the United States (the Southern branch of the church). Under the leadership of Dr. W. M. Kannawin programmes were developed, and an organization rebuilt for the carrying on of courses of instruction for the youth of the church. In 1932 Dr. Norman A. MacEachern resigned from First Church, Winnipeg, to undertake, at his own risk and expense, the publication of papers and supplies for the Sunday schools and lesson helps for teachers and pupils. Under his leadership Presbyterian Publications prospered, issuing a complete line of Sunday School publications and supplies, engaging to a limited extent, in the publication of books of interest to the church, and maintaining a book room in Toronto with an extensive mail order business. Rising printing costs, combined with the tendency in Christian education circles, to provide a multiplicity of teachers' and pupils' helps on a graded basis, eventually made it impossible for the church to continue the production of all its own lesson materials. Presbyterian Publications still acts as a distributing centre for Christian education materials, maintains a book room and mail order service, and works closely in co-operation with the Church's Board of Christian Education.

During the Second World War approximately one hundred Presbyterian ministers served as chaplains with the armed forces. Eight served as full-time chaplains with the navy, 64 with the army, and 27 with the air force. In addition 18 ministers served as part-time chaplains with the armed forces. H/Major J. W. Foote, V. C. had the distinction of being the only Canadian chaplain to be awarded the Victoria Cross. When the war was ending the church set up a department of "Rehabilitation and Immigration," with an office in Montreal under the direction of the Rev. H. R. Pickup. When demobilization of the armed forces was completed the office rendered useful service in helping to cope with the great numbers who came to Canada from abroad in the post-war years.

A deepened theological concern in the church was indicated in the appointment of a Committee on Articles of Faith. The only serious modification of the Westminster standards made by the Canadian Church was in regard to Chapter 23 of the **Confession of Faith** dealing with relations between Church and State. To provide a basis on which the Presbyterian Churches could unite in 1875 liberty of conscience was allowed on the subject of the relations of Church and State dealt with in Chapter 23 of the **Confession.** In its statement concerning the acceptance of the Westminster **Confession** the Basis of Union of 1875 stated "that nothing contained in the aforesaid Confession or Catechisms regarding the power of the civil magistrate shall be held to sanction any principles or views in inconsistent with full liberty of conscience." At ordination services for ministers and elders the question concerning adherence to the teaching of the Westminster Confession is put in this form: "Do you believe the Westminster Confession of Faith, as adopted by this Church in the Basis of Union, to be founded on and agreeable to the Word of God, and do you promise faithfully to adhere thereto?" During World War II, when the issue of Church and State relationships assumed a new importance, in view of what was happening to the Church in Germany and elsewhere the Church undertook to re-examine the whole issue on which liberty of conscience had been allowed by the Basis of Union of 1875. After thirteen years of study the Church adopted the statement contained in "A declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation." The Assembly's Committee on Articles of Faith has continued to study other phases of the Church's doctrinal statements, and has issued several docu-

ments on Church membership, and other issues of contemporary concern.

Years of Advance

It was not until after World War II that the Church began to recover her old vigor. One of the contributing factors to the recovery was the success of the programme of **The Advance for Christ and Peace Thankoffering** carried out under the chairmanship of Dr. William Barclay, with the Rev. Wilfred F. Butcher, later minister of St. Andrew's, Quebec and now Secretary of the Canadian Council of Churches, acting as Secretary. The effort put into this programme, and the resulting publicity given to the needs and claims of the Church, gave it a new impetus. A large fund was raised for the clearing of old deficits and the undertaking of new work. In summing up the gains from the Advance the Chairman stressed that the good accomplished had been in far more than financial gains. He noted that it had checked the tendency to the appearance of isolationism:

> Inevitably the decision made in 1925 to stay out of organic union caused our Church to be regarded as wishing to plough 'a lonely furrow.' But in 1946 we co-operated with Anglican, United, and Baptist brethren in promoting movements to re-equip the Christian forces of Canada for advance . . . We made the first charge on our thankoffering funds a gift of $43,000 for the rehabilitation of Church life in Europe . . . Fellow-workers in other communions saw us thus acknowledging ourselves as respresenting in Canada the Presbyterian world family, and accepting the responsibilities therein involved.

