

JACOB MOUNTAIN, FIRST LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC, 1793-1825

A Study in Church and State

A Thesis

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CHAPTER I

THE MOUNTAIN FAMILY IN ENGLAND TO 1793

Jacob Mountain, second son of Jacob Mountain, of Thwaite, in the county of Norfolk, and of Ann Postle his wife, was born at Thwaite Hall, December 30, 1749.

No authentic history of the family before the eighteenth century has been discovered, but Jacob Mountain's earlier biographer⁽¹⁾ discusses several conjectural lines of descent. There is a possible connection between the Mountain family of Norfolk and George Montaigne, Bishop of Durham (later Archbishop of York) in the early seventeenth century.⁽²⁾ There is a further possible connection with one Abraham de Montaigne, Chaplain to the Falloon refugees who fled from Flanders and found refuge in Norfolk about 1593. This Abraham de Montaigne's son Isaac, and grandson Jacob, identified themselves with the Church of England. The latter Jacob's name appears in the register of St. Augustin's, Norwich. Stuart is emphatic in asserting that Jacob Mountain's descent from Montaigne the celebrated French

- (1) The Rev. H.C. Stuart, M.A., late Rector of Three Rivers, whose unpublished Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, 1793-1825 is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives. The topic of Mountain's descent is treated on page 2 of this work.
- (2) The Dictionary of National Biography, sub voce Montaigne, George, relates that when Charles I was discussing the vacancy of the see of York with Bishop Montaigne, the latter remarked:- "Hadst thou faith as a grain of mustard seed thou wouldst say unto this mountain (at the same time laying his hand upon his breast) 'Be removed into that See'." This anecdote has also been told about a conversation between William Pitt and Jacob Mountain.

essayist, is highly improbable.⁽¹⁾ Another conjecture, namely that Bishop Mountain was descended from French Huguenot refugee stock, is rendered unlikely by the opinion of the French Huguenot Society of England, which Mr. Stuart was careful to ascertain.

Be that as it may, the tradition of Huguenot ancestry is very strong. In June 1793 the Bishop-designate presented a memorial to the Earl Marshal asking for a warrant to the Kings at Arms, authorizing them to confirm and exemplify the Mountain arms, so that in accord with ancient custom they might be impaled with those of the episcopal see. The memorialist stated that his great-grandfather was descended from "an ancient and respectable Family of Montagne in the Kingdom of France, which Kingdom he left on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz."⁽²⁾

To deal with facts instead of conjectures, entries

- (1) The attempt of a genealogist, many years ago, to derive the Mountain family from the family of the essayist, cannot be accepted. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, for example, in Vol. IV, p. 447, states that Jacob Mountain's grandfather was a great grandson of Montaigne.
- (2) Quebec Diocesan Archives (denoted subsequently as Q.D.A.) Series D, Folder 3. The arms granted to the Bishop show those of the Diocese of Quebec impaled, not with the Mountain arms, but with those of the Wales family, of which Mrs. Mountain was a descendant. A wax copy of the episcopal seal bearing these arms is in the Diocesan Archives. Stuart's contention, (op. cit., p. 2) that reference to Huguenot forebears appeared first about the time of the Bishop's death, 1825, is disproved by the statement above. All printed memoirs of members of the Mountain family repeat the tradition of Huguenot descent.

in the parish register of Smallborough, Norfolk, record the baptism and burial in 1702 of a daughter of Jacob Mountain, yeoman, and his wife Bridget Thompson, grand-parents of the future bishop. It points to the prosperity of the family that the grandfather leased Thwaite Hall, at Thwaite, early in the century. He resided there until his death in 1740. The father, also Jacob Mountain, was born at Thwaite in 1710. He was a man of fine presence and agreeable manners, and was very popular with the neighbouring county gentry, whose style of living he tried to imitate, to the detriment of his estate. He was twice married, first to Elizabeth Rye of Calthorpe who died in 1737, and then, in 1740, to Ann Postle, daughter of Thomas Postle of Long Stretton. No children of the first marriage survived. Children of the second marriage were Mary, Sarah and Jehoshaphat; Jacob, the subject of this study, was the youngest child. They were still young when their father died in 1752 as a result of an accident in the hunting field.(1)

Family records show that Ann Postle Mountain, mother of the future bishop, was a woman of excellent principles and of great personal attractiveness. It is said that her desire to devote herself entirely to her children led her to reject an offer of marriage from Lord Orford, a member of

(1) An inventory of his modest Norfolk estate is in the possession of Major Armine Kerry, a descendant now residing in Montreal.

the great Walpole family, who owned large estates in Norfolk.⁽¹⁾ She carefully superintended the education of her sons and lived to see both of them occupying positions of honour and usefulness in the world. A mural tablet in the Church of St. Mary Coslany, Norwich, bears the inscription:-

To the Memory of Ann Mountain, Wife of
Jacob Mountain, of West Rudham, in the
County of Norfolk, and daughter of
Thomas⁽²⁾ Postle, who died 15th April,
1776, aged 61.

Sancta Anima, Et Nostris Non Indigna Luctus.

In 1759 the Mountain family left Rudham, whither they had moved not long after Jacob Mountain's death, and went to live with Mrs. Mountain's brother at Wymondham, where the boys attended the Grammar School. Soon after, they took a permanent home in Magdalen Street, Norwich. At the Cathedral Grammar School the two brothers may have been for a short time fellow pupils of Horatio Nelson, future hero of Trafalgar. When Jacob was about fifteen years of age he left school and spent two years in the counting house of the Mayor of Norwich, a Mr. Poole. The latter finally reported to Mrs. Mountain that her son was not designed for a commercial vocation. When supposed to be

(1) See chapter II, p. 33

(2) The Dictionary of National Biography, sub voce Mountain, Jacob, records the name of the Bishop's maternal grandfather as Jehoshaphat Postle, not Thomas Postle. There are no means at hand for overcoming this apparent discrepancy.

adding up columns of figures he would be found absorbed in some Greek or Latin text which he kept hidden in his desk. Accordingly the young scholar was taken from business, for which he showed a complete disinclination, and was sent to Scarning School near East Dereham. Here he quickly became the favourite pupil of the master, the Rev. Robert Potter, a well-known classical scholar.⁽¹⁾

In later years a violent literary dispute arose between Mr. Potter and a certain Dr. Parr,⁽²⁾ master of Norwich School. Parr, who was also an intimate of young Mountain, proposed the latter as an arbitrator between himself and Potter. In a letter containing the proposal he gives the following tribute to Jacob Mountain's character: "The contents of this letter I have shown to one man whom we shall both agree in loving, for the elegance of his taste, the liberality of his spirit, the sweet tenderness of his disposition, and the incorrupted and incorruptible integrity of his principles. . . . In his feeling and honest mind, every secret relative to our unhappy dispute may be deposited safely and properly." On the receipt of this letter, Potter wrote at once to Jacob Mountain:- "Dr. Parr has written to me a long and liberal letter. . . . He speaks of you in a

(1) Robert Potter, 1721-1804. Master of Scarning School 1761-1789. Vicar of Lowestoft 1789-1804. Translator of Aeschylus.

(2) Samuel Parr, 1747-1825. Pedagogue and author.

very friendly manner. Had he intended to make court to me, he could not have taken a more effectual method."(1)

On October 8, 1769, Jacob Mountain was admitted as a pensioner to the ancient foundation of Gonville and Caius College in the University of Cambridge. He received his B. A. (Senior Optime) in 1774 and was elected Fellow of his College in the same year. His M. A. was granted in 1777, and he was given the degree of D. D. (jure dignitatis) on his nomination to the episcopate in 1793. As Scholar and Junior Fellow from 1769 to 1783 he became thoroughly acquainted with the English university system, and with the educational principles which he attempted so earnestly in later years to transplant to the hard and stubborn soil of Lower Canada.

The sole literary production of this academic period was a small volume entitled Poetical Reveries, published in London in two editions in 1777. The nine poems include an ode, two songs, an elegy and a sonnet revolving about a certain Elvira who was, if one may believe the verses, a paragon of beauty and of all the virtues. Another poem is a translation from the Italian. Poetical Reveries is well printed and its contents bear the marks of much care. Echoes of Gray and Goldsmith may be found in these modest poems whose lines breathe the sensibility and elegant passion of

(1) Stuart, op. cit., p. 4.

the early Romantic writers.⁽¹⁾ Jacob Mountain's poetical strain was inherited by his sons, particularly by George Jehoshaphat Mountain, author of Songs of the Wilderness. His artistic gift had other forms of expression; his grandson relates that he played the flute and enjoyed sketching.⁽²⁾

Little information can be obtained about Jacob Mountain's years at Cambridge. His son writes:- "He was well known at the University, and afterwards, to the late Mr. Pitt; and there can be no hesitation in saying that he enjoyed the high esteem of many distinguished characters, with whom he had the good fortune to be much acquainted, both in the literary, political and religious world at that day, especially with the present Lord Bishop of Winchester,⁽³⁾ whose unabated friendship he preserved to the day of his death."⁽⁴⁾

On June 12, 1774, Jacob Mountain was ordained deacon by Bishop Yonge of Norwich in the Chapel of the Bishop's

(1) The copy consulted (second edition) is in the possession of J. G. G. Kerry of Toronto. A first edition is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives.

(2) Mountain, A. W., Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 36.

(3) George Pretyman (1750-1827), who assumed the name Tomline in order to qualify for a legacy. He was Bishop of Lincoln, 1787-1820, and Bishop of Winchester, 1820-1827.

(4) Memoir of the Late Bishop of Quebec, from the Christian Sentinel, January-February, 1827, pp. 8-9.

Palace. After a long period in minor orders he was advanced to the priesthood on Sunday, Dec. 17, 1780, in the Chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, by Bishop Hinchcliffe of Peterborough, acting for the Bishop of Norwich.⁽¹⁾

In 1781, while visiting a friend in Essex, he met his future wife, Elizabeth Mildred Wale Kentish, daughter of John Kentish of Bardfield Hall. They were married on October 18, 1783,⁽²⁾ and in a short time took up residence in Norwich, where Jacob Mountain was made perpetual curate of St. Andrew's Church. He remained at St. Andrew's for over six years. Subsequent appointments which he held were:- Rector of St. Benet, Gracechurch Street, London, 1789; Rector of Holbeach, Lincolnshire, 1790-1; Vicar of Buckden, Huntingdonshire, 1791-93. From June 1, 1788, until his consecration as Bishop of Quebec he was Caistor Prebendary at Lincoln Cathedral, and from 1790 to 1793 he was examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, to whose kindness he owed the most of his preferments.

When the opportunity of becoming Bishop of Quebec was afforded him he had already been designated for promotion

(1) Rowley, O. R., The Anglican Episcopate in Canada and Newfoundland, p. 13. Stuart states that the ordination took place at Peterborough, but reliance has been placed on The Anglican Episcopate as its author made every effort to compile an accurate record.

(2) Stuart, op. cit., p. 4. The Memoir in the Christian Sentinel states that the marriage took place in 1781, but the later date is probably correct.

in the Church in England itself. He was regarded by his contemporaries, as a coming man, and, even without the great advantage of friendship with Tomline, who had been William Pitt's Cambridge tutor and was later the statesman's private secretary, he would undoubtedly have achieved a high ecclesiastical position. The Quebec Gazette, August 22, 1793, reprints the following extract from a London paper of the previous June 8:- "The Rev'd Mr. Mountain the new Bishop of Canada, is come to town for instruction when to take his departure; and orders have been given for preparing a frigate to carry him and his suite to Quebec. The above Rev'd Pastor will leave this country with the character of one of the first preachers of the present day. His appointment to the new See of Quebec he owes to the friendly offices of his patron the Bishop of Lincoln."

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SEE OF QUEBEC

The earliest plan for placing an Anglican bishop at Quebec had as its background not so much the local needs of the newly-ceded province as the broader necessity for the establishment of an episcopate for all the American colonies. Despite the suggestion by Archbishop Laud in the seventeenth century, and constant appeals both from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and from American colonial churchmen before the independence of the United States in the eighteenth century, no English bishop had been sent to America.⁽¹⁾ The benefits to the Roman Catholic Church flowing from the founding of the French see of Quebec did not escape the watchful and rather envious glances of the leaderless Anglicans in the southern colonies. In 1709 the S. P. G. stated in a memorial to Queen Anne:- "We humbly begg leave to add, that we are inform'd that the French have several great advantages from their establishing a Bp at Quebec".⁽²⁾ Even the Moravian Brethren in Georgia and Pennsylvania had episcopal supervision after 1736.⁽³⁾ If the plan proposed in 1770 by the Rev. Charles

- (1) Pascoe, C. F., Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., pp. 743-753. See also Cross, A. L., The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, Chapter IV.
- (2) S. P. G. Archives, Appendix to Journal A, No. 139. Quoted in Lydekker, J. W., The Faithful Mohawks, p. 30.
- (3) Sessler, J. J., Communal Pietism among Early American Moravians, p. 72. The Brethren were recognized in 1749 by the British Parliament as an ancient Episcopal Church, and were granted the right to worship as they pleased.

Chauncy, a prominent puritan minister of Boston had been adopted, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec or the Moravian Bishop in Pennsylvania would have been asked to consecrate an Anglican bishop for America. But the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler pointed out several obvious objections to this scheme.⁽¹⁾

Until the cession of Canada at the close of the Seven Years' War no progress had been made in the establishment of a bishop's see in the colonies. The main objection, from the American view-point, was the fear that such an establishment would bring with it all the episcopal powers as exercised in England. Even some colonial churchmen, particularly those in Virginia, were not in favour of the project, while Protestant dissent was hotly opposed to it. But after 1763 Quebec was added to the British possessions in North America, a colony in which the problem of Protestant dissent hardly existed.

In April 1764 at the desire of the Grenville ministry Archbishop Drummond of York drew up a document called "Thoughts upon the Ecclesiastical Establishment in Canada."⁽²⁾ Although no mention of a colonial bishop occurs in it, the

(1) Cross, A. L., The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, pp. 183-184. Chandler, for many years S. P. G. missionary at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was the first to be nominated as bishop-designate of Nova Scotia in 1783.

(2) William Smith MSS., Vol. I, Library of the New York Historical Society, New York City.

appointment of such a dignitary was discussed by a committee of council when the Archbishop's plan was being considered.⁽¹⁾ Events following closely on the conquest of Canada, however, revived in two ways the hopes of those who had for so long been struggling to obtain a bishop. In the first place, the French Bishop of Quebec was allowed to retain his jurisdiction and to exercise his episcopal functions "freely and with decency."⁽²⁾ Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, a good friend to church interests in America, wrote on May 22, 1764, to the Rev. Samuel Johnson, late President of King's College, New York:- "I do not see how Protestant Bishops can decently be refused us, as in all probability a Popish one will be allowed, by connivance in Canada."⁽³⁾ The Rev. Charles Inglis of Trinity Church, New York, wrote a little later to the S. P. G.:- "A Roman Catholic Bishop has lately arrived at Quebec & was well received with universal Joy & Congratulations as well by Protestants as Papists. This I hope is a Prelude to the like Indulgence to the best Friends that England has in America - the

(1) Hawkins, Ernest, Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, etc., p. 393.

(2) Shortt, Adam, and Doughty, A. G., Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, part I, p. 6, Articles of Capitulation, Quebec.

(3) Cross, op. cit., pp. 249-50 (note).

members of the Church of England."⁽¹⁾

In the second place it was considered that an Anglican bishop at Quebec would not wound the susceptibilities of dissent and would yet be able to exercise the episcopal office for the whole of North America. The Rev. Josiah Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, stressed this point in his "Queries humbly submitted to the friends of Protestant Episcopacy in North America," written in 1764. Among the queries are the following:-

1. Whether a Church of England Bishop might not be settled at Quebec at less expence and with more facility than anywhere else? . .
 2. Whether the Appointment of a Bishop in Canada might not appear the more unexceptionable to the Protestant Dissenters, as the point in view would not be understood to interfere with the immediate interests of any of their own Pastors, or portend the Diminution of the Flocks. . . .
- : : : : : :
5. Whether supposing no Bishop could be obtained for the old Colonies, this Bishop of the new Colony might not in his Progress to Montreal & other Parts of Canada ordain Priests and Deacons for the Episcopal Congregations of New England, New York, etc., etc.? Or whether such Candidates might not come to him to Quebec much more conveniently and expeditiously than take a Voyage to England?"⁽²⁾

Writing from Lambeth, August 2, 1766, to Dr. William

(1) Lydekker, J. W., Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 50.

(2) William Smith MSS., op. cit., pp. 9-10.

Smith, Provost of Philadelphia College, the Archbishop of Canterbury touched on the same point, and told as well of the fate of the proposals contained in the Archbishop of York's plan of April 1764. "The beginning of last year," he wrote, "We thought an ecclesiastical Settlement of Quebec was almost made, on which a Bishop might easily be grafted. But that was opposed by one great man as too favourable, by another as not favourable enough, to the Papists. Then the ministry changed: we were to begin again; & could get nothing but fair words, though the King interposed for us. Now it is changed once more: & whether we shall fare better or worse for it I cannot guess."⁽¹⁾ In a further letter written in 1776 the Archbishop stated once again that King George III was in favour of the appointment of an American bishop, and that if the old colonists continued to object, the bishop would be established at Quebec.⁽²⁾

But George III and the Archbishop of Canterbury found themselves unable to carry their views against determined political opposition, and no appointment of a bishop for Quebec was made at the time. Even after the separation of the Thirteen Colonies from Great Britain, American churchmen were doubtful whether they would yet be able to obtain a

(1) William Smith MSS., op. cit., p. 1.

(2) Hawkins, op. cit., p. 393.

bishop. At a clergy meeting held at Woodbury, Connecticut, March 25, 1783, attention turned from Quebec to a more suitable localization for a bishop's see. One of those who attended the meeting was the Rev. Daniel Fogg, Rector of Pomfret, Connecticut. Writing to the Rev. Samuel Parker of Boston, July 14, 1783, he gave the following description of the proceedings:- "After consulting the clergy in New York how to keep up the succession, they unanimously agreed to send a person to England to be consecrated Bishop for America, and pitched upon Dr. Seabury as the most proper person for this purpose. . . . If he succeeds, he is to come out as missionary for New London, or some other vacant mission; and if they will not receive him in Connecticut, or any other of the states of America, he is to go to Nova Scotia. Sir Guy Carleton highly approves of the plan, and has used all his influence in favour of it."(1)

American Episcopalians, however, were not forced to adopt this expedient, as their new political status as citizens of the United States at once did away with serious opposition as far as America was concerned, and eventually removed all cause for hesitation and delay in England. Samuel Seabury was consecrated in Aberdeen, November 14, 1784, as Bishop of Connecticut. Samuel Provoost and William

(1) Perry, W. S., History of the American Episcopal Church, Vol. II, pp. 50-51.

White were consecrated in Lambeth Chapel, February 4, 1787, as Bishops of New York and Pennsylvania respectively. Thus the impasse arising from colonial dependency upon the bishopric of London was overcome.

In spite of earlier plans for placing a bishop at Quebec it was not here but in Nova Scotia that the first colonial diocese in the Empire overseas was erected. The establishment of bishops in the now independent colonies contributed to promote the same end in His Majesty's remaining North American Provinces. The Rev. Charles Inglis was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia in Lambeth Chapel, August 12, 1787.

A Loyalist refugee, Inglis arrived in London early in 1784, and spent most of his time there until his departure for Halifax, Nova Scotia, in August 1787. During this period he was in frequent touch with the government and the ecclesiastical authorities, giving freely of his advice and experience. On November 29, 1786, for example, he had conversations with the Archbishop of Canterbury as well as with Sir Guy Carleton. The former expressed anxiety with regard to provision for the Church of England in preliminary drafts of the Constitutional Act of 1791, and asked Inglis for information about the present state of the Church in that colony. On the following day Inglis began a paper entitled "Hints Concerning the Ecclesiastical and Religious State of

the Province of Quebec." (1) There is little doubt that these "hints" and others of a similar nature bore some part in the framing of the ecclesiastical clauses of the New Canadian Constitution. (2)

Royal Letters Patent dated August 9, 1787, erected the See of Nova Scotia and named Inglis as Bishop of that See. (3) Further Letters Patent of August 13, 1787, conferred on Inglis, without alteration of title, extra-diocesan jurisdiction over the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick and Newfoundland. (4) The second Patent was to be held only during the King's pleasure, and the section referring to Quebec was revoked in the Patent of 1793 by which the Diocese of Quebec was erected and Jacob Mountain was appointed as bishop.

Inglis did not delay in taking up the duties of his office. After holding a Visitation in Halifax, and inspecting the churches both in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick in 1788, he set out in 1789 to exercise along the St. Lawrence the additional authority conferred upon him by Letters Patent of

(1) Public Archives of Canada, Report 1912, p. 276.

(2) Canadian Historical Review, December 1934, p. 359, A Fallacy in Canadian History, by A.H. Young.

(3) The text of this document is printed in Bicentenary Sketches, by C.W. Vernon, pp. 248-252. The original is in Halifax.

(4) The text of this Letters Patent may be found in The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793, by H.C. Stuart, p. 62.

August 13, 1787. He landed at Quebec on June 9, proceeded to Three Rivers, Sorel and Montreal, returned to Quebec where he held a Visitation of the clergy, and sailed again for Halifax on August 17. This momentous journey, described in Inglis' Journals in great detail, did much to prepare the way for the coming of the first actual bishop of the Diocese. English-speaking clergy were given greater responsibility in Quebec and Montreal; commissaries were appointed; injunctions were issued, and an attempt was made to provide church homes for the Anglican congregations which until that time had been sharing the use of Recollet chapels with the Roman Catholics.⁽¹⁾

In 1791 the movement for a revised constitution for the Province of Quebec, and for the division of the old province into Upper and Lower Canada, came to a head in the passing of the Constitutional Act (31 Geo. III, cap. 31). In this Act no mention is made of a bishop of Quebec, but the ecclesiastical clauses provided for the support of a Protestant clergy by means of the Reserves, the erection of Rectories, etc., for the administration and oversight of which a bishop nearer than at Halifax would, of course, soon be found necessary. Even without a division of the province there is little doubt that a bishop would have been placed at Quebec, but with the creation of two provinces the possibility of

(1) Copies of Bishop Inglis' Journals are in the Public Archives of Canada.

the erection of two dioceses came under discussion. The loudest and clearest voice calling for the establishment of an episcopate in Upper Canada was that of John Graves Simcoe, first Lieutenant-Governor of that province.

Simcoe was a deeply religious man, strongly devoted to the Church of England, but his ecclesiastical ideas have presented a problem to his biographers. It is not the whole truth to say that he regarded the Church as a political and police institution,⁽¹⁾ although his correspondence, written from the standpoint of a colonial administrator rather than a churchman, supports this view. He would have agreed that the primary function of the church was to promote religion, but would have added that it was the duty of the Church as well to inculcate loyalty to the powers that be. He would have likewise maintained that although the primary function of the state was political, yet the latter should assist the church in promoting religion. Church and state, so he considered should actively support each other, nor were their functions sharply differentiated. Such a view of the mutual relations of these institutions, it may be remarked, was deeply rooted in the English tradition of Church and State. As a working tradition it had continued unchanged through the troubled period of the English Reformation, and was strongly upheld in Canada by such men as Simcoe and Maitland

(1) Riddell, W.R., The Life of John Graves Simcoe, p. 124.

on behalf of the state, and by Mountain and Strachan on behalf of the Church. Simcoe's varied experiences as an officer in a Loyalist regiment during the American Revolution only helped to confirm in his own mind the convictions about the Church that he brought from the Mother Country. His observations made at that time led him to believe that one of the best ways to prevent the spread of republican democratic independence was to strengthen those institutions that upheld "distinction of ranks", and were closely connected with monarchical government. Foremost among these institutions was an established church with a bishop at its head. "I am decisively of opinion" he wrote in 1790 to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "that a Regular Episcopal Establishment, subordinate to the primacy of Great Britain, is absolutely necessary in any extensive colony which this country means to preserve."⁽¹⁾ Writing in the next year to Dundas, the Home Secretary, he was perfectly explicit on this point:- "I hold it to be indispensably necessary that a Bishop should be immediately established in Upper Canada."⁽²⁾ Dundas agreed with Simcoe in principle, whereupon the latter wrote once more, expressing his satisfaction and urging the necessity of having

(1) Simcoe to Moore, Dec. 30, 1790. Quoted in Waddilove, W.J.D., Clergy Reserves, etc., p. 20. (This letter is not to be found in any other collection).

(2) The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, E.A. Cruikshank, (ed.) Vol. I, p. 31, Simcoe to Dundas, June 30, 1791.

a bishop nearer than Nova Scotia so that there might be a supply of clergy to assist him in his governmental experiment.⁽¹⁾ Again Dundas replied saying that the "appointment of a Bishop's See" in Canada was being contemplated, and that the attainment of Simcoe's objects would be the result of such an establishment, should it take place.⁽²⁾

The appointment of a bishop for Canada had for a short time a curious connection with the political situation in Vermont. In 1777 Vermont declared itself independent, and maintained that equivocal status until 1791. During the latter part of this period a rumour spread that it might eventually become a royal province. Writing in 1791 to Dundas, Levi Allen, brother of Ethan and Ira Allen, said that if Vermont became united politically with Great Britain it might then come under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Canada; and that the bishop, "if he be an unbigoted sensible man", might "assist the cement necessary between Canada and Vermont".⁽³⁾ Simcoe kept in touch with developments in Vermont,⁽⁴⁾ but this additional reason for the establishment

(1) The Correspondence of Lieutenant Governor John Graves Simcoe, E.A. Cruikshank, (ed). Vol. I, pp. 251-2, Simcoe to Dundas, Nov. 6, 1792.

(2) Ibid., op. cit., p. 327, Dundas to Simcoe, May 2, 1793.

(3) Public Archives of Canada (P.A.C.) Series Q, Vol. 54-2, p. 704, quoted by A.H. Young in an article entitled 'Bishop' Peters, in the Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records, Vol. XXVIII, p. 588.

(4) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 9, Simcoe to Nepean, Dec. 3, 1789: ibid., p. 50. Simcoe to Dundas

of a Canadian episcopate vanished when the independent state joined the American Union. The man who was later elected by a group of representative episcopalians as Bishop of Vermont (although he did not obtain consecration) and who was Simcoe's nominee for a similar post in Upper Canada, was the Rev. Samuel Peters, D.D.⁽¹⁾

Peters was born in Hebron, Connecticut, and was placed in charge of the Mission there, under the S.P.G., from 1759 to 1774. An inflexible Loyalist, he fled at the time of the Revolution first to Boston, and then to England. Here his daughter Hannah married William Jarvis who had been an officer in the original Queen's Rangers when Simcoe was in command. In England Peters pressed his candidacy for the bishopric of Nova Scotia, and waged with Inglis a bitter pamphlet war in which he did his best to injure the latter's chances of success. But although he failed, on this occasion, to realise his ambition, his hopes revived again when the appointment of a bishop for Canada was under discussion, and once more he presented his claims to the government. Bishop Inglis heard of this, and advised against giving such a post to Peters "whose restless temper, to say nothing of other matters, seems to be ill adapted to that situation."⁽²⁾

(1) Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, Vol. III, p. 508. Peters was elected bishop at a Convention held at Manchester, Feb. 26, 1794.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D. Folder 3, Inglis to Moore, March 20, 1792.

But Simcoe had a good opinion of the "suffering Loyalist" and stated in a memorandum to Dundas, June 30, 1791, that he had recommended Mr. Peters, late of Connecticut, as a "proper Person for the Episcopal Function". He suggested to Dundas that Peters, if appointed, should go to Connecticut and invite six loyal clergymen, or Puritans who would become Anglicans to settle in the projected capital of Upper Canada.⁽¹⁾ Peters was also ready to assist Simcoe in encouraging Loyalists to leave England and to help to settle the unoccupied lands of the new province. As it has been already shown, Simcoe was determined that a bishop should be sent to Upper Canada, but we may suggest that perhaps it was his personal inclination towards Peters that led him to submit the offer - surely unique in the history of colonial administration - of a deduction of Five Hundred pounds from his own salary, if expense stood in the way of making an episcopal appointment.⁽²⁾

Writing from Pimlico, November 19, 1791, Peters asked Grenville in a forthright manner what his prospects of success were:- "By various Letters from the States of America", he told the Foreign Secretary, "I have information that

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 27-34, Simcoe to Dundas, June 30, 1791.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 278, p. 271. Quoted in Riddell, W.R., The Life of John Graves Simcoe, p. 125, (Not to be found in the Simcoe Correspondence edited by E.A. Cruikshank.)

Emigration and discontent still prevail, & my Friends wish to know by next January whether I am to go out Bishop of Canada, as February and March are the months for moving their families on the snow & Ice."⁽¹⁾

But Inglis' opposition, added to the government's knowledge of Peters' contentious nature and improvident habits,⁽²⁾ counter balanced Simcoe's wishes. Not only was Peters rejected, but the plan for sending a bishop to Upper Canada failed entirely.⁽³⁾ The Anglican See of Toronto was not erected until 1839.

Bishop Inglis' first nominee for the Canadian episcopate, was the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, M.A., formerly of Annapolis, Maryland.⁽³⁾ Writing to the Archbishop of

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 57, pp. 176-177. Peters to Grenville, Nov. 19, 1791.

(2) He had actually been in the Fleet Prison for debt. His son-in-law, William Jarvis, satisfied Peters' creditors and arranged for the latter's release.

(3) At least one of the three clergy in Upper Canada in 1792 did not anticipate Peters' rumoured appointment with any pleasure. The Rev. John Stuart of Kingston wrote to Bishop White of Pennsylvania, July 17, 1792, dilating (presumably) on the promising future of the Mission. But he proceeded, "If Dr. Peters comes over Bishop to us I shall not boast again of my situation". (Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 180.)

(3) For biographical details concerning Boucher, see Anderson, J.S.M., History of the Colonial Church, Vol. III, pp. 154-160.

Canterbury he says:- "In my answer to your Grace's letterI took the liberty of mentioning Mr. Boucher as the fittest person I knew to be sent out Bishop of Canada." Then he proceeds:- "Should the measure be now carried into effect, and neither Mr. Boucher, nor any other clergymen now settled in England be appointed, I humbly conceive that Mr. Toosey would be a much properer person than Mr. Peters Mr. Toosey is a man of respectable abilities; prudent, exemplary, and so far as I know a sound Churchman."⁽¹⁾ Boucher's name does not seem to have been seriously considered in England, but the Bishop's second nominee made a determined effort to obtain the office.

The Rev. Philip Toosey emigrated with his family from Sussex in 1785, bought a large estate near Quebec and planned to promote emigration from England. He accompanied Bishop Inglis to Montreal on the latter's extra-diocesan visit, in 1789 and at Inglis' insistence he superseded the aged Rector of Quebec, D.F. DeMontmollin, who was no longer acceptable to the congregation. He was also appointed Bishop's Commissary. In his efforts to attain to the episcopate he enjoyed the support of Lord Dorchester, to whose children he had for a time acted as tutor. In order to press his suit with greater hope of success Toosey decided to return to

(1) Q.D.A., Series D. Folder 3, Inglis to Moore, March 20, 1792.

England in 1792 and had left Quebec before Bishop Inglis' letter, dissuading him from such a course, had arrived.⁽¹⁾ In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, June 25, 1792, Inglis made the following shrewd remark about Toosey:- "He is a worthy man; but I suspect that the grounds on which he proceeds are too slender in this business."⁽²⁾ And so indeed it proved. Toosey failed to receive sufficient support, and after some delay returned to Canada.

Meanwhile, influences close to the British government were working for Jacob Mountain. George Pretyman, (later Tomline) now Bishop of Lincoln, had been William Pitt's tutor at Cambridge, and from 1783 until his elevation to the episcopate in 1787 had been Pitt's private secretary. Although his secretarial duties ended in 1787 yet his close friendship with the young statesman never faded, and until 1806 the greater part of Pitt's ecclesiastical patronage was exercised in accordance with Tomline's advice.⁽³⁾ It is not unlikely that Pitt on his part welcomed the nomination of the Bishop of Lincoln's examining chaplain, for it may have relieved him of the necessity of deciding between the claims of other rival candidates.

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Inglis to Toosey, April 19, 1792.

(2) Ibid., Inglis to Moore, June 25, 1792.

(3) See Dictionary Of National Biography, sub voce Tomline, George.

The following letter from Pitt to Dundas shows the progress made towards the settlement of this colonial episcopal problem at the time of writing:-

Walmer Castle,
Oct. 22, 1792.

Dear Dundas:-

I do not well know what to determine about the Canada Bishop. I think his Emolument ought not to be less than £2000 per Annum, but at the same time, that is a heavier addition than I should like to the Estimates, if it can be avoided. It seems to me that a Part, and perhaps gradually the whole might be secured by a grant of Land, and if what we are to furnish is to be considered only as temporary, till the Land can become productive I should see little objection. There can I think, be no difficulty in advancing whatever is thought reasonable to enable him to enter properly on his station. With respect to the possibility of annexing any patronage to the See, you are the best Judge. If it can conveniently be done it would be useful, as being likely to give him more Consideration. I think you once said something of a separate Diocese for Upper Canada but I do not see why it might not be included in the with the other.

Yrs. etc.
W.P. (1)

Dundas immediately sent Pitt's letter to Pretyman with the following note.

Dongra (?) Lodge
27th Oct. 1792

My Dear Lord:

I send you the answer I have received from Mr. Pitt on the subject of the Bishop for Canada. It of course contains all I can say to you on the subject, and I thought it

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 5, Pitt to Dundas, Oct. 22, 1792.

best to send it to your Lordship, that your Friend,⁽¹⁾ might be better enabled to take it under his consideration. As to Patronage, and everything depending upon me, there will, he may be assured, be no difficulty. It is impossible but that in such a situation there must be a dependent Patronage.

I beg my respects to Mrs. Prettyman, and I have the honour to remain,

Yours very sincerely

Hendy Dundas⁽²⁾

It is probable that Jacob Mountain accepted the offer without further delay but it is not known when the appointment was made public. Toosey had heard of it by April 30, 1793,⁽³⁾ and the London papers contained the news by June 8.⁽⁴⁾

Necessary changes being made, the procedure followed in the creation of colonial bishops was similar to that used for the making of English bishops. By the statute 25 Henry VIII cap. 20 the right to nominate bishops lies in the King,

(1) The words "your Friend" undoubtedly refer to Jacob Mountain.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 6, Dundas to Pretyman, Oct. 27, 1792.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 66, p. 281, Toosey to Dundas, April 30, 1793.

(4) See Chap. I, p. 10.

and the nomination is made effective by Letters Patent.⁽¹⁾
 Accordingly, on June 28, 1793, Letters Patent erecting the
 see of Quebec nominated Jacob Mountain to that See, outlined
 the powers attached to the office and directed the Arch-
 bishop of Canterbury to consecrate the royal nominee.⁽²⁾ On
 Sunday, July 7, 1793, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, Arch-
 bishop Moore of Canterbury, assisted by Bishop Porteus of
 London, Bishop Warren of Bangor and Bishop Horsley of St.
 Davids, consecrated the Rev. Dr. Jacob Mountain as Bishop of
 Quebec.

The new bishop knew of the great need for clergy in
 his diocese, and this knowledge, combined with a desire not
 to separate a family group bound closely together by strong
 ties of affection, led him to urge his brother and the lat-
 ter's family to accompany him to Quebec. Accordingly when
 the Ranger, (Captain Cooper) sailed from the Downs on August
 13, 1793, thirteen Mountains were on board. The party
 consisted of the Bishop, Mrs. Mountain, and their four small
 children, Jacob, George, Robert and Eliza; Mary and Sarah
 the Bishop's two sisters; Jehoshaphat his brother, with Mrs.

(1) Gee, Henry and Hardy, W.J., Documents Illustrative of
 English Church History, p. 201. But see Chapter 27
 where the method of appointing bishops by Letters Patent
 in colonies possessing representative institutions is
 discussed and criticized.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 131 ff. Letters
 Patent, June 28, 1793.

J. Mountain and their children Salter, Mary and Sarah.

The first proposal with regard to the voyage to Canada was that he and the Governor-in-Chief, Lord Dorchester, who was returning to Quebec after an absence of two years, should sail on the same frigate. But as the families of both men were large the plan was changed, and the Bishop was granted £500 for the expenses of the voyage on another frigate.⁽¹⁾

How the news of the appointment disoblged one of the disappointed candidates, the egregious Dr. Peters, is revealed in the following letter that he wrote to the Rev. Samuel Parker, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston:-

Pimlico, July 21, 1793.

My dear Sir:

. Dr. Mountain is appointed Bishop of Lower Canada - because his father in his lifetime Butler to the Earl of Orford - who had given the Butler's son £800 per annum in our church, & Mr. Pitt wanted those two livings to pay for voters - 2dly Lord Dorchester said, it was a shame to send a Bishop to Upper Canada while lower Canada had no bishop -- hence I am put off for another year - before my appointment two years old, shall be compleated - the I cause of putting me off was arming against Spain - the 2d was arming against Russia, the 3 was the French War - the 4th was because lower Canada had no Bishop - what the 5th

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 25, Mountain to Canning, Dec. 28, 1818, The Bishop in this letter requested the use of a frigate in which to return to Quebec, and described the circumstances of his first voyage to Canada in 1793.