The Advance programme checked also the tendency to be satisfied with nominal Presbyterianism:

> Like all the other communions we find at each Dominion census that the number of those who claim to be of our family is far beyond the total we have on our Church rolls. The advance movement stirred many of our pledged members to seek out these others.

It checked a tendency to let the machinery of our Presbyterian system of government rust;

> The whole movement was promoted through our Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assembly . . . One hears some farmers blamed for carelessness in allowing valuable

equipment to rust under the stress of weather in the corners of their fields. Our Church was not free from the same type of blame. The Advance served to recondition our machinery of organization.

Finally, it encouraged a greater use of the talents of dedicated laymen. It was noted that many laymen were discovered by the Advance, and their zeal, energy, and ability claimed for the service of the Church.

He concluded:

> Let us be rid, then, of that dull, depressing thing called the 'inferiority complex.' For twenty years succeeding 1925 we had the hard task of paying debts and seeking to consolidate our shattered Church. That sort of process is never very inspiring — though, for that very reason, to survive such a long struggle is to be truly encouraged. And if, after that, as happened to us we can set our faces to advance, having paid our debts, and having been inspired by the coming of 'new' money to equip us to share with other communions in seeking to promote a Christian Canada and a Christian world, then verily can our hearts be glad and rejoice.

The general impression made by the success of the whole project was that the struggle which had been made to maintain the identity of the church was justified, and that God, who in His providence had permitted the church to survive, had a work for her to do.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly that the Presbyterian Church, while zealous to maintain her own traditions, has been most eager to co-operate with other churches in all forms of Christian work and witness. The Presbyterian Church is a member of the Canadian Council of Churches, and of the World Council of Churches. It plays an active part in the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (The Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian Order). Its general attitude towards co-operation with other churches was made clear in a pronouncement approved by the General Assembly in 1947:

> The General Assembly, while maintaining steadfastly . . . its adherence to the ancient and historic standards of the Presbyterian faith, nevertheless places itself on record as interpreting these standards, in harmony with the best traditions of the

Church, that is to say, as not only encouraging, but enjoining as a duty, the fullest possible co-operation with all other Christian bodies, for the glory, not primarly of Presbyterianism, but for the glory of God, and the triumph of His purpose among men.

During the years since World War II the Church has made daring efforts to expand its work. Growth has been most satisfactory in centres such as Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal, Ottawa, Sarnia, and Vancouver, where the Church was already well-established. By 1964, for instance, there are 114 Presbyterian congregations in the two Toronto Presbyteries. Between 1950 and 1959 27 new congregations were formed, and 30 new Church buildings were erected as a cost of nearly two and a half million dollars. Thirteen of the newly established congregations were self-supporting by 1959, and others will be self-supporting in the very near future. A Synod Corporation Fund, which makes loans to congregations for the erection of new buildings, has been set up in most of our Synods, and has greatly facilitated the work of expansion. The following figures give some indication of the slow, but accelerating growth of the Church since 1926:

Synod	Number of Ministers		Number of Cummunicants	
	1926	1963	1926	1963
Maritimes	62	64	16,927	18,810
Montreal & Ottawa	93	115	25,244	29,673
Toronto & Kingston	202	268	58,278	70,823
Hamilton & London	149	183	44,802	55,334
Manitoba	21	35	4,697	7,551
Saskatchewan	25	28	3,414	4,146
Alberta	29	47	5,054	8,642
British Columbia	45	61	4,958	7,419

These figures give no reason for complacency. They indicate that the Church has not kept pace with the growth of population. In view, however, of the amount of re-organizzation and consolidation of work which had to be done these figures are reasonably satisfactory. It is certain that the Church is in a better

position now, and in a more hopeful position for advance, than at any time since 1925.