Reason will be for Procrastination I cannot conceive, unless I have not livings of £800 per ann. to give for £1000 per ann - covered with a Mitre in cold Canada - I certainly enjoy every comfort here without a Mitre, but one; & that is the absence of my Daughter, ⁽¹⁾ the delight of mine Eyes - tho in upper Canada. Why have you not sent me one of your Sermons before the General Court & a Catalogue of Cambridge?

Ogden will make a good grazier in the Woods of Canada but will he rest under a Mountain which sprung up out of a Molehill; but he is an excellent span for Charles d'Arcadie ⁽²⁾ - neither of whom ever saw the inside of a College - but no matter said the Bishop of London "they will do well enough for America." Now Sir, as I am one of John Bull's men & the Rulers have held America, Botany Bay & Sierra Leona in one & the same light, I do not rejoice at the Prospect of next year of having one of the three Mitred Blockheads that will do well enough for dear America, yet under England. - I have no ambition but to be Just and Honourable in all my ways & after this life is over to mount to Heaven where I shall not be tormented by such men as Thayer Ogden & Oliver Noble now dead - I pity Dr. Seabury ⁽³⁾; as to Provost ⁽⁴⁾ White, ⁽⁵⁾ Maddison, ⁽⁶⁾ & Inglis, they merit contradiction for their Pride & the Mountain will always suffer for Vanity & Folly, by preferring a Mitre & £1000 in Canada to Peace and £800 in England ⁽⁷⁾ - whose mother's tenderness to Lord Orford essentially served her two sons. ⁽⁸⁾

(1) Mrs. William Jarvis.

(2) Charles Inglis, Bishop of Nova Scotia.

(3) Bishop of Connecticut.

(4) Bishop of New York.

(5) Bishop of Pennsylvania.

(6) Bishop of Virginia.

(7) What the nature of Peters' comment would have been had he known that the episcopal salary was £2000 may be left to the imagination.

(8) See Chap. I, pp. 4-5.

Lord Dorchester is gone to Quebec very angry that Mr. Mongan⁽¹⁾ or Mr. Toosey, nominated by him, were not made Bishop of Lower Canada. Perhaps one of those Tobacco Slappers next year may be appointed to Upper Canada, because I am too old, or was born in New England.

Sam^{ll} Peters. (2)

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- (1) Rev. Charles Mongan, Chaplain in the Third Battalion of the Royal American Regiment. He went to N.S. in 1783, and thence to England in 1784. He became acquainted with conditions in Canada by a visit there in 1785 (Harris, R.V., Charles Inglis, pp. 95; 171).
- (2) Diocesan Library of Massachusetts, Peters to Parker, July 21, 1793.

CHAPTER III

JACOB MOUNTAIN'S INTRODUCTION

TO THE

PROBLEMS OF A CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT IN QUEBEC

The following letter from Jehoshaphat Mountain, the Bishop's brother, to Mrs. Salter, Upper Close, Norwich, England, was written on the day after the arrival of the Mountains at Quebec. The perils of an Atlantic crossing in 1793 seem to have been little different from those which are being experienced a century and a half later.

Woodfield,⁽¹⁾ Nov. 2nd, 1793

My Dear Madam:-

I have the comfort to tell you that we arrived at Quebec about two hours before daybreak yesterday, after having been on board the ship three months, except four days. Mrs. Mountain, the Bishop, my sister's servant and myself were seasick during the whole voyage. My sister's health is already improved, and the rest of the party are as well as we can expect, considering what we have suffered by bad provisions, and want of proper sustention, for we were obliged to be stinted with respect to biscuit and water.

To describe to you the trouble of the passage, had I leisure, would be a vain attempt, as my head is so much confused with the motion of the vessel that this house still seems to retain the same motion, and I am inclined to catch at everything I see to prevent its falling.

We have encountered a great many dangers - were chased by a French ship after having separated from our convoy in a heavy gale of wind. Our beds were taken down, our guns loaded, the matches lighted, and every preparation for action, when we overtook the "Beaver", one of our convoy, and the

(1) See Appendix N, p.630, for an account of the different houses occupied by the Bishop and his family in Quebec from 1793 to 1825.

French ship steered on a different course. You may conceive the terror of Mrs. Mountain and Mrs. Bp. Mountain on this occasion. The rest of the party discovered but small emotion. We had the good fortune also to escape an action with a French privateer which we saw, and, more than that, the French Fleet, which was cruising in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.⁽¹⁾

The sea, my dear madam, was so high in the Atlantic, that, standing on the deck, we lost sight of the topmast of the "Beaver", the ship that accompanied us. The "Severn", man-of-war, that brought Lord Dorchester, our Governor here, is now setting sail for England, and I lament that it is impossible now to attempt to give you a description of this country. The house and everything around it is entirely different to anything we ever saw before, and the country and climate inexpressibly delightful. The Bishop and myself sat this morning in the open air, and 'tis, to the full as warm as May in England.

The Attorney-General⁽²⁾ came on board the vessel, and we, the Bishop and I, were presented at Court to the Governor. We likewise paid our respects to the Prince, who was not at home.⁽³⁾ We dine with him at the Governor's to-day, as

(1) France had declared war on Great Britain in February, 1793.

(2) James Monk, afterwards Chief Justice of the Province.

(3) Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III, resided at Quebec from August 1791 to January 1794. The Duke held the Bishop in high esteem although he left Lower Canada less than two months after the latter's arrival. He maintained for many years a warm interest in the old City. (Memoir of A.S.H. Mountain, p.8). From his side the Bishop later expressed to Bishop Inglis the following guarded approval of Prince Edward:- "As the world goes, this young man seems to have considerable merit. Like other Princes and other men he has his errors, but there is something in his constant disposition to befriend the friendless that is truly amiable, & that interests one much in his happiness & welfare." (Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 181-182, Mountain to Inglis, Sept. 16, 1798).

it is the Prince's birthday, a day of festivity, illumination, etc.

I must now, my dear madam, lay down my pen.
We are all quite well and voraciously hungry.
You shall hear as soon as possible.

Pray show nobody this scrawl.

With duty to Mr. J. Salter,
Yours ever,

J. Mountain. (1)

On the same day the Bishop wrote as follows to an unknown correspondent, probably the Under Secretary of State:-

Quebec, 2d Nov^r 1793.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that, having embarked in the Downs on the 13 August, we arrived yesterday safely in this place.⁽²⁾ The departure of Captain Minchin, who is about to sail immediately for England only allows me time to add, that as soon as I have settled myself here, I will apply myself without delay to the acquisition of such information as relates to the object of my appointment, & communicate to you whatever I shall conceive to be worthy of your attention.⁽³⁾

- (1) This letter was sent to the editor of the "Church Guardian" (Canadian) by Jacob J. Mountain, one of the Bishop's grandsons, and was printed in the issue of August 9, 1882. A file of the "Church Guardian" for this year is in the possession of the Rev. R.K. Naylor, Montreal.
- (2) The often repeated statement first made by Armine Mountain in his Memoir of G.J. Mountain (p.10) that the voyage occupied thirteen weeks, is thus shown to be incorrect. The Ranger made the crossing in eleven weeks, three days.
- (3) P.A.C., Series Q. Vol. 66, p. 321, Mountain to (?) Nov. 2, 1793.

The Quebec Gazette notes the arrival of the "Ranger", Captain Cooper, but makes no reference to the episcopal party. This is a curious omission, particularly as an elaborate official welcome had been given to Bishop Inglis in 1789. It may imply Lord Dorchester's disapproval of the appointment of Jacob Mountain, instead of his own candidate, to the See of Quebec.⁽¹⁾

The greeting given on shipboard by the Attorney General to the Bishop, before the latter had even set foot in his Diocese, is prophetic of the close relations that were to be maintained between Church and Government during Jacob Mountain's episcopate. Five days later Monk wrote to the Bishop introducing him to a few of the problems that were to demand solution in the years ahead. The letter follows, broken into two parts for convenient discussion.

Quebec. Nov. 5, 1793.

My Lord:-

I am greatly flattered in the honour you do me to permit my expressing myself on subjects that may fall within the sphere of your Lordship's attention in the Province of Canada, nor would I so early venture to trouble your Lordship, were it not that your Lordship might wish in some degree to direct your attention to such objects before the close of navigation. A little while will afford your Lordship a just view of the great consideration paid in England, and His Majesty's earnest wishes, to support the protestant

(1) See Chapter II, p. 34 - Peters to Parker.

and direct the papal Church, by strong injunctions upon his several Governors of this Colony, since the Quebec Act, (the 14th of his present Majesty), and the evidence of facts will enable your Lordship to draw those conclusions which it would not become me to presume to intrude.

The Canada Act, or 31 of His present Majesty, chap. 31, lays down a permanent basis for effectual support of the Church of England. And the Governor-General, as well as the Lieut. Governor of Upper Canada must find themselves greatly relieved in your Lordship's arrival to attend to the detail, and minutely to guard those interests in the various channels through which they must flow, in the several Executive and Legislative powers, of His Majesty's Government within your Lordship's Diocese. Permit me, my Lord to say, I have great pleasure to express my satisfaction in seeing with your Lordship a leading power to guard those interests. And I feel it a duty to present to your Lordship the state of a Case that soon may come before your Lordship in His Majesty's Executive Council, to hear and adjudge. It is that of creating Protestant Parishes or Parsonages in this Colony, under the late Act of Parliament. As Attorney General the case has been referred to me, but I have not been so fortunate as to receive the Chief Justice's support or approbation of my Opinion on the subject, indeed, very far the contrary.

However, Your Lordship must know, by possessing the Governor General's Instruction on this point, that the opinion I have delivered fortunately has been such as those Instructions had previously ordered on the subject, whenever it might arise, namely, that the right to Tithes was created by the Act of Parliament, and would only be ceded by His Majesty, under a proper commutation, or permanent provision for the Rector, by the Parishioners.

In the first place, Monk calls the Bishop's attention to the official ecclesiastical policy of the British Government with respect to the Province of Quebec since the cession, namely, "to support the protestant and direct

the papal church". Assuming that by "protestant" he was referring primarily to the Church of England, it may not be amiss to inquire, without entering into great detail, to what extent the first part of this policy had been carried out during the years 1763-1793.

A retrospective glance at the collection of official documents⁽¹⁾ pertaining to this period makes it quite clear that it was the avowed purpose of the British Government to establish the Church of England "both in Principles and Practice,⁽²⁾ - in other words, to make of it an established Church bearing a relationship to the provincial government similar to that which existed between Church and State in England itself. This was no new policy in the history of the Empire, and had been put into practice with varying degrees of completeness in the American provinces to the south, in Nova Scotia and in New Brunswick. From the Cession until the creation of the See of Nova Scotia in 1787 the situation of Quebec, in respect of Anglican Church administration, did not differ greatly from that of the old colonies

(1) Documents dealing with the history of the Church of England in Upper and Lower Canada are contained in the Q and other series in the Public Archives of Canada. As many of them are included in Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, references following are made to this easily available printed collection rather than to the originals in the Archives.

(2) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, p. 191.

before the Revolution. After 1763 the new province came automatically under the supervision of the Bishop of London. In the absence of a resident bishop, governors and administrators, local representatives of the Royal Supremacy, fulfilled functions (apart from those purely spiritual) which in England were attached to the episcopal office.

In accordance with the policy of "establishment", Instructions to governors contained sections dealing with the encouragement and promotion of the interests of the Church of England. Murray's Instructions quoted above, and Sir Guy Carleton's in 1768, began the series. On Oct. 12, 1768, Hillsborough cautioned Carleton "particularly to countenance the established Church and to take care that the Offices of it are administered with a decency corresponding to the purity of its principles."⁽¹⁾ Instructions to Carleton in 1775⁽²⁾ amplify those of 1768 and the same clauses are repeated in Haldimand's Instructions of 1778⁽³⁾ and Dorchester's of 1768.⁽⁴⁾

The implementing of this policy in a practical way was of slow development, but it all pointed in the one general direction. Financial assistance was granted for

(1) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, p. 325.

(2) Ibid., Part II, pp. 602-606.

(3) Ibid., Part II, p. 697

(4) Ibid., Part II, pp. 822-826.

repair and building of churches, e. g., at Montreal and at the Mohawk Mission in the Upper Country. Stipends of "Rectors" of Quebec, Three Rivers, William Henry (Sorel) and Montreal were paid by the Home Government. These stipends were regarded as temporary, for it was hoped that income arising from glebes and tithes would in time make the Church self-supporting.

The intention to set apart glebes for the maintenance of a Protestant Clergy was contained in every set of governor's Instructions from 1764-1786. In a few cases, as at Kingston and Cornwall, glebes were granted before 1791, but the revenue that they yielded was negligible. When it was decided to revive tithes as a method of support for the Roman Catholic Church, the same method was adopted as well with respect to the Church of England, but the proceeds of their collection are nowhere on record. Even after the passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 and the reserving of one seventh part of the Crown lands for the support of a Protestant Clergy, tithes were still allowed to be taken. Proprietors could escape them by clearing the reserved lands, building parsonage houses, and providing an intermediate fund for the payment of clergy. It seems clear that Monk's opinion on the matter of tithes, as stated in the last paragraph of the letter quoted above, is in accordance with instructions given to Lord Dorchester.

The specific case that had been referred to Monk,

respecting the erection of a Protestant Rectory, was as follows. One result of Bishop Inglis' visitation in the summer of 1789 was the obtaining of a church building, the dilapidated chapel of the Jesuit College, for the exclusive use of the Anglican congregation of Montreal. In December of that year Christ Church, to give it the name suggested by the Bishop, was opened for public worship after being repaired and furnished. Clause thirty-eight of the Constitutional Act of 1791 provided for the legal erection of Parsonages or Rectories through royal authorization given to the Governor-in-Council. On October 29, 1792, the Congregation of Christ Church petitioned Alured Clarke, Administrator of the Government of Lower Canada, to have the church legally established as a Rectory, but without subjecting them to tithes or rates. Clarke submitted the petition to the Attorney General, who gave it as his opinion that if a parish were formed by Letters Patent and a Rectory erected the congregation would still be liable for payment of tithes, but that the Legislature might pass a law exempting them from such payment.⁽¹⁾ Chief Justice William Smith disagreed, and held the opinion that under the Statute of 1791 Clergy Reserves were given in lieu of tithes. Again the matter was submitted to the Attorney General who, in a report made on Dec. 10, 1792, repeated his former decision. Once again

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 372-4, Monk to Clarke, Nov. 17, 1792.

the question was handed back to the Governor-in-Council, and there it rested at the time of the Bishop's arrival.⁽¹⁾ In the first letter that the latter wrote to Dundas he informed the Secretary of State about the difference of opinion and asked for an official ruling.⁽²⁾

Reverting to Monk's statement that the ecclesiastical policy of the British Government towards Quebec was "to support the protestant and direct the papal church", a query may now be made as to the extent of this "direction". Here again ample evidence of the Government's intention may be quoted. Articles of Capitulation of Quebec and Montreal allowed the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.⁽³⁾ General Murray's report on the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada, June 5, 1762, urged the Home authorities to adopt a tolerant enlightened attitude.⁽⁴⁾ The Treaty of Paris 1763 ruled, however, that the King's new Roman Catholic subjects were to be allowed to profess their religion "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."⁽⁵⁾ A strict

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 375-7, Latest date, July 18, 1793. Endorsed:- Mem. on the progress of a Petition from the Rector & Parishioners of Christ Church, Montreal.

(2) Ibid., pp. 381-3, Mountain to Dundas, Nov. 20, 1793.

(3) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, pp. 6 and 30.

(4) Ibid., p. 47.

(5) Ibid., p. 115.

interpretation of this clause would have worked great hardship in the new subjects, as the laws of Great Britain gave little scope for the exercise of Roman Catholicism in that country, the laws against Roman Catholics in Ireland being, as is well known, much more severe. On Aug. 13, 1763, the Earl of Egremont, Secretary of State for the Southern Department, warned Governor Murray to keep strict watch on the Priests, and to remember that by law Roman Catholicism had the status merely of a tolerated religion.⁽¹⁾ This policy was clearly stated in instructions to Governors of Quebec from 1764 to 1786. The Quebec Act of 1774 proclaimed that "His Majesty's Subjects, professing the Religion of the Church of Rome and in the said Province of Quebec, may have, hold, and enjoy the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome, subject to the King's Supremacy, declared and established by an Act, made in the First Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth."⁽²⁾

If the ecclesiastical clauses of the Treaty of Paris and of the Quebec Act had been closely followed the Quebec Roman Catholic would have had, in the words of Sir Thomas Chapais "Liberté du cult, proscription des doctrines, liberté d'aller à la messe, de se confesser et de communier, mais

(1) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, p. 169.

(2) Ibid., p. 572.

proscription de la hiérarchie, de l'autorité et de la juridiction romaines."⁽¹⁾

But for a number of reasons these proscriptions were not followed. A Superintendent of the Romish Clergy, bishop in all respects except that he was not officially recognized as such, governed his diocese as in the days of New France. The severity of the clause in the Treaty of Paris was mitigated by the opinion of the Attorney General and Solicitor General that English practice in this matter did not apply to the Province of Quebec.⁽²⁾ The Quebec Act re-established the tithe and provided a new oath of allegiance that could be taken by Roman Catholics without being repugnant to their conscience.⁽³⁾ And the Royal Supremacy by the exercise of which it would have been possible effectively "to direct the papal church" was never enforced. It was to be Bishop Mountain's distasteful and hopeless task in the years ahead to be a leader in the attempt to make the Church of Rome in Quebec submit to the same control as his own Church had to labour under, and to fail completely in this attempt.

The final paragraph of Monk's letter continues:-

But it is not My Lord merely this case that will claim your Lordship's attention, in the Executive Council. The allotment and grant of all lands under the late act of parliament, will

(1) Chapais, Thomas, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Tome I, p. 42.

(2) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, p. 236.

(3) Ibid., pp. 572-3.

require your Lordship's peculiar aid, to sustain those rights, and by the modes it has been the wisdom and justice of His Majesty and His Parliament to direct. And permit me my Lord, to add, that upon my arrival last year, I found the Executive Council - in my poor opinion - had misconceived the Law and instructions, upon that subject, by an allotment of the Lands very contrary to that support of the Church, intended. Fortunately, some difficulties had prevented the grant of Lands, until His Majesty's commands arrived early this year, which altho they may have prevented any grants from passing the seal, yet I fear have not been in time entirely to save some difficulties upon that subject. Indeed, His Majesty's Executive and Legislative Councils must feel great relief and satisfaction in your Lordship's situation as a member of those Bodies, to aid in the important points that must daily arise in the former, and annually in the latter, and where the Interests of the Church of England indispensably require your Lordship's personal support. And independent of aids limited to such subjects, but in the more extensive scale of the general Interests and policy of His Majesty's Government, your Lordship will be enabled to serve the Crown, by duties that are in the inclination of every good subject, but in few possessing the knowledge and weight that will at all times flow from your Lordship's expression.

I have the honour to enclose some documents upon the case referred to, and have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your Lordship's
most obedient and
faithful humble servant

J. Monk.⁽¹⁾

Thus the Attorney-General's letter concludes with a reference to a further problem - that of land-granting - a

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 368-370, Monk to Mountain, Nov. 5, 1793.

business into which the Bishop was forced to enter because of the Clergy Reserves. When settlements were commenced in Lower Canada in 1792 it was intended that Church and Crown Reserves should be located in the four corners of inland townships and in the rear part of townships that were situated on rivers or lakes. Afterward, on August 12, 1793, it was determined that applicants for a specified number of townships should have the option either of securing reservations located in four parallelograms, running through the townships, from front to rear, or to have them located in detached lots. Even this plan was not adopted universally, with the result that settlement was retarded, in part because of uncertainty about the placing of the reserves.⁽¹⁾

The Hon. Hugh Finlay, a member of both Councils of Lower Canada, and Chairman of the Land Committee (a sub-committee of the Executive Council to deal with land-grants) went to England in January 1794 on official business. By him the Bishop sent a letter to John King, Under Secretary of State in the Home Department, asking the latter to introduce Finlay to Dundas, so that Finlay might return to Quebec "with a plan so perfectly defined, or clearly comprehended, as may bear no further room for remonstrance on the part of the settlers, and surmount the obstacles which so obstinately

(1) Extract from the Minutes of Council, Quebec, 1798, p. 35.

resist the progress of cultivation."⁽¹⁾

Monk was genuinely relieved, as his letter testified, that the Bishop had come to bear some of the responsibility of safeguarding the Church's interests. This responsibility Jacob Mountain faithfully accepted after his appointment to the Executive Council, and he devoted much labour, especially during the first ten years of his episcopate, to the thankless, routine business involved in land grants.

Throughout his letter, Monk assumed that the Bishop would immediately become a member of both Councils. Because of a series of delays this expectation was not realized. The first session of the Legislative Council that the Bishop was entitled to attend was that of 1795. From what will appear in subsequent paragraphs it is established that he did not become a member of the Executive Council until the end of the same year.

On July 17, 1793, before Jacob Mountain left England a mandamus had been issued directing the Governor of the Province of Lower Canada to prepare Letters Patent giving to the new Bishop the title of Lord Bishop, and to summon him to the Legislative Council.⁽²⁾ To his embarrassment the Bishop found, on his arrival, that Carleton had not received the mandamus, and he wrote immediately to Dundas for an

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 11, Mountain to King, Jan. 24, 1794.

(2) P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 41, p. 107, July 17, 1793.

explanation, terming the delay "an evil of great magnitude".⁽¹⁾ John King, as Under-Secretary of State, replied for Dundas on Jan. 23, 1794, giving as a reason for the delay the fact that the Bishop's agent had not called for the mandamus or paid the necessary fees. But he sent in the same post two instruments giving the Bishop seats in the Legislative Councils of both provinces, with the title of Lord Bishop of Quebec.⁽²⁾ Long before he received this reply the Bishop wrote again to King asking the latter to speed the mandamus to Quebec as hastily as possible.⁽³⁾ King replied once more saying that the instruments had been sent by the February packet via Halifax, under cover to Lieut.-Gov. Wentworth of Nova Scotia and that they would be delivered without delay.⁽⁴⁾ When they finally arrived the Bishop handed them over to the Governor-General, and on May 25 the latter informed Dundas by letter that patents would be prepared accordingly. But he continued, "At the same time I must observe that it will waken much jealousy on the part of the Canadians, that their Bishop does not receive the same

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 381-383, Mountain to Dundas, Nov. 20, 1793.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 10, King to Mountain, Jan. 23, 1794.

(3) Ibid., p. 11, Mountain to King, Jan. 24, 1794.

(4) Ibid., p. 15, King to Mountain, April 24, 1794.

honour."(1) To this criticism Dundas' successor, the Duke of Portland, made the following rejoinder:- "I do not think that the Mandamus, directing the Bishop of Quebec, for the time being, to be summoned to the Legislative Councils of Upper and Lower Canada, by the same Style and Title, by which Bishops in England are distinguished, can contain any reasonable ground of Jealousy. It will be for His Majesty's Consideration whether a Seat in the Legislative Council of Lower Canada should not be given to the Catholic Bishop of Quebec should your Lordship recommend such a measure."(2) Dr. Mountain was summoned to the Legislative Council for the session of 1795, and the Letters Patent was entered in the Journals of January 6 of that year although the document had been prepared on the 29th of the previous May.(3)

Dorchester wrote to Lieut. Gov. Simcoe on May 29, 1794, sending the second mandamus.(4) On the following

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 71-1, p. 6, Dorchester to Dundas, May 25, 1794.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 68, pp. 132-133, Portland to Dorchester, Aug. 13, 1794.

(3) Journals of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, January 6, 1795. The original of the Mandamus to Dorchester is in the Public Archives of Canada. The original of the Letters Patent is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives, Series A, Folder 1.

(4) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 251, Dorchester to Simcoe, May 29, 1794.

June 21 Simcoe acknowledged receipt of it stating at the same time that this was his only notification of the Bishop's arrival.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop was summoned to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada on July 10.⁽²⁾

In passing, some reference should be made to Jacob Mountain's title "Lord Bishop of Quebec". As far as the name of the Diocese is concerned it was anticipated by Bishop Inglis and others that it would be given the name "Canada", on the same principle as that followed in the eastern diocese which was named Nova Scotia, the designation of the civil province in which the See City was situated.⁽³⁾ It has been assumed that the Bishopric of Quebec was so named from Jacob Mountain's See City. But if the statement by John Strachan, made in a memorial sermon preached after the death of Bishop Mountain, be a correct one, "Quebec" in the diocesan title meant not the city but the old Province. Strachan wrote:- "A Bishop was appointed, retaining the former name of the Colony, that both Provinces might be included in the Diocese."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 287, Simcoe to Dorchester, June 21, 1794.

(2) The original writ of summons is in Q.D.A., Series A, Folder 1.

(3) See e. g., Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 77, Inglis to Mountain, March 20, 1796.

(4) A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, Third of July 1825, on the Death of the late Lord Bishop of Quebec, by John Strachan, D.D.

A special interest attaches to the title, Lord Bishop, thus conferred by the Letters Patent of May 29, 1794. Section six of the Constitutional Act of 1791 provides that if the King should confer by Letters Patent on any of his subjects in the Canadas a hereditary title of honor, he might annex to that title the right of being summoned to the Legislative Council. Although the Patent of May 29 makes no reference to a seat on the Council, and although the title of Lord Bishop was not hereditary in any sense of the term, yet the Bishop's correspondence on the subject makes it clear that the two ideas of the seat and the title were held in close connection. Bishop Inglis, who was never officially styled Lord Bishop, wrote to Jacob Mountain when he heard of the latter's added honours:- "I have no seat in the Legislative Council of this Province; nor would I chuse to have one, whilst the present constitution, which resembles that of the old provinces, remains. The members are appointed and removeable at pleasure. The degree of weight and respectability attached to members so circumstanced cannot be great. The new Constitution in Canada, brought nearer to that of the Parent State, is different; & the Upper House consequently placed on a much more respectable foot." He concludes:- "When I formerly wrote to your Lordship, I was not aware of the title annexed to your situation. The first that informed me of it was His Royal Highness Prince Edward, some time after his arrival here from the West

Indies."⁽¹⁾

Although the granting of the title by special instrument to Jacob Mountain and not to Charles Inglis indicates that it should be considered in the context of the different constitutions of the Canadas and Nova Scotia, yet it was not long before other Anglican bishops were accorded the same honour, regardless of their political functions. By 1821 the title had been assumed by the other two colonial bishops, viz., those of Nova Scotia and Calcutta.⁽²⁾ John Stanser, second Bishop of Nova Scotia, was addressed as "My Lord Bishop" by the Prince Regent at a Court reception held in his honour after his consecration in 1816.⁽³⁾ The third Bishop of Nova Scotia, John Inglis, was called "Lord Bishop" in the Letters Patent giving effect to his appointment, and the title was later accorded to other bishops in similar instruments and in acts of parliament.⁽⁴⁾

The original plan for the first two Anglican bishops

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 77, Inglis to Mountain, March 20, 1796.

(2) Ibid., Miscellaneous Papers, Sketch of the Church of England in Canada, by G.J. Mountain, 1821.

(3) Note from R.V. Harris, K.C., Chancellor of the Diocese of Nova Scotia.

(4) For further discussion on the topic see Kingsford, W., History of Canada, Vol. VII, p. 276 f.n.; Phillimore, Sir Robert, The Ecclesiastical Law of the Church of England, Vol. I, p. 96; Correspondence in the Canadian Churchman, April 15 and April 29, 1943.

in British North America was that they should have no connection whatever with Government. This is shown by the following extract from a letter written to William Pitt on Aug. 7, 1787, by William Knox, formerly an under-secretary in a state department concerned with America, abolished in 1782. Knox briefly reviews the history of the efforts to found the Nova Scotia episcopate, and tells of his constant efforts to promote such a measure and to introduce some settled policy into North American ecclesiastical affairs both during his years of office, 1770-1782, and in the period since the Peace of 1783. After describing his plan for a church establishment in Nova Scotia he goes on to say that:- "In due time a Canadian bishop was intended to be appointed, with larger emoluments than the Nova Scotia bishop, who might look up to that see as a beneficial translation, and be thence incited to conduct himself with such propriety, and acquire such a habit of acquiescence with the views of Government in his subordinate situation, as might secure his promotion, and preserve him in the same line of conduct when he became pre-eminent. It was not meant that either should be of the Council, but wholly excluded from temporal affairs."⁽¹⁾ It would have contributed to Jacob Mountain's

(1) Knox, William, Extra-Official State Papers, Addressed to Lord Rawdon, and the Other Members of the Two Houses of Parliament by a late Under Secretary of State, London, 1789. Appendix V, pp. 16-17.

happiness had the latter part of Knox's plan been adopted in Quebec, but such was not to be the case.

It does not appear, however, that the appointment of the Bishop of Quebec to the Executive Councils of the Canadas had been considered before Jacob Mountain left England, but the importance of such a position became apparent immediately upon his arrival. On Nov. 9, 1793, he wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln:- "The Attorney-General here, & some other Gentlemen of Character are persuaded that it is of the utmost Importance to the Interests of the established Church, that the Bishop should be of the executive or Privy Council. I am myself much inclined to think that it must be rather in the Privy than in the Legislative Council that I can politically serve the church."⁽¹⁾ Tomline passed the letter on to the Government, with the result that on June 13, 1794, a Warrant was issued authorizing the Governor to admit Jacob Mountain to the Executive Council, without salary.⁽²⁾ When the document did not arrive by early Winter the Bishop wrote to King inquiring the reason for the delay and expressing his disappointment. "I have it much at heart", he explained, "to get something done relative to the system of Education in

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, p. 366, Tomline to (?) Dec. 30, 1793. In this letter the writer refers to Mountain's despatch of the previous Nov. 9. This latter communication is not available.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 73, pp. 114-15.

the Country. As Lord Dorchester will not stir a step in the business without the advice of the Executive Council I lose my only opportunity for forwarding the business."⁽¹⁾ The Bishop repeated his request to the Duke of Portland on April 25 of the same year.⁽²⁾ King replied that duplicates had been sent as the first copies had obviously been lost.⁽³⁾ Warrants to admit the Bishop to the Executive Council of each Province finally arrived on Nov. 16, 1795.⁽⁴⁾ On Nov. 19 his Lordship took the oaths and sat at the board of the Executive Council of Lower Canada.⁽⁵⁾ Subsequently on the occasion of his second Visitation in 1799 the oaths of office were administered to him at York and he took his seat for the first and last time on the Executive Council of Upper Canada.⁽⁶⁾

(1) P.A.C., Vol. 74-2, pp. 329-330, Mountain to King, Jan. 2, 1795.

(2) Ibid., pp. 362-364, Mountain to Portland, April 25, 1795.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 57, King to Mountain, July 3, 1795.

(4) Ibid., p. 71, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 16, 1795.

(5) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 75, p. 113, Extract from Minutes of Council, Nov. 19, 1795.

(6) Ibid., Vol. 290, p. 125.

CHAPTER IV

ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSARIES

and

OTHER EARLY CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC

Not long after the news of Jacob Mountain's arrival in Quebec had reached Halifax, Bishop Inglis wrote to him a letter of welcome and congratulation. Inglis expressed his unfeigned pleasure on hearing of the appointment, not only because a heavy burden was thereby removed from him, but because Church affairs in the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada would be much better cared for by a Bishop residing in the City of Quebec. He was relieved that Dr. Mountain "had escaped the dangers of the Sea and Enemy; especially the latter; for I scarcely know a greater misfortune that could happen to a Bishop, than to fall into the hands of such unprincipled ruffians as the French - the implacable enemies of our order, & of Christianity, & of everything that is good or estimable." After referring briefly to the results of his Visitation in 1789, lamenting the distance between Halifax and Quebec, and suggesting a way of facilitating correspondence by enclosing their letters under cover to the respective governors of Nova Scotia and of Lower Canada, he went on to discuss the appointment of Commissaries:- "Mr. Toosey . . . informs me that you have been good enough to appoint him your Commissary in Lower Canada; and that Government has annexed a Salary of £150 a year to the office. I am glad of this. You could not have made a better choice among the Clergy of that district I hope you will also see it fit &

convenient to appoint Mr. Stuart your Commissary in Upper Canada. Mr. Stuart has been personally known to me many years. He is a sensible judicious man, of exemplary character & very diligent and zealous in the discharge of his duty - a circumstance peculiarly necessary in Clergymen in America. Hitherto he has had much fatigue, & incurred some expence but has had no emolument by the office. His family is very large, & he is at an expence for the education of two Sons, pretty well grown which he is scarcely able to afford It would be not only serving a very worthy man, but be a great benefit to the Church, to apppoint Mr. Stuart your Commissary, with the same Salary that Mr. Toosey has." A further glance at the serious state of affairs in France, and a repeated wish that he and Mountain might carry on a "free and confidential correspondence" brought the letter to a close. (1)

On the following March 27 Bishop Mountain acknowledged this letter and sought advice on Diocesan administration. This letter is not extant but may be inferred from Inglis' reply, in the course of which he wrote:- "Being the first Bishop sent to the British Colonies in America, & aware of the prejudice that prevailed against that measure, I deemed it prudent on my arrival to go through my duty with as little noise, or offence as possible; to omit nothing that was essential or necessary to the object of my appointment, yet to

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p.9, Inglis to Mountain, Jan. 4, 1794.

pass over other matters that were not of that description. On this principle I appointed no Register; procurations, Synodals, & all other expences to the Clergy were laid aside. Even Letters of Orders I grant without expence. I only appointed two Commissaries in Canada & one in New Brunswick; which my patent authorized me to do, & the state of the Church required. This appeared advisable at first; but perhaps in time it will be found expedient to have recourse to more of the usages of our Church in England. On this you will exercise your judgment with respect to Canada; where the Roman Catholic religion may be said to be established in all its pomp; & therefore it may be prudent to you to take such measures as will make the National Church appear with more dignity."

"Visitations", he proceeded, "I consider to be of much consequence. I hold them regularly every third year, both in Nova Scotia & New Brunswick - it was out of my power to hold more than one in Canada. Previous to each Visitation I send a number of Questions to each Clergyman, to be answered by him in writing, & the answers are made the subject of inquiry, advice, etc., at the Visitation Besides the Questions, a Citation, specifying the time and place of the Visitation, is sent to each Clergyman; desiring his attendance, & to Exhibit his Letters of Orders; also his Instruments of Institution and Induction, if he has any, which was not the case before my arrival. The Citation is in the usual form; only it is in my own name and not that of an Apparitor.

No presentments are made; the circumstances of things would not admit of it - Church-Wardens are not sworn into office, as in England. My authority extends only to the Clergy. My Patent points out the mode of proceeding with them My Visitation always begins on Wednesday; after Divine Service & a Sermon by one of the Clergy I deliver my Charge on that day generally in Church. Divine Service & a Sermon are continued every day till the succeeding Sunday, inclusive, when the Visitation ends. I always hold a Confirmation on one of those days; also an Ordination, if there are any Candidates to be admitted."

In a postscript he added: "I am glad that Mr. Stuart is appointed your Commissary." (1)

Commissaries for the Bishop of London had acted in the American colonies before the Revolution. They were empowered to make Visitations and to enforce discipline, but could not ordain, confirm or consecrate. Because of the great size of their Dioceses the bishops of Nova Scotia and Quebec were authorized by their Patents to appoint Commissaries to assist them in the labour of administration. The appointment of these officers as Jacob Mountain frequently reminded successive Secretaries of State, was actually the only independent patronage that he possessed as bishop.

The first Ecclesiastical Commissary of the Eastern

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 16, Inglis to Mountain, May 5, 1794.

District of Canada was one of the rejected candidates for the bishopric of the diocese, the Rev. Philip Toosey, described as "Minister of Quebec", who was given the appointment by Bishop Inglis in 1789. In 1792 he obtained leave of absence to return to England, so that he might press his claims to the episcopate. When it became evident that he was not to be made bishop he wrote to Dundas expressing the hope that at least his services as Commissary would not go unrewarded.⁽¹⁾ Bishop Mountain was willing that Toosey should continue to hold the post, and Dundas consented to give the latter a salary of £150 per annum in lieu of retrospective claims,⁽²⁾ an offer which Toosey immediately accepted. On Aug. 26, 1793 he wrote again to Dundas asking for extended leave of absence so that he might further promote emigration. He had hoped to accompany Bishop Mountain on the latter's first voyage to Quebec but was unable to leave England at the opportune time. Services at Quebec in his absence, he assured Dundas would be conducted throughout the winter by the Bishop and his Chaplain.⁽³⁾ This request was granted, and Toosey did not arrive in Quebec until the summer of 1794 after an absence

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 66, p.281, Toosey to Dundas, April 30, 1793.

(2) Ibid., p.304, King to Toosey, July 25, 1793;
Ibid., p.305, Toosey to King, July 26, 1793.

(3) P.A.C., op. cit., p.206, Toosey to King, Aug. 26, 1793.

of over two years. His commission as Bishop's Commissary is dated Nov. 10, 1794. (1)

Bishop Inglis' Commissary in the Western District, appointed at the same time as Toosey, was the Rev. John Stuart of Kingston. On Nov. 21, 1793 Bishop Mountain wrote to Stuart offering to continue him in office, at a salary of £150 per annum. "If the office with this salary be acceptable to you", he wrote, "it is at your service. And I desire you to believe that I have much satisfaction in giving you this mark of my respect for your character, & of the confidence which I place in you." (2) Stuart replied, accepting the offer with gratitude.

Some years elapsed before the Commissaries' salaries were paid. On March 27, 1794 the Bishop wrote to King asking that warrants for that purpose should be expedited in order that his new officials should not be embarrassed. (3) King replied on the following June 17 saying that Mr. Toosey had been put on the Quebec establishment, not by warrant, but by letter to Lord Dorchester, and that it was probable that Stuart's salary would be put on the next parliamentary estimates for Upper Canada. But he queried the justice of paying Stuart

(1) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. IV, Cathedral Volume. See Appendix D.

(2) Ontario Diocesan Archives, (referred to subsequently as O.D.A.) Mountain to Stuart, Nov. 21, 1793.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p.14, Mountain to King, Mar. 27, 1794.

as much as Toosey.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop answered on Nov. 3, 1794 stating that both Commissaries had been appointed in November 1789 by the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and that Stuart's services were longer and more laborious than Toosey's. The latter had never visited the Churches of his district, while Stuart conducted annual visitations. In addition, Toosey had been absent from duty for over two years on a full salary of £200, whereas Stuart received only £150.⁽²⁾

By the end of 1795 Stuart was in receipt of his salary but Toosey was not.⁽³⁾ Portland wrote to the Bishop on May 7, 1796, expressing his inability to understand the delay.⁽⁴⁾ The Bishop replied on the following September 2 that the order for Toosey's salary had never reached Lord Dorchester.⁽⁵⁾ Meanwhile Prescott succeeded Dorchester as Governor and because he had not been informed by the Secretary of State that Toosey was actually a Commissary he refused to give the latter a certificate so that the salary might be applied for.⁽⁶⁾ Finally, on May 22, 1797, H.W. Ryland, Prescott's secretary,

(1) Q.D.A., op. cit., p. 19, King to Mountain, June 17, 1794.

(2) Ibid., p. 33, Mountain to King, Nov. 3, 1794.

(3) Ibid., p. 72, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 27, 1795.

(4) Ibid., p. 78, Portland to Mountain, May 7, 1796.

(5) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 77, pp. 356-60, Mountain to Portland, Sept. 2, 1796.

(6) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 111, Mountain to Prescott, Oct. 27, 1796.

wrote to the Bishop asking when the appointment was made, so that a warrant for arrears might be made out. (1) Mr. Toosey died on September 17 of the same year. The salary was, however, continued to his successor, Jehosaphat Mountain.

In 1793, the Diocese of Quebec contained (apart from army chaplains over whom the Bishop had no jurisdiction) only nine clergy, distributed in three parishes and four missions. The term "parish" as applied to Quebec City, Three Rivers and Montreal was at that time not used in a strictly legal sense as the parochial system of the English Established Church had nowhere been fully adapted to the Provinces. Parishes and missions differed from each other in two respects:- (a) The first, unlike the second, were organized in areas where parishes had already been established during the French régime; (b) In parishes the stipends of incumbents were paid wholly by Government, while those of the incumbents of missions were paid in part by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

In Quebec City, a regular congregation had first been assembled in 1760 by the Rev. John Brooke, described as "Chaplain to the Garrison". Services were held in the chapel of the Recollets, but by the time of Bishop Mountain's arrival it had become the custom to occupy the Council Chamber in the

(1) Ibid., p. 129-30, Ryland to Mountain, May 22, 1797

Bishop's Palace during the winter months as the Recollet Chapel was unheated. In 1768 Brooke returned to England and was succeeded by the Rev. David Francis De Montmollin, a native of Switzerland. De Montmollin was at first commissioned to the Parish of Quebec as "Curate and Minister of the Gospel" by Governor Carleton on July 1, 1768.⁽¹⁾ Later, on April 7, 1775 he was collated and admitted to the Church of Quebec by Letters Patent, to have, hold and enjoy the same during his natural life.⁽²⁾ His stipend, paid by the British Government, was £200 per annum. It does not appear that he was ever appointed as a Garrison or as a Regimental Chaplain, although he did at one time act as Deputy-Chaplain to the Garrison.⁽³⁾ He did not welcome the proffered assistance of the Rev. Philip Toosey when the latter arrived in 1785 and only rarely gave Toosey an opportunity of officiating. But when Bishop Inglis was in Quebec in 1789 he was able, although not without great difficulty, to persuade De Montmollin to retire, and he then appointed Toosey to succeed as Minister of Quebec.

At Three Rivers, from 1761 onwards the centre of the second military district of the Province, services were held

(1) Stuart, H.C., The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793, p.30.

(2) Public Archives of Canada, S. Series, Vol. 15, p. 116.

(3) During the later years of DeMontmollin's pastorate the Garrison Chaplain was a Rev. William Aked, an absentee who lived in England.

for the Garrison, in the Recollet Chapel. The first clergyman was the Rev. Legère Jean Baptiste Noel Veyssière, a native of France and a former Recollet who had seceded from the Order and joined the Church of England. He began his ministry in 1768, receiving his commission and patent at the same time as De Montmollin. His annual stipend was £200. He was still in charge of the parish when Bishop Mountain came to the Diocese.

In Montreal, garrison head-quarters and centre of the third military district of the Province, the first Anglican congregation had been gathered together in 1760 by the Rev. John Ogilvie, a Chaplain attached to the 60th Regiment. He remained until 1764 when he was succeeded for one winter only by another chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Bennett. In 1766 the Rev. David Chabrand Delisle, born in Anduze, France, arrived to take up his office as Chaplain to the Garrison. He included within his duties the cure of the civil population, being commissioned at the same time as De Montmollin and Veyssière. Anglican services in Montreal were held at first in the Chapel of the Hôtel-Dieu. Not long after Delisle's coming the Recollet Chapel was adopted as a Church home and its use shared with the remaining Recollet fathers until 1789. At that time Bishop Inglis prevailed upon the Governor to fit up the Jesuit Chapel for the exclusive use of the Protestant Congregation. This building, the first Christ Church, was destroyed by fire in 1803. In addition to his Government stipend Delisle received Chaplain's pay of £115, 5 shillings.

In 1788 the S.P.G. sent out the Rev. James Marmaduke Tunstall, as Missionary to Quebec, with a salary of £50 per annum. It has been stated that he was destined for Mississquoi Bay, where a large group of immigrants and refugees from the United States had settled, Stuart asserts that Tunstall actually opened an S.P.G. Mission at St. Armand,⁽¹⁾ but no record of his early ministry there has been preserved. In 1789 however he was in Montreal at the time of Bishop Inglis' Visitation and an arrangement was made whereby he was to conduct the English services, while Delisle was to preach occasionally in French. Tunstall received £100 from the Government in addition to his grant from the S.P.G.

It may not be amiss to comment at this point on the British Government's policy, after the Cession, of placing French-speaking clergy in the three most important centres of population. By the time of Bishop Mountain's arrival the failure of this policy had become increasingly evident. Objections to a clergy more French than English grew in volume with the coming of the Loyalists. The Rev. John Doty who arrived from Schenectady in 1777 deplored the neglect of Anglican usages, and the smallness of the congregations.⁽²⁾ The Rev. Charles Mongan, Nov. 1, 1785, was much more severe

(1) Stuart, H.C., The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793, p.58; The Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, p.39.

(2) Pascoe, C.F., Two hundred Years of the S.P.G. 1701-1900, p. 140.

in his criticism of the conduct of De Montmollin, Veyssi re and Delisle.⁽¹⁾ An anonymous paper on the state of Religion in Canada, written in 1786, recounts the general dissatisfaction of the English population on this score. Bishop Inglis' opinion of the three men in 1789 was unfavourable.⁽²⁾ With such a chorus of disapprobation it becomes difficult to defend the actual working out of the Government's ecclesiastical arrangements in Quebec. Writing to the S.P.G. from Montreal, Oct. 9, 1782, Colonel Daniel Claus stated:- "The National Church has been and is under many disadvantages in Quebec. It was not, though it certainly should have been, regarded at the Conquest of the Country. A Dissenting Governor was appointed over the Province; who represented the number of French Protestants in Canada as consisting of some hundreds of Families, when, in fact, there were hardly a dozen. Hence French Clergymen, usually strangers to the language and the religion of England, were sent over"⁽³⁾ In some respects, Claus' statements are not entirely accurate although the allegations contained in them have been widely circulated. General James Murray was no Dissenter, else he would not have been elected to membership in the S.P.G. In

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 26, p.59.

(2) Kelley, A.R., Compendium of the History of the Church of England in Canada, 1759-1791. p.30.

(3) Journals of the S.P.G., Vol. 23, Quoted in an article on the Rev. John Ogilvie by A.H. Young. O.H.S. Papers, Records, Vol. XXII, 1925.

his Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada, June 5, 1762, he made the following reasonable suggestion:-

"There are some few French Protestants in this Country who no doubt will be willing to remain, it would be a great comfort to these if a Church was granted for their use, and some French Clergyman of sound sense and good Character, with a tolerable salary, was invited to settle among them, such an establishment may be attended with the further good consequences of enticing many of their Brethren in France, to come and enjoy that religious liberty, after which they so ardently sigh, amidst a people sprung from the same origin, speaking the same language, and following the same Customs. It may likewise be conducive towards bringing about a Reformation, by slow degrees and must at least prove to the Canadians there is nothing in our Holy Religion repugnant to Virtue or Morality."⁽¹⁾ This was a moderate statement and it was in accord with the facts. If Murray heightened the story in any subsequent despatch, such a document has yet to be discovered.

It is too simple a solution of the problem to lay on Murray's shoulders the blame for the failure of the British Government's policy with respect to the Anglican Church of Quebec because he supplied inaccurate information. Even that

(1) Shortt and Doughty, Part I, p.72. In the 1926 Report of the Canadian Historical Association, p. 61, the late Prof. A.H. Young charges Murray with stating that the number of French Protestants was large.

phase of the policy regarded today as particularly visionary, namely, the attempt to transfer the allegiance of the French Canadians from the Gallican to the Anglican Communion - might have resulted in a measure of success from the viewpoint of the latter if it had been firmly and boldly pursued.⁽¹⁾ But such a course would have demanded more zeal than official Anglicanism of the eighteenth century was capable of summoning to its support. The immediate appointment of a bishop, and the control of the educational system by the importation of English clergy and school-masters, might have given the Anglican Church a better chance to win adherents from other communions, if such had been the deliberate policy of the British Government. But little else was done except to place bi-lingual clergy in the three largest towns. When it is considered that none of these clergy had been trained in the Anglican tradition, and that they were left for over twenty years with no episcopal supervision, the marvel is that the cause of the English Church in the Province did not die completely long before the erection of the bishoprics of Nova Scotia and Quebec.

To resume the survey of the new Bishop's diocesan clergy:- as early as 1774 it was decided to organize the Protestants of Sorel into a congregation, and the Rev. Lewis

(1) Scadding, Henry, The First Bishop of Toronto: A Review and a Study. Toronto: W.C. Chewett and Co., 1868, pp. 30-32.

Guerry was sent out from England in 1775 to take charge of the cure. But the disturbed condition of his parish as a result of the American invasion of Canada discouraged him from beginning work at Sorel and he returned to England in 1776. Although he never visited the province again he continued for the following nine years to draw his annual stipend of £200, as an absentee, without any pretence at fulfilling the duty by Deputy. From 1779 to 1784 the Rev. Thomas Charles Heslop Scott, for a time deputy-chaplain of the 34th regiment stationed at Sorel, ministered to the inhabitants and Loyalist refugees of that post with some regularity. But the first clergyman to undertake permanent work there was himself a Loyalist refugee, the Rev. John Doty formerly of Schenectady, N.Y., who began his ministry in Canada on July 1, 1784.⁽¹⁾ In New York, his native state, Mr. Doty had served as a missionary of the S.P.G. He had fled to Canada in 1777 where he acted for a time as regimental chaplain at Montreal and a missionary to the Mohawks at Lachine. He visited England twice, and returned from the last journey to open the first S.P.G. mission in the old province of Quebec, at Sorel. In the beginning of his ministry a Roman Catholic church was used for services for a short time. Then a barracks was fitted up, and this was followed by a large house

(1) Stuart, H.C., The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793. Details concerning the early Anglican clergy of Sorel are to be found on pages 38-48 of this work.

which was gradually transformed into a church - the first English church within the bounds of the present province of Quebec. An entirely new building was soon erected and was opened in 1790. Mr. Doty's stipend was made up of £100 from Government and £50 from the S.P.G.

The second S.P.G. Mission was that of Cataraqui or Kingston, opened up in 1785 by another Loyalist, the Rev. John Stuart, formerly missionary to the Mohawk Indians at Fort Hunter, N.Y. (1) After extricating himself and his family from New York he came in 1781 to Montreal where, like Doty, he served as a regimental chaplain. He also taught school and for a short time assisted Mr. Delisle as "Evening Lecturer." He then made an expedition as far West as Niagara but finally decided that Kingston was the most promising spot for the establishment of a mission. From that town as a base he was able to give oversight to the Mohawks at the Tyendinaga settlement. A room in the Kingston barracks served as a church until the opening of the first St. Georges in 1791. In the same year the Indians at Tyendinaga completed a church sufficiently to make it useable for services. His stipend was the same as that of Mr. Doty, but until the Government allowance of £100 was forthcoming, the S.P.G. raised its grant to £70 per annum. He later received a

(1) Young, A.H., The Parish Register of Kingston, Upper Canada, 1785-1811, Pages 10-24 of this book contain a biographical sketch of Mr. Stuart.

salary as Bishop's Commissary.

Owing to the great influx of Loyalists the mission of Ernest Town was formed in 1787 out of part of the mission of Kingston. The first clergyman to be sent out by the S.P.G. was the Rev. John Langhorn, a native of Wales, educated at St. Bees College, Cumberland. Mr. Langhorn's letters and reports written during the following quarter century are more amusing and picturesque than those of any of his clerical contemporaries. (1) Scattered throughout his territory, which included the present county of Prince Edward, he soon had eight preaching places arranged. By the time of the Bishop's first Visitation three small churches had been built, at Ernest Town (Bath) and Fredericksburg, and at an undetermined spot in Fredericksburg township. Like the other missionaries he received £50 from the Society, to which Government, after some delay, added £100.

The last mission to be established before the Bishop's arrival was that of Niagara, where the Rev. Robert Addison, a Cambridge graduate, began his work in 1792. (2) No Anglican church was erected at Niagara for several years, although

(1) Mr. Langhorn's reports to the S.P.G. may conveniently be consulted in Volumes 23 and 30 of the Ontario Historical Society's Paper and Records.

(2) Mr. Addison's reports to the S.P.G. have been printed in Volume 19 of the Ontario Historical Society's Papers and Records.

the town was, for a time, the capital of Upper Canada. The Council Chamber and the Masonic Hall served as places of worship. Mr. Addison itinerated throughout the whole district, and made regular visits to the Mohawks on the Grand River, nearly seventy miles away. These Indians had built a Church, with Government assistance, in 1788. In addition to his S.P.G. grant, and Government stipend of £100 eventually paid to him, he received further sums as military chaplain and Chaplain to the Assembly.

CHAPTER V

**PROBLEMS OF EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION;
LICENSING AND REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES**

Sir William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, was one of the law lords who had prepared the patent by which the Diocese of Quebec was erected. After a year's experience with problems of diocesan administration the Bishop wrote to Sir William the following letter.

Powell Place near Quebec 26th Oct^r 1794

Sir:-

As you were so good as to allow me the liberty of referring myself to you when any difficulties might occur in the discharge of my situation here, I now beg leave to state to you some points, which have occasioned me embarrassment, either from the novelty of the circumstances, or from my inability to ascertain the precise limits of my Jurisdiction. I do this with the less hesitation, because, tho' not unwilling to think that I may have some little personal interest in your benevolence, I am aware that you were induced by motives of a Public nature to admit of the trouble of such an application.

I shall make an Extract from my Patent: underlining the Passages to which I propose to refer in my enquiring.

"And We do by these presents give & grant to the said J.M. & his Successors, Bishops of Quebec & its dependencies, full power & authority to confer the Orders of Deacon & Priest, to confirm those that are baptized & come to years of discretion, & to perform all the other functions peculiar & appropriated to the Office of a Bishop such Bishop & his Successors having been first duly ordained or consecrated Bishops according to the form prescribed by the Liturgy of the Church of England. And also by him or themselves or by his or their Commissary or Commissaries to be by him or them substituted & appointed, to exercise jurisdiction Spiritual & Ecclesiastical in & throughout the said See & Diocese according to the Laws & Canons of the Church of England which are

lawfully made & received in England, in the several causes & matters hereafter in these presents expressed & specified & no other."

Then follow the causes & matters. "To give Institution ... to exercise jurisdiction Spiritual & Ecclesiastical, etc., etc. . . ."

This inquiry involves, among others, the question of right of granting Licenses, & proving Wills, which is now exercised only by persons appointed by the Governor.

When Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in this country was given to the Bishop of London, "the granting Licences for Marriages, & Probates of Wills" were reserved to the Governor, for reasons which I conceive to be obvious, but which can have no existence now that a Bishop is actually resident in the country. I understand that these powers are not withdrawn from the Governor. I wish to be informed whether they reside also with the Bishop; as one, among "all the functions peculiar to his office." There seems to be a manifest propriety in lodging the power of granting Licences, at least, with him; & great abuses have followed the contrary practice.

As it is the constant custom for the Protestants to marry here at any hour of the day, & in any place, but the Church, so it has been by no means uncommon for them to marry without either Licence, or the Publication of Banns. Both have been frequently dispensed with, as well by Mr. de Montmollin the Minister of Quebec, as by the Chaplains to the Regiments here.

I would ask whether the clause which directs that the Bishop shall enquire, "by witnesses to be sworn" into the morals & behaviour of his Clergy involves, or is meant to involve, the power of directing Church Wardens to make presentments upon Oath? Without this, the Bishop can have no certain notoriety of the conduct of his Clergy. And, supposing this to be intended, I would further ask how far it can be obligatory upon the Church Wardens in Lower Canada, where the Towns are not legally erected into Parishes, Rectories or Vicarages? Where the Church Wardens are not legally a Corporation, & cannot, as such, sue, or be sued? or how they can, under these

circumstances be legally compelled to execute any part of their office? In a subsequent clause the Bishop is authorized to "administer all & such Oaths as are accustomed to be taken in Ecclesiastical Courts." Does this not seem to imply that there should be Eccles: Courts here, having cognisance of all such matters as come before such Courts at home? It is clear, how far the Jurisdiction of such Courts is circumscribed by the foregoing limitation, which appears to restrict the Bishop's Authority to the several causes "& Matters Therein after specified & no other?"

Of the Churches appropriated to our Worship there is not one which is consecrated in either of these Provinces. "A Church may not be consecrated without competent endowment" and the 16th Canon of the Council of London says, "a Church shall not be consecrated until necessary provision be made for the Priest."

Now will you have the goodness to tell me whether a reservation of a seventh of the newly granted lands for the support of the Church of England, in general, may be considered as an Endowment of each Church, individually? Or whether the present bounty of Government, in Salaries to the Ministers, amounts to such "a necessary provision for the Priests", as is intended by the Canon?

Mr. Tunstal was lately presented to me, & to the Church of Montreal, with command that I should "admit & canonically institute him Parson & Rector of the said Church, & invest him with all & singular the Rights, Members & Appurtenances thereunto belonging" (in the usual form of Presentations to a Rectory from the King). Before Churches are created by Law into Parsonages or Rectories, are Institution & Induction proper?

Lastly Sir, I would ask, can the King's Patent to me have the force of Law? Is it binding upon His Majesty's Protestant subjects here? If not, I wish to know upon what authority my jurisdiction rests. I understand that the Authority of the Canon Law in England depends upon a Statute of Henry the 8th by which it was enacted "that a Review be had of the Canon Law: & till such review should be made, all Canons, Constitutions, etc., etc., should still be used & executed." Now as the Criminal Law of England only, is in force in this Province, & therefore the Statute abovementioned

perhaps of no efficacy here, I should be glad to learn how far the Canon Law may bind the Laity, or even the Clergy, of this Country? or how my jurisdiction is to be legally sustained?

I know the value of your time, Sir, & have therefore endeavoured to state my enquiries briefly; & perhaps from this circumstance, & a want of sufficient knowledge upon their several subjects, I may have rendered them obscure. Such as they are, I commend them to your candour & indulgence; Begging leave to assure you, that I am,

Sir,

with great consideration & regard
y^r obliged & most obed^t Serv^t

J. Quebec (1)

Sir William Scott's reply follows:

My Lord

I take as early opportunity of answering your Lordship's Enquiries as well as I am able.- and it will always afford me Pleasure to contribute, by any Advice or Information I can give, to the more easy discharge of your Lordship's important duties. I proceed to state what occurs to me on the several Points as briefly as is consistent with the necessary Explanation.

1. I can have no doubt that a Church is sufficiently endowed for Consecration, where a Salary is paid by Govern^t to the officiating Minister, if it is understood, as I presume it is, that this Salary will be continued to his Successors till some other mode of providing for them is applied - and if a seventh of the newly granted Lands is reserved for the support of the Church of England generally, it being understood that a distribution & Appropriation of these Lands to particular Churches will take Place as soon as the Public Convenience will permit. I think that looking to the present Salary and the future

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers. Mountain to Scott, Oct. 26, 1794.

Landed Provision, your Lordship will not offend against the Canons by proceeding to consecrate Churches under such Circumstances, though it will be desireable that the Appropriation should take Place as soon as convenient.

2. I see no objection to Your Lordship's following the Forms of Presentation that require you to give Institution & Induction by giving them accordingly. I know nothing that is required by the Canon Law, to make a Rectory or Benefice with Cure but the giving Institution & Induction upon a proper Authority, (for Institution & Induction are the true Canonical Characters of a Parsonage or Benefice with Cure) and if the King requires in a Presentation, that you should institute & induct, he makes the Church a Parsonage or Benefice with Cure, by that very Act; And your giving the Institution & Induction in consequence will make the Clerk complete legal Rector or Incumbent - and nothing more is necessary to be done for the purpose of Constituting the Church a Rectory or the Clerk a Rector.

3. I have no doubt that your Lordship being made a Bishop by the King "with the Power of exercising Jurisdiction Spiritual & Ecclesiastical in the Causes there specified - and specially (?) to call before you or your Commissaries, Rectors and Curates, to visit them with all and all manner of Jurisdiction, Power & Coercion Ecclesiastical and to punish & correct them according to the Canons and Laws Ecclesiastical" may exercise this Power over the Clergy with full effect. Indeed this special description of Power is almost unnecessary inasmuch as the Power is incident to the office of a Bishop. If the King creates a Bishoprick and makes a Person Bishop thereof, he by that Act gives him the Government of the Clergy as an essential part of his office. And a Bishop must govern his Clergy according to the Principles & Forms of the Canon Law which has been the Law of the Episcopal Church in all ages of Christianity, and without which a Bishop has no known Law which he can administer. When I say the Canon Law, I mean the sound part of it derived from the Primitive Church and still prescribed in the Practice of Episcopal Churches on account of its intrinsick good Sense and Utility; and not those Parts of it which have been introduced by the Policy of the Church of Rome in darker & more corrupt times. At the same time I would submit it to your Lordship as a Matter of Expediency, that as great a simplicity of forensick

forms should be practiced, as may be consistent with a fair Administration of Justice.

What I have said upon this Matter respects the Government of the Clergy. With respect to the Laity, I should doubt very much how far your Lordship could apply the Canon Law to them at all, and I own I think it would require a good deal of Consideration, before any attempt of that kind was made.

4. But notwithstanding your Lordship may not exercise a coercive Jurisdiction over the Laity generally I should think that you must possess a Control over Church wardens in all matters relative to the Discharge of their office, so far as the duties of their office respect the Church & the Clergy, and that you might, for the Purpose of being duly informed on those important Subjects of your Cognizance, call upon them to make Presentments, the Presentments being strictly limited to those subjects. At the same time, it would surely be expedient in this, as well as in every other Act of Authority that was to touch the Laity, that it should be done with the entire Concurrence of the Civil Government, and with its previous Approbation.

5. Your Lordship inquires how your Authority can be obligatory upon the Church Wardens in Lower Canada "who are not Corporations to sue or be sued & where there are no Parishes, Rectories or Vicarages." I answer that if there are Churchwardens, whether Corporations or not, they are to do all such Parts of their office as are practicable under the circumstances, and they must not be required to do more. You don't state whether the Churchwardens are sworn in before you or your Commissaries. They certainly ought to be, in all Propriety, and if they are so, they ought to be sworn to make due Presentments respecting the Ecclesiastical concerns of their Parish, so described above. I own I think that a coercive Power over the Churchwardens is a necessary Branch of your Authority; for without it all the Churches may be dilapidated and nobody answerable to enforce Repairs. The Parts of your Lordship's Patent which you cite do not mention them at all, and therefore I should doubt how far you could enforce the making of Presentments, if they should refuse to comply. At the same time, it is so necessary a Power for the Purpose of keeping up even the Face of Religion in the Country, that I should conceive a Representation to proper Authority upon the Matter would

meet with due Attention.

6. With respect to Ecclesiastical Courts to be established -- as such, I can't advise your Lordship to attempt the Institution of them, particularly for Purposes so merely temporal as the granting of Probates. They have been long established in this Country, - but a great Part of their Jurisdiction is merely civil, & hath nothing of a Spiritual or Ecclesiastical nature in it. For instance, the Probate of Wills has no more to do with the office of a Bishop than the Authentication of any other temporal Instrument, such as a Deed or a Bond, has - and all that is now to be urged in behalf of the Jurisdiction in such a Subject, is, that it has given to the Ecc^l C^{ts} a Connection which, though founded originally in the superstition of the dark Ages, could not now be broken off in this Kingdom without much public inconvenience & mischief, and that the Ecc^l C^{ts} are conducted by Lawyers upon the common Principles of mere temporal ---. Both which Considerations wd fail in a Country, where the Business has been already confided to other Hands, and where no --- could be found to conduct the C^{ts} if they were instituted. The same observation applies very much to the Matrimonial Jurisdiction of those Courts - which continues unshaken because it would be inconvenient to disturb what had been established in the Practice of this Country for Centuries. But in a new Country, and under a new Government I cannot advise your Lordship to entertain a wish of holding any other Court than a Domestic Court of Audience whenever an Occasion called for it in the Case of a Clergyman or Church Officer. With respect to preventing irregularity in the Celebration of Marriages, it would be highly proper and for that Purpose it does seem rather necessary that the Power of granting Licences should rest with your Lordship - for otherwise every useful Regulation which you might enjoyn to be observed by your Clergy, might be eluded by the Licence or Dispensation to be granted by the Governor. It is in your Power at present to inhibit your Clergy from Marrying without Publication of Banns or Licence - but you cannot, I think, go further than to Punish them for Disobedience to that Inhibition. A Licence from the Governor may dispense with every other Rule you may lay down on the Celebration of Marriage - and it does seem therefore a little important, that the Matter should be considered,

by those who alone are able to direct such alterations as they may deem expedient upon the most correct view of the Subject. For I need not inform you that the Power must be given, and cannot be taken unless it is given, & there may be Reasons of just Policy that may prevent its being given, though I cannot say that any such occur to me.

Having stated what occurs to me upon these several Points of your Lordship's Inquiry, I remain

My Lord
Your Lordship's
Most obedient Servant

London April 7
1795

Wm. Scott. (1)

Several of the points touched upon in this correspondence require little comment. No further references to any problem connected with the consecration of churches occur in the Bishop's letters. In 1804 he consecrated the Cathedral at Quebec although the building was not endowed in the ordinary sense of the word. No legal powers were ever granted to the Bishop with respect to Church Wardens. The Wardens of William Henry were cited to appear before him during his Visitation in 1803 and to give him information about the Church property, but this document did not have the force of law. The Bishop made no attempt to exercise control over the laity, to set up Ecclesiastical Courts or to pursue the subject of the Probate of Wills. Two problems raised by the Bishop in his letter to Sir William Scott must be treated at greater length;- one of

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Scott to Mountain, April 7, 1795.

these had to do with the issuing of Marriage Licences, and the other (discussed in a later chapter) centred about the question whether instituting and inducting a clergyman in obedience to the Governor's presentment was tantamount to establishing a Rectory. With regard to the latter point it may be briefly stated here that Attorney-General Sewell disputed Sir William Scott's opinion, and apparently maintained his interpretation of the law with success. Rectories were later established by Letters Patent, not by mere presentation and induction.⁽¹⁾

Armed with the opinion of Sir William Scott that he was justified in seeking to regain control over the issuing of Marriage Licences the Bishop wrote immediately to Portland asking for such power.⁽²⁾ He also wrote to Lieut. Gov. Simcoe telling the latter what he had communicated to Portland on the subject, and received from Simcoe the following encouraging reply:- "I can by no means disapprove what you have been pleased to state on the subject of Licences, as my View & System is, in all respects to assimilate this Province, where it is practicable, with the

(1) See Chapter XIII, Tithes and the Establishment of Rectories.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 72-2, pp. 403-13, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 6, 1795.

parent state." Simcoe proceeded to say, however, that it should be made easy for Upper Canadians to obtain such licences, probably through a delegate at York. (1)

As soon as Portland became aware of the Bishop's and Simcoe's views he asked the opinion of Archbishop Moore on the problem. The latter replied:- "In respect to the power of granting marriage Licences, it has always been vested in the Bishops & Ecclesiastical ordinaries in England, who have probably held it, as a necessary appendage to their jurisdiction in causes Matrimonial. I understand that in the Patent, or appointment of the Bishop of Nova Scotia, there is no Jurisdiction given to the Bishop in causes matrimonial, but his authority is strictly confined to the Clergy; and therefore it must be supposed the jurisdiction in those causes must be still left in the hands of the Governor or of some other Civil Magistrate. If the authority of the Bishop of Quebec is under similar Limitation, it would hardly be thought right to give him a power of granting marriage Licences, without going any further, because it would be giving him a power without sufficient means of

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Simcoe to Mountain, Feb. 27, 1796. For Upper Canadian apprehensions of the lengths to which Simcoe would go in establishing the Church see Cartwright, C.E., Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright, p.57.

enforcing it. I therefore humbly submit it to your Grace's consideration, Whether it would not be advisable, that this request of the Bishop of Quebec, respecting the Extent of his authority to the Grant of marriage Licences, should be referred to the Crown Lawyers, before any answer is given to it." The Archbishop also thought that the Governors might object to the loss of revenue incurred by handing the task over to the Bishop. (1) But he went on to state his opinion that if a plan could be worked out it would be a wise move to allow the Bishop to issue licences.(2)

Portland immediately wrote to Dorchester in complete accord with the Archbishop's suggestion.(3)

As no further progress was made, the Bishop broached the subject once more in his Grand Remonstrance to Portland, April 15, 1799.(4) On the following July 24 Portland wrote to Milnes:- "The extension of the Bishop's Power to grant Licences, as I observed in my letter to Lord Dorchester of

(1) The Bishop later answered this objection by asserting that the Governor received nothing but that his officer received about £60 a year. (Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 51, Mountain to Moore, June 13, 1803.)

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 77, pp-322-25, Moore to Portland, June 7, 1796.

(3) Ibid., Series Q, Vol. 75-2, pp. 265-69, Portland to Dorchester, June 22, 1796.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 322-369, Mountain to Portland, April 15, 1799.

22^d June 1796, may certainly be attended with beneficial consequences. The difficulty consists in the mode of effecting it, in consequence of its having been otherwise provided for, by His Majesty's Commission and Instructions, to which the Bishop's Patent is made subordinate I am not aware that there would be any objection to the Governor's delegating to the Bishop the power of granting Licences in the same manner as that power is delegated by the Bishops here, to their inferior officers. This however may be easily ascertained by referring the matter to the consideration of His Majesty's Law Servants in Canada, and if there should be no objection, it appears to me to be a circumstance which may in a great measure answer the salutary purposes which the Bishop has in view.⁽¹⁾ In his reply Milnes assured Portland that he would "consult the Law Servants of the Crown upon the Powers which can be delegated to the Lord Bishop of Quebec and particularly whether there can be any solid objection to the proposed change in the granting of Marriage Licences."⁽²⁾ It is not known whether Milnes carried out his plan or not, but it is certain that no progress was made in the direction of the Bishop's desire before the latter returned to England on furlough in 1805.

(1) P.A.C., op. cit., Vol. 82, pp. 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 84, pp. 4-5, Milnes to Portland, Nov. 12, 1799.

While in England the Bishop continued to bring the matter of licences to the attention of Government. One legal adviser, whose name is not known, wrote that:- "I conceived Lic^s would form a part of the Bishop's spiritual Court & jurisdiction. It is of all other a power of which there can be the least doubt of its being given to the Bishop & his official I presume."⁽¹⁾ In the Bishop's Memorial to the King, made on the occasion of the first furlough, permission to grant licences was one of the petitions.

Writing to the Governor-in-chief, Sir James Craig, Mar. 8, 1810, the Bishop said:- "I have always been desirous, Sir, that the granting of Marriage Licences, according to the practice at home, should be left with the Church. I will not dissemble my opinion, that there is something strikingly incongruous in the use of a Mitred Prerogative Seal by a Civil Officer, while there is a Bishop in the Province;⁽²⁾ that there is, moreover, an appearance of peculiar hardship, in dis-allowing in the Church of England a common privilege, asserted without ceremony & exercised

(1) P.A.C., op. cit., Vol. 108, pp. 150-156, "Observations on the sketch for a Church Establishment in the Canadas."

(2) Vide P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 153-2, pp. 304-313, Mountain to Bathurst, Sept. 7, 1819, where the Bishop brings up the subject again. Provincial Marriage Licences continued to bear the episcopal mitre until the middle of the 19th Century.

without restraint or observation, by the Church of Rome.⁽¹⁾

On the occasion of Bishop Mountain's second furlough in England he pursued the subject tirelessly, and, as the records indicate, almost succeeding in wearing down the resistance of the Colonial Secretary, Lord Bathurst. The latter drafted a reply to the Bishop's oft repeated request, saying that the Governor's powers of issuing Licences would, in Lower Canada, be transferred to the Bishop, but that in Upper Canada, things should remain as they were. Whether this could be done, however, would depend on a favourable judgment made on the subject by the Law Officers of the Crown.⁽²⁾ As these omniscient persons were opposed to the grant of any such power Bathurst vetoed the proposition and informed the Bishop to that effect.⁽³⁾ The latter contented himself by replying that he could not understand this ruling.⁽⁴⁾ He did not raise the subject again, nor did subsequent Bishops of Quebec think it worth while to

(1) P.A.C., op. cit., Vol. 113, pp. 112-133. The fact that the Roman Catholic Bishop had such a power and he had not, was particularly irksome to Bishop Mountain. Vide Ibid., Vol. 140, pp. 419-428.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 153, pp. 285-290; Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 46, Bathurst to Mountain, April 27, 1819.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 62, Bathurst to Mountain, Nov. 5, 1819.

(4) Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 82, Mountain to Bathurst, Jan. 11, 1820.

seek to reverse the judicial and governmental opinion.⁽¹⁾

Problems closely allied to that of the issuing of marriage licences were those of the performing of marriages and of the rights of civil registration. No provincial ordinance or statute governed the registration of the baptism, marriage or burial of a Protestant in Lower Canada previous to 1795. In that year an act was passed by which ministers in charge of Protestant congregations were instructed to procure two registers for this purpose, one of which was to be renewed annually by application to a Judge of the Court of King's Bench.⁽²⁾ At that time the Churches of England and Scotland were alone officially represented in the Province. The case of Clark Bentom illustrates the working of this statute.

Bentom had come to Quebec in 1800 as a Preacher of the Gospel representing the London Missionary Society, had organized an independent congregation on Presbyterian lines and had kept registers. But as he was connected with neither of the Established Churches of England or Scotland he was in due course of time refused the annual register, and, when he persisted in performing civil acts he was tried and found

(1) A discussion of the later history of the subject is contained in an appendix to A Compendium of the History of the Church of England in Québec, 1759-1791, by the Rev. Canon A.R. Kelley.