In line with the growth of the Church and its developing opportunities it is now better equipped for leadership than it has ever been. Between meetings of the General Assembly its programmes are carried out by a number of Boards and Committees. Many of these Boards and Committees have the full-time service of men who are appointed as Secretaries. These men attempt to keep abreast of the latest developments in their own areas of interest. They represent the Church at inter-Church committees and conferences, submit matters of policy to their committees, and are expected to give leadership to the Church in the direction of its programmes and endeavours. These Secretaries are nominated for their positions by the Boards or Committees concerned, and by the Presbyteries of the Church.

The following is a list of the Boards and Committees now functioning, with a statement of their areas of interest.

General Board of Missions. Supervises the mission work of the Church in Canada and Overseas. Determines broad matters. of policy, and makes appointments of workers on the fields.

Board of Christian Education. Supervises the Christian education programme of the Church. Provides help for Church schools and study groups, and plans the curricula followed.

Board of Evangelism and Social Action. Gives guidance to the Church of ways and means through which the outreach of the Church and its Gospel may be made more effective in the lives of our people.

Record Committee. Responsible for the publication of the official journal of the Church, **The Presbyterian Record.** This publication has a circulation of about 80,000.

Board of Stewardship and Budget. Responsible for raising funds for the programmes of the Church, issuing promotional material, and encouraging contributions for the work of the Church.

Audio-Visual Committee. Administers the collection of slides, films, filmstrips, and recordings, used in the programmes of the Church, and produces some materials for these purposes.

There are numerous other Boards and Committees which function with voluntary parti-time assistance of ministers and laymen. The Pension Board is responsible for the funds built up

through the contributions of ministers and congregations for retiring pensions for ministers, and pensions for ministers' widows. The Board of Education considers applications for the reception of ministers from other churches, and prescribes courses of study for men who may not be able, for various reasons, to take the regular courses of instruction.

The Committee on Church Worship makes studies and recommendations concerning the public worship of the church. For several years recently it has been working on a revision of the **Book of Common Order.** The revision, practically a new book, was approved by the General Assembly of 1964. The Committee on History encourages the preservation of church records, issues an historical newsletter twice yearly, and generally seeks to stimulate interest in the history of the church. The Board of Management and the Senate of each of the two colleges are responsible for the maintenance of the fabric of the buildings, the care of endowments, appointments to staff and faculty positions, and are directly concerned with all that relates to the welfare of the colleges. It should be noted that appointments to the faculty are made by the General Assembly, but the Boards and Senates of the Colleges recommend the persons to be appointed. The Board of Ewart College has a similar responsibility for the college maintained in Toronto for the training of young women for the service of the church. There are Boards for the residences at Saskatoon and Vancouver. The Committee on Home Religion produces a quarterly devotional guide, **Every Day.** Founded in 1944 it is the only such quarterly issued by any of the Protestant churches in Canada. There are also Committees on Chaplaincy Service, on Recruitment for Full-time Service, on Inter-church relations, and on church architecture. These Committees and Boards report annually to the General Assembly, and their reports are printed in the **Acts and Proceedings** of each Assembly.

To co-ordinate the activities of the many boards and committees now functioning in the church the General Assembly of 1960 set up a body known as the Administrative Council. The Council consists of the chairmen of eleven of the boards and committees, the Presidents of the Eastern and Western divisions of the Women's Missionary Society, eighteen members named by the General Assembly, of whom ten are to be ministers, five laymen, and three women. Representatives of some of the other boards and committees are members who have freedom of discus-

sion and debate at meetings of the Council, but have no vote in the proceedings.