(2) Statute of Lower Canada, 3 Geo. III, c. 4.

guilty. Bishop Mountain was foremost among those who attempted to compel Bentom to observe the law. His early opinion of the latter is contained in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, October 26, 1801:- "Bentom is a very young man, but remarkably confident, and possessing that noisy & random eloquence which captivates weak & enthusiastic people."⁽¹⁾ In the course of his controversy with the authorities Bentom published a pamphlet in his own defence, the title page of which hurled Scripture texts at the Bishop's head. One of these, from Isaiah XLI, 15-16, contained the ominous words:- "Fear not thou worm Jacob, thou shalt thresh the Mountains and beat them small." As the sequel proved, however, the Mountains (Jacob and Salter) threshed Bentom.⁽²⁾

The Bishop's account of the next move in the marriage question was given to Earl Camden in a letter of Oct. 24, 1804:-

"During the last Session of the Provincial Parliament, a Prosecution was brought forward, in the Court of King's Bench at Quebec, by His Majesty's Attorney General, against a Methodist Preacher for Solemnizing Marriage.⁽³⁾ The Judges unanimously declared their opinion that no marriages were valid but such as had been celebrated by Ministers of the Church of England or of the Church of Rome.

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, Oct. 26, 1801.

(2) Papers and Records, O.H.S., Vol. XXII, 1925, pp. 202-209:- "When a few claimed monopoly of spiritual functions" by W.R. Riddell.

(3) The Bishop here refers to Bentom.

In consequence of this decision, Two Bills were immediately brought into the Legislative Council, with the approbation & concurrence of the L^t Governor, - the first by me, for giving legal effect to all marriages solemnized in the Province by Protestant Dissenters & others up to that time, - the other by the Chief Justice, for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters professing the Religion of the Church of Scotland.

Both these Bills passed the Legislative Council, Not however without the dissent of a leading Canadian member; who, confessing his opinion that the Provisions of the Bills were not only expedient, but perfectly reasonable & equitable, yet found himself obliged, "par sa conscience" (in other words, by the representations of his Priest), "et comme Catholique", to refuse his assent to them. The former of these, which was an enacting (?) Bill, & which contained temporary Provisions for the celebration of marriage in certain parts of this Province, where there are no Protestant Ministers, the Assembly, in opposition to the decision of the Judges, endeavoured to transform into a declaratory Act: & mutilated it of everything by the clause that went to legalize past marriages. The last was purposely so changed as to make it impossible for the Legislative Council to adopt the Amendments without virtually establishing the Church of Scotland in this Province.

Copies of the Bills as they originally stood, & as they were amended by that House, are hereto annexed.

The Members of the Assembly, in conversation in the House, expressed their dislike to the words "Holy Orders or pretended Holy Orders" Some among them, however, who thought themselves best informed upon the subject, suggested a doubt whether as Orders in the Church of England had been originally transmitted through the Church of Rome, the words 'Holy Orders' might not be suffered to be applied to them. That question however was not immediately before the House. In debate upon the Bills, they declared the application of the terms 'Holy Orders' to Ministers of the Church of Scotland to be wholly inadmissible, & struck them out accordingly. They also rejected the word 'Sacraments' as belonging exclusively to their own Church.

By this proceeding the Ministers of the Church of Scotland have been refused the privilege of solemnizing marriage, & many thousands of His Majesty's subjects, in the New Settlements, are deprived of the means of entering into the Marriage State; unless they travel to a great, & to them almost impracticable distance.

I shall not presume to offer any further comment upon it, or upon the principles which produced it. Their spirit, their tendency & their consequences will be clearly apprehended by your Lordship."⁽¹⁾

Ministers of the Church of Scotland were not given the right to hold registers until several years had passed.⁽²⁾

Not long after his arrival at Newark in 1792 Lieut. Gov. Simcoe received from Richard Cartwright, Jr., of Kingston a "Report on the Subject of Marriages & the State of the Church of England in the Province of Upper Canada."⁽³⁾ The Report began with a sketch of the irregular manner in which marriages were conducted in the early days of the Upper Canadian Settlements. At the time of writing only two Anglican clergymen resided in the Province and adherents of that Church were very few. Under those conditions, the writer felt that Legislature would have to interfere in order to regulate the marriage situation. Cartwright implied his disapproval of the creation of a Church Establishment in Upper Canada, with its natural consequence that Anglican

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 96, pp. 171 ff., Mountain to Camden, Oct. 24, 1804.

(2) See Reid, W.S., The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada, Chap. IV, pp. 38-44.

(3) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 234-36, Oct. 12, 1792.

clergy alone should be permitted to solemnize matrimony.

This report was sent by Simcoe to Dundas.(1)

Cartwright himself introduced a bill to validate all irregular marriages in the first session of the Provincial Parliament. This bill was quickly withdrawn, and another was introduced, amended and made a law. It authorized Justices of the Peace to solemnize marriages until each District of the Province should contain five Anglican clergymen. But these clergy alone were permitted to perform marriages between Protestants.(2)

As Commissary to Bishop Inglis, John Stuart of Kingston had claimed the right to issue marriage licences in Upper Canada, a claim which was refused. Later, as Commissary to Bishop Mountain he inquired whether he had the power to grant to dissenting ministers licences to marry. Simcoe referred the request to John White, Attorney General, who replied that whether or not Bishop Mountain possessed the power to authorize Stuart to issue licences would depend on the former's Patent of appointment. (3) The Patent, of course, contained no such authorization. Various protests were made against this first marriage act, one by the Pres-

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, op. cit., pp. 251-2, Simcoe to Dundas, Nov. 6, 1792.

(2) Provincial statute, 33 Geo. III, c. 5. For Cartwright's opinion on this Bill see Cartwright, C.E., Life and Letters of Richard Cartwright, p.52.

(3) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. IV., pp. 287-8, Simcoe to White, June 2, 1796.

byterians of the County of Grenville.⁽¹⁾ While mentioning this circumstance to Portland, Simcoe said that he could foresee further trouble unless more clergy of the Establishment were appointed immediately. He also made the prophetic remark:- "It is obvious that the next claims of the Dissenters would be a partition of the Sevenths set apart for the National Clergy."⁽²⁾

The reasons for the passing of the Upper Canadian Marriage Act of 1797⁽³⁾ are clearly enunciated by Chief Justice Elmsley. After stating that the Act of 1793 had displeased Dissenters he proceeded:- "This Province is principally settled by Loyalists from the Eastern & Middle Colonies, who notwithstanding their Uniform and steady Attachment to the British Constitution retain all those varieties of opinion on religious matters, for which that part of America has always been remarkable; it is not perhaps too much to say, that the members of the Church of England do not compose more than a fiftieth part of the population of the Province. To have extended the indulgence given by the Act to these (?) Ministers, if that term can with any propriety be applied to the self-constituted guides

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. IV., pp. 221, Simcoe to White, June 2, 1796.

(2) Ibid., pp. 309-11, Simcoe to Portland, June 20, 1796.

(3) Provincial Statute, 38 Geo. III, c. 4.

of the various divisions & sub-divisions of sects, which agree in hardly any point but their refusal to conform to the Established Religion of the Province, would have been to give the power of performing the ceremony of marriage to some of the weakest, the most ignorant, & in some instances the most depraved of Mankind - Care therefore was taken to confine the relief, afforded by the Act to such of the Protestant Dissenters, as tho' nonconformists here, are members of an establishment elsewhere, and would for that reason bring with them those sober & regulated modes of thinking both on political & religious subjects, which are the usual consequences of habitual conformity to an established ritual, & which form perhaps the best barrier against the encroachments of either infidelity or fanaticism, & the inseparable companion of each, sedition - For these reasons it was confined to the members of the Church of Scotland, of which Country a very considerable proportion of the settlers in the lower parts of the Eastern District are natives - & to the Lutherans & Calvinists, under which description it was presumed that almost all the Loyalists who were either of German or English descent, & who felt a pride in adhering to the belief of their Ancestors, would be included - It is possible that under cover of one or the other of these classes, attempts may be made by some of the wretched itinerant enthusiasts, who infest the States & sometimes wander into

this Province, to possess themselves of so valuable a privilege as the power of celebrating marriage, but it is hoped that the qualifications required by the Statute, & the discretion vested in the magistrates in quarter sessions, will be sufficient to defeat their endeavours."(1)

The egregious John Langhorn of Ernest Town, not being well informed on the law of marriage in Upper Canada, supposed that all marriages by Dissenters were null and void.(2) Two couples married by a Lutheran, and knowing Langhorn's opinions, exchanged wives and found the sturdy missionary willing to re-marry them. Describing the circumstance to the Bishop, John Stuart wrote:- "But they did not think it proper to carry the farce any farther," He then proceeded in the dry humourous vein that runs through all his correspondence:- "I conversed with Mr. L. on the subject, and finding him as positive as usual, I promised him to report the case to your Lordship. He desired that I would carefully attend to the Truth, in my Statement of it. I have scrupulously complied with his Desire." (3).

(1) Correspondence of the Hon. Peter Russell, Vol. II, pp. 32-3, Dec. 21, 1797. Vide Canadian Historical Review, Sept. 1921, pp. 226-248, "The Laws of Marriage in Upper Canada, by W.R. Riddell.

(2) That the Bishop was himself not sure of the situation in Upper Canada is shown by his query, addressed to Chief Justice Osgoode, on the point raised by Langhorn. Osgoode's reply, May 21, 1797, is in the Bishopthorpe Papers.

(3) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, April 18, 1797.

CHAPTER VI

THE VISITATION OF 1794

Ancient custom prescribed that episcopal visitations should be held every three years. On such occasions bishops not only exercised their visitatorial functions with regard to the clergy, but also conducted confirmations.⁽¹⁾ In a letter quoted previously Bishop Inglis described the procedure followed at visitations in Nova Scotia, a description that illustrates as well the adaptation that was needed in order to fit the English institution to its new environment.⁽²⁾ For the most part the practice observed in Nova Scotia was used also in Quebec.

During his episcopate of thirty-two years Bishop Mountain made eight tours through Upper and Lower Canada, but of these eight, three alone were visitations in the precise sense of the term. Only in 1794, 1803 and 1820 did he call his clergy together at central points for purposes of fellowship and business and for the delivery of the episcopal charge. On the other five occasions, 1799, 1809, 1810, 1813 & 1816 - he held confirmation tours, visiting individual parishes and missions where candidates had been prepared to receive the rite. He felt that the small number of clergy during the greater part of his episcopate, the great distances they would have to travel in order to come

(1) Canons of 1603, No. LX.

(2) See Chapter IV, pp. 62-3.

together, and the difficulty with which they would meet in obtaining supply during their absence, amply justified the breach of canonical regulation.(1)

Not long after his acceptance of the position of Commissary the Rev. John Stuart of Kingston expressed his willingness to come to Quebec in order to take the required oaths, and to receive his instrument of appointment. The Bishop, however, anxious to come to grips with diocesan problems as soon as possible, as well as to save his Commissary the longer journey, proposed to meet the latter in Montreal at the end of January, 1794.(2) Stuart accordingly proceeded to Montreal and awaited the Bishop's arrival. During the interval of delay he wrote to his friend Bishop White of Pennsylvania:- "I arrived in this Town a fortnight ago, being ordered to attend our new Bishop, who is not yet come. He is appointed Bishop of Upper and Lower Canada, with the same powers granted to Bp. Inglis, with a Salary of £2000. P. Ann:- 'tis said he is a Scholar, Gentleman, Orator and Zealous Churchman. Ex expect great Things from him; especially that he will rescue our Church from the contempt into which it has fallen, by the Prudence & Wisdom of his

(1) Mountain, Jacob. A Charge Delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec, in the year 1820, pp. 9-10. In his correspondence the Bishop refers to all these journeys as "Visitations".

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Jan. 2, 1794.

Counsels, & the Splendor of his Example 'Tis said that he will promote Literature by establishing an University here, which is much wanted."(1) Unfortunately, the Bishop was prevented from leaving Quebec by an attack of rheumatic fever. Mr. Stuart went back to Kingston, but returned to Montreal once more for the visitation in July.

In order to make sure of a meeting with Lieut. Gov. Simcoe who had been stationed in Upper Canada since 1792, the Bishop wrote asking whether Simcoe would be at Niagara or York during the summer.(2) Simcoe replied that it was impossible to say where he would be, but would like the meeting to take place at Niagara.(3)

In accordance with custom the Bishop sent a questionnaire to each of his clergy so that he might have some idea of the state of each parish or mission before the visitation began. Three of these sets of questions, with answers written in, have been preserved.(4) The meagre, unsatisfactory replies to the episcopal inquiries show that Mr. Stuart's reference to the contempt into which the Church had fallen was no empty figure. The congregations at Quebec, Sorel (William

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 147, Stuart to White, Feb. 8, 1794.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Simcoe, June 16, 1794.

(3) Ibid., Simcoe to Mountain, July 9, 1794.

(4) Q.D.A., Series B, Parish Volumes.

Henry) and Three Rivers paid nothing towards the support of their clergy. At Quebec, wardens were chosen when two could be found who were willing to act. Some religious instruction was given in five schools in the parish. At William Henry the wardens were doing their duty but there was no school. At Three Rivers no wardens held office, and as no children attended Church there was no catechizing.

Full records have been preserved, sufficient to make possible almost a complete story of Jacob Mountain's first visitation of his diocese. Part of a letter from the Bishop to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 24, 1794, told of the state of the Church in the Canadas, and of the recommendations that the Bishop had made to Government since his return from the Upper Country.⁽¹⁾ A longer report, containing these recommendations was made to Dundas on Sept. 15, 1794.⁽²⁾ The most remarkable document of all, giving a day by day description of the journey from Quebec to Niagara was written by the Bishop for the amusement of some young relatives in his late parish of St. Andrews, Norwich.⁽³⁾ The following account is derived from these three sources.

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 34, Mountain to Moore, Oct. 24, 1794.

(2) Ibid., pp. 23-26, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794, This letter is also in the Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, Vol. 69, pt. 2, pp-385-395; it is printed in the Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 91-94.

(3) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, pp. 11-32

On Tuesday, July 8, 1794, the Bishop confirmed sixty-one candidates in the Recollet Chapel, Quebec. The next day he sent off a batteau containing baggage and provisions, with instructions to the five batteau men, and his servant who accompanied them, to meet him at Three Rivers and at Montreal. He himself and his brother Jehoshaphat travelled from Quebec to Montreal in a calèche, a two-wheeled carriage drawn by two horses. Salter Mountain and one of the Bishop's servants followed in another calèche. Port Neuf was reached the first night and Three Rivers on Saturday. On Sunday, Salter Mountain preached the sermon in the Court-House, part of the former Recollet Monastery which served as a Church, and here the Bishop confirmed fourteen candidates the following day. The Bishop was then invited to visit the Ursuline Convent, and has left a full account of this unusual event. He made a favourable impression on the Ursuline Sisters, who treated the visiting prelate with great courtesy.⁽¹⁾ In passing it may be remarked that the respectful reception shown to Bishop Mountain during this visitation by the Roman Catholic clergy and Religious Communities of Lower Canada,

(1) A few months later the Superior of the Ursulines sent the Bishop New Year's greetings. Mountain, A.W., Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, p. 108, f.n. The original document is in Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 38.

was a repetition of that given to Bishop Inglis five years before. As the head of the Established Church in his diocese, the Bishop, in accordance with English theory and practice, considered that he had a spiritual obligation to discharge to all Christians, regardless of whether they adhered to the Establishment or not. Charles Inglis and Jacob Mountain were the only two Anglican Bishops who ever acted as Visitors to Roman Catholic institutions in Quebec, although, as far as is known, the latter never did so again. By the time of the appointment of Bishop Stewart in 1825 the idea of an Anglican Establishment in Quebec had become too weak to permit a resumption of the practice.

On Tuesday, July 15, the party journeyed as far as Masquinonge and spent the night there. They proceeded to Berthier where the calèche was temporarily abandoned for the batteau, in order to cross the river to William Henry. Here the Bishop was received by the officers of the garrison and was accommodated at Government House which Lord Dorchester had ordered prepared for the occasion. On Thursday morning a reception was held, attended as well by the Roman Catholic clergy. Twenty candidates were confirmed in the little church in the afternoon.

The episcopal party resumed the journey by calèche from Berthier on July 18 and by evening had reached the shore opposite the Island of Montreal. They crossed the river,

and travelled to a point nine miles from the Town where they stayed the night. On the following day they arrived in Montreal and were comfortably lodged at Government House, the Chateau de Ramezay. The Bishop preached in Christ Church (the former Jesuit Chapel) not many yards away, on Sunday, but spent an otherwise quiet day. An elaborate levee was held in his honour on Monday morning when he met many of the principal citizens of Montreal, the military, and the Roman Catholic secular and monastic clergy. Eighty-four persons were confirmed on Tuesday, and the Visitation, with delivery of the episcopal charge took place on Thursday. The visiting clergy dined with the Bishop on Wednesday and Thursday.

On Friday evening, July 25, the Bishop, Jehoshaphat Mountain, Salter Mountain and John Stuart drove to Lachine to embark on the batteau which had in the meantime arrived from Quebec. Their stay in Montreal had been rendered most agreeable through the hospitality of Joseph Frobisher the wealthy furtrader, "a most worthy, honest and beneficent man," as the Bishop noted in his journal..

At noon on Saturday the party - the four clergy, two of the Bishop's servants (one of whom acted as cook), and five batteau men - rowed away from Lachine and had reached the Cascades by nightfall. Part of Sunday was spent in driving by calèche from that place to Point du Lac, but the journey by batteau was resumed on Monday morning, July 28. That night, poor accommodation awaited them at La Maison

Rouge, not far from the upper end of Lake St. Francis. Omissions in the Journal leave a blank in events between Tuesday morning, July 29, and Wednesday evening, July 30, hence no reference is made to the visit to Cornwall. Wednesday night was spent at Captain John Monroe's, not many miles from the latter place; Thursday night was passed at New Johnstown in the vicinity of the present town of Prescott; on Friday night, in Augusta Township, the Bishop did not sleep at all because of heat and flies, and the poor ventilation of his lodgings; a good rest was enjoyed in a grist mill on the River Gananoque on Saturday night, and on Sunday evening, August 3, the travellers arrived at Kingston.

Two days only were spent here on the upper journey, days filled with social activities, including an interview with an Indian chief. Confirmation was reserved until the return from Niagara.

On Wednesday, Aug. 6, the Mississauga, one of the ships of war on Lake Ontario, set off for Niagara with the Bishop and his party, accompanied by the Rev. Robert Addison, missionary at the latter place, and by the following Friday evening had landed its passengers safely at Navy Hall in the little provincial capital of Newark. On Sunday, Aug. 10, the Bishop preached, and Mrs. Simcoe made an appreciative record of the fact in her diary.⁽¹⁾ A levee was held on

(1) Diary of Mrs. J.G. Simcoe, J.R. Robertson, ed., p. 238.

Saturday, and on Monday the magistrates and principal inhabitants presented His Lordship with an address of welcome.⁽¹⁾ On Wednesday thirty three candidates were confirmed. The great closing event of the visit was a trip to the Falls on Thursday.

William Jarvis writing on March 28, 1795, from Niagara to his father-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Peters, gives the following account of the visitation:- "The Bishop of Quebec has made his visitation to this place, his stay was very short, he preached but once and had but one confirmation, in fact he took his departure before the people of the country knew of his being here. His Lordship notified the Governor that he should be with him on the 25th of the month, instead of which he arrived on the 10th (2) and took his departure on the 15th; a vast number were disappointed of their confirmation by his premature arrival and unexpected departure.

He is a man of most winning deportment, extremely affable and a most charming preacher. An old man observed that his visitation was more in the style of a thief in the night than of a bishop, for he left the Province 10 days before the time that he had named he should arrive."⁽³⁾

(1) The Address is printed in the Upper Canada Gazette, August 14, 1794.

(2) The correct date is Aug. 8, 1794. Simcoe wrote to Dorchester that the Bishop arrived on Aug. 9.

(3) Woman's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Transactions, No. 23, p. 36.

The only remaining mission to be visited was that of the Rev. John Langhorn at Ernest Town and Fredericksburg. To this mission, where 21 candidates were confirmed the Bishop made a brief reference in the introductory summary of his account of the visitation to Dundas. "I have the honour to inform you that I have this summer compleated the Visitation of my Diocese. Having passed up the River from Montreal to Kingston, cross'd Lake Ontario to Niagara, & returning from thence, proceeded up the Bay of Quinté as far as Fredericksburg; & having held Confirmation at every place, in each Province, in which a Minister is established." (1)

No available account of the return journey has been discovered, hence it is not known how many weeks the travellers took to arrive at Quebec. The date of the report to Dundas, Sept. 15, would lead one to suppose that the trip down was the more leisurely of the two. It is reasonable to conjecture that such an official report would have been written not long after the completion of the tour.

The Bishop painted a gloomy picture of the religious destitution of the country for the Colonial Secretary:- "With

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 23-26, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794. The following extract from a letter written by John Stuart to the Bishop not long after the return of the latter to Quebec, relates that His Lordship's advice to Mr. Langhorn on a small matter of personal appearance was promptly acted upon by the eccentric missionary:- "He Langhorn is allowing the Hair to grow, that he may never be subject to another Reprimand for wearing a white cap in your Lordship's presence." (O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Oct. 2, 1794).

respect to Religious Instruction the state of these settlers is, for the most part truly deplorable. From Montreal to Kingston, a distance of 200 miles, there is not one Clergyman of the Church of England, nor any house of Religious Worship, except one small Chapel belong'g to the Lutherans, & one or two belong'g to the Presbyterians.⁽¹⁾ The Public Worship of God is entirely suspended or performed in a manner which can neither tend to improve the people in Religious Truth, nor to render them useful members of Society. The Presbyterian & the L[utheran] Clergⁿ are I believe, men of good character but their influence is necessarily limited to their own little congregations. The great bulk of the people have and can have no instruction but such as they receive occasionally from itinerant & mendicant Methodists, a set of ignorant Enthusiasts whose preaching is calculated only to perplex the understanding & corrupt the morals, to relax the nerves of industry, and dissolve the bands of Society.

At Kingston there is a small but decent Church: a respectable congregation (much too numerous to be properly seated in it:) & a Minister greatly and justly esteemed by the people.

(1) The Bishop corrected this statement in a later letter, adding that there were two Roman Catholic chapels between Montreal and Point au Baudette. (Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, Mountain to Moore, Nov. 6, 1794.)

Along the Bay of Quinté a country well settled & improved to the very back concessions of some of the Townships, they have but one Minister, a Missionary for F[redericksburg] & E[rnest Town] where he has 3 or 4 small log huts which are used as churches, but which are altogether insufficient for the decent accommodation of their respective Congregations. At Niagara there is a Minister but no Church. The service is performed sometimes in the Chamber of the L[egislative] C[ouncil] and sometimes at Free Mason's Hall, a house of Public Entertainment. The congregation is numerous & respectable."⁽¹⁾

After placing in a very clear light the strongly expressed desire of "the better part of the people" for churches and clergy the Bishop proceeded to make several recommendations on the establishment of missions and building of Churches, and on the problem of education. These recommendations are dealt with separately in later chapters.

From several viewpoints the various accounts of the first visitation of the first Bishop of Quebec are of great interest and value. They make very plain the insignificance, in 1794, of the Church establishment which Jacob Mountain struggled to maintain and strengthen during the next thirty

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 23-26. Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794.

years. A glance at the visitation journal of 1820, or at the Report of the S.P.G. regarding the Church in Canada made to the Government in 1824, will show clearly the remarkable progress achieved under his leadership in the succeeding generation.

The respect shown to Bishop Mountain by the Roman Catholic clergy in 1794 illustrates the feeling of comparative friendliness which was felt at that time by the Church of the majority of the inhabitants of Lower Canada towards the ecclesiastical representative of the Church of England.⁽¹⁾ England, though a Protestant power, was yet striving to overthrow the atheistic government which, when the visitation was in progress, held old France in the grip of the Terror and had subjected the Church there to great indignity. Even Pitt, the Canadian clergy may have thought, was preferable to Robespierre. Although this period of friendliness quickly passed, yet it provided some ground for Bishop Mountain's contention that one Bishop only should be recognized in Quebec by the British Government.

All circumstances surrounding the visitation tend to emphasise the close connection between the Government and the Church. At William Henry and at Montreal the Bishop

(1) The best known exemplification of this early attitude was shown on the Bishop's arrival in 1793 when the aged and retired Bishop Briand greeted him with the Gallic salutation of a kiss on both cheeks, accompanied by words of welcome.

stayed at Government House. At Niagara the mutual respect which there began to grow between himself and Simcoe only strengthened the official bond between bishop and lieutenant-governor. It was to Government that the Bishop looked for clergy, for clergy stipends, for assistance in church building. It is no matter for wonder that when Portland was replaced, when Pitt died, when Roman Catholic opposition hardened, and when administrators arose, both in England and in the Canadas, who "knew not" Jacob, he found it difficult to adjust himself to realities and continued to dream of an "Establishment" which was never to have a substantial existence.

The journal written to his young relatives at Norwich reveals much about the Bishop himself - his artist's eye, his powers of close observation, his gift as a writer. Then in his forty fourth year, full of vigour and enthusiasm, he was keenly interested in all the details of the first episcopal journey and noted them down with freshness and grace. The dust and heat of later controversies and of manifold disappointments prevented the production of a similar journal..

CHAPTER VII

THE RIVAL ESTABLISHMENTS

A brief account has already been given of the policy followed by the British Government with regard to the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches in Quebec previous to the establishment of the Anglican See.⁽¹⁾ That some prominent parsons were aware of the great gap between Government policy as exemplified in the Instructions given to successive Governors, and the actual practice of the Governors, was instanced by the letter written by Attorney General James Monk to Jacob Mountain, on the latter's arrival.⁽²⁾ Monk, indeed, had written earlier in the year in the same strain to Evan Nepean. It was his wish that Government should resume patronage in the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec.⁽³⁾

The first of many communications made to the British Government by Bishop Mountain on the important topic of what may be called the "Rival Establishments" was written to Portland on Oct. 24, 1794. In his despatch he quoted Governor's Instructions on the subject and stated that no part of these Instructions had so far been put into force.

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- (1) Chapter III entitled Jacob Mountain's Introduction to the Problem of a Church Establishment in Quebec.
 - (2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 69, pp. 368-70. Monk to Mountain, Nov. 5, 1793. Quoted in Chapter III.
 - (3) P. A. C., C.O. 42, Vol. 22, pp. 221-223, Monk to Nepean, Mar. 13, 1793.

He then went on to outline the powers of the "Romish Superintendent" who nominated and removed Ministers at his sole will and pleasure, and not "for and during the will and pleasure of the King" nor with licence and permission of the Governor under the Seal of the Province.(1)

An anonymous Memorandum, probably drawn up in 1795, endorsed "Mem: relative to the Ex: Council," states:- "It is to this Council the Gov^r by His Majesty's Instructions is referred for aid, and without whose advice & opinion in many cases he cannot exercise the executive powers of the Crown. Particularly in matters respecting the Church, the erecting Parsonages, The Grant of Lands. And especially, under the former Instructions, in the Patronage and good Government of the Roman Catholic Priests. But it is scarcely to be doubted that no part of these instructions have ever been put in force."(2)

It was, however, in his great letter to Portland, April 15, 1799, that the Bishop brought the whole subject most forcibly before the notice of the Colonial Secretary. "As far as His Majesty's intentions upon this subject appear,"

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 31-2, Mountain to Portland, Oct. 24, 1794.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 69, pp. 378-80. A discussion of "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England," printed in the Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1926, and written by A. H. Young, gives instances of Dorchester's disregard of the ecclesiastical clauses of his Instructions as Governor of Quebec and Governor in Chief of the Canadas.

he wrote, "in the Instructions which have been given to successive Governors (since ordered to be printed) the members of the Church of England residing in this Country, seem to have been justified in forming the most pleasing expectations of distinguished support.

They understood it to be His Majesty's gracious purpose that all possible encouragement should be given to the support of the Protestant Religion to the end that the Church of England might be established both in principle & practice: that a number of limitations & restrictions were to be applied to the powers & privileges of the Church of Rome, regard being had to those points in which they had a right to indulgence; 'always remembering that it is a Toleration of the free Exercise of the Religion of the Church of Rome only to which they are entitled, but not to the powers & privileges of it as an Established Church, for that, is a Preference which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England'." The Bishop then went on to say that Protestant hopes rose and Roman Catholic hopes sank correspondingly when the Anglican episcopal appointment was made but that "both parties have long since been undeceived. The Catholics, elevated to a higher degree of security & confidence than before, look down with contempt upon the fruitless efforts that have been made to raise the Church of England to a competent degree of independence & respect: . . . The hopes of the Protestants have, in the same degree, subsided; and

from despondency they are too generally passing to indifference. . . .

But the situation of the Church of England is not more different from that which the hopes of the Protestants had anticipated, than is that of the Roman Catholics from anything which, after the Conquest of this Country, the persons of that Communion had reason to expect. So far is that Church from experiencing the limitations & restrictions which seem to have been intended, that I believe I may venture to say, there is no Bishop in the world who enjoys such privileges, & exercises such powers, as the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec! Not only is the whole patronage of his Diocese, which is very valuable, at his sole disposal, but he removes his Clergy from one Cure to another, arbitrarily - as his own judgment, or caprice, may dictate."⁽¹⁾

After referring to the great property of the Roman Catholic Church the assumption of rank and title by its ecclesiastics, and the taking over of the seigniorial rights of Montreal Island by French Emigrant priests, the Bishop concluded:- "Having said thus much, I beg leave to assure your Grace that I am far from entertaining even a secret wish unfavorable to the perfect toleration of the Roman

(1) The Bishop's indignation may be better understood when it is recalled that by Section XXXIX of the Constitutional Act, presentation to Anglican benefices was reserved to the Governor. Jacob Mountain could not "remove his Clergy from one Cure to another" without the Governor's consent.

Catholic Religion.(1)

God forbid, that I should be capable of harbouring sentiments so uncharitable and so impolitic! I am equally far from intending any personal reflection upon the Romish Bishop, or his Coadjutor, whom I truly believe to be worthy men, & good subjects. My single object is, to give Your Grace - now that I have ventured to obtrude myself upon you, as clear a view as I can of the relative situation of the two Churches, that you may be enabled to determine how far the Church of England enjoys 'the preference which belongs to it alone', & what progress it has made even at the present day, towards 'an Establishment', both in principle & practice."(2) The substance of this letter was repeated in a communication to Milnes, July 10, 1799.(3)

From the Bishop and others, as well as from his own observation, Milnes was made aware of the situation arising from a neglect of Government instructions. In a communication to Portland, Nov. 1, 1800, he referred to the independence of the Roman Catholic priesthood. Instructions about

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- (1) This was the Bishop's sincere conviction. Yet in such a standard work as Canada and its Provinces, Jacob Mountain is charged with being a leader in the attempt to deprive French Canadians of their religion. (Vol. II, p. 35) The precise words are echoed in the recently published Encyclopaedia of Canada in the article on Roman (Catholic).
- (2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 332-369, Mountain to Portland, July 15, 1799.
- (3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 192, Mountain to Milnes, July 10, 1799.

giving Licences to all candidates for Holy Orders had never been enforced and all patronage was in the Bishop's hands.(1)

Portland replied:- "With respect to the Roman Catholic Clergy being totally independent of the Governor, I must first observe, that I am not at all aware of the causes that have led to a disregard of that part of the King's Instructions, which require 'that no person, whatever, is to have Holy Orders conferred upon him, or to have care of souls, without license first had or obtained from the Governor. The resumption and exercise of that power by the Governor, and the producing such a licence as a requisite for admission to Holy Orders, I hold not only to be of the first importance, but so indispensably necessary, that I must call upon you to endeavour to effect it by every possible means which prudence can suggest. You will, therefore, readily conclude, that I must see with pleasure your proposal of increasing the allowance to the Catholic Bishop, adopted almost to any extent, if it can prove the means of restoring to the King's representative in Canada, that power and control which are essentially necessary to his authority, and which is expressly laid down by the 44th Article of your instructions, above alluded to."(2)

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 85, pp. 228-244, Milnes to Portland, Nov. 1, 1800.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 86, pp. 3-9, Portland to Milnes, Jan. 6, 1801.

The Attorney General, Jonathan Sewell, was thereupon asked for his opinion on the steps necessary to be taken in order to meet Portland's desires. He brought in accordingly, on May 29, 1801, a comprehensive report on the state of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, and the means for placing it under restraint and direction. His proposals were:- 1.- Remove all the Emigrant Priests.⁽¹⁾ 2.- Insist on the constant residence of the Bishop and his Coadjutor at Quebec. 3.- Procure an Imperial Act recognizing the office of the Bishop and Coadjutor but declaring them to be officers in the absolute appointment of the Crown - so that the King should present, the Bishop induct, and the Incumbent hold the various livings through Royal Pleasure. 4.- Give the Bishop and his coadjutor to understand that a proper attention would at all times be paid to their recommendations, and that there was no idea of interfering with ecclesiastical authority. 5.- Give the Bishop and his coadjutor seats in the Legislative and Executive Councils. By making them political characters they would then be open to criticism and their influence would be sapped.⁽²⁾

In a further communication, Jan 6, 1803, the Bishop

(1) Between 1794-1798 fifteen priests had come from Revolutionary France to Quebec and had been added to the Seminary of St. Sulpice in Montreal. Vide Christie, R., History of Canada, Vol. VI, p. 46.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 29, May 29, 1801.

repeated, still more strongly, the unfavourable condition of the Church of England as compared with that of the Church of Rome. He also disposed of Portland's suggestion that the Provincial Parliament should be looked to for relief by these words:- "I am perfectly aware, Sir, that we must look to the Provincial Parliament for such local laws and regulations as are above alluded to. But without meaning any improper reflection upon that body, I may be permitted to say, that as it is at present constituted, the Church of England must not expect any material assistance from it; unless that Church shall first be raised from its present depression, and shall derive, from the proper authority, that weight which alone can give it its constitutional preponderance, as the Established Religion of the Country - its rights being at once clearly ascertained and legally secured."(1)

In transmitting this letter to Lord Hobart, the Colonial Secretary, Milnes wrote:- "Concerning the Roman Catholic Clergy in Lower Canada, it is necessary I should mention to your Lordship that, so far as I can learn, no authority or interference with respect to them has hitherto been exercised by any of His Majesty's Representatives in this Province. I have therefore judged it advisable for the present, to leave all matters relating to them in the

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 92, p. 253 ff., Mountain to Milnes, June 6, 1803.

state in which I found them."(1) Hobart replied to Milnes that the educational plan then being proposed for Lower Canada would tend to promote the objects recommended by the Bishop but - "with respect to the several other matters including the vexed question of Establishment, which he represents as highly interesting to the Protestant Church in Canada, it appears advisable to suspend any determination concerning them until a more favourable opportunity shall arrive."(2)

Shortly after making his plea to Milnes the Bishop wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury:- "For ten long years, with an anxious mind & an aching heart I have been maintaining an ineffectual struggle to support the Church of England in this Province, under the neglect of the Government on the one hand & against the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church on the other. I consider the application I have now made, in my letter to the Lt. Gov. Milnes as a last effort in favour of our Church. The Ecclesiastical affairs of this Country are drawing to a crisis, & if this application fail, all future attempts will, I am convinced, be fruitless. Liberavi animam meam. Whatever be the result, the Religion of the Church of England in this Province will not, I trust,

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 92, pp. 251-2, Milnes to Hobart, Aug. 15, 1803.

(2) Ibid., p. 275, Hobart to Milnes, Jan. 9, 1804.

have been overwhelmed & lost through my supineness or neglect."⁽¹⁾ No answer having been returned to this plea the Bishop wrote to his old friend Bishop Tomline a troubled perturbed letter on the way in which Anglican interests were being sacrificed.⁽²⁾ On Oct. 23, 1804, he wrote once more to the Archbishop,⁽³⁾ and on the following day he addressed a communication to Lord Camden, Hobart's successor as Colonial Secretary. It covered the familiar ground, gave instances of Roman Catholic opposition to Protestant interests in the Assembly, told of the unauthorized assumption of titles by the Superintendent, and gave a comparative statement of the status of the two Churches. He implied intense disagreement with many of the proposals made by Sewell in his report of May 29, 1801. "It has ever been my opinion," he stated, "that a decisive & effectual Establishment of the Church of England, (involving such restrictions of the Roman Catholic Church, as may be consistent with perfect tolerance, & with every indulgence meant to be extended to them by the King, & by the Parliament of Great Britain, would be the most salutary method that could be adopted, not only for the Interests of His Majesty's Government, & of his Protestant

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 51, Mountain to Moore, June 13, 1803.

(2) Ibid., p. 65, Mountain to Tomline, June 21, 1804.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, Oct. 23, 1804.

subjects in this Province, but for the progressive improvement & happiness of his Canadian subjects also."(1)

Another letter was written by the Bishop to Tomline on Oct. 26, 1804, in which he asked his correspondent to warn Camden against a Mr. Coffin, "a decided enemy to our Church Establishment," who was then leaving for England. Respecting Milnes the Bishop wrote:- "I have the good fortune, without approving his conduct, to be still upon good terms with him. But I have seen with very great concern that his sentiments respecting the Church of E. have been gradually changing 'till they are very much the reverse of what they were. He confessedly looks at the subject upon Political grounds alone, (he has no Religion) & his politics respecting this Country are totally changed:- & he is become more timid, & if possible more afraid of responsibility, than L^d Dorchester himself."(2)

The idea of resuming Royal Supremacy over the Roman Catholic Church, however, had not been entirely forgotten in London. Hobart asked Milnes, Jan. 9, 1804, to obtain statistical information about the parishes, clergy and stipends of Anglican and Roman Catholic Establishments. Milnes transmitted the returns made by Bishop Mountain on March 26, 1805,

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 96, pp. 717 ff., Mountain to Camden, Oct. 24, 1804.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 69, Mountain to Tomline, Oct. 26, 1804.

with the recommendation that the salaries of his clergy should be raised.(1)

Despite the Bishop's allegation that Milnes looked at the subject of the rival establishments "upon Political grounds alone," the latter with Sewell's assistance made a determined effort to impose certain features of the Royal Ecclesiastical control on the Roman Church in Lower Canada. In March 1805 Milnes announced to the Rev. J. O. Plessis, Bishop-Coadjutor that he was about to return to England, but that before he left he wished to obtain from the British Government such recognition of the Roman Catholic Bishop as would give the latter a position in keeping with his dignity, similar to that enjoyed by the Anglican Bishop. This recognition would set at rest any doubts that might be raised with regard to the Roman Catholic Bishop's temporalities, claims to the Bishop's Palace, on the fabriques, the curés, erection of new parishes, etc.(2) Doubts had already arisen on a topic allied to the last mentioned, viz. - the division of parishes, in the cause of Bertrand and Lavergne.

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 97, pp. 47-49, Milnes to Camden, March 26, 1805. The Bishop's returns are printed in Christie, R., History of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, pp. 68-71.

(2) Details of the events of 1805 are largely derived from articles on Bishop Plessis written by Ivanhoe Caron in the October and November issues of Le Canada Français, 1940.

The Titular Bishop of Quebec had divided the Parish of St. Antoine of the River des Loups, in 1800, on his own authority. The case was brought to the Court of Appeals, and the Attorney General had given it as his opinion that as the right of erecting parishes was vested solely in the King, such an act on Denaut's part was not recognized by law.

Accordingly a meeting was arranged between the Attorney General and Bishop Coadjutor in order that the points at issue might be frankly discussed. Full minutes of this dialogue have been preserved and illustrate with great clearness the conflicting principles. Bishop Denaut himself came to Quebec in February 1805 and talked the matter over with Milnes. He appreciated Milnes' good-will, but, he wrote later to Plessis - "je crains l'évêque qui souffle et l'avocat général qui en est l'écho".

As Milnes' departure drew near he urged Denaut and Plessis to take advantage of his offer, hinting that his successor might not be so favourably disposed towards the Roman Catholic Church. Many interviews took place. Plessis argued further with Sewell, and with Milnes. He also took the advice of Mr. William Grant. Denaut was half disposed to submit to the pressure of circumstances. "Whether the Bishop consents or not," he wrote to Roux,⁽¹⁾ "the choice of his successor will be always the affair of the king and

(1) Jean Henry Auguste Roux, Superior of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice at Montreal, 1798-1831.

his representative. Soon we shall see the Irish Bishops on the same footing. The Archbishop of Dublin is looking for it as he wrote me last year. We must not be astonished at it. Sovereigns have always been anxious to have the principal part to play in the nomination. You know, as well as I that Leo X preferred to grant the right to Francis I than to run the risk of canonical elections such as those ordered by the Pragmatic or by the Council of Basel, and that Pius VII, rather than lose all, left this prerogative to Napoleon who is hardly better calculated to choose a good bishop than a heretical prince." Although he disliked the thought of royal patronage of cures he wrote philosophically that he would in that case have no more to complain of than the new bishops of France who were under the control of the Prefects of the Departments. He seems to have grasped Milnes's and Sewell's view-point and, although he disagreed violently with it, yet recognized the disinterestedness of both functionaries.

After taking further advice Denaut finally signed a formal petition to the King asking that he and his successors should be civilly recognized as Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec, and enjoy such prerogatives, rights and temporal emoluments as the King should graciously attach to that dignity.⁽¹⁾ In forwarding the petition to

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 98, p. 8 ff., July 18, 1805.

Camden, Milnes said that although the petitioner had signed as "Pierre Denaut, Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church", not "Superintendent of the Romish Church," he had not insisted on the latter signature out of respect for the aged petitioner's feelings.⁽¹⁾

In this whole affair Bishop Mountain played no part. He seems to have been taken into the confidence neither of Sewell nor of Milnes, who carried out this modern counterpart of the immemorial Investiture Controversy on their own account. The Bishop's opinions being what they were it is quite understandable why his concurrence was not sought.

In the late summer of 1805 both Milnes and Mountain returned to England, and the Hon. Thomas Dunn became Administrator of the Province. Early in 1806 Denaut died, a fact which was communicated by H. W. Ryland, the Governor's Secretary, to Bishop Mountain without delay, with the suggestion that the proper time had come to do something about the position of the Superintendent of the Romish Church, as it was absurd to acknowledge a Roman Catholic Bishop in a Protestant See.⁽²⁾ A week later, however, Ryland informed the Bishop that Dunn had decided to admit Plessis to take and subscribe the oaths as Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec.⁽³⁾ At the same time Sewell also wrote to Mountain telling

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 98, p. 5.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 1, Ryland to Mountain, Jan. 19, 1806.

(3) Ibid., p. 2, Ryland to Mountain, Jan. 26, 1806.

of his unavailing efforts to hold Dunn back.(1) Again Ryland informed the Bishop that Dunn had also determined to admit the Rev. Mr. Panet as coadjutor. "Where is the layman sufficiently free from vanity" was his wry remark, who at seventy-three years of age would not let slip an opportunity of making a Bishop?"(2) On April 11, 1806, the Bishop expressed to Sewell his keen disappointment at Dunn's precipitate action, implying that Mrs. Dunn's (Henrietta Guichaud's) influence was behind it.(3)

While in England the Bishop exerted every effort to accomplish his purposes with regard to the rival establishments. He wrote to the newly-appointed Chief Justice, Henry Alcock, saying that among the points he would like to have settled before Alcock's departure for Quebec were those dealing with the establishment of the Church of England and the encroachments of the Church of Rome.(4) He wrote to his correspondent of past years, John King, deploring the concessions that Milnes had made to the Roman Catholics.(5)

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Sewell to Mountain, Jan. 26, 1806.

(2) Christie, Robert, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, etc., p. 85, Ryland to Mountain, Feb. 3, 1806.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Sewell, April 11, 1806.

(4) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 5, Mountain to Alcock, Mar. 26, 1806.

(5) Ibid., p. 12, Mountain to King, Aug. 5, 1806.

He wrote to the Hon. William Windham that if the Government should continue its ecclesiastical policy in Canada, "I humbly presume they will not think it expedient to continue in that Country the miserable pageant of a merely nominal Protestant Establishment." (1)

Extracts from a letter written at this period from London by M. Bourret, to Bishop Plessis at Quebec give a clear picture of the apprehensions which Bishop Mountain's labours aroused in French Roman Catholic breasts:-

J'ai eu l'honneur de voir plusieurs fois l'évêque anglican de Québec, et je l'ai aussi rencontré chez S. Excellence M. Milnes; il m'a reçu très honnêtement et il m'a parlé en termes aussi très honnêtes des ecclésiastiques catholiques du Canada et spécialement de mes confrères de Montréal. Néanmoins je pense bien, comme Votre Grandeur, que c'est un adversaire à craindre et à surveiller pour la religion et le clergé catholiques du Canada.

Il s'occupe beaucoup et se remue et avec assez de succès pour la formation et l'avantage de son Eglise. Vous aurés sans doute appris ce qu'il a déjà obtenu du gouvernement à cet effet; et il a malheureusement cet avantage que lui donne la conformité des principes et des intérêts de sa religion. Ajoutés à cela sa prestance, son air, ses manières gracieuses, sa qualité d'anglais, son titre, ses connaissances, ses protecteurs, etc., etc., cependant, il a perdu un puissant moyen par la mort de M. Pitt, c'est-à-dire, par la perte qu'a faite par cette mort l'évêque de Lincoln, ancien précepteur et l'ami de M. Pitt et auquel l'évêque anglican

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 14, Mountain to Windham, Aug. 12, 1806.

de Québec est redevable de ce qu'il est, et sur le crédit duquel il comptait, dit-on, pour être placé en Angleterre: mais par cet événement imprévu, le Canada n'en sera pas frustré.(1)

When the Bishop's sentiments on the rival establishments were brought to the attention of Lord Castlereagh the latter made the impatient comment that it would seem to be a very delicate matter to interfere with the Catholic religion in Quebec or to force the Titular Bishop to drop his titles. A marginal comment by another hand pointed out, however, that in assuming the title and the powers that he exercised, he was contravening Royal instructions.(2) When Lord Castlereagh's Secretary passed on to the Bishop the Colonial Secretary's opinion that decision on the matters in question should be delayed the Bishop rejoined:- "I entertain the highest respect for His Lordship's judgment as well as for his station; & I defer with unfeigned humility, to his superior talents & knowledge; but it would not be consistent with the sincerity which I am desirous upon all occasions of preserving, to say that I am able entirely to coincide with his Lordship, in the opinion you have thus stated.

(1) Caron, Ivanhoe, 'Joseph-Octave Plessis'. Le Canada Français, April 1941.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 157-172, Sept. 7, 1806.

How far this Subject can properly be considered as connected with what is commonly called "the Catholic question," I must not presume to judge - But as far as Canada is concerned, let me be permitted to observe that the question naturally resolves itself into two distinct branches, that which respects the Establishment of the Church of England, & that which respects the Restrictions to be placed upon the present System of Roman Church Government in that Country.

Supposing, that for a moment that the circumstances of the times throw considerable obstacles in the way of any decision upon the second division of the question, I cannot see that they oppose any difficulty to the immediate consideration of the first. The Canadian Catholics have long expected, - & still no doubt continue to expect, that an effectual Establishment will be given to the Church of England. . . . In truth, tho' a little spoiled by excessive indulgence, they are a quiet and yielding people, easily governed, if firmly governed; & unlikely even to dream of resistance to any measure not palpably oppressive, that should be decidedly sanctioned by H. M. Government at home. In short, Sir, I am perfectly convinced, that no real difficulty with respect to them has ever existed upon this branch of the subject; & that all apparent difficulty has had its origin in the groundless apprehensions, or the unfortunate indifference, of the persons, hitherto administering H. M. Government in that Country.

The present prospect, (if such there be) of a rupture with foreign America, so far as I apprehend, from awaking a spirit of resistance, or of turbulence, would have a directly contrary effect. The Canadian Catholics well know that the privileges upon which they place the highest value, would be worse than insecure, if Canada were united to the states, and nothing tends so strongly to make them cleave with fidelity to England, as their rooted abhorrence of the Bostonois (as they call the Americans) & their dread of the power, & of the principles of the Union.

Such being my opinion, Sir, it will easily be conceived, that I do not apprehend danger, from any arrangement that might be thought proper, even on the second branch of the question, the restriction of the System of Papal Church Government. But if Lord Castlereagh should deem otherwise, & should think that the two branches of this question form one subject only, for his consideration and decision there is nothing left to me but respectful silence."⁽¹⁾

The Bishop then returned to Quebec with Castlereagh's assurance that the attention of the Governor of Lower Canada would be immediately directed to the defective state of the Anglican Establishment in that Province, Castlereagh however neglected instructing the Governor on the subject and for two years no progress was made. Finally the Bishop

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 103-109, Mountain to Cook, Feb. 20, 1808.

received from the Colonial Secretary a communication that was considered by the Governor-in-Chief, Sir James Craig, as sufficient authorization to proceed with the thorny problem of the rival establishments. In a long letter to Craig, March 8, 1810, the Bishop covered the old familiar ground: Governor's Instructions and the Act of 1791 pointed to the Establishment of the Church of England in Lower Canada, yet the Church had not approached such an establishment; all hope of remedial measures arising from the Provincial Parliament was fallacious; the Roman Catholic Bishop was exceeding his legal powers. "If it be thought necessary, or expedient," he asserted, "to continue the Ecclesiastical affairs of this Country upon that footing to which they have gradually been brought, & on which they have now for some years remained, nothing can be more obvious, than that the Church of England sinks into a sect, . . . with no pretensions to legal Establishment. The conformation of the Constitution of this Country to that of the Mother Country, in Church & State, is dissolved: the Erection of these Provinces into a Bishop's See, is a void measure: the jurisdiction of the Bishop is null: & all the hopes that have been cherished by the friends of the Establishment perish for ever. . . .

The authorized jurisdiction, & acknowledged rank, of two Bishops of the same Diocese, of different Religious Communities, would be a Solecism in Ecclesiastical Polity, which, I believe, never yet took place in the Christian

World: the attempts to unite two Churches, (one of them strongly opposed in principle & practice to the other), with the Government, no less dangerous than novel."(1)

In the summer of 1810 the Governor-in-Chief sent his Secretary, Herman Witsius Ryland to England to secure the settlement of certain important points of policy. One of his instructions pointed out the answer he should give if His Majesty's Ministers should accede to the resumption of the patronage of the Roman Church, and should wish to know how it might be done:- Craig should be instructed to inform Plessis that the petition of his predecessor Denaut had been acceded to,(2) granting to the Roman Catholic Bishop the powers and authority requisite to enable him to be recognized in the King's Courts, - granting him Letters Patent as Superintendent of the Romish Church in Lower Canada, and granting him a suitable salary. The Governor should issue letters of Induction to Roman Catholic clergy. Letters Patent under the Provincial Seal would confirm and establish parishes previously set up without authority.(3)

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 113, pp. 112-133, Mountain to Craig, March 8, 1810.

(2) I.e., The Petition of July 18, 1805, vide supra, p. 130.

(3) McGill University Library, Ryland Photostats. Additional Instruction, June 14, 1810.

Such was Ryland's zeal and assiduity⁽¹⁾ that the ecclesiastical problem of Quebec was eventually submitted to the Law Officers of the Crown by Earl Liverpool. The lawyers admitted that as a mere question of right, so much of the patronage of Roman Catholic benefices as was exercised by the Bishops of Quebec under French rule had passed to His Majesty. They recommended, however, that these Royal rights should be recovered without going to law, as the latter course would have "an appearance of hardness."⁽²⁾

Unfortunately for Ryland, all his painstaking endeavours went for nothing. In a despatch to Earl Spenser, May 10, 1813, he outlined Craig's reasons for sending him to England, and then proceeded:- "I flattered myself, My Lord, that I might have materially assisted in bringing these important measures into execution. After much exertion, success at one moment seemed to crown my efforts. A despatch comprehending the several objects was drafted (and shown to me) in the very terms that I myself had suggested; but the Secretary of State thought it necessary to submit this Despatch to the Lord Chancellor, and 'the Lord Chancellor

- (1) "Impudence and perseverance" were the words used by Ryland himself to characterize his efforts to gain Lord Liverpool's ear. (Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 105. Ryland to Mountain, Dec. 31, 1811.)
- (2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 115, pp. 176-80, July 3, 1811. Report of Law Officers on the Assumption of the Patronage of the Romish Church, etc., to Liverpool.

had doubts;' and there the whole business has ever since remained, to the infinite detriment of His Majesty's interests."(1)

On Oct. 25, 1810, Bishop Plessis issued a Mandement asking for prayers for the Pope, who was then a prisoner at Savona. The document was sent by Craig to Ryland in London, and was submitted to Peel as a further evidence of unauthorized assumption of powers by the Roman Catholic Bishop. Bishop Mountain was intensely annoyed, not so much with the Mandement itself as with the way in which it was published. As the following illustrations show, he himself had never authorized the public use of special forms of prayer without the Governor's approval, and he expected Bishop Plessis to follow the same rule. On May 5, 1794, the Bishop of Nova Scotia had written to Jacob Mountain stating that he had seen an account of a Public Fast, in the English papers and that he had prepared a form of prayer, sending it to the various Governors within his Diocese with the suggestion that the English example might well be followed in each Colony.(2) On the following June 26th he informed Bishop Mountain that Governor Wentworth had appointed a Fast Day in Nova Scotia and he enclosed a printed sermon that he

(1) Christie, Robert, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 304.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 16, Inglis to Mountain, May 5, 1794.

himself had preached at that time.⁽¹⁾ Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury later in the year Bishop Mountain made inquiries about forms of prayer appropriate for such occasions, stating that although the Bishop of Nova Scotia had issued them he did not consider himself authorized to follow a similar practice.⁽²⁾ The Archbishop sent the Bishop of Quebec a form of prayer used for Admiral Duncan's victory and suggested that with little alteration it could be made appropriate for a thanksgiving for Nelson's victory at the Nile.⁽³⁾ The Bishop accordingly ordered forms of prayer printed and with the Governor's assent the Nile Victory was celebrated in Lower Canada.⁽⁴⁾ The same observance later took place in Upper Canada as well.⁽⁵⁾ Subsequently forms of prayer for two Fast Days and two Thanksgivings were issued during and after the War of 1812-14, but in each case with the Governor's permission which the Bishop scrupulously

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 20, Inglis to Mountain, June 26, 1794.

(2) Ibid., p. 36, Mountain to Moore, Nov. 6, 1794.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Moore to Mountain, Oct. 19, 1798.

(4) The Bishop's sermon, preached on this occasion, was afterwards printed. A copy is in the pamphlet collection of the Public Archives of Canada.

(5) Correspondence of the Hon. Peter Russell, Vol. III, p. 65, Mountain to Russell, Jan. 24, 1799; ibid., Vol. III, p. 111-112, Russell to Mountain, Feb. 18, 1799; ibid., p. 198, Russell to Portland, May 18, 1799.

obtained. Being himself such a close observer of the formalities it is no matter for wonderment that he was angered when the rival Bishop calmly issued forms of prayer solely on the latter's own authority.

Craig's successor as Governor-in-Chief was Sir George Prevost whose chief aim was to conciliate the French Canadians. Hence Bishop Mountain's representations on the subject of the rival establishment met with scant courtesy at his hands and ecclesiastical matters were subordinated to political exigency. When the Bishop, his temper strained by Roman Catholic proselytizing at Quebec, wrote to the Governor that unless this were stopped it would be necessary to make a public exposure of Roman errors, Prevost's pencilled comment on the margin of the Bishop's letter was:- "Would be highly improper at this moment."⁽¹⁾

On June 3, 1813, the Bishop sent to the British Government a memorial on all his grievances, for presentation to the Prince Regent. In a covering letter to Earl Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary, he wrote:- "My Lord, the actual state of things is little short of this - From a vain hope of conciliating, the French Canadian Roman Catholics & an ill-founded fear of offending, we have given them everything."⁽²⁾

(1) P. A. C., Series S, Vol. 97, pp. 118 ff., Mountain to Prevost, April 26, 1813.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 124, pp. 187-203, Mountain to Bathurst, June 3, 1813.

Bathurst did not submit this memorial to the Prince Regent.(1)

The Bishop wrote on July 5, 1813, to Chief Justice Sewell that as a member of the Executive Council he could not sit upon a communication from M. Plessis, signed "Bishop of Quebec" as he felt that his attendance would appear to sanction Plessis in the assumption of that title.(2) But a still worse disappointment was in store for the Bishop. About the same time Bathurst wrote to Prevost raising Plessis' government allowance to £1000 per annum and styling him "Catholic Bishop of Quebec." Despite Ryland's protests the warrant for the allowance was made out in the name of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec.(3) Bishop Mountain's ire was great. "As I understand that this Allowance, & this rank," he wrote to Bathurst, "have been given unconditionally by H. M. Government to Mr Plessis, I can not but conceive that they confirm to him, all that he had before assumed.

Upon the policy, or the fitness, of measures which would seem to leave nothing wanting to the complete Establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion in these Provinces, I am

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 130, pp. 536-53, Mountain to Bathurst, June 6, 1814.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Sewell, July 5, 1813.

(3) Christie, R., op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 312-13; also Bishopthorpe Papers.

withheld by respect from offering any comment." (1)

Yet on Dec. 27, 1813, Bathurst wrote asking for suggestions of measures for adding dignity and comfort of the Bishop's situation as head of the Protestant Church in Canada. The Bishop replied that dignity would follow if the Church of England were placed upon a solid and respectable foundation, and that comfort would come from a salary adequate to his rank. "'Dignity', My Lord, can hold no alliance with undue inferiority; nor can 'Comfort' and degradation exist together." But after this sharp rejoinder he went painstakingly over the whole situation once more. (2) Bathurst did not deign to notice this letter. (3)

Prevost's opinion of Jacob Mountain is contained in a letter to Adam Gordon, July 21, 1814. "On my arrival at Quebec three years ago, I soon discovered that the Head of our Church had far more disposition for Politics than Theology, except as the latter affected the Religion of Canada, he had been used during the Administration of Sir Robert Milne to take a leading part, an indecisive Character readily relinquished his own prerogative to another, whose

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 126, pp. 170-1, Mountain to Bathurst, Dec. 15, 1813.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 130, pp. 536-53, Mountain to Bathurst, June 6, 1814.

(3) Ibid., Vol. 140, pp. 419-28, Mountain to Bathurst, Feb. 10, 1816.

long continued residence had formed very strong animosities, & often, you must be aware those feelings do away the beneficial effects of local knowledge, tainting every act by a fixed prejudice. The Catholic Religion & its Ministers come forcibly under this description.

My sentiments were little likely to be congenial with the Lord Bishop's on this subject, had I found the Country differently circumstanced; as it has been & still is situated the great mass of the population were to be soothed to my purposes, not offended in the very subject of their dearest interests. I have found the full reward of my first decision. The Catholic Clergy are my finest supports, & the Salary I obtained for the Bishop has strengthened my claim on their Loyalty, zeal & influence over the people, which has given great offence to the Head of our Church & added to my former disgrace with his Lordship for not yielding the Civil Administration to his superior Judgment."⁽¹⁾

In 1815 Prevost was recalled and his feud with the Bishop as well as with the other Executive Councillors came to an end. Before leaving he threatened to cause trouble for the Bishop with the British Government; accordingly the latter took measures to present his side of the case to Bathurst. But Prevost did not carry out his threat,

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 128, pp. 75-77, Prevost to Gordon, July 21, 1814.

whereupon Bathurst reproved the Bishop for being too hasty. The latter exculpated himself in a long communication, Feb. 10, 1816. Once more he made a comparative statement of the position of the two Churches in Lower Canada. He concluded:- "From this comparative view, it will appear, that His Majesty's Instructions, upon Ecclesiastical Affairs, have not only not been acted upon, but, in many cases, directly contravened: that the Romish Church, has, by rapid strides, arrived at wealth, & power, & independence; while the Church of England, has not been permitted to take a single step in advance, as an Establishment, for three & twenty years!

I must not prolong this letter, by an enumeration of the various causes, which have produced these lamentable effects.- I will only observe, that an unhappy indifference to the subject, or an ambition of popularity ill-understood, in most of those, who have administered this Government; & repeated changes, in His Majesty's Ministers, at the precise moment, when there seemed most reason to expect, that the Ecclesiastical concerns of the Provinces would have been adjusted; &, above all, the death of one illustrious statesman, (which took place when I was last in England), have successively frustrated every attempt that has been made to fix the attention of His Majesty's Government upon this important object.

My last hope was in Your Lordship; & that hope too has failed me. . . .

It is my purpose, if God shall so enable me - to visit, in the ensuing summer, with great particularity, the whole of the Settlements, of both these Provinces, - That done, I shall lay before the respective Governments, the last result of my observations, & enquiries; & shall then, in the autumn of this year, take my way to England, (thro' the States), to ask permission of the Prince Regent, to resign my Bishoprick; & to lay down, at His Royal Highness's feet, a burthen, which I am no longer able to bear.

If, My Lord, by continuing to hold my situation, I should acquiesce in the state of things, which I have described I should make myself, - inconsiderable as I am, - a party to the degradation of the true Church of Christ. I must not consent to do this. - I wish to assume no importance; but in this, my Conscience only must be my guide."(1)

On the eve of his departure to England the Bishop put Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, the new Governor-in-Chief, in possession of his sentiments. The letter contains nothing new but it presents the writer's ideas with crystal clarity.(2)

The most important act of Sherbrooke's regime, in matters ecclesiastical, was the admission of the Roman Catholic Bishop to the Legislative Council. Such a step had

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 140, pp. 419-428, Mountain to Bathurst, Feb. 10, 1816.

(2) Ibid., pp. 439-447, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Oct. 22, 1816.

been contemplated as far back as 1794, but had not been taken by the British Government at that time.⁽¹⁾ But the loyalty of the French Canadians during the War of 1812-1814 on the one hand and the rumour of a revival of the racial and religious antipathies that had marred Craig's term of office on the other, spurred the Home Government on to make every effort to conciliate the Quebec Roman Catholics. Precise instructions on the course to follow were given to Governor Sherbrooke. In 1814 instructions had been issued to call Plessis to the Legislative Council, but the latter was not prepared to submit to the conditions attached to an acceptance of the honor and for a time the subject was dropped. But with Sherbrooke's encouragement Plessis sent a memorial to the Prince Regent asking for civil recognition as Bishop, as well as for a place on the Council. Bathurst, in acknowledging receipt of the memorial, told Sherbrooke to remind Plessis of the legal status of Roman Catholicism in the Province, and that it was only by a very favourable construction of the spirit of the laws then in force that the Government could authorize Plessis to be called Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec.⁽²⁾ A Mandamus was issued, April 30, 1817, summoning Plessis to the Legislative Council under this

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 68, pp. 132-33, Portland to Dorchester, Aug. 13, 1794.

(2) Ibid., Series G, Vol. 9, pp. 151-154, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, June 5, 1817.

title, but it was made clear by Bathurst that this act was not to constitute a precedent, but was a recognition of Plessis' personal zeal and loyalty.⁽¹⁾

On Feb. 1, 1818, Ryland wrote to Bishop Mountain, then in England, saying that Plessis had taken his seat in the Legislative Council a few days before, along with other newly appointed members. "Our Sittings are already twice as long as they used to be," he grumbled, "and not half as much Business done. When the whole shall be assembled we may hope to spout from Ten in the Morning till Ten at Night, which will be very Edifying and entertaining."⁽²⁾ A further letter a few days later told of Ryland's anticipation of the arrival of the Duke of Richmond as Governor-in-Chief. He held, however that improved political conditions "must depend on the compleat breaking up of the System of the last two Governors who have been weak enough to suppose that by placing entire Confidence in the Romish Bishop, and by conceding to him the most valuable Rights & prerogatives of the Crown they would secure for themselves an easy administration and a show of popularity that would render them of prodigious consequence in the opinion of the King's Ministers, and to these selfish motives may the present state of the Government and the

(1) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 9, pp. 159-161, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, June 6, 1817.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Feb. 1, 1818. Vide Christie, R., History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, pp. 331-332, for Ryland's opinion on additions to the Executive Council made by Prevost.

destruction of the power and Influence of the Crown in this part of His Majesty's Dominions be justly attributed."(1)

On Nov. 10, 1817, the Rev. John Strachan wrote to the Bishop stating that MacDonnell the Roman Catholic Priest had just returned from England with great advantages for his Church in Upper Canada - salaries for three clergymen and four professors. It was even being whispered that MacDonnell was about to be made Bishop of Upper Canada. "It is impossible to look at this statement, my Lord," wrote Strachan bitterly, "without inferring that either the Ministers at home, or the Head of the Church in this Country, had failed in their duty."(2) The Bishop sent this extract to the Archbishop of Canterbury.(3)

While visiting London in March 1818 the Bishop had an interview with a member of the Government, Henry Goulburn, who expressly said "that the Roman Catholic Church must be considered as the Established Church of Canada." After brooding over this opinion for some weeks the Bishop approached Bathurst yet again, quoting from Instructions and despatches of previous Secretaries of State, even of Bathurst himself, that the Church of England was to be the Established

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Feb. 10, 1818.

(2) Toronto Public Library, Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Nov. 10, 1817.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Manners Sutton, June 25, 1818.

Church of Canada. He also enclosed Strachan's allegations of neglect of Church interests in the Upper Province.⁽¹⁾ Bathurst's reply implied that the Bishop was violently anti-Roman Catholic.⁽²⁾ To this the Bishop sent a dignified rejoinder.⁽³⁾ But even his old friend Bishop Tomline thought that the Cabinet was opposed to the idea of setting up a Church Establishment in Canada.⁽⁴⁾ Tomline did, however, attempt to hearten Mountain by saying that Bathurst had really been influenced by the Bishop's former letters, but that he had not had the manliness and justice to acknowledge it.⁽⁵⁾ In the end Bathurst was not entirely negative, and made some concessions, although on the point of declaring the Church of England the Established Church of the Canadas he remained firmly opposed. The Bishop asked for such an acknowledgment as the price of his return to Quebec,⁽⁶⁾ although he really wished to resign. He also wrote to the Archbishop saying that Goulburn's words were being re-echoed in Quebec.⁽⁷⁾ To

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 837-847, Mountain to Bathurst, April 8, 1818.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 16, Bathurst to Mountain, April 21, 1818.

(3) Ibid., p. 17, Mountain to Bathurst, April 23, 1818.

(4) Ibid., p. 20, Tomline to Mountain, July 15, 1818.

(5) Ibid., p. 22, Same to same, Aug. 16, 1818.

(6) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 858-861, Mountain to Bathurst, July 2, 1818.

(7) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Manners Sutton, July 3, 1818.

this letter the Archbishop made the following reply.

Addington, July 15, 1818.

My Lord.

At the time I received your Lordship's Letter I was overwhelmed with business. Of the four propositions submitted by your Lordship to Lord Bathurst as the conditions under which you are disposed to resume your episcopal duties in the Canadas, two appear to me to be such as my Lord Bathurst may probably take into favourable consideration, & two of which I entertain some doubts.

That Government should at this time be called upon to declare that the Church of England is the established Church of the Canadas, would imply one of these two things, either that such is not clearly the case under the existing Laws, or being the case under the existing Laws of the Colony, Government have by their misconduct thrown doubts upon it. The first can only be remedied by the Legislature, & it is perhaps a little too much to expect an avowal of the latter, on the part of Government. The following proposition if I recollect the details of it, is one of large extent. Upon parts of this also, Lord Bathurst may possibly entertain doubts.⁽¹⁾

I am sincerely glad that you have derived so much assistance from Lord Wodehouse; & I shall be still more gratified if by his means such an undertaking be brought about between your Lordship & the Regent's Ministers as may terminate in the resumption of your episcopal duties.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's faithful Friend & Servant

C. Cantuar.⁽²⁾

(1) This proposition asked that the Bishop's powers of governing his clergy should be amplified.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Manners Sutton to Mountain, July 15, 1818.

Again, in a milder mood, the Bishop wrote to Bathurst asking that his propositions should be discussed privately. He stated that up to the time of his leaving Quebec, the Church of England, though not regularly established, had uniformly been considered and treated in the Canadas as being entitled to it. He asked Bathurst whether there was any truth in the rumour that the Romish was now the established Church.⁽¹⁾ Bathurst's answer was to inform the Bishop that it was not the duty of Government to publish declarations in answer to idle reports, and to suggest to him that the time had come for him to return to Quebec.⁽²⁾ Again, with firmness and patience, the Bishop refused to budge until Government relented. "With all due submission to your Lordship's authority," he wrote, "& all due deference to your superior abilities, (I speak in truth & simplicity, my Lord,) it is impossible for me to divest myself of opinions formed on long experience, & with the fullest opportunities of close & accurate observation."⁽³⁾

The matter lay fallow until the following spring, when the Bishop was to return to Quebec. Again he submitted his former proposals to Bathurst.⁽⁴⁾ Again Bathurst's reply

- (1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, July 18, 1818.
- (2) Ibid., Bathurst to Mountain, July 24 and 25, 1818.
- (3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 868-875, Mountain to Bathurst, Aug. 6, 1818.
- (4) Ibid., Vol. 153, pp. 277-284, Mountain to Bathurst, March 1, 1819.

to the proposal that the Church of England be acknowledged as the Established Church was a complete refusal. He maintained that such an acknowledgment was neither expedient nor necessary. Roman Catholics were in the majority in Quebec. From matters of policy as well as from regard to the Church of England he would say nothing.(1)

One minor event relieved the completeness of the Bishop's defeat on the ecclesiastical front. He asked Bathurst whether it was true that a Roman Catholic Archbishop had been appointed in Quebec.(2) Not long after, Bathurst informed the Governor-in-Chief that Plessis had indeed been appointed Archbishop by the Pope but he had been told that such a nomination would not be recognized. To this ruling Plessis had acquiesced.(3)

In a private and confidential note to Dalhousie on the subject of the Sulpician Estates Bathurst comments:-
 "You will probably find both the Chief Justice & the English Bishop disinclined to advise much of accommodation in this or any subject which relates to the Roman Catholics. The former is an able & intelligent person; & having fought

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 285-290, Bathurst to Mountain, April 27, 1819.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 56, Bishop to Bathurst, Sept. 7, 1819.

(3) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 10, pp. 303-04, Bathurst to Dalhousie, Nov. 6, 1819.

formerly for what was considered the British Interests against the Roman Catholics in Canada he has exposed himself to Enmities against which we are bound in honour to uphold him; You will find the English Bishop a man of considerable Abilities; of a very striving disposition, & I hope your communications with him will be on a more pleasant footing than many of those I have had the honor of having with his Lordship."(1)

Jacob Mountain's increasing infirmities led him to approach Bathurst again in 1823-24 on the matter of his resignation and of some of the points so often raised in former years. Bathurst suggested that the Bishop should return to England before these points should be discussed. But the Bishop did not wish to make the voyage under any uncertainty about the attainment of its purpose. "I must deeply lament, my Lord," he wrote wearily, "that I have wanted ability to satisfy your Lordship of the importance of continuing to maintain the establishment, & ascendancy of the Church of England, in these Provinces. I cease to importune your Lordship upon this subject: for if in your Lordship's judgment that Church has no legitimate title to the decided support of H. M. Government, further representation

(1) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 11, pp. 20-24, Bathurst to Dalhousie, April 11, 1820.

on my part must be ineffectual, & might be offensive to your Lordship."⁽¹⁾ Appended to this document is a note by an unknown hand:- "I am not aware that Lord Bathurst has answered the Bishop's last letter." Jacob Mountain died June 16, 1825.

A study of the numerous despatches bearing on the contents of this chapter makes two points stand out clearly. First, Bishop Mountain considered the accomplishment of an effective establishment of the Church of England in the Canadas to be the main organizational object of his episcopate. He believed that such a policy was not only explicitly stated in government's pronouncements since the Cession but that the carrying out of that policy would be best, religiously and politically considered, for Churchman, Dissenter and Roman Catholic. Second, his opposition to the Church of Rome was not mere Protestant intolerance, - such opposition was bound with the idea of a Church Establishment. He could not conceive of two Established Churches in one diocese. Hence from the very nature of the case he could not avoid coming into conflict at many points with the Church of Rome as he tried to follow the path in which he sincerely believed his duty lay, and to raise his own Church to a position of pre-eminence.

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 170, pp. 489-93, Mountain to Bathurst, June 15, 1824.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONFIRMATION TOUR OF 1799

and

THE VISITATION OF 1803

In accordance with ancient practice the second episcopal Visitation of the Diocese would have been made three years after the first, i.e., in 1797. At the end of 1796 the Bishop inquired of John Stuart, his Commissary in Upper Canada, whether a sufficient number of catechumens were prepared for confirmation in the following summer, or whether it would be best to postpone the journey.⁽¹⁾ As Stuart was of the opinion that a postponement was advisable, the Visitation was deferred.

On Jan. 9, 1798, the Bishop informed President Russell that he planned to visit all his Diocese in the summer.⁽²⁾ Russell acknowledged the letter, lamenting the loose state of morals and religion that would be revealed in Upper Canada by the Visitation.⁽³⁾ But again the journey was postponed as the number of clergy was so small.⁽⁴⁾ A few days later the Bishop made Stuart aware of this second change of plan, saying that the Spring Fleet had arrived from England, but that it had brought no new clergy. The great distance to be covered, the few catechumens and the scarceness of clergy

(1) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Dec. 26, 1796.

(2) Correspondence of the Hon. Peter Russell, Vol. II, pp. 57-9, Mountain to Russell, Jan. 9, 1798.

(3) Ibid., pp. 96-7, Russell to Mountain, Feb. 22, 1798.