The purpose of the Council is to co-ordinate the work of the boards, committees and all departments of the church's work. It is authorized to recommend policy, "submit short and long-range plans, co-ordinate and recommend a realistic and balanced budget, and generally present the current and future financial needs of the permanent departments, boards and committees of the General Assembly." Since the General Assembly meets only once each year the Council is authorized to give direction to the boards and committees on issues which may arise between meetings of the Assembly. The formation of the Administrative Council is an attempt to adapt the slow-moving machinery of the system of Presbyterian church government so that it may cope with situations where decisive action is necessary. It attempts to preserve the democratic elements of the Presbyterian system of church government and at the same time provide the executive freedom which church procedure requires in the contemporary situation.

Some within the church look upon the increase in headquarters' staff as a burgeoning bureaucracy placing a heavy burden upon the limited resources of the church. It is difficult, however, to see how the church can carry out a programme adequate for the needs of today, and carry its fair share of responsibility in interdenominational projects without being adequately staffed. There is general satisfaction that it is staffed with competent and conscientious personnel.

In common with other Protestant churches the Presbyterian Church in Canada has awakened to the great resources for its work which are available in the services of gifted and dedicated men and women throughout the church. Training programmes for elders, work in Presbyterian Men, the holding of retreats and study conferences for the men of the church, help to draw new talent into its programmes. The women of the church, through their own organizations, and particularly through the Women's Missionary Society, have contributed a great deal, not only in financial assistance and in personnel, but in keeping alive throughout the church a sense of mission and responsibility. Great numbers of men and women take part, too, in the church's programme of Christian education, teaching in the church schools, and carrying on mid-week activities among the youth of the church.

The Presbyterian Church in Canada has a system of church administration, and forms of doctrine and worship which have been used—and we believe can continue to be used—to nurture a high quality of Christian life, discipleship, and service. It has in the past been used of God to nurture in the faith men and women who have been faithful in the service of Christ and in service to the world for which Christ died. We who stand within its ranks today, and labour for its good, and pray for its prosperity, are convinced that it has still a work to do.

When he was President of the Canadian Council of Churches in 1952 Dr. William Barclay, a former Moderator of the General Assembly, stated:

> As President of the Canadian Council of Churches I have not hesitated to proclaim that while the United Church of Canada preserves the great experiment of testing the possibility of fusing three different communions into one organic whole, we of the Presbyterian Church in Canada believe ourselves to be commissioned with the responsibility to safeguard the traditions and values of Presbyterianism which we feared might be submerged in such an organization. We can each be proud of our task, and perform it zealously and steadfastly until God in His wisdom reveals to us what His ultimate purpose for us, as branches of His Son's church, may be.

Before us, as before all other branches of Christ's church in Canada, the land is wide and the opportunities are great.

The four groups marked with an asterisk were those which came together in 1875 to form the Presbyterian Church In Canada.

1786. Associate or **Burgher Presbytery of Truro.**

1795. General Associate or **Anti-Burgher Presbytery of Pictou.**

1817. Union of the Presbytery of Truro and the Presbytery of Pictou to form the **Synod of the Presbyterian Church (Secession) of Nova Scotia.**

1817 - 18. The **Presbytery of the Canadas.** Became the **Synod of the Canadas** in 1820.

1829. The **United Presbytery of Upper Canada.** Became the **United Synod of Upper Canada** in 1831.

1831. The **Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland.***

1832. The **Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.**

1833. The **Presbytery of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland.** Became a Synod in 1835.

1833. The **Synod of Nova Scotia in connection with the Church of Scotland.**

1833. The **Presbytery of Niagara.**

1834. The **Missionary Presbytery of Canada in connection with the United Associate Secession Church in Scotland.** Became a Synod in 1843. In 1847 it became the **Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland.**

1836. The **Presbytery of Stamford of the Associate Synod of North America.**

1840. The United Synod of Upper Canada unites with the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland, retaining the name of the latter body.