(4) Correspondence of the Hon. Peter Russell, op. cit., pp. 178-80, Mountain to Russell, June 12, 1798.

hardly warranted a Visitation. (1)

In April of the following year the Bishop wrote to Archbishop Moore - "I shall set off in the beginning of July next to visit the whole of that Province. (U.C.) as well as of this." He explained that he had delayed going for two years, hoping for the coming of more clergy; in addition, Stuart had assured him that catechumens were very few.(2) The Bishop finally announced his journey to Russell as follows:- "Unwilling to give the few Clergy in Upper Canada the trouble & expense of a long journey to meet me upon my Visitation, without urgent necessity, I have determined to decline that measure for the present, & to pass through my Diocese this summer for the sole purpose of Confirmation. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the present circumstances of the Country, or with the mode of conveyance which I may be able to obtain, to say with any certainty whether I shall have it in my power to pay my respects to you at York. - I hope to be at Kingston about the end of July."(3) The Bishop also informed Stuart of his coming in similar terms. He said that he could not state the precise days he would be at Kingston, Quinte or Niagara,

(1) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, June 21, 1798.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(3) Correspondence of the Hon. Peter Russell, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 214, Mountain to Russell, May 27, 1799.

but that both Addison and Langhorn should be told of his impending visit so that the parishioners might prepare their catechisms. "As Mr. M. [ountain,] & Mrs. M. [ountain] are now both engaged in Parish Duty, I shall not be accompanied by either of them beyond Montreal. My companions to Kingston will only be Mrs. M. [ountain], my eldest boy, & 3 servants." He added that he did not want to crowd the Stuart residence and planned to get lodgings in the neighbourhood. The party had travelling beds that could be put up anywhere. (1)

Russell acknowledged the Bishop's advice of his coming in the following terms:- "I need not assure your Lordship that I shall be happy to see you here and show you every attention in my power during your stay. If General Hunter (who it is said is Governor of this Province and in the Fleet) does not arrive here, your Lordship may be accommodated with a Large Room - 40 by 19 feet - and a detached Apartment behind it, which is at present appropriated to the Legislative Council, But I really dread the consequences to Your Lordship's Health from travelling in this very unsalubrious climate under a July Sun." (2)

- (1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 189. Mountain to Stuart, May 27, 1799. The "Mr. M. and Mrs. M." referred to above may be either the Bishop's brother Jehoshaphat and wife, or his nephew Salter, but it is not known whether Salter was married at that time. Reminiscences of this journey by the Bishop's eldest son, Jacob H.B. Mountain, may be found in Annals of the Diocese of Toronto, by Ernest Hawkins, pp. 17-19.
- (2) Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 249-50, Russell to Mountain, June 22, 1799.

No detailed account of this Confirmation tour has been preserved, but a few scattered references show the extent of the journey. Jehoshaphat Mountain, in his report to the S.P.G., Nov. 5, 1799, told of the Lord Bishop's "Visitation" at Three Rivers and the confirmation of thirteen candidates.⁽¹⁾ John Langhorn reported to the same Society that the Bishop had been in Ernesttown in the summer and had confirmed forty-eight.⁽²⁾ On Aug. 17, 1799, the Bishop took the oaths of office as Executive Councillor of Upper Canada.⁽³⁾ No records of confirmations at Niagara, Kingston, Montreal or William Henry have been traced.

After his return to Quebec the Bishop wrote to General Hunter pointing out the pressing need of clergy in Upper Canada, and recommending that they be placed at York, Sandwich, Oswegatchie and Cornwall. He recalled that Portland, in a letter to Simcoe, June 12, 1796, had consented to allow £100 per annum to four clergymen, including Addison, for the abovementioned places, but he hoped that the four could be provided for in addition to Addison. He thought that he could get men for these posts and was planning

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, J. Mountain to S.P.G., Nov. 5, 1799.

(2) S.P.G. Journal, Vol. 28, pp. 12-15.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 290, p. 125. On the same day General Hunter took the oaths as Lieutenant Governor.

shortly to ordain G.O. Stuart whom he strongly recommended for Oswegatchie or Cornwall. He also urged that Stuart be paid for his labours as a teacher in the Kingston School.⁽¹⁾

The third diocesan tour, a proper visitation, was made in the summer of 1803. It was planned early in 1802 as a letter of the Bishop to John Stuart shows.⁽²⁾ Stuart sent a hospitable reply, hoping that Mrs. Mountain would come as well.⁽³⁾

Jacob Mountain did not anticipate these long journeys with great pleasure. Writing to Tomline July 15, 1802, he said:- "The ague which I caught during my last Visitation shook me exceedingly. I shall be more careful next summer & hope to be more fortunate. But the establishment of a Clergyman at the extreme of the Western Dist^t of U.C. & at M. Bay in L.C. upon the Lines that separate us from the states will very greatly increase the length & the fatigue of my journey I need not tell you that it is not the no. of persons (to confirm) that occasions the fatigue - but the great distance, the uncultivated country, & want of all accommodation between settlements, & the mode of travelling both by land & water - To pass whole nights, either in

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 211-213, Mountain to Hunter, Oct. 19, 1799.

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, April 26, 1802.

(3) Ibid., Stuart to Mountain, July 2, 1802.

an open boat on the River, far from any human habitation, or in the woods devoured by Mosquitoes - to sleep in Barns, & Water Mills - to have no food for weeks together but such as you can carry ready prepared - to cross a series of the most tremendous rapids, to be carried by land in uncouth open carriages exposed to the heat of a scorching sun (not to mention the horrid sickness attending the Crossing lakes - - Mrs. M. [ountain] & I were 5 days & nights crossing Lake Ont: when she went with us as far as Niagara -) these things, tho' they are such as a young and healthy man sh^d be ashamed to complain of are at first borne with cheerfulness by a mind stricken & occupied by the novelty & wonder of the scene, yet they are such as no old, infirm or delicate men could encounter; nor do I think that I shall be equal to them long.⁽¹⁾

In the spring of 1803 the Bishop decided to return to England rather than to conduct the Visitation, which he asked Stuart to make in Upper Canada. As John Strachan's ordination was pending he promised to go to Montreal for the rite.⁽²⁾ He also asked Hunter for leave of absence. Later, however, he wrote to Hunter that in consequence of a letter from England he had changed plans and would visit Upper Canada,

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 42, Mountain to Tomline, July 15, 1802.

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, March 17, 1803. Strachan was ordained at Quebec, May 22, 1803.

leaving about the middle of June.⁽¹⁾ Hunter replied: "I have given orders that your Lordship should be accommodated with Vessels and Batteaux to convey you to and from the places you propose to visit."⁽²⁾ Just before his departure he wrote to Hunter that he intended to set off from Quebec on the 20th of June, to proceed as quickly as possible to Sandwich, and then to return to Niagara, York, Kingston, and Bay of Quinte.⁽³⁾ He did not actually leave Quebec until about the first of July.⁽⁴⁾

Again, no detailed account of this Visitation has been preserved. The Bishop made a stay at Cornwall where he found that John Strachan, whom he had ordained less than two months before had already made good progress with the school. Three senior boys presented the Bishop with an Ode in English, and Principal Strachan presented another in Latin - an effort to which the Bishop gave judicious praise.⁽⁵⁾ The Rev. G.O. Stuart in his half yearly report to the S.P.G., stated:-
 "The Bishop of Quebec visited York last Summer and performed

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 46, Mountain to Hunter, April 10, 1803.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 47, Hunter to Mountain, May 15, 1803.

(3) Ibid., p. 54, Mountain to Hunter, June 16, 1803.

(4) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 9, Mountain to S.P.G., June 25, 1803.

(5) Bethune, A.N., Memoir of Bishop Strachan, p. 25.

the Episcopal office in confirming eighteen persons who were prepared for the occasion. And although a few causes of dissatisfaction occurred to His Lordship, he expressed a pleasure in being acquainted with the state of the Church in many places of the Diocese. And by his presence and exhortations he animated the Clergy to a zealous discharge of their duty."⁽¹⁾

Once more the Bishop's experience on Lake Ontario seems to have been unfortunate. Writing the next year to Chief Justice Alcock of Upper Canada whom he had failed to see in York, he said:- "There is no affectation in saying that I have a thousand times regretted having suffered the illness & tedium arising from being so long detained on ship-board & the consequent impatience to avail myself of the first fair wind, to take me so soon from York."⁽²⁾

Whether he visited Sandwich or Niagara is not known, but he did call all the Upper Canadian Clergy together for the Visitation at Kingston, where an impressive episcopal Charge was delivered. The Charge was afterwards printed.⁽³⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 4, Stuart to S.P.G., Jan. 1, 1804.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 57, Mountain to Alcock, Jan. 25, 1804.

(3) No copy of this Charge has been discovered. Extracts from it are included in The Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, 1793-1825, by H.C. Stuart, p. 64. Further extracts are printed in an appendix to a Charge delivered to the clergy of the Diocese of Quebec by Bishop G. J. Mountain in 1854.

Confirmation was conducted at Montreal in August,⁽¹⁾ and at Quebec on the following Sept. 18, after the Bishop's return from Upper Canada. On the latter occasion he confirmed his two older sons.⁽²⁾ It is not known what members of the Bishop's family accompanied him on the Visitation.

(1) A list of candidates is preserved in the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

(2) Mountain, A.W., Memoir of G.J. Mountain, p. 15.

CHAPTER IX

BUILDING OF THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY

QUEBEC

Between the date of the establishment of the See of Quebec, and the Bishop's return to England in 1805, the only Church building erected in the Lower Canadian part of the Diocese was the Cathedral at Quebec.⁽¹⁾ Christ Church, Montreal, the former Chapel of the Jesuits, burned in 1803, but as the building of its successor took place after 1805 its story will be told further on.

Since the Cession the Anglicans of Quebec City had been accorded permission to hold services at stated hours in the Recollet Chapel, and in winter they had used the Council Chamber for a similar purpose. This arrangement was most distasteful to Bishop Mountain, who wroteⁱⁿ the following strain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794:- "Nothing, I believe, w^d tend more effectually to give weight & consequence to the Establish^t than a proper Church at Q. exclusively appropriated to our Worship. That that worship sh^d be performed only by the permission of the R.C.B. & with that permission only once on a Sunday, that the P.B. should obtain a seat in the Church by the indulgence only of the Superior of the Franciscans,

(1) In The Old Churches of the Province of Quebec 1647-1800 Quebec, 1925, it is stated on page 299 that the unused Anglican Church at Louiseville (formerly Rivière du Loup en Haut) was built in 1795. This is an error. The building was not erected until the 1820's.

that our pure and reasonable service sh^d only be perform'd within walls loaded with all the pageants & meretricious ornaments of Popish Superstition, amid crucifixes, images, pictures of saints, altars, tapers & burning lamps - these Sir, are circumstances which while they shock & disgust the enlightened mind, in the rational discharge of its duty, serve also strongly & publicly to mark a dependence of the Church of England upon the C. of R. for the imperfect enjoyment of privileges which, I trust, the C. of E. will think ought to be all its own.

Upon this subject I have had the honour of some conversation with L^d. D. but I have not yet arrived at such information as w'd warrant my presuming to lay before you any plan for our relief."⁽¹⁾

The Duke of Portland, Oct. 24, 1794, the Bishop wrote:- "It is with difficulty that we can celebrate the solemn rite of the Lord's Supper, without intrusion from indecent curiosity. The purity of the place is always restored by lustration the instant we retire."⁽²⁾ He stirred up Lord Dorchester's mind by a further conversation, and by a despatch containing the substance of that conversation on July 15, 1795. "I would further beg leave to call y^r Ld's attention to the disadvantages & distressed situation

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 385-95, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 31-2, Mountain to Portland, Oct. 24, 1794.

of the Church of England, in its dependence upon the Church of Rome for a place of Divine Worship at Quebec."(1)

Unpleasant as this state of things was, it was further aggravated when the Recollet Chapel was destroyed by fire on Sept. 6, 1796.(2) The Roman Catholic Bishop and Father Cazot immediately offered the use of the Jesuit Chapel to the homeless Anglicans,(3) an offer ultimately accepted when the building had been suitably fitted up for Divine Service. The Bishop returned to the attack in a letter to Prescott, Sept. 15, 1796:- "I now take the liberty of suggesting that as the Jesuits' Chapel appears to be very insufficient for the due accommodation of the Protestant Congregation, & as it should seem that the Récolets^(sic) are neither able nor indeed disposed to attempt the Reparation of their Church & Convent, the present moment may not be unfavourable for asking His Majesty's gracious protection & support for the Church of England, that in their Bishop's See they may obtain a decent suitable & independent place of Divine Worship.(4) Prescott in his reply said that he

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 74-2, pp. 207-213, Mountain to Dorchester, July 15, 1795.

(2) Quebec Gazette, Sept. 8, 1796. Mrs. Simcoe, who was in Quebec at the time, describes the conflagration in her Diary.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 101, Ryland to Mountain, Sept. 9, 1796.

(4) Ibid., p. 104, Mountain to Prescott, Sept. 15, 1796.

had already written to Portland to inquire about the acquisition of the ground on which the Récollet Chapel stood.(1) The Bishop also informed the Archbishop of Canterbury of the situation at Quebec, expressing the hope that the Récollet site might be used for the erection of a Protestant Church.(2) More than five months passed before the Archbishop received this letter, but when it finally arrived he wrote immediately to Portland, warmly supporting the scheme.(3) After a delay of more than a year the Archbishop told Jacob Mountain of his efforts on behalf of the Church of Quebec, and said that the Duke of Portland had made a personal call at Lambeth, freely assenting to the erection of a Cathedral.(4)

In the spring of 1799 the Bishop mustered all his powers of persuasion and on the same day, April 15, wrote two despatches. One, addressed to the Archbishop, acknowledged the letter of Oct. 19, 1798, stating that it had given him more substantial comfort than any he had received since coming to Canada, although he had almost given up hope of accomplishing anything for the Church. "Some secret and baneful influence", he wrote, "counteracts whatever has been

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 106, Prescott to Mountain, Sept. 15, 1796.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 79-2, pp. 455-456, Mountain to Moore, Sept. 17, 1796.

(3) Ibid., pp. 453-4, Moore to Portland, Feb. 8, 1797.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Moore to Mountain, Oct. 19, 1798.

or can be proposed for that purpose My heart is made sick, by hope so long deferred." Despite all his efforts, he continued, a Court House was being erected on the Récollet site, and no mention of the building of a Church was being made by the Government,⁽¹⁾

The other despatch, written to the Duke of Portland, was a comprehensive survey of the condition of the Church in the Diocese, and a review of all the disappointments the writer had experienced in the past six years. Regarding Church accommodation at Quebec, he wrote:- "We have now the use of a Chapel belonging to the Jesuits, - in all respects insufficient for our purpose, small, dark, dirty, & ill-suited to receive a decent assembly of people.

The Troops are never sent to it, (indeed, could not, but by divisions, be contained in it,) & the Governor gives testimony to its unfitness by never entering it himself, nor sending any part of his family, during the whole of our long winter."⁽²⁾

The warmth of this despatch was such that it melted the indifference of the Colonial office. Portland's answer was to authorise Sir Robert Milnes, Prescott's successor as Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada, to appropriate the site

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, ibid., Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(2) P.A.C. Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 332,369, Mountain to Portland, April 15, 1799.

of the Recollet Church for the new Anglican Cathedral, and to apply £400 annually from the Provincial Revenues towards its erection.⁽¹⁾ On the same day, Portland sent a sympathetic reply to the Bishop's despatch - or rather private letter, for it was addressed to the Duke personally.⁽²⁾ The Bishop had already brought the matter to Milnes' attention on Oct. 19, before Portland's order had been received at Québec.⁽³⁾ Finally, on Nov. 12, 1799, Milnes acknowledged Portland's momentous instructions and informed the Colonial Secretary that a Commission of five members had been appointed for the purpose of erecting a Metropolitan Church.⁽⁴⁾ He recommended that a considerable money advance be made at once so that the Church might be so far completed the first season that it might not receive damage from the inclemency of the following winter.⁽⁵⁾ On Nov. 15 the Bishop gratefully acknowledged Portland's reply and by implication expressed both his intense

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 288-99, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799.

(2) Ibid., pp. 300-301, Portland to Mountain, July 24, 1799.

(3) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Milnes, Oct. 19, 1799.

(4) The instrument by which the five commissioners were appointed is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives, Series A. Letters Patent, July 11, 1803, revoked the Commission of 1799 and appointed six Commissioners for erecting the Cathedral.

(5) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 84, pp. 4-5, Milnes to Portland, Sept. 12, 1799.

relief at Prescott's departure and his great joy in the attitude of Milnes. "The freedom of communication which his Excellency the Lt Gov^r encourages upon these subjects", he wrote, "the effectual attention which he gave to them & the correct judgment which he brings to their discussion, will, I trust, at no distant period produce good effects."(1)

The following letters, the first from a contractor, W. Hall, to the Rev. Salter Mountain, Rector of Quebec and one of the commissioners, and the second, a covering letter from Jonathan Sewell, another commissioner, show how the plans for the Cathedral had taken shape at the time of writing.

Quebec, 13th Feb'y 1800.

Sir: I send you for the information of His Lordship & the Commissioners, a rough calculation made upon Mr. Sewell's plan, of a part of the quantity of wood that will be necessary for the proposed Church; the remainder, I think, may be purchased at as cheap a rate in the Quebec Market, as it could be by Contract.

12000 Superficial feet of two Inch oak plank for flooring and galleries; about 9 Inches broad -

30 Two Inch Oak planks, 14 feet long, & 16 Inches broad for Stairs.

5000 Superficial feet of Oak Inch boards 18 or 20 Inches in breadth for Pews, -

If the Church is to be wainscotted 2000

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. 1, p. 212, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 15, 1799.

feet may be added to this demand.

3000 running feet of Oak Inch & a quarter boards, for seats, about 12 inches broad.

1200 - covering boards - should the roof not be covered with Tin, double this demand will be necessary.

8 Oak Sticks, from 26 to 30 feet in length, and near three feet in diameter, for Columns.

The Cedar Beams, Rafters, Pine quartering & Pine Boards for ceiling, etc., need not be noticed at present.

I have the honour of being, Sir, etc.,

W. Hall.

Thursday 30th.

Dear Sir:- The foregoing is a copy of Mr. Hall's letter, just rec^d, in consequence of what passed at a meeting of the Commissioners yesterday - Mr. Hall's Statement involves two Questions which have not been agitated - whether the Church is to be wainscotted: & whether it is to be covered with Tin. I cannot of course now say anything decisive upon these points. Mr. Mountain also now tells me that you wished to know whether you are to consider yourself as being authorized to make a Bargain for the wood without previously stating the conditions to the Commissioners? This might easily have been settled yesterday if Salter had then recollected it. In strictness I suppose the Com^{rs} sh^d judge first of the conditions: but as there is no time to be lost, & as there can be no possible doubt of their willingness to place this confidence in your judgment, I think you w^d do right to act immediately, without this formality. I will write again as soon as I can see my Brethren respecting the Tin Covering & Wainscotting. I have not another moment - & can only add that I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

J. Quebec.(1)

(1) Sewell Papers, W. Hall to S. Mountain; J. Mountain to Sewell.

Encouraged by the changed attitude of Government towards his plans, the Bishop, in a private letter to Milnes, inquired whether he dared hope for a Dean and Chapter for the new Cathedral, at the expense of about £1500 a year.⁽¹⁾ Milnes' immediate reply is not available, but whatever its tenor, this part of Jacob Mountain's dream was never realized, although he frequently brought the matter before the attention of Government in following years.

In the Autumn of 1800 the Commissioners memorialized the Governor for further advances as the annual grant of £400 was insufficient to keep the work going. The memorial was transmitted to Portland⁽²⁾ who gave the required sanction.⁽³⁾ It was then estimated that the cost of the building, independent of some furnishings and the pay of the master mason, would be about £5000.

Another memorial from the Commissioners, dated April 7, 1802, asked for yet more money, giving reasons for the increased expense. As it was an attempt at economy was being made. The spire was to be built of wood although the original plan had been to erect one of stone. This memorial

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 7, Mountain to Prescott, May 21, 1800.

(2) P.A.C. Series Q, Vol. 85, pp. 196-99, Milnes to Portland, Oct. 25, 1800.

(3) P.A.C., State Book D, Folio 31, Extract from Portland to Milnes, Jan. 6, 1801.

was also transmitted by Milnes to Portland, ⁽¹⁾ May 17, 1802.

In the following July Milnes enclosed to Hobart, Portland's successor as Colonial Secretary, a letter from the Commissioners asking that His Majesty would follow up his bounty with a gift of Plate, Altar Cloth, Bible, and Books of Common Prayer.⁽²⁾ An order was immediately given to the Royal Treasury for the silver, but the arrival of all these furnishings at Quebec did not take place until November 2, 1809, over seven years later.

Once again the Commissioners asked for a further money grant, in May 1803, alleging that it was impossible to estimate expenses in this new country.⁽³⁾

Provincial Letters Patent, dated August 25, 1804, constituted the site a Cathedral Church, invested in Jacob Mountain and his successors.⁽⁴⁾ The Church was consecrated by the Bishop on August 28, 1804.⁽⁵⁾ Among those present at the ceremony was the Rev. J.S. Rudd, Rector of William Henry. Writing to the Rev. John Strachan of Cornwall, Sept.

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 88, pp. 150-159, Milnes to Portland, May 17, 1802.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 89, pp. 92-95, Milnes to Hobart, July 5, 1802.

(3) Ibid., Vol. 91, pp. 141-153, Milnes to Hobart, May 25, 1803.

(4) Printed in Transactions of The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, No. 20, New Series, Sessions of 1889-1891, pp. 125-128.

(5) Quebec Gazette, Sept. 6, 1804.

13, 1804, he said:- "I was a Fortnight ago, at Quebec, at the Consecration of the Cathedral. The Service was chanted & had a fine effect. The organ is a fine ton'd Instrument; & the Edifice, tho' not gaudy, is I think, what Horace calls, 'Simplex Munditiis'."(1)

H.W. Ryland, when in England, 1809-10, wrote to Peel on the subject of the completion of the Church in Montreal. In the course of this letter he gives the following estimate of the cost of the Cathedral:- "If I recollect aright the Metropolitan Church at Quebec was wholly built without any legislative interference, and merely upon a letter from the Secretary of State, authorizing the completion of the Building. The whole expense amounted to about Eighteen Thousand Pounds, and was paid by the Governor's Warrants on the Receiver General, but of course this Expenditure was not laid before the House of Assembly though included in the public accounts that are yearly transmitted to the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury."(2)

Even this large amount of money was not sufficient to pay for the completion of the Cathedral, and in a few years the building was sadly in need of repairs. In a letter to Sir George Prevost, Sept. 22, 1811, the Bishop asked

(1) Provincial Archives of Ontario, Strachan Papers, Rudd to Strachan, Sept. 13, 1804.

(2) McGill University Library, Ryland Photostats, Ryland to Peel, May 10, 1811.

whether it would be possible to obtain a grant to complete the Cathedral.⁽¹⁾ The Administrator replied that he would write to the Secretary of State, Lord Liverpool, on the matter.⁽²⁾ Nothing was done for the Bishop covered the same ground in a letter to the succeeding Secretary, Lord Bathurst, on June 6, 1814.⁽³⁾ A few weeks later he enclosed to Bathurst an estimate made under Prevost's direction of £6797 for repairing and finishing the structure.⁽⁴⁾ Sir Gordon Drummond, Administering the government of Lower Canada, represented to Bathurst the dilapidated condition of the Cathedral in June 1815. He stated that Prevost's estimate was not too high, and that £ 2000 should immediately be spent for repairs.⁽⁵⁾ Still nothing was done. On Feb. 2, 1816, Jacob Mountain patiently recounted to Drummond the sad state of the Cathedral Church,⁽⁶⁾ and on the following October 22 he repeated

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 12, Mountain to Prescott, Sept. 23, 1811.

(2) Ibid., p. 94, Prevost to Mountain, Oct. 14, 1811.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 130-3, pp. 536-553, Mountain to Bathurst, June 6, 1814.

(4) Ibid., pp. 581-587, Mountain to Bathurst (?) July 18, 1814.

(5) Ibid., Vol. 132, pp. 217-218, Drummond to Bathurst, June 27, 1815.

(6) P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 113, p. 92, Mountain to Drummond, Feb. 2, 1816.

his plea to Sherbrooke:- "About three years ago I think, Estimates were sent home formed by persons appointed for that purpose by the Governor-in-Chief, of the Expences that would attend the repairing & completing the Edifice, & the placing of a proper Fence around it - One of them (for they were formed upon three different scales) was approved by the Earl Bathurst, & recommended by his Lordship to the Lords of the Treasury, as his Lordship informed the late Sir George Prevost in a despatch which Sir George communicated to me, near two years since: Some time afterwards another Despatch was received by Sir Gordon Drummond, (then administering the Government here) of which it was the object to inquire how far the people of this City could contribute towards the Expences under consideration.

The answer, I believe, was that there was no probability of their contributing at all.

The reasons for that answer were probably these:- The Protestants of this Country have always been accustomed to look up, and have been encouraged to do so, to their Sovereign & the British Parliament for all the Expences attending the Establishment. His Majesty's Government and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel begun by paying, and have uniformly continued to pay, the salaries of all the Persons who have been appointed to the Ministry in this Country; Parliament made provision for the future support of the Church: The people have ever considered

themselves as being completely exonerated in this matter.

It was also His Majesty's pleasure to give a Cathedral Church to Quebec. The people would be alike surprised & mortified to be desired to complete it; & more especially, as, the Church not being endowed, they have necessarily been called upon to pay Rent for their Pews, that means might be supplied for supporting the Organist, the Singers, & the Servants of the Church, and for warming it, during the length and severity of the Winter. The funds collected, though rather more than the people are willing to pay, have been barely sufficient for this necessary Expenditure.

I beg leave to mention to your Excellency, as a matter connected with this subjectm that the people have very reluctantly foregone the hope that a Set of Bells would be bestowed upon the Church. It is unnecessary to point out the many conveniences that would be produced by gratifying them in this particular."⁽¹⁾

Sherbrooke immediately wrote an urgent note to Bathurst on the subject of the repairs,⁽²⁾ and the Bishop

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 140-2, pp. 439-447. Mountain to Sherbrooke, Oct. 22, 1816. Bells were finally installed, through private effort, in 1830.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 137, pp. 238-239. Sherbrooke to Mountain, Nov. 12, 1816.

wrote to Bathurst again, not long after his arrival in England.⁽¹⁾ The Secretary of State then proceeded to instruct Sherbrooke to look after the pressing needs of the building.⁽²⁾ By Jan. 17, 1818, Sherbrooke proudly announced to the Bishop that the roof of the Cathedral now kept out the rain and snow.⁽³⁾ The source from which the money came is revealed in a letter from Ryland to the Bishop, Sept. 17, 1817:- "I have now in my hands upwards of £13000 out of which I am happy to find the Repairs of the Cathedral are to be paid." ⁽⁴⁾ Ryland was, at the time, treasurer of the Jesuit Estates.

In the spring of 1819 tenders were let for the building of the stone wall and the manufacture of the iron work that still surmounts it. This alone cost over £2000.

The total cost of the Cathedral, apart from the Silver and other Royal gifts could not have been far from £25000.

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 98, Mountain to Bathurst, July 17, 1817.

(2) Ibid., p. 99, Bathurst to Mountain, July 21, 1817.

(3) Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 6, Sherbrooke to Mountain, Jan. 17, 1818.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Sept. 17, 1817.

(5) P.A.C., Canada Public Chaplaincies, C 65, p. 6; p. 58. An outline of the story of the building of the Cathedral is contained in the Introduction to the Report of the Public Archives of Canada, 1892. Further information may be found in The English Cathedral of Quebec, by Fred. C. Wurtele, printed in the Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, No. 20, New Series, Sessions of 1889-1891, pp. 63-132.

CHAPTER X

PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH IN UPPER CANADA

1793 to 1805

In his report to Dundas written at the conclusion of his first Visitation, Sept. 15, 1794, the Bishop pointed out the spiritual destitution of Upper Canada and proceeded to make the following recommendations:- "A Church should be immediately built at Cornwall, & a Minister sent there for that Township & Neighborhood, Another Church & another Minister for New Johnstown & its neighbourhood. These might, for the present be sufficient for the whole country between Mont. ^[zeal] & K. ^[ingston] supposing the Clergymen who are sent to be men of activity & zeal. . . . It is highly expedient that another Clergyⁿ be sent into the Bay of Quinté - Adolphustown seems to be the proper situation as being a very populous Township, & most central with respect to the rest.

A Clergyman has long been wanted at Detroit & another sh^d be sent to York. In the former there is a considerable body of Protestants & the Society of the latter is in a state which peculiarly calls for the residence of a respectable Minister."⁽¹⁾

In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, written on Oct. 24, 1794, the Bishop told of his request for the five clergymen and announced that there was no difficulty about erecting churches as Simcoe had promised £2000 on behalf of the Government, a sum similar to that granted in

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69-2, pp. 385-95, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1744.

Nova Scotia.(1)

The Duke of Portland, acknowledging the Bishop's despatch of Sept. 15, promised to solicit £500 for church building to be added to the estimates of the Province. He cautioned the Bishop not to permit churches to be built outside the Treaty line.(2) Simcoe informed the Bishop, Oct. 18, 1795, that he had received the estimates voted by Parliament for the Province of Upper Canada, and that they included £500 for erection of churches.(3) The Bishop wrote immediately to the Duke of Portland, assuring his Grace that the money would be advantageously spent. "At the same time," he proceeded, "I would beg leave humbly to state my hopes that this step will be followed by the immediate Appointment of Ministers, with salaries adequate to their decent & comfortable support." The Bishop then went on to correct Portland's impression that revenues from tithe and reserves would soon be adequate to meet the cost of these salaries. "If the important benefits which the Country would undoubtedly derive from such an Establishment be duly considered, I trust that the amount of a hundred and fifty pounds a year each, to four Clergymen, will not be thought of sufficient moment

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 34, Mountain to Moore, Oct. 24, 1794.

(2) Ibid., p. 37, Portland to Mountain, Nov. 14, 1794.

(3) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Simcoe to Mountain, Oct. 18, 1795.

to defeat or suspend the Measure I have said four clergymen, as trusting that that number may be added to the present Establishment for Upper Canada, but I beg leave to renew my Application for a like allowance to Mr. Addison, who has now for some years been Minister at Niagara, without any salary from Government, & who must necessarily quit that station unless it be granted."⁽¹⁾

In reply to a question contained in Simcoe's letter of Oct. 18 the Bishop said that he had no decided opinion where church building should begin, but his suggestion was that York might come first, followed by Cornwall, New Johnstown and Adolphustown. The £500 however would permit the building of only two churches.⁽²⁾ In Simcoe's answer he stated that he had promised Newark £100 for a Church, and that he hoped that the stay of the government at York would be but temporary.⁽³⁾

In a despatch of June 22, 1796, written to Simcoe, Portland quoted the Bishop's request for £150 per annum for each of four clergymen, exclusive of Addison. All that he would grant was £100 inclusive of Addison, as he considered that this sum for each, in addition to the S.P.G. grant

[(1) Q.D.A., Series D. Folder 3, Simcoe to Mountain, Oct. 15, 1795.] *Delete*

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 72-2, pp. 403-13, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 6, 1795.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Simcoe, n.d.

(3) Ibid., Simcoe to Mountain, Feb. 27, 1796.

and other expected revenues, would provide a living wage. He announced that another £500 had been set aside for church building, but that no further grants for this purpose would be given until the sums already allotted had been spent.⁽¹⁾

The Rev. Thomas Raddish, one of the four clergymen for whom provision had been made by Government, arrived at Quebec in the Autumn of 1796 bearing from the Secretary of State a letter in which he was introduced to the Bishop as a man of excellent character and principles, and of private means.⁽²⁾ Raddish was the son of William Raddish of London,⁽³⁾ and an Oxford graduate. Portland held him in high esteem. His coming was gladly hailed by the Bishop and he set off for Upper Canada, via New York, with Chief Justice Elmsley, no definite decision as to his location having been made. The next news of Raddish is contained in a despatch of the Hon. Peter Russell to the Bishop, July 31, 1797, by which it appeared that the new clergyman had suddenly departed. "I regret exceedingly", wrote Russell, "that Mr. Raddish could not remain longer with us; as he is just the sort of Clergyman most likely to impress on the Inhabitants of this new Country a proper sense of their religious duties,

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. IV, pp. 318-319, Portland to Simcoe, June 22, 1796.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 96, Portland to Mountain, July 28, 1796.

(3) Fothergill, Gerald, List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811.

being a gentleman of an easy familiar manner, yet properly measured and respectable in his conduct, and of an Attracting Eloquence, which constantly fills his Church and arrests the attention of his hearersIn compliance with Mr. Raddish's desire I placed him at York; and I am consequently to request your Lordship's Confirmation of him in that situation should he return to us.⁽¹⁾

But the Bishop's standards of clerical excellence were different from those of the Administrator of Upper Canada. Writing to the Rev. John Stuart the following year he said:- "I am not at all sorry that Mr. Raddish does not return. His manners, conversation & dress, when he was here, sufficiently satisfied me that he is by no means a fit man for the situation in which he was placed - or indeed for the promotion of Gospel simplicity & piety, in any place whatever. Of his talents I think less favourably than you do. But it is not so much talents that we want, as a sincere zeal, governed by a sound discretion - qualities in which Mr. R. was manifestly deficient."⁽²⁾ In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, April 18, 1799, the Bishop dismissed Raddish with the following reference:- "One Clergyman was also sent out by the D. of P. & strongly recommended by

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 283, pp. 284-287, Russell to Mountain, July 31, 1797.

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Aug. 16, 1798.

his Grace: but after a little speculation in land he returned to England, and we have heard no more of him."⁽¹⁾ The Bishop's unfavourable opinion of the absentee clergyman would appear to be substantiated by the following letter written by Raddish to Russell.

No. 36 Portland St., London,
March 9, 1799.

Dear Sir:-

From the favourable accounts of York, and its increasing population, the residence of a clergyman must now be highly necessary; I think it therefore my duty to inform you, that I will not trespass longer on your goodness, but am ready to resign in favour of any person, you may be pleased to nominate. I wish it were more lucrative but the pittance is too inconsiderable, and sorry am I to observe that the salary is very irregularly paid No intimation of my intent to relinquish will be given at the Duke's office, because the Bishop of Quebec would soon be apprized of the event, and rejoice at an opportunity of presenting. ⁽¹⁾

Correspondence about the proposed church building programme was frequent, but actual progress was slow. Shortly after Simcoe's departure Russell wrote to the Bishop suggesting that the £ 1000 for church building should be spent as follows:- £500 to York, £200 each to New Johnstown and

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(2) Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 137-139, Raddish to Russell, March 9, 1799.

Sandwich, and £100 to Newark.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop sent a belated reply, Jan. 9, 1798, agreeing in the main with Russell's plan, but suggesting that Cornwall should come before New Johnstown as that settlement had repeatedly asked for a clergyman and had subscribed for the support of one.⁽²⁾ This met with Russell's assent but he continued to emphasize the need of a church and clergyman at Sandwich,⁽³⁾ The delay in building churches is partly explained in Russell's despatch to Portland, Feb. 20, 1798:- "No Part of the Thousand Pounds voted for building of Churches in this Province has been yet drawn for; as the most eligible Towns in each District for erecting them in had not been determined on, and I wished first to know the Bishop's pleasure respecting the Distribution I had proposed to him." He went on to state that the Bishop had finally written assenting with his plan and that "I have accordingly requested the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions in the respective Districts to recommend forthwith to the Inhabitants of the selected Towns an adequate subscription according to their abilities, in addition to the Bounty of the British Parliament, and an immediate Election of Treasurers, & Church Wardens for taking charge of the

(1) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, Russell to Simcoe, Sept. 9, 1797.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Russell, Jan. 9, 1798.

(3) Ibid., Russell to Mountain, Feb. 22, 1798.

Money and superintending the Buildings.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile the Spring fleet of 1798 arrived from England bringing no new clergy, to the Bishop's grievous disappointment. He wrote to Official Stuart⁽²⁾ and to Russell⁽³⁾ announcing that he was not going to make a Visitation of Upper Canada that year, as he had earlier intended doing. He supposed that church building, except at York would be slowed up. However, on July 4 Russell informed Portland that the Western District had appointed Wardens, and that he had drawn accordingly on the Treasury for £200 for Sandwich Church.⁽⁴⁾

Russell was genuinely concerned over the scarceness of clergy in Upper Canada. He encouraged at least one English applicant.⁽⁵⁾ He deplored the fact that there were no clergy

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 284, p. 76, Russell to Portland, Feb. 20, 1798.

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, June 21, 1798.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 163-65, Mountain to Russell, June 12, 1798.

(4) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, p. 200, Russell to Portland, July 4, 1798. It is not clear, from the records at present available, whether a church was built at Sandwich at this time. That the building, if begun, was not completed, is indicated by the raising of a subscription for church building there in 1806-07. (See O.H.S. Papers and Records, Vol. XXV. The Rev. Richard Pollard by A.H. Young.) Further references are Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 39; Long to Russell, Dec. 18, 1798; Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 22.