1844. **The Synod of Nova Scotia Adhering to the Westminster Standards.** In 1848 became the **Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia.**

1844. **The Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada.**

1845. **The Synod of New Brunswick Adhering to the Standards of the Westminster Confession.**

1854. **The Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in connection with the Church of Scotland.**

1860. Union of the Synod of the Free Church of Nova Scotia and the Synod of the Presbyterian (Secession) Church of Nova Scotia to form the **Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.***

1861. Union of the Synod of the (Free) Presbyterian Church of Canada and the Synod of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada in connection with the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland to form the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. In

1869 it became the **General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church.***

1866. The Synod of New Brunswick Adhering to the Standards of the Westminster Confession unites with the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.

1868. The Synod of New Brunswick in connection with the Church of Scotland and the Synod of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island in connection with the Church of Scotland unite to form the **Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland.***

1875. (1) The Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America: (2) The Presbyterian Church of the Maritime Provinces in connection with the Church of Scotland; (3) The Canada Presbyterian Church; and (4) The Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland unite to form the **Presbyterian Church in Canada.**

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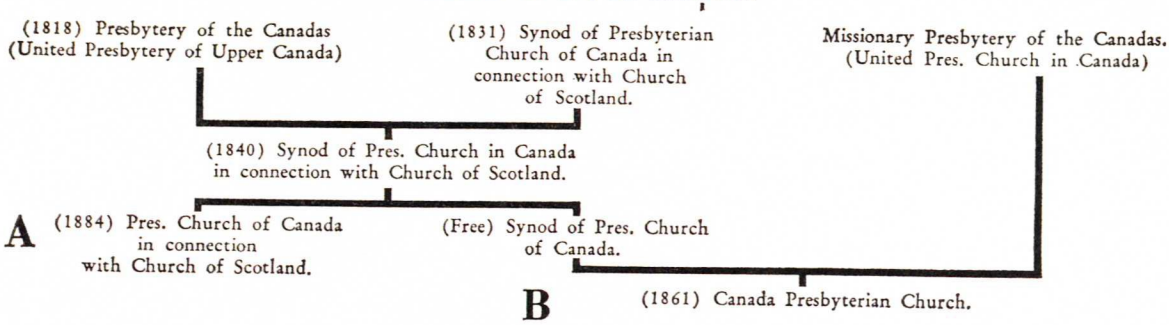
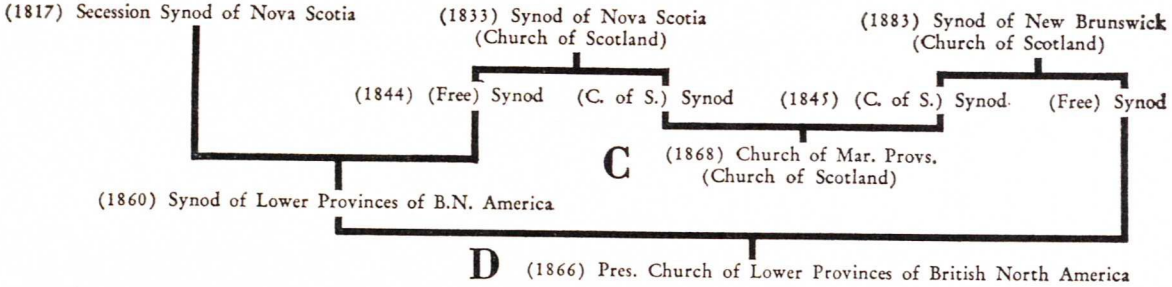
* OUT OF PRINT