(5) Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 72, Russell to H.H. Farmer, Jan. 31, 1799.

in the Eastern or Western Districts and that even the Capital had no one to conduct Divine Service.⁽¹⁾ He stated the need to Portland in the strongest terms.⁽²⁾ The Bishop, too, grew depressed over the situation. "Money is said to be granted for the building of Churches", he wrote to the Archbishop in April 1799, "but what are Churches without Ministers?"⁽³⁾ In his great despatch to Portland, April 15, 1799, he went so far as to say:- "If the wisdom of Government determine that further pecuniary aid in this behalf is improper, or that it can be given only under the strict condition which has been made, far better, in my humble opinion, would it be for the welfare of His Majesty's subjects, & for the security of His Government, that there were no Bishop in this Country, & that his Salary were appropriated to the support of a number of Clergymen adequate to the immediate exigency.

Between the usefulness of a Bishop without Clergy, & of Clergy without a Bishop, there can be no room for doubt."⁽⁴⁾

In his reply to the requests contained in the Bishop's letter, Portland assured Milnes that he would continue his

(1) Russell Correspondence, i op. cit., pp. 111-112, Russell to Mountain, Feb. 18, 1799.

(2) Ibid., Vol. III, p. 198, Russell to Portland, May 18, 1799.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 332-369. The primary reference here is to Lower Canada but the Bishop's severe remedy applied to the whole Diocese.

endeavours to obtain clergy by communicating further with the S.P.G. But he also expressed his opinion that it would be easier to get the money than the men.⁽¹⁾ Even the S.P.G. Secretary, Dr. Morice, in his reply to Portland's inquiries was dubious about obtaining clergy. "Those that are improper, it w^d be disgraceful to send" he wrote to John King, the Under Secretary, "& those that are proper are most difficult to find."⁽²⁾

After further fruitless effort to obtain clergy in England, Portland wrote to the Bishop on Dec. 11, 1799, making the following very sensible suggestion:-

My Lord - Since the Letter I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 24th July last, concerning the state of Ecclesiastical affairs in the two Canadas, the difficulty of obtaining from this Country a sufficient supply of persons properly qualified to perform the Duty of Ministers according to the Rules and Canons of the Established Church has become so much more evident, that it has led me to suggest to your Lordship the expediency of enquiring among the Inhabitants of your Diocese for persons whose Characters and Dispositions may render them proper objects for Holy Orders, after having gone thro' such a Course of Study as you may think fit to lay

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799. See also ibid., Vol. 83, pp. 90; 412-13.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 83, p. 413. Morice to King, Oct. 14, 1799. "Alas, there is little zeal to be found in spreading the Gospel," he later lamented to the Bishop, "where Interest is not the leading motive." (Toronto Public Library, Scadding Collection, Morice to Mountain, Feb. 2, 1802.)

down for them, and having passed such an examination, as may be a satisfactory proof of their having made such a proficiency as might entitle them, all Circumstances considered, to receive Ordination.⁽¹⁾

The first ordinand who corresponded to Portland's description was George Okill Stuart, son of the Rev. John Stuart of Kingston. He was born in Fort Hunter, New York, June 29, 1776, and his early childhood had as its background the enforced journeyings of his Loyalist father, until the latter settled permanently in Kingston in 1785. He and his brother James attended King's College, Windsor, then a small struggling institution, but both returned to Kingston in 1794 because of unfavourable reports of the Academy that had reached their father's ears.⁽²⁾ In October 1794 George was sent as an usher to the Rev. Mr. Keith's School at Quebec, remaining there until June 1795. With promise of Government support a school was opened in Kingston in August 1795 and young Stuart was placed in charge. In this position he remained for three years, studying Divinity as well, for he had early been destined for the Church. Although his efforts at teaching met with some success, his father felt that he ought to have further College training. In addition

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 293-297, Portland to Mountain, Dec. 11, 1799. Cf. Simcoe to Dundas, Nov. 6, 1792, ibid., Vol. 279, p. 169.

(2) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Dec. 26, 1794.

he had difficulty in obtaining his Government salary.⁽¹⁾ Hence the school at Kingston was given up in 1798, and the Bishop's prejudices against American colleges having been overcome, George was sent to Harvard. Here he remained until January 1800, - but, because of his father's request, and because he had left before graduation in order to be ordained, he was granted the degree of B.A. in 1801. In replying to Portland's letters containing the suggestion that local ordinands should be obtained the Bishop said:- "The elder Son of my Official for Upper Canada, Doctor Stuart, has been educated with my approbation for the Church: Every advantage has been given him which the Colleges of Nova Scotia & of the United States could supply, & a singular correctness & propriety of conduct has moreover appeared to mark him out as a proper object for the Ministry. . . . It is General Hunter's intention to place Mr. Stuart at York, all expectation of Mr. Raddish's return being, as I understand, entirely relinquished."⁽²⁾

Doctor Stuart had hoped that a Mission could be opened at Oswegatchie and Cornwall, where he had held services for

(1) Arrears were later paid in full, as the Bishop interested himself personally in the young man's case. (See Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Russell to Mountain, Feb. 22, 1798; *ibid.*, Russell to Mountain, July 20, 1798.)

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 85, pp. 374-77, Mountain to Portland, July 7, 1800.

many years. He wrote plainly to the people there asking what they were able to pay a clergyman, provided that his son were placed there. "I know the Temper & Disposition of my Countrymen so well, that I wish to leave nothing to their generosity," he told the Bishop.⁽¹⁾ As a satisfactory offer was not forthcoming the matter was dropped. On Sept. 3, 1800, the Bishop informed the S.P.G. of Stuart's appointment to York, at £100 per annum, and asked for the Society's annual grant of £50.⁽²⁾

The Secretary of the S.P.G. wondering why the Provincial Capital could not pay the full stipend of its clergyman, wrote in this vein to the Bishop, greatly to his Lordship's indignation. Commenting on Morice's letter in a note to John Stuart the Bishop remarked that just because York was the seat of Government the incumbent there should receive more salary, not less. "I trust they the S.P.G. will rather reflect," he continued, "that the less sincerely desirous people are of the benefits of religious instruction, the more they stand in need of them."⁽³⁾ Dr. Morice, however, subsequently wrote to the Bishop a handsome letter professing the Society's readiness to fall in with his Lordship's

(1) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, April 30, 1800.

(2) Journal of S.P.G., Mountain to Morice, Sept. 3, 1800.

(3) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Aug. 24, 1801.

suggestions regarding stipends. Stuart's allowance from the S.P.G. was raised to £75.⁽¹⁾ He taught school during his years at York, and acted also as Chaplain to the Legislative Council. No parsonage house was provided for him, and no Church, services being held in the Court House. His flock was small, as few of the seventy families of York were of the Anglican persuasion. But progress was made, and by the summer of 1805 materials had been collected for building a church.⁽²⁾

Another settlement where the Bishop advocated the opening of a mission was Cornwall.⁽³⁾ A Loyalist, John Bryan by name, had settled there, 1787-89, and had received a Government allowance of £50 per annum as incumbent. But when the Rev. John Stuart went to visit him it appeared that he had never been ordained and he hastily departed for the United States.⁽⁴⁾ The Rev. James Tunstall wished to go there in 1800 but Lieut. Gov. Hunter was apparently opposed

(1) Toronto Public Library, Henry Scadding Collection, John Strachan Papers, Morice to Mountain, Feb. 2, 1802.

(2) Stuart's Correspondence with the S.P.G., from the beginning of his ministry at York, is printed in the Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XXIV, 1927 - with notes by A.H. Young.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69, pp. 385-395, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794.

(4) Stuart, H.C., The Church of England in Canada 1759-1793 pp. 49-50; 89-90; O.H.S. Papers and Records, Vol. XXV, 1929. The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812, by A.H. Young.

to the move.⁽¹⁾ Until the coming of a regular missionary in 1801 the Anglicans of the community were content with occasional ministrations from the clergyman at Kingston.⁽²⁾

The Rev. James Sutherland Rudd, a graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge, and former curate of Grantham in Lincolnshire, was recommended to the S.P.G. for work in Canada by the Bishop of Lincoln.⁽³⁾ After some delay the missionary, his wife and child, sailed from Portsmouth and experienced a stormy passage to Quebec, where they arrived on Nov. 14, 1800. During the winter the family remained at Quebec where another child was born. On May 14, 1801 Rudd wrote to the S.P.G. that he planned to sail for Montreal on June 10th and would then proceed to Cornwall or New Johnstown.⁽⁴⁾ Prospects at Cornwall were more promising than at the latter place and he settled there. A letter written by him to Official Stuart on the following July 25 discloses him in the act of superintending the election of People's Warden.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 20, Mountain to Hunter, Dec. 4, 1800.

(2) See O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, April 18, 1797, for a typical report of the assiduous missionary labours of this remarkable man.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 85, pp. 360-361; 363-364; Rudd to King, July 6 and 26, 1800; Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, S.P.G., 1800-1844, p. 1, Morice to Mountain, July 20, 1800.

(4) S.P.G. Journal, Rudd to Morice, May 14, 1801.

(5) O.D.A., Rudd to Stuart, July 25, 1801.

In a letter of introduction, which Rudd bore with him from Quebec, Bishop Mountain wrote to John Stuart:-

"He is a well-educated man, & a Gentleman, & tho' young, prudent & discreet; &, as I hope & believe, a very worthy man, & a Good Christian. He is also a very pleasing Preacher. His wife, I am afraid, has too much fashion about her to be very comfortable in a new Country. But good principles, & attachment to her husband and children, with a little more experience, will I hope correct all fastidious nicety, & convert her from a fine Lady, into a good country clergyman's wife."⁽¹⁾ In addition to his Government salary of £100 and the S.P.G. grant of £50 per annum, a further gratuity of £30 was given to Rudd to meet expenses incurred in settling in his mission.⁽²⁾

Life was hard at Cornwall for the new missionary. He found the people - so he reported to the S.P.G. - almost in a state of barbarism, and he was provided neither with church nor parsonage. A subscription for the latter was raised in Montreal but the building was not erected until he had left for William Henry.

The story of John Doty's resignation from the Parish of William Henry has already been told in outline.⁽³⁾

(1) O.D.A., Bishop to Stuart, n.d.

(2) T.P.L., Henry Scadding Collection, Strachan Papers, Morice to Mountain, Feb. 2, 1802.

(3) Vide Chapter XI, The Church in Lower Canada, 1793-1805.

Rudd succeeded Doty in this Parish in 1803 but the unfortunate man had no ^{better} life there than in Cornwall. Again, there was no parsonage house and the congregation contributed practically nothing towards his support. To add to his grief his wife died in 1804 leaving him with two small children, and one of these children died in the following year. At the same time Rudd was in debt and his property was in danger of being seized.⁽¹⁾ In spite of this untoward circumstance he married again,⁽²⁾ but his short and tragic career came to an end when he died in 1808.⁽³⁾ Several instances of the Bishop's kindness to him in his many misfortunes are on record.⁽⁴⁾ The Rev. F.J. Lundy, one time Vice Principal of McGill University, was a nephew.

Rudd's successor at Cornwall was the Rev. John Strachan, by far the most outstanding among Bishop Mountain's clergy. A sufficient sketch of Strachan's appointment is contained in the Bishop's report to the S.P.G., June 25, 1803:- "Mr. Strachan is a young man, educated for the Church of Scotland,

(1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, Feb. 28, 1805.

(2) McGill University Library, Joseph Frobisher's Diary, 1806-1810.

(3) A tablet to his memory is erected in Christ Church, Sorel.

(4) O.H.S. Papers and Records, Vol. XXV, 1929. The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812, by A.H. Young; Sewell Papers, Feb. 28, 1805.

who came out to Upper Can: in the capacity of Tutor to the sons of Mr. Cartwright, a Gentⁿ of a Character highly respectable (& a member of the Leg. & Ex: Councils of that Province) with whom he resided near 4 years. Mr. S. was first mentioned to me by Gen^l H. as desiring to obtain Holy Orders in the C. of E. - he was afterwards in a very strong & very particular manner recommended by Mr. Cartwright, by Dr. Stuart (in whose Parish Mr. C. lives) by Mr. Ch. J. Elmsley: & by many other Gentⁿ themselves worthy of great regard & respect. Upon examination I was well satisfied with respect to Mr. S.'s principles, attainments, conversation & demeanor. . . . Mr. Strachan was ordained upon the 22nd of May last and immediately settled himself at Cornwall."(1)

Strachan's first impression of his ecclesiastical superior is found in a letter to the Rev. Dr. James Brown of the University of St. Andrews, Oct. 27, 1803:- "The Bishop is a very good but a very proud man. I have reason to think that I stand pretty high in his opinion."(2)

(1) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 9, Mountain to S.P.G., June 25, 1803.

(2) Public Archives of Ontario, Strachan Papers, 1803. Strachan repeated this opinion in a letter to the same correspondent a year later - Oct. 15, 1804. "In May last I went to Quebec, and was ordained Priest after a short examination. The Bishop is exceedingly clever, polite & Proud. I have the good fortune however to stand high with him, he recommended me to the Society in the warmest terms He introduced me to the Governor of the Lower Province, and was very attentive." Ibid., 1804.

Under the energetic leadership of the new missionary
and school-master the work at Cornwall went rapidly ahead.
By 1805 both a church and a parsonage had been built, the
parsonage being the first to be erected in Upper Canada. (1)

In the Bishop's letter to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794,
he recommended the placing of a clergyman at Detroit. After
the surrender of Detroit to the U.S.A. it was still felt
that a missionary should be placed on the Canadian side of
the river, and the Hon. Peter Russell encouraged the building
of a church there. (2) On March 20, 1802, at Quebec, the
Bishop ordained Richard Pollard to the diaconate, and licens-
ed him to Sandwich the following day.

Only the most meagre details are known about Mr.
Pollard's early life. He was, however, Sheriff of the
Western District of Upper Canada from 1792. On the Bishop's
first Visitation of Upper Canada he heard that a layman
(presumably Pollard) had long been accustomed to read the
Service and a Sermon, Sunday by Sunday, to the people of
Detroit. (3) Lieut. Gov. Peter Hunter, Chief Justice Elmsley,
and others, recognized the Sheriff's wider usefulness and

(1) Paper and Records, O.H.S., Vol. XXV, 1929, The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812, By A.H. Young.

(2) In H.C. Stuart's Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, 1793-1825, p. 61, the writer states, but without giving his authority, that a small wooden Church was erected at Sandwich in 1802.

(3) Ibid., p. 60.

and warmly recommended him to the Bishop. Pollard was then fifty years of age. No record of his formal education, even in Theology, has come to light, yet the Bishop seems to have accepted him without hesitation. The choice was a good one. For twenty-two years Richard Pollard was a faithful missionary clergyman at Sandwich, Amherstburg, and surrounding settlements.⁽¹⁾

During the years 1793-1805 progress in the Upper Canadian missions established previous to the erection of the See was slow but steady. At Ernest Town a second church was built by 1795, and furnishings were added from time to time. As revealed by his reports to the S.P.G., the Rev. John Langhorn continued his faithful and laborious pastoral work. The Rev. Official Stuart never failed to mention Langhorn, in his correspondence with the Bishop, sometimes with amusement, sometimes with annoyance. As for the Bishop's opinion of Langhorn it is faithfully reflected by an extract from a letter of Oct. 24, 1804, as reported in the S.P.G. Journal of that year. "The Bishop mentions that his forbearance has been for a long time past too much exercised by Mr. Langhorn, whom he has been unwilling to treat with any degree of severity, & whom it would give him much pain to displace, because he really thinks him to

(1) Papers and Records, O.H.S., Vol. XXV, 1929, The Rev. Richard Pollard, 1752, 1824, by A.H. Young.

be an honest well meaning man, tho' more perverse in understanding and manners, more ignorant of common decorum, & more obstinate in error than any person it has been his fortune to meet."(1)

At Kingston, congregations increased. The church was lengthened and a gallery added in 1802. Progress was made in rendering church music. John Stuart continued to visit Cornwall and intervening settlements until the opening of the mission by the Rev. J.S. Rudd, but he admitted to the Bishop, Feb. 4, 1800, that he was not as able to itinerate as he had been thirty years before.(2) He kept regular oversight of the Indians at the Tyendinaga Settlement, although from 1800 on he urged the S.P.G. to provide a resident missionary. In 1798 the Mohawk Church was rebuilt and enlarged at Government expense by Governor Prescott. It was also provided with a steeple, bell, Royal Arms, Creed, Commandments, as well as with the regular furnishings.(3) As the Bishop somewhat sourly advised Portland, he "had no antecedent knowledge of the design", but was informed of

(1) S.P.G. Archives, Journal for 1804.

(2) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Feb. 24, 1800. By an odd circumstance the McCord Museum has the original letter of Nov. 23, 1770, written by the Rev. Charles Inglis, Rector of Trinity Church, New York, introducing to Sir William Johnson of Johnson Hall the bearer, John Stuart, who had just been appointed missionary to the Mohawks at Fort Hunter, New York Province.

(3) S.P.G. Report, 1798.

the matter by his Official.⁽¹⁾

At Niagara a church had been partially completed by July 1805, but Service was not conducted in it until four years later. Mr. Addison made several requests to go home to England on furlough, - a journey to which he did not look forward with enjoyment as he had "a perfect hatred of the Sea" - but for various reasons the journey was never made. He visited the Indians at the Grand River regularly and was given an extra £20 per annum by the S.P.G. for this arduous journey of eighty miles from Niagara.

Chief Brant recommended that Davenport Phelps, a barrister of American origin should be accepted as a candidate for Holy Orders and stationed among the Indians. In informing the Bishop of the proposal the Hon. Peter Russell wrote:- "If he [Phelps] is not more competent to execute the Functions of a Clergyman than he appeared to have been those of a Lawyer, I am persuaded your Lordship will not judge him a fit subject for Ordination."⁽²⁾ Stuart made a report on Phelps to the Bishop, giving only qualified approval.⁽³⁾ The appointment was not made, much to the imperious Brant's ire.⁽⁴⁾

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 332-369, Mountain to Portland, April 15, 1799.

(2) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 98-9, Russell to Mountain, Feb. 22, 1798.

(3) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Feb. 7, 1798.

(4) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 148-9, Brant to Mountain, Feb. 7, 1798; ibid., pp. 180-181, Mountain to Brant, Feb. 17, 1798.

CHAPTER XI

PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH IN LOWER CANADA

1793 - 1805

During this period two new missions were opened in Lower Canada, - one at St. Armand on Missisquoi Bay and the other at Chatham on the Ottawa River. In the late H.C. Stuart's The Church of England in Canada, 1759-1793, it is stated that a mission was established at Missisquoi Bay in 1788 with the Rev. James Marmaduke Tunstall in charge.⁽¹⁾ But while it may have been the Governor's intention to settle Tunstall there, no record of the actual appointment can be traced, and until such a record is found, it cannot be assumed, as Stuart has done, that the mission was opened at that time.⁽²⁾ Tunstall was born at Kendal, Westmoreland, England, in 1760. He received part of his education at Oxford but did not take his degree from the University. He was accepted by the S.P.G. as a missionary to Canada, arriving in Quebec in 1788. In the following year, at the time of Bishop Inglis' visitation, he was made

(1) P. 58. See also The Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, (unpublished) p. 39. Stuart says that Tunstall came out in 1787 in company with Langhorn. But as a matter of fact he did not arrive until 1788. (See Vol. XXIX, O.H.S., Papers and Records, p. 48).

(2) On July 26, 1788, Lord Dorchester informed Bishop Inglis that Tunstall had arrived at Quebec, and that he wished the Bishop to adjust matters between the newly-arrived missionary and the Rev. D.C. Delisle at Montreal. See Kelly, A.R., Compendium of the History of the Church of England in Quebec, 1759-1791, (unpublished) Inglis to Morice, Nov. 6, 1788.

assistant to the Rev. D.C. Delisle at Christ Church, Montreal. Thus even if Tunstall actually laboured at Missisquoi Bay during the winter of 1788-89, any foundation he might have laid was ruined by subsequent neglect.

Writing to the S.P.G. from William Henry, Oct. 14, 1799, the Rev. John Doty asserted that for two years he had made excursions to St. Armand. His first visit was in March 1798 when he was so well received by the people that he promised them another visit in the summer. He was prevented from returning until January 1799, when he stayed twelve days, performing the ministrations of the Church. He reported that the people were very anxious to have a missionary, that they were willing to subscribe £30 annually to his support, and that they planned to build a church.⁽¹⁾ Although Doty thought of going himself at this time as permanent missionary to St. Armand he later changed his mind and stayed at William Henry. The first clergyman to be stationed at the mission was the Rev. R.Q. Short.

Robert Quirke Short belonged to an old Devonshire family, and was born at Withycombe Hall, Somerset, in the year 1759. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1788. He was ordained to the Diaconate Sept. 21, 1783, and to the priesthood Sept. 30, 1787, by the

(1) Report of the S.P.G., for 1799, pp. 40-42

Bishop of Bath and Wells. Among other appointments which he held, he was at one time Curate at Nettlecombe in Somerset. With his wife and seven children he emigrated to New York in 1796 intending to take up land. He arrived, however, in Kingston, Upper Canada, in October of that year where for a time he followed the profession of physician and surgeon. The Rev. John Stuart, in passing on part of this information to the Bishop stated that Short had no striking talents but that he might be a useful parish priest.⁽¹⁾ The practice of physic did not prove a success, and Short appealed to the Bishop for aid just at the time when Doty was considering going to St. Armand. The Bishop's intention, in that case, was to place him at William Henry, but Doty's decision to remain changed Short's prospects. The Bishop had extracted from Government a promise of an allowance of £100 for St. Armand, and there Short was sent, his stipend to begin on Nov. 1, 1799. He remained little over a year, and then succeeded Jehoshaphat Mountain as Rector of Three Rivers, with a Government salary exclusively. He held this post until his death in 1827.

Meanwhile the ministry of the Rev. J.M. Tunstall

(1) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Nov. 15, 1796. Further details may be found in the Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 2, Mountain to Moore, Jan, 29, 1800; Ibid., Volume endorsed "S.P.G. 1800-1844", p. 1, Morice to Mountain July 20, 1800; Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, 1793-1825, p. 40.

had been a failure in Montreal, and he was sent to succeed Short at St. Armand in the spring of 1801. He, too, remained about a year, returning to Montreal in May 1802. In a despatch to the S.P.G., Oct. 24, 1804, the Bishop reported that Tunstall's place at St. Armand had been supplied by the Rev. Charles Caleb Cotton, who had been ordained to the Diaconate by the Bishop of Lincoln and who had come out to the United States a few years previously to take a teaching position in a seminary. He had been strongly recommended to the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec by the English Consul at New York and to the Bishop of Quebec by the Bishop of New York, two other Bishops and several clergymen. Cotton settled at Missisquoi Bay on April 3, 1804, and was priested at Quebec on Sept. 9, 1804, being appointed by the Lieutenant Governor to St. Armand and Dunham. "He appears to be peculiarly suited to the situation", proceeds the S.P.G. Journal, reporting the Bishop's letter, "having great simplicity, becoming gravity of manners, good ability, and much facility in communicating his thoughts, & from his residence in America, sufficient familiarity with the manners prevalent among their new settlers, which are so apt to give an Englishman disgust." (1)

(1) S.P.G. Journal, Vol. 29, pp. 68-74; S.P.G. Report, 1804, pp. 45-8.

Despite great discouragements (1) he remained at St. Armand East (Philipsburg) on Missisquoi Bay until 1808, when he moved to Dunham, a township in which the remainder of his ministry was spent.

The Mission of the Township of Chatham (now in Argenteuil County) (2) was opened in 1805. Little is known about the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the Mission. The first reference to the Rev. Richard Bradford, who was stationed at the settlement is contained in the same letter to the S.P.G. in which the Bishop announced the appointment of Cotton to Missisquoi Bay. The Journal reads:- "He received the day before from Mr. Barclay, the English Consul at New York, a letter recommending a Mr. Bradford, an English Clergyman, who was ordained by the late Bishop Bagot, of whom he spoke very highly." (3) In his early youth Bradford is said to have served as a midshipman under the famous Captain Cook. (4) He was engaged in business in New York City from 1782 until his departure for Lower Canada. (5)

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- (1) Some accounts of these difficulties are contained in Cotton's letters to the Bishop, dated Feb. 19, April 3 and May 21, 1804. These are in Series D, Quebec Diocesan Archives.
- (2) The Township of Chatham was erected in 1799. It was bounded on the north by Wentworth, on the East by the Parishes of St. Andrews and St. Jerusalem d'Argenteuil, on the South by the Ottawa and on the West by Grenville.
- (3) S.P.G. Journal, Vol. 29, pp. 68-74.
- (4) Pascoe, C.F., Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p. 869.
- (5) Thomas, C., History of the County of Argenteuil, Que., and Prescott, Ont., from the Earliest Settlement to the Present, Lovell, Montreal, 1896, p. 294.

Although these two missions were all that were established during the first twelve weary years of the Bishop's episcopate yet in the same period he received petitions from at least three other communities asking that clergymen should be sent to them. The circumstances of the first petition are clearly stated by the Bishop himself in a letter to the Duke of Portland, Nov. 6, 1795:- "In the Province of Lower Canada I have received Applications from the Inhabitants of Caldwell & Christie Manors (situated at the extremity of the Province, on the East side of the entrance into Lake Champlain) praying my assistance in obtaining a Clergyman of the Church of England for them - Forty Families in the former Manor, & twenty-three in the latter, have associated for the purpose of maintaining Religion in their Society, & have signed an Agreement, placed in the hands of a Magistrate, by which they bind themselves to raise Fifty Dollars in each Manor (twenty-five pounds a year, Halifax Currency, in the whole) towards the support of a Minister: thereby proving, at least, the sincerity of their zeal.- Col^l Caldwell (His Majesty's Receiver General for this Province) will allot a hundred Acres of land, pretty near the centre of his Estate, for the benefit of the Clergyman; & would also contribute towards the building of a Church; which it is thought the Inhabitants at no very distant period, would be able to accomplish. All the Associators are within the Province Line, as are also a much

greater number of Protestants, who have not yet entered into the Association. I hope the good intentions of these poor people will be thought worthy the approbation & patronage of Government; & that His Majesty's Ministers will not think the Allowance of a hundred pounds a year too much for a Minister for them.- Upon that, with some assistance from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, & the little addition above mentioned, a prudent Clergyman may contrive to live decently & comfortably.- I have communicated the circumstances of the case to my Lord Dorchester, & have the honour to offer this application to your Grace with his Lordship's concurrence."⁽¹⁾

Portland notified Dorchester that he had no objection to allowing £100 a year for the support of a Clergyman for Caldwell and Christie Manors, provided that £25 was guaranteed by the people. He stressed the point that such allowances were only temporary, until Church lands should become productive.⁽²⁾

On Oct. 21, 1796, the Bishop sent the Manors' application to Governor Prescott, Lord Dorchester having in the meantime returned to England.⁽³⁾ Prescott replied, Feb. 28,

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 72-2, pp. 403-413, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 6, 1795.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 75-2, pp. 265-269, Portland to Dorchester, June 22, 1796.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 108, Mountain to Prescott, Oct. 21, 1796.

1797, stating that as soon as the people of the Manors presented a legal document guaranteeing £25 per annum he would proceed with the matter. This document, so he thought should be as well a security to the subscribers against the taking of tithes.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop immediately returned the answer that he would endeavour to procure the document from Caldwell and Christie Manors, but he felt that the right to tithe existed under the Canada Act and that the document in question could not take away such a right.⁽²⁾ Three days later the Bishop sent Prescott a copy of the proposed agreement drawn up by Mr. Justice Williams,⁽³⁾ - whereupon Prescott agreed to produce the £100 as soon as the deed was signed.⁽⁴⁾

At this junction General Christie informed the Bishop that the population had increased in two of the southwest seigniories on the west side of the Richelieu, and he suggested the appointment of another clergyman in these seigniories. The Bishop then communicated with H.W. Ryland, Prescott's secretary on the subject.⁽⁵⁾ He was

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 119, Prescott to Mountain Feb. 28, 1797.

(2) Ibid., p. 120, Mountain to Prescott, March 1, 1797.

(3) Ibid., p. 122, Mountain to Prescott, March 4, 1797.

(4) Ibid., p. 125, Prescott to Mountain, May 12, 1797.

(5) Ibid., p. 132, Mountain to Ryland, May 31, 1797.

told it was inexpedient to apply for an additional grant but elicited the suggestion that perhaps the Manors could raise enough money so that the £100 could be divided between two missionaries.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop however told Ryland that the people could raise no more. "I think Sir," he continued, "that £125 or £130 a year cannot suffice for the decent support of a clergyman in a remote part of the Province I must confess that I sh'd propose such a sum not only with reluctance but with very little expectation of Success. A certain degree of temporal respectability, & circumstances above absolute penury are necessary to make any Minister useful who shall settle in this Country."⁽²⁾ He proposed that when De Montmollin and Veyssi re died, £50 should be deducted from the stipends of their successors and added to those of the proposed clergymen. The Governor vetoed this proposal and there the matter rested.⁽³⁾ The people of Caldwell and Christie Manors refused to mortgage themselves to provide any set sum for a missionary,⁽⁴⁾ and had to be content with occasional ministrations until the beginning

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 134, Ryland to Mountain, June 3, 1797.

(2) Ibid., p. 135, Mountain to Ryland, June 5, 1797.

(3) Ibid., p. 136, Ryland to Mountain, June 8, 1797.

(4) This ruling was later relaxed, at the Bishop's urgent plea. See P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799.

of settled work there some eighteen years later. The Bishop was greatly disappointed at the failure of the plan. Referring to the project in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, April 15, 1799, he said:- "I will not trouble your Grace with an account of the perverseness by which the design was defeated."⁽¹⁾

On Oct. 20, 1796, the Bishop informed Prescott that the inhabitants of L'Assomption wanted to obtain a minister of the Church of England. He had visited the place himself, had interviewed a certain Col. Conolly (presumably a landowner in L'Assomption) at Woodfield, and he hoped that the Governor would support the plan.⁽²⁾ Prescott's answer was that he would visit the place himself in the following year, but he warned the Bishop that he had been instructed to give "a most vigilant, constant and economical attention to the public Expences of the Province."⁽³⁾ There also the matter rested. The Rev. John Doty visited L'Assomption later on at least one occasion, but no mission was ever opened there.

In a letter from Dr. Morice, Secretary to the S.P.G. to Bishop Mountain, April 17, 1802, the latter was informed that the people of Paspebiac had applied for a missionary direct to London, and promised to raise £70 annually for his

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 107, Mountain to Prescott, Oct. 20, 1796.

(3) Ibid., p. 117, Prescott to Mountain, Nov. 3, 1796.

support.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop learned subsequently about the Gaspé situation from a delegate who came up to Quebec expressly for that purpose.⁽²⁾ This proposal also came to naught.

Now for a glance at changes in the old parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers, Montreal and William Henry, from 1793 to 1805. The Rev. Philip Toosey "took leave of all sublunary things" (as Mr. Doty elegantly phrased it) on September 14, 1797. Letters Patent were immediately prepared, appointing Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain Curate and Rector of Quebec, and authorizing the Bishop to institute and cause him to be inducted into the Parish Church.⁽³⁾ He had assisted Mr. Toosey for some months before the latter's death, and had been ordained to the priesthood on June 12, 1796. This was the first Anglican ordination in the Diocese of Quebec, and the only one to be conducted in the Chapel of the Recollets. The Rev. Salter J. Mountain was Rector of Quebec until his removal to Cornwall in 1826. As the work at Quebec increased it became necessary to add to the staff of the Cathedral. Writing to the S.P.G., July 7, 1800, the Bishop said:- "I ordained on Trinity Sunday last, Mr. Jackson, a School Master from

(1) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 7, Morice to Mountain, April 17, 1802.

(2) Ibid., p. 8, Mountain to Morice, June 13, 1802. See Chapter XXV.

(3) Ibid., Series C, Vol. I, p. 149, Letters Patent, Oct. 12, 1797.

England who has resided near three years at Quebec, whose character had obtained the approbation of persons of the greatest respectability here & who for a considerable time past had been preparing himself, with my concurrence, by a proper course of study, for Holy Orders His Ex'y Lieut. Gov. Milnes intends for Mr. Jackson the situation of Evening Lecturer at Quebec."⁽¹⁾ A Government allowance of £100 a year was attached to the office.

In the autumn of 1794 the Bishop's brother, Jehoshaphat Mountain was made assistant to the Rev. L.J.B.N. Veyssi re at Three Rivers as the latter was incapable of doing duty there. In his report to the S.P.G., Feb. 25, 1796, he states:-

"Divine service here, has for some years past, been performed in the Court House, but, at my request, the engineers employed by government to repair the building, have separated a part of it, from the place where the causes are tried, for a Church, which has been finished, so as to give it a proper appearance, at the expence of the Bishop of Quebec, of Mr. Veyssi re the late officiating minister, & myself, & the parishioners have built seats. I regularly perform the morning and evening services on the Sunday." He went on to say that he paid regular visits to Machiche, to Riv  re du Loup en Haut, and that he had itinerated as far as the Indian

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 12, Mountain to Portland, July 7, 1800.

Village of St. Francis ten leagues from Three Rivers on the opposite^{side} of the River St. Lawrence. He planned later to go to Masquinonge but had been prevented from doing so at the time of writing,⁽¹⁾ Concerning the latter place he wrote three years later:- "It is impossible to arrive at this new Settlement without walking nearly a league on foot, (no horse road being as yet made) through woods which abound in the summer with venomous insects; the trees of which are so lofty and thick, that there is scarcely ever a breath of wind, & the heat is most oppressive."⁽²⁾ For his services at Three Rivers Mountain received a Government allowance of £100 per annum. When Veyssi re died, on March 26, 1800, Jehoshaphat Mountain was appointed to the Parish, but in less than a year he became Rector of Montreal, being succeeded at Three Rivers by the Rev. R.Q. Short.

David Chabrand Delisle, Rector of Montreal, died on June 30, 1794. It was the Bishop's wish that his brother should be the next Incumbent, but Lord Dorchester thought otherwise. Writing to Dundas, July 5, 1794, the Governor-in-Chief said:- "In consequence of the death of the Rev^d Mr. Delisle on the 30th ultimo I have appointed the Rev^d Mr. Tunstall to the Living of Montreal, as he had been sent there about four years ago at the request of the Bishop of Nova

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Morice, Feb. 25, 1796.

(2) Ibid., Jehoshaphat Mountain to Morice, Nov. 5, 1799.

Scotia under all the Assurances that could be given him here of succeeding to that Gentleman's preferments, and his character is such in every respect as to induce me to recommend him for His Majesty's Approbation as Chaplain. Under these circumstances I found myself unable to comply with the wish of the Lord Bishop of Quebec who applied to me in favour of his Brother, whom I should otherwise have been very happy to promote, his character and abilities being such, as perfectly qualify him for the situation."⁽¹⁾

The Rev. J.M. Tunstall had been appointed to assist Delisle at the suggestion of Bishop Inglis in 1789, and it was, in a way, only fair that he should be the late Rector's successor. But he was a continual source of worry to the Bishop. Shortly after his appointment he married Sarah Christie, second daughter of General Gabriel Christie, Commander of the Forces in Lower Canada, the ceremony being conducted by the Rev. J.C. Ogden, an American Clergyman, without banns or licence.⁽²⁾ The Bishop was naturally scandalized and insisted that the ceremony be repeated, this time by the Rev. John Doty of William Henry.⁽³⁾

In July 1796 Tunstall went to England on leave of

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 68, p. 154, Dorchester to Dundas, July 5, 1794.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Bishop to Simcoe, July 15, 1795; O.D.A., Bishop to Stuart, June 25, 1795.

(3) Register of Christ Church Cathedral.

absence, but his conduct, on his return, did not meet with the approval of the congregation of Christ Church and he was requested to retire. The Bishop placed him at St. Armand where he remained from the winter of 1801 to the month of May 1802. He then returned to Montreal, without his Diocesan's knowledge and in the following year was once more acting as Chaplain to the Garrison. Even in this position he had drawn a sharp rebuke, a few years previously, from the Duke of Kent, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in British North America.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop's patience was now exhausted, and the refractory clergyman was dismissed. He died at Montreal in 1840. When Tunstall went to St. Armand in 1801 the Bishop's original plan was finally carried out, and Jehoshaphat Mountain became Rector of Montreal, a post which he held until his death in 1817. The new Rector received a Lambeth degree of D.D. on his appointment.⁽²⁾

Almost as troubled as that of Tunstall was the ministry of the Rev. John Doty at William Henry. Writing from New York, Aug. 26, 1793, to Dr. Morice, Secretary of the S.P.G., he informed the Society that he had been offered the Church of Brooklyn on Long Island, and that he would resign at William Henry in the following March.⁽³⁾ In a later letter to Dr.

(1) P.A.C., Series C, Vol. 63, p. 34, Duke of Kent to Hunter, Sept. 21, 1799.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, Oct. 26, 1801.

(3) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Doty to Morice, Aug. 26, 1793.