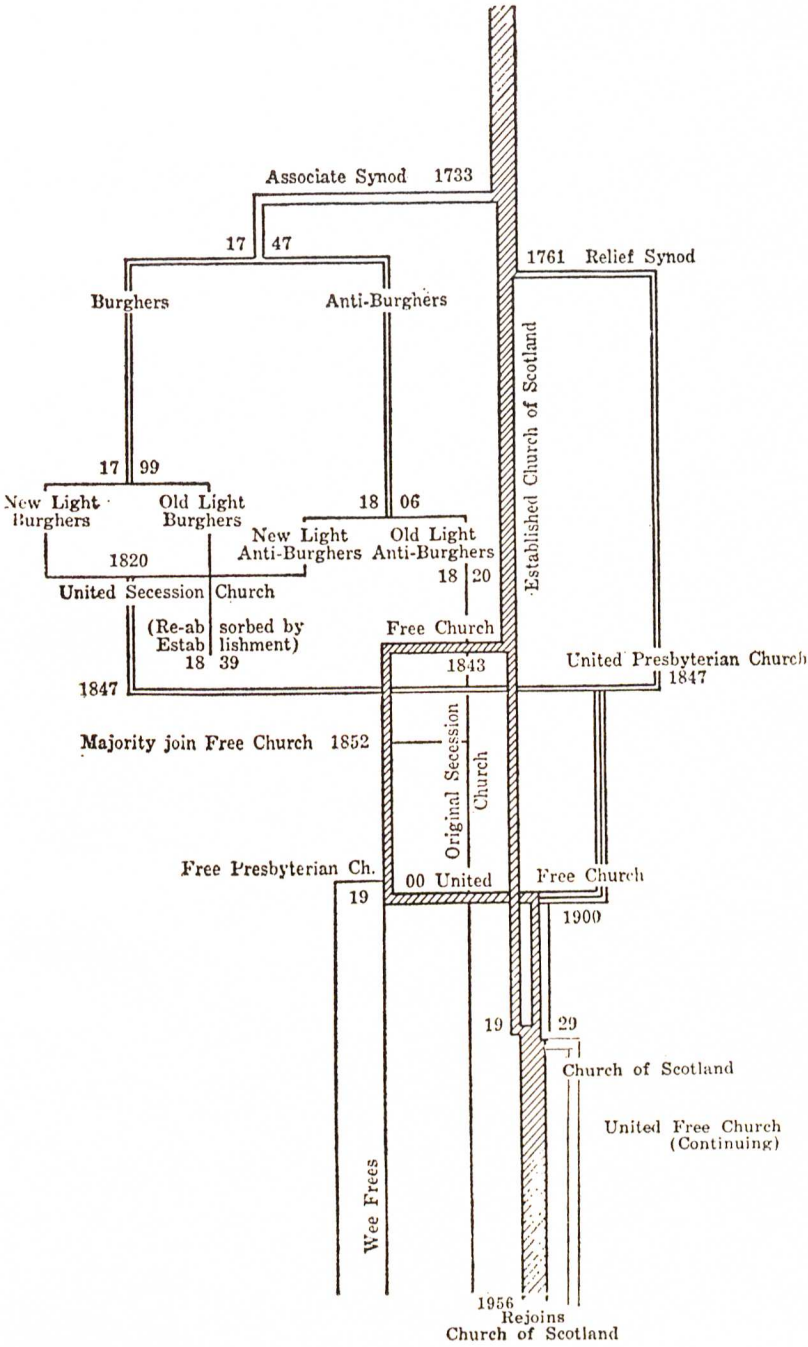
UNIONS IN UPPER CANADA



UNIONS IN MARITIME PROVINCES



(The capital letters indicate the Churches which came together in 1875 to form The Presbyterian Church in Canada.)


Associate Synod 1733
17 47
Burghers
Anti-Burghers
1761 Relief Synod
Established Church of Scotland
17 99
New Light Burghers
Old Light Burghers
18 06
New Light Anti-Burghers
Old Light Anti-Burghers
1820
United Secession Church
18 20
Free Church
(Re-absorbed by Establishment) 18 39
1843
United Presbyterian Church 1847
1847
Majority join Free Church 1852
Original Secession Church
Free Presbyterian Ch.
19
00 United
Free Church
1900
19 29
Church of Scotland
United Free Church (Continuing)
Wee Frees
1956 Rejoins Church of Scotland

INDEX