Morice he went into further detail concerning his wish to resign, telling of his disagreeable situation at William Henry.⁽¹⁾ On Jan. 11, 1794, the Bishop received a petition from Doty's parishioners asking for the appointment of a successor.⁽²⁾ Doty changed his mind, however, and returned to his post in Canada. He was an assiduous missionary, travelling to St. John's and Chambly, and frequently crossing the St. Lawrence to conduct services at Berthier. In 1798 and 1799 he visited St. Armand.⁽³⁾ His observations at this place made him anxious to go there, a plan approved by the Bishop, who knew full well that the change would be welcome to both the restless missionary and to his flock.⁽⁴⁾ But a satisfactory agreement could not be reached, and Doty remained at William Henry.⁽⁵⁾ Finally in 1802 the Bishop received a petition from a group of parishioners of William Henry, asking for Doty's removal. He resigned on Nov. 1, of that year to his Diocesan's great relief. "The conduct of these two gentlemen Doty and Tunstall has given me continual uneasiness from my first coming to this country" the Bishop

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Doty to Morice, Oct. 14, 1793.

(2) Montreal Diocesan Archives.

(3) S.P.G. Report, 1799.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Moore, April 15, 1799.

(5) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 2, Mountain to Morice, Jan. 29, 1800.

wrote to the S.P.G.⁽³⁾ For many years before his death on Nov. 23, 1841, Doty taught school at Three Rivers. His successor at William Henry was the Rev. James Sutherland Rudd, formerly missionary at Cornwall. The latter remained there until his death in 1808.

(1) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 9, Mountain to Morice, June 25, 1803.

CHAPTER XII

THE BISHOP IN ENGLAND, 1805 - 1808.

Plans were laid for a visit to England as early as 1802. On July 15 of that year Jacob Mountain wrote to the Bishop of Lincoln, asking the latter's opinion of the prospect of translation to an English bishopric. The question of the education of his two older sons was also occupying the Bishop's mind, and, in addition, the necessity of giving up Woodfield and the winter house on St. Louis Street, and seeking another place of abode. He confided to Tomline his great disappointment at the condition of things in Quebec and that he considered himself in honourable exile.⁽¹⁾

Tomline's sensible reply stated that he had never heard Mr. Pitt, or any official, mention the possibility of translation. He also queried whether the Bishop were old enough, or had been in Canada long enough to merit such consideration. Bishop Inglis, though of inferior rank, might be considered as having superior claims because of his longer term of office.⁽²⁾

In the spring of 1803 the Bishop wrote to Commissary Stuart:- "Near ten years experience has shown me how little is to be expected from representations to H: M: Ministers made by Letter; I have therefore at last determined to go

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 42, Mountain to Tomline, July 15, 1802.

(2) Ibid., p. 43, Tomline to Mountain, Nov. 2, 1802.

home, to collect all my strength, & to make one great effort, for putting the Church of England in these Provinces upon a proper & respectable footing."(1)

Reference has already been made to his application for leave of absence and then his change of plan. In the winter of 1803 he asked Milnes for permission to return to England the following spring, a request which was immediately granted.(2) But again, on May 26, 1804, he told Stuart that it was doubtful whether he would go.(3) A little later he wrote once more to Tomline, in deeper depression than in the previous year. The Archbishop of Canterbury had not replied to his letter of a year ~~before~~, Lord Hobart had misunderstood his attitude towards the Roman Catholics, and things were going from bad to worse. He wanted to resign. His sons Jacob and George must go to England as their tutor Mr. Feilde felt that they were now prepared for more advanced instruction.(4)

(1) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, March 17, 1803.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 55, Milnes to Mountain Dec. 23, 1803. It was later considered by Pitt and Camden that in granting this permission Milnes was exceeding his powers. (See ibid., p. 80, Tomline to Mountain, March 28, 1805.

(3) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, May 26, 1804.

(4) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 65, Mountain to Tomline, June 21, 1804. Matthew Smithers Feilde, B.A. (Cantab.) lived at the Bishop's house and conducted the education of the Mountain sons. He was made a deacon at Quebec on Aug. 22, 1801, and priested on June 2, 1804.

Tomline sent an encouraging reply. He had shown Jacob Mountain's letter to William Pitt who had been perfectly unfamiliar with happenings in Quebec since the latter had been in office before. Pitt and Camden would communicate on the subject if the pressing business of the War permitted it, although the threatened invasion by Bonaparte had passed off. Tomline consoled his correspondent by saying that Hobart was incompetent and that the Archbishop was losing his memory.⁽¹⁾ On Oct. 1, 1804, the Bishop informed Stuart that he was not going home that year, but would go and take the whole family with him the following spring.⁽²⁾ In the hope that he might be permitted to remain in England he wrote to Lord Camden offering his resignation and his willingness to accept any English post not inferior in salary to that which he left when he came first to Quebec.⁽³⁾ In a further letter to Tomline he entered into the subject more explicitly - translation to a tolerable English bishopric, or a pension plus a country living, or an improvement in his present position at Quebec. He added that a stipend of £1000 per annum in England would be better for himself and his children

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 66, Tomline to Mountain, Sept. 3, 1804.

(2) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, Oct. 1, 1804.

(3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 96, p. 171, Mountain to Camden, Oct. 24, 1804.

than £2000 in Quebec.⁽¹⁾ Camden's involved but plain discouragement of the Bishop's first proposal is contained in a letter of Jan. 3, 1805, in reply to the latter's long communication of the previous October 24:- "I think it my duty to inform your Lordship, that I cannot give you any encouragement to expect that I should conceive it in any degree fitting to recommend to his Majesty that your Lordship should divest yourself of your Diocese, tho' I shall be extremely desirous of relieving you, if it should prove to be in the power of Government, from the inconveniences you state your situation to labour under at present."⁽²⁾

In view of his impending departure Jacob Mountain exchanged two letters with Charles Inglis, offering to promote any of the latter's wishes in England. To the first the Bishop of Nova Scotia made a courteous acknowledgment,⁽³⁾ and to the second he replied:- "I am unspeakably obliged to your Lordship for the friendly offer of your service in promoting any personal object, that I might have in view; & were there any such object, I would readily & thankfully embrace the offer. But at my period of life, being far advanced in years, the only ambition I feel is to promote

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 69, Mountain to Tomline, Oct. 26, 1804.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 148-9, Camden to Mountain, Jan. 3, 1805.

(3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 76, Inglis to Mountain, March 5, 1805.

the interests of Religion & of our most Excellent Church in these Colonies, as well as those of Literature & Religious Education in our College. For reasons peculiar to myself I have hitherto declined a seat in our Council which could have been easily obtained. Yet it might be proper & of much benefit if my Successors should be members of Council."(1)

Tomline informed the Bishop that he had talked over the latter's prospects with Camden and Pitt, but he agreed with Camden's opinion that no hope of translation could be held out. He did, however, hint that the episcopal salary might be raised.(2)

On August 4, 1805, the Mountains sailed from Quebec, and arrived in England by the second week of September. On Sept. 20 the Bishop wrote to Camden asking for an interview.(3)

One of the Bishop's first tasks in England was to promote the claims of Jonathan Sewell to the chief justiceship of Lower Canada. The previous May, when writing to Tomline, he had mentioned the death of Chief Justice Elmsley, and the difficulty of finding a suitable successor. His opinions of two aspirants for the vacant office were not flattering. Monk, Chief Justice of Montreal, was, so he

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 91, Inglis to Mountain, Oct. 19, 1805.

(2) Ibid., p. 80, Tomline to Mountain, March 28, 1805.

(3) Ibid., p. 90, Mountain to Camden, Sept. 20, 1805.

said, a man of profligacy, an open infidel, notorious for partiality yet a man of ability. Alcock, Chief Justice of Lower Canada was a low man, without dignity, decorum, or sobriety of manners, and was ignorant both of the French law and language.⁽¹⁾ "Mr. Sewell, H. M. Attorney Gen^l", proceeded the Bishop, "is a man of good moral character, good abilities, an excellent lawyer & of great experience - - He has not always acted as I c^d wish respecting Eccles: affairs: but he is a sound Churchman. . . ."⁽²⁾ But neither the Bishop's appeals, nor the effort of Milnes towards the same end, were able to achieve their object. Henry Alcock was appointed by Lord Castlereagh as Chief Justice of Quebec. Writing to Sewell the Bishop said:- "I hope it is unnecessary to assure you that, for my part, I have omitted nothing upon this occasion which it was in my power to do. Mr. Pitt did not come to Town 'till after Lord Castlereagh's extraordinary resolution was taken; & I had consequently no opportunity of conversing with him upon it. But I had an opportunity which at the time I fancied to be a fortunate one, of fully stating my sentiments to Lord Camden, (who is uncle to Lord Castlereagh) & as he seemed to me to be struck with what I advanced, & told me that he was that day going to dine &

(1) John Stuart confided to the Bishop that Alcock was "more conversant with the Statutes at large, than in Lord Chesterfield's works." (O. D. A., Stuart to Mountain, May 11, 1801).

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 83, Mountain to Tomline, May 16, 1805.

sleep at his Nephew's, I had no doubt in my own mind that he would effectually interfere; but I have since found, that the thing was at that very time decided; tho' he evidently knew nothing of the matter. Such was Lord Castlereagh's caution that the very same hour in which I had a long conversation with the under Secretary of State upon this subject, in which he appeared as entertaining my opinion upon it, as a matter yet undecided, in that same hour Mr. A. called at my house & announced himself as C. Justice of Quebec!" The Bishop went on to say that he had talked with Pitt about Quebec ecclesiastical affairs and that the latter had promised that Castlereagh and he himself would make themselves masters of the subject.(1)

Another task pursued by the Bishop during his stay in England was that of procuring funds for the erection of a Church at Montreal, to replace the first Christ Church, the former Chapel of the Jesuits, destroyed by fire in June 1803. John Strachan was an eyewitness of the burning, and mentioned it in a letter to Richard Cartwright of Kingston:- "After writing this letter a most alarming fire broke out in the suburb of St. Lawrence, and no sooner were all the engines arrived and the water buckets collected with the people busy, than the cry went that the prison was in flames, - the townsmen left the suburbs instantly, and hardly got to the walls

(1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, Nov. 3, 1805.

when the prison and English Church were in one flame - the fire flew from these buildings to the lower street, & the Post Office, with several houses around it were consumed."⁽¹⁾

A committee of parishioners petitioned Milnes for "a scite near the ruins of the old Church", as the old Prison site which was offered to them was not considered suitable. This petition was sent by the Bishop to Milnes,⁽²⁾ and by the latter transmitted to Hobart.⁽³⁾ The prayer was granted⁽³⁾ and work was immediately begun on the Notre Dame Street site. The Bishop made a special trip to Montreal to lay the corner stone of June 21, 1805. As difficulty was experienced in raising money to build the rather pretentious structure the congregation urged the Rector, Dr. Mountain, (who, in turn, prevailed on his episcopal brother) to petition the Archbishop of Canterbury for aid. Expenses would amount to between £6500 and £7000, so Jacob Mountain wrote to Archbishop Manners Sutton, and of this sum the congregation could provide about £3000. The Corporation and Merchants

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Cartwright, June 6-8, 1803.

(2) P. A. C., Series S, Vol. 60, p. 20, Mountain to Milnes, Jan. 23, 1804.

(3) Ibid., Series Q, Vol. 94, pp. 55-6, Milnes to Hobart, Feb. 25, 1804.

(4) Ibid., Vol. 94, p. 231, Milnes to Hobart, Aug. 14, 1804. Acknowledgement of the granting of the petition is contained in this despatch.

of London were also invited to contribute to the building fund.⁽¹⁾ The Archbishop replied that he had presented the Montreal petition to Pitt, but that the Bishop had better speak to Pitt personally on the subject.⁽²⁾

But Pitt's death disarranged all the Bishop's plans, and for two years the petition made no progress. On Jan. 15, 1808, the Bishop again asked the Archbishop whether the latter was going to raise a subscription for Montreal.⁽³⁾ The reply was that Government's attention would be drawn to the matter.⁽⁴⁾ Not long after, the Archbishop informed Jacob Mountain that he had seen Mr. Percéval, holder of the strings of the national purse, regarding the Montreal Church, and that Castlereagh would also be approached.⁽⁵⁾ A week later the Archbishop wrote that a government grant would be made and that this would render a further subscription unnecessary.⁽⁶⁾ On the same day the Bishop told Castlereagh

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, pp. 74-6, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Dec. 20, 1805.

(2) Ibid., p. 94, Dec. 21, 1805, Manners Sutton to Mountain.

(3) Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 4, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Jan. 15, 1808.

(4) Ibid., p. 5, Manners Sutton to Mountain, Jan. 23, 1808.

(5) Ibid., p. 26, Manners Sutton to Mountain, April 22, 1808.

(6) Ibid., p. 30, Same to same, April 29, 1808.

of the situation at Montreal, saying that £4000 would be needed to complete the church.⁽¹⁾

Although the conclusion of the story extends beyond the time limit set for this chapter it may be as well to complete it here. The Bishop's expectation of an immediate grant was disappointed. He wrote to Edward Cooke, Under Secretary of State, on Oct. 27, 1808, after his return to Quebec, saying that Montreal had shown him scant courtesy when he went up for a confirmation.⁽²⁾ A further full recapitulation of all his efforts on behalf of Montreal was made in a letter to Cooke, July 7, 1809. The Bishop stated that he had talked the matter over many times with the Archbishop, had spoken to fourteen Bishops at Lambeth, and had set on foot applications to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But the Archbishop's assurance had made him cease his labours, and that since then no further progress had been made.⁽³⁾ Castlereagh sent a sharp reply asking the Bishop for a Memorial to Parliament and an assurance that £4000 would be sufficient to complete the work.⁽⁴⁾ On the same day in

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 176-7, Mountain to Castlereagh, April 29, 1808.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 51, Bishop to Cooke, Oct. 27, 1808.

(3) Ibid., p. 54, Same to same, July 7, 1809.

(4) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. III, pp. 206-08, Castlereagh to Mountain, Sept. 8, 1809.

Quebec Lieutenant Governor Craig was sending a petition from Christ Church, Montreal, to Castlereagh. (1)

A year and a half later Ryland informed Peel that £4000 was necessary to complete the church. (2) Part of the reason for this last long delay was presently revealed when it was discovered that the grant had been made to Montreal, Upper Canada. On hearing this the Bishop, with justifiable indignation commented to James McGill, one of the Montreal Commissioners for the erection of the church - that the delay had been caused by a "Solecism that might justly draw disgrace & punishment upon a Schoolboy! Yet from this worse than schoolboy blunder has your Church lost two years at least of progress, to say nothing of the injury it must sustain from so long remaining in an unfinished state." (3) The bills of exchange finally arrived on Jan. 12, 1812, (4) six years after the first step was taken to secure the grant. (5)

At the beginning of his stay in England the Bishop

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 110, pp. 12-16, Craig to Castlereagh, Sept. 8, 1809.

(2) McGill University Library, Ryland Photostats, Ryland to Peel, May 10, 1811.

(3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 89, Mountain to McGill, Sept. 9, 1811.

(4) Ibid., Vol. V, p. 1, Jan. 12, 1812.

(5) Even this amount did not complete Christ Church. In 1819 the Rector and Wardens petitioned the Legislative Council for further assistance. (Feb. 25, 1819) Montreal Diocesan Archives.

might have held reasonable hope that the main purpose of his journey - to persuade the Government to follow up its official eighteenth Century ecclesiastical policy - would meet with a measure of success. William Pitt was once again Prime Minister⁽¹⁾ and Bishop Tomline's voice was potent once more in ecclesiastical politics. But disappointments crowded in thick and fast. The news of the admission of the Rev. Joseph Octave Plessis, Roman Catholic Bishop Coadjutor, to take the oath of allegiance in Council as Bishop of Quebec, was the first reverse. The next was Pitt's death, in January 1806. "Long before this reaches you," the Bishop wrote to Sewell, "you will have learnt that event which has so deeply affected all my expectations, & all my hopes, with respect both to this Country & to Canada, - & which has snatched from under my feet the only ground upon which I could reasonably presume upon being useful to my friends. . . . Mr. Windham's Bill for the Improvement of our Military System occupies him so much that it will be impossible to get his attention for some time to come to any other subject. Lord Grenville is so much engrossed by Parliamentary Business, that he will be incapable for 5 or 6 weeks (as he has told me) of giving any effectual consideration to the affairs of our Colony. But, after that time, he has promised me that he will do it. He has allowed me a full opportunity of stating in conversation

(1) Pitt was out of office from 1801 - 1804.

my own views of things, & I almost flatter myself that he does not wholly disapprove them. Nous verrons. - I have been so often, & of late so bitterly disappointed that I can not be sanguine, but it ^{is} weakness to despair." (1) Later, the Bishop had an interview with Windham and followed it up with an explanatory letter. (2)

Indications are not lacking that the Bishop's proposals met with some attention. A document entitled "Church Establishment in the Canadas," drawn up by a British jurist, and based on the Bishop's earlier letters to Milnes and Camden give suggestions for carrying out a few of his Lordship's plans. (3) "Observations" on this document were made by another unknown hand, and further comments were added by the original writer, as well as by the Bishop himself. Castlereagh made a brief summary of the Bishop's demands. (4) The latter also communicated with John King a former Under Secretary, who promised to discuss the problem with the Prime Minister, Lord Grenville. The Bishop wrote to King:- "I need not tell you, for you know already, that my only hope for Canada or for myself rests, thro' y^r friendly

- (1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, May 13, 1806.
- (2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 14, Mountain to Windham, Aug. 14, 1806. Windham was Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the Grenville administration, 1806-1807.
- (3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 150-156, Sept. 7, 1806.
- (4) Ibid., pp. 157-172.

assistance upon Lord Grenville." But as the business had to pass through the office of the Secretary of State, the Bishop proceeded to say that he had called at Windham's office and had broached it to Sir George Shee who assured him that he had not as Bishop of Quebec any claim to expect that the business should be taken up at his solicitation. "Whereas I, poor man," lamented Jacob Mountain, "had all along supposed that it was as Bishop of Quebec & as B. of Q. only, that I had any claim to attention touching the affairs of my Diocese, & my own very unfit, & very painful situation in it Let me assure you my dear Sir, that both as Bishop of Quebec, & as Dr. Mountain, I am,

Y^r obliged & very faithful

friend & serv^t

J. Q. "(1)

King sent an encouraging reply saying that the affair would soon be settled one way or the other. (2)

The Bishop had asked Windham to present him at the Queen's Birthday. Windham mislaid the letter and wrote a note of profuse apology, adding that both he and Lord Grenville were still thinking about the Quebec situation. (3)

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 36, Mountain to King, Dec. 15, 1806.

(2) Ibid., p. 37, King to Mountain, Dec. 20, 1806.

(3) Ibid., p. 42, Windham to Mountain, Jan. 22, 1807. Windham seems later to have presented the Bishop at a Drawing Room at St. James, (ibid., p. 47, Feb. 10, 1807.)

The Bishop answered:- "I am truly sorry, Sir, that you find the subject so intractable. I was aware that it wd appear at first sight to be beset with difficulties, but had hoped that they wd vanish, when it should come to be more nearly examined."(1)

In March 1807 Grenville's ministry fell and with it fell the Bishop's hope of achieving anything with regard to the Quebec establishment. Yet he wrote to George Canning asking the latter to give him a good word, in general terms, with the succeeding prime minister and the colonial secretary, the Duke of Portland and Lord Castlereagh.(2)

Jacob Mountain's next step was to make a determined effort to resign the bishopric of Quebec. His desperate attempts to accomplish this end, without making shipwreck of his whole career, present him in a more unfavourable light than that in which he appears at any other time during his long period of public life. He drew up a memorial to the King, containing a summary of all his grievances, and concluding with the prayer:- "That under these Circumstances, ill according with your Memorialist's expectation, unwarrantable in themselves, degrading to the Church of England & directly opposed to your Majesty's Instructions, your

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 43, Mountain to Windham, Jan. 24, 1807.

(2) Ibid., p. 50, Mountain to Canning, April 2, 1807.
Vide ibid., p. 51, April 22, 1807, for Canning's reply.

Memorialist humbly prays that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to remove him from a situation in which he has too struggled with difficulties, disappointments and affliction, in which he has suffered both in his health & in his fortune."⁽¹⁾ A copy of the memorial was sent to the Primate with a covering letter.⁽²⁾ Another copy was sent to Portland, who desired that either the Bishop himself, or the Archbishop, or Castlereagh, would present it.⁽³⁾ A further copy was sent to Canning who replied that it must be presented through the proper channel.⁽⁴⁾ The Bishop chafed at the delay and again wrote to Canning,⁽⁵⁾ receiving the reply that Castlereagh would grant him an interview.⁽⁶⁾ The interview was another disappointment as Castlereagh had adopted opinions similar to those of the Canadian government.⁽⁷⁾ A call was paid to Bathurst, a Cabinet Minister, whose opinion on the Bishop's proposals was that:- "In the present critical situation in America to enforce the

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 106-2, pp. 409-414, April 28, 1807.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 52, Mountain to Manners Sutton, April 29, 1807.

(3) Ibid., p. 63, King to Mountain, June 4, 1807.

(4) Ibid., p. 66, Canning to Mountain, June 5, 1807.

(5) Ibid., p. 69, Mountain to Canning, June 8, 1807.

(6) Ibid., p. 71, Canning to Mountain, June 18, 1807.

(7) Ibid., p. 72, Mountain to Canning, June 23, 1807.

laws would be very impolitic." (1) Yet again the Bishop wrote to Canning about the Memorial, "heart sick with suspense," receiving in return Castlereagh's note to Canning that it was useless to hope for an English bishopric. (2) The Bishop confided the disheartening result to King who agreed that no hope of translation could be longer entertained. Canning, he said, could not have accomplished the translation unless he had asked it as his only object, and in satisfaction for his claim for Church patronage as a member of the Cabinet. As for the Memorial the Bishop could present it himself although "to have an audience with the King independent of his government is almost always a retrograde instead of a progressive motion." (3) Even Mrs. Mountain tried to give her husband aid by writing to Lady Milnes. Sir Robert answered that he would intercede with Portland as soon as the Bishop made up his mind whether he wanted to be translated, or to return to Quebec with additional advantages. (4) Further letters followed - to the Archbishop, to Portland, to Canning. Canning reiterated that his official department was not concerned with the

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 79, Bathurst to Mountain, Aug. 10, 1807.

(2) Ibid., p. 80, Canning to Mountain, Aug. 18, 1807.

(3) Ibid., p. 84, King to Mountain, Sept. 6, 1807.

(4) Ibid., p. 85, Milnes to Mountain, Sept. 22, 1807.

memorial, that he had never, since he had entered the Administration asked for any personal favours, and that if he surmounted his scruples in this regard he had nearer claims.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop, feeling that he had laid himself open to misunderstanding, replied:- "In sober truth, all that I hoped, or ventured to expect, was this - that from the recollection of my affection for you in your early youth, from the intimacy that has so long subsided between our respected families, & from certain motives of esteem which you have had the kindness to profess to me, you might be disposed, and in the family connection that subsists between you and the D.^[uke] of P.^[ortland] might easily find occasion to serve me essentially without asking any favour by simply expressing friendly regard for me & regret at the situation in which I have been placed. You will, I flatter myself, 'free me so far in your most generous thoughts' as to believe that this was what I meant to ask; & that I entertained no wish, upon this subject, to the prejudice of any person on earth."⁽²⁾

Canning again offered to do his best but held out no hope of translation.⁽³⁾ John King's comment to the Bishop was:- "Setting all personal consideration aside I

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 91, Canning to Mountain, Nov. 9, 1807.

(2) Ibid., p. 95, Mountain to Canning, Nov. 26, 1807.

(3) Ibid., p. 97, Canning to Mountain, Nov. 30, 1807.

never knew a harder or more vexatious case than your own." (1)
 Another unsuccessful attempt was made to induce the Archbishop
 to present the Memorial. (2)

His attempt to achieve translation to the English
 bench of bishops having failed, nothing remained for Jacob
 Mountain to do except to resume once more the effort of
 persuading the Government to improve his situation at Quebec.
 Early in 1808 he wrote to Edward Cooke that he was soon to
 leave England, and expressed the hope that Lord Castlereagh
 would take some action with respect to the business which
 brought him to England. (3) Cooke's reply was that Castlereagh
 regretted that circumstances were not propitious for settling
 the point, that there were strong objections to bringing the
 Quebec Ecclesiastical problem under discussion, and that the
 Bishop would possibly agree that further postponement might
 be necessary. Meanwhile the Bishop should return to Quebec
 where his influence was needed. (4) The Bishop retorted by
 saying that his influence in Quebec could hardly be great
 "when it is found that in the course of near three years
 passed in this [country] I have not had sufficient influence

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 98, King to Mountain,
 Dec. 3, 1807.

(2) Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 4-5, Jan. 15, 1808; Jan. 23, 1808.

(3) Ibid., p. 6, Mountain to Cooke, Feb. 9, 1808.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Cooke to Mountain, Feb. 18, 1808.

to obtain even the least, & lowest of those advantages, which were so confidently looked for from the wisdom and benignity of H. M. Government."(1) Another unsatisfactory interview took place between the Bishop and Castlereagh, but the result was that he decided to return to Quebec, since as he philosophically remarked, "it is better to be miserable than to be useless."(2) Castlereagh expressed his relief that the Bishop was returning to Canada, and said that he had had a conversation with Sir William Scott on the subject of the Patent.(3) On the following day the Bishop once more submitted his Quebec proposals to Castlereagh.(4) He also asked for an increased salary, a request which Castlereagh rejected.(5) Castlereagh did submit certain queries on the powers contained in the Bishop's Patent to John Nichol, the Advocate General, whose inadequate report made in reply depended upon action being taken by the law officers in Quebec.(6) In transmitting Nichol's report to the Bishop,

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 103-109, Mountain to Cooke, Feb. 20, 1808.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 10, Mountain to Castlereagh, March 28, 1808.

(3) Ibid., p. 11, Castlereagh to Mountain, March 28, 1808.

(4) Ibid., p. 13, Mountain to Castlereagh, March 29, 1808.

(5) Ibid., p. 17; Mountain to Castlereagh, April 6, 1808; vide ibid., p. 18, Castlereagh to Mountain, April 9, 1808.

(6) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, p. 142 ff., April 23, 1808; ibid., p. 130, Nichol to Castlereagh, April 23, 1808.

Castlereagh informed him that the salaries of ministers at Quebec, Montreal, William Henry, York and Kingston were to be raised and that in lieu of a See House the Bishop was to be given an extra £400 a year. He was also authorized to look for such a house. (1)

Castlereagh arranged as well an interview between the Bishop and King George III, a most unsatisfactory meeting, from the Bishop's viewpoint. Describing it to Canning the Bishop said:- "For want of presence of mind, I left H. M. under the influence of opinions injurious both to my Clergy & myself. Of them I know not why he spoke in very unfavourable terms, & I failed to defend them as they ought to have been defended. . . . But my most serious mortification arose from H. M. cautioning me against Methodism, in the person of Mr. S., in a tone & manner which appeared very unequivocally to imply suspicion of it in myself." He enclosed two pamphlets of his own which he asked Canning to present to the King's scrutiny in an effort to counteract the bad impression. (2)

The Bishop, before his departure, obtained the

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 81, Castlereagh to Mountain, April 26, 1808.

(2) Ibid., p. 32, Mountain to Canning, April 29, 1808. The "Mr. S." referred to is undoubtedly Charles James Stewart who had recently gone out as Missionary to St. Armand. At that period any evangelical fervour was dubbed "enthusiasm" or "Methodism" and was highly suspect by "high and dry" Churchmen.

promise of one further advantage to himself - a grant of land in Upper Canada. The outline of his experience in this connection is as follows. When the Bishop was in York in 1799 the question of land grants to Executive Councillors came up for discussion and General Hunter persuaded him that he was eligible for a grant. But when he heard that objection to his application was likely to be taken on the score of non-residence he asked Hunter to drop the whole matter.⁽¹⁾ Not long after, however, Portland instructed Milnes to grant one quarter of a Township in Lower Canada to the six regularly attending Executive Councillors of that Province, of which the Bishop was one.⁽²⁾

In his letter to Camden, Oct. 24, 1804, the Bishop once again brought up the subject of the Upper Canadian grant:- "His Majesty," he wrote, "was pleased to place me in both Councils of both Provinces. My residence at Quebec has necessarily confined my services to the Councils of this Province. I have however taken my seat in the Executive Council of Upper Canada, And I should have felt it to be a neglect of the interests of my children, not to look to the bounty which His Majesty was pleased to extend to that Council.

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 13, Mountain to Hunter, July 9, 1800; O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, July 9, 1800.

(2) Ibid., p. 22, Portland to Milnes, June 6, 1801.

I have been informed by General Hunter that that bounty was originally intended as some indemnification for the expense & trouble which, in consequence of a change of the seat of Government, many of the members incurred, in changing their place of residence. And upon this ground he thought he could not with propriety include me in the benefit: & he therefore advised a direct application on my part to His Majesty's Secretary of State.

If my pretensions as Counsellor should be thought to have an insufficient foundation, I cannot but think that they may be found not less worthy of attention than others which have been favourably received, when it is considered, that, whereas other Bishops derive considerable emolument from their Visitations, my Visitations, through a Country so new, & so extensive, are to a great degree onerous & expensive. I might add, that I have no House provided for my residence; that for my attendance in His Majesty's Executive Council at Quebec, I have not, as the Chief Justice & many other members have, an additional Salary; & that that attendance has been constant, while several of those who receive Salaries very rarely attend at all.

I understand that the quantity of Waste Land assigned to Councillors in Upper Canada is four thousand Acres, & very generally, a thousand each to their wives & children. I have a Wife & six children, & if my application be thought admissible, would therefore ask that General Hunter may

receive authority to grant to me & them, a quarter of a Township of the Waste Lands of the Crown.

I hope I shall not be thought in this application improperly to grasp at that to which I have no ground of claim; but if it should so appear to your Lordship, I beg that my request may be considered as withdrawn."(1)

The Bishop did not agitate the subject again until his return to Quebec was imminent. After receiving Castlereagh's concessions he wrote to Cooke that among other things no mention was made of the Upper Canadian land grant.(2)

Castlereagh replied:- "My Lord: Not having alluded in my Letter of the 26th Instant to your Lordship's request that as a Member of the Council of Upper Canada your Lordship might receive a Grant of Land in that Province, I trust you will not conceive that it has escaped my attention. I shall take an early opportunity of writing to the Lieutenant Governor of the Province on the subject, & desire him to correspond with Your Lordship: and shall hope that there will be no difficulty in making such a Grant to your Lordship as from your situation you conceive Yourself entitled to claim, & which may prove the Foundation of an Establishment for your Family."(3)

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 96, pp. 171-221, Mountain to Camden, Oct. 24, 1808.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, Mountain to Cooke, April 28, 1808.

(3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 113, p. 142, Castlereagh to Mountain, April 30, 1808.

After his return to Quebec the Bishop wrote Castlereagh that he had heard nothing from Governor Gore on the subject. He also referred Castlereagh to his letter to Camden for the true ground of application. If the lands were as valuable as Castlereagh appeared to think they were, the application would require further apology.⁽¹⁾

The business proceeded very slowly. On June 7, 1810, the Bishop sent to Liverpool the Colonial Secretary his correspondence with Camden and Castlereagh on the point, and repeated that he had never heard from Gore.

Six years passed. When the Bishop was about to make his second journey to England he wrote to Adam Gordon, whom he had met in London in 1808, recounting the story of the unsuccessful application. The demand he made was for 12,000 acres. If the Governor of Upper Canada received precise positive directions he might be able to bring the matter to a head when he visited Upper Canada in the Summer. If further delay resulted he would not resume his application.⁽²⁾ Gore received the required directions and the grant was quickly made, the fees on the Patent amounting to £240.⁽³⁾

(1) R. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 113, p. 143, Mountain to Castlereagh, Sept. 5, 1808.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 142, pp. 429-32, Mountain to Gordon, Feb. 9, 1816.

(3) Ibid., Vol. 323, pp. 255-6, Gore to Mountain, Nov. 16, 1816.

The Bishop asked Gordon for a refund, (1) apparently with some success as the fees paid for 12,000 acres in Manvers Township amounted to £74. (2)

Further details about the Lower Canadian grant are as follows. On April 17, 1816, the Bishop wrote to Civil Secretary Loring saying that several years before he had received 7620 acres in Sherrington Township and that now he wanted the remaining 4380 acres in Melbourne Township. (3)

In Feb. 1821 the Bishop wrote to Ryland the story of the trouble about part of the grant in Lower Canada. About 1803, he related, the Secretary of State conferred on Members of the Executive Council who had been laboriously engaged in unravelling the Land Granting Business, a quarter of a township each, unsolicited. In June 1803 the Bishop sold 4000 acres to one McCallum for £833 - 6 - 6. But some of the lands had been settled upon, whereupon McCallum sued the Bishop for expenses incurred in endeavouring to obtain possession of lands purchased from the latter. To extinguish all

- (1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 323, pp. 257-8, Mountain to Gordon, Sept. 20, 1817.
- (2) P. A. O., Ridout Papers, 1818-1819. The Bishop had requested earlier that his grant might be made from the Township in the Eastern District to which Simcoe had given the name of Mountain in his honour. (Q. D. A. Series C, Vol. VI, p. 61, Mountain to Gore, Sept. 27, 1816).
- (3) P. A. C., Series S, Internal Correspondence, L. C. Land, Melbourne, April 17, 1816.

claims the Bishop paid £1000, and hoped that Government would indemnify him.⁽¹⁾ Although a memorial asking for such indemnification was prepared and submitted to Dalhousie it failed to attain its object, so that the Bishop's recompense for his services as Lower Canadian Executive Councillor were not great.⁽²⁾

The final results of the Bishop's three years' absence from Quebec were - the rise in salary for six clergy; £400 per annum in lieu of a See House; promise of a Land grant for himself in Upper Canada; promise of further interest to be taken by Government in the Quebec ecclesiastical situation. This was surely an inadequate return for all the correspondence and unremitting effort that had occupied so much of Jacob Mountain's time. But at least he was able to renew old associations and to be near his two sons, Jacob and George, who studied under the Rev. T. Monro at Little Easton in Essex until their removal to Trinity College Cambridge in 1808.⁽³⁾

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Ryland, Feb. 5, 1821.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 159, pp. 419-21; p. 422; pp. 423-4.

(3) Mountain, A. W., Memoir of G. J. Mountain, pp. 15, and 17.

CHAPTER XIII

TITHES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RECTORIES

Section 38 of the Constitutional Act of 1791 enacted that His Majesty might authorize the Governors of the Canadas with the advice of their Executive Councils, to erect parsonages or rectories and endow them either with reserved lands or with glebes that had been set apart in accordance with instructions issued before 1791. It was one of the Bishop's primary and most difficult tasks to see that this section of the Act was carried out, a task that demanded the unceasing effort of a quarter of a century.

The first petition asking for the establishment of a rectory under the terms of the Act of 1791 was addressed on Oct. 29, 1792, by the congregations of Christ Church, Montreal, to Alured Clarke, Lieutenant Governor of Lower Canada.⁽¹⁾ As the petition expressed the desire that the parishioners should be exempted from tithes it may be as well to advert at some length, first of all, to the subject of Protestant tithes in the Canadas.

Brief reference has already been made to the fact that the taking of such tithes was contemplated as far back as 1774 and indeed after 1791. But after the latter date proprietors could escape tithe by clearing the reserved lands building parsonage houses, and providing an intermediate

(1) A copy is in the Archives of the Diocese of Montreal.

fund for the payment of clergy.⁽¹⁾ The story of the Montreal petition has also been carried on to the time of the Bishop's arrival.⁽²⁾

When the Bishop discovered that the Chief Justice and the Attorney General of Lower Canada held opposite opinions on the legality of taking tithes, he wrote to Dundas for an official ruling. Portland, the succeeding Secretary of State gave an unequivocal reply:- "The late Canada Act . . . annexes to Rectories & Parsonages erected under the same enjoyment of the Rights, Profits and Emoluments belonging to a Parsonage or Rectory in England, which must necessarily include Tythes."⁽³⁾ But Portland looked forward to the time when the Reserves would render tithes unnecessary, and urged that the Reserves should be made productive as soon as possible.⁽⁴⁾

The Bishop enclosed Portland's reply to Simcoe and inquired of the latter the possibility of collecting tithes in Upper Canada.⁽⁵⁾ In transmitting to Portland the opinion both of Simcoe and of Dorchester on the subject the Bishop

(1) Shortt and Doughty, p. 130, Dundas to Dorchester, Sept. 16, 1791.

(2) See Chapter III, pp. 9-10.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 69, pp. 398-401, Portland to Mountain, Nov. 14, 1794.

(4) Simcoe Correspondence Vol. III, p. 343, Portland to Dorchester, April 6, 1795.

(5) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Simcoe, April 25, 1795.

wrote:- "With respect to Tythes, it is the opinion of Gov^r Simcoe that in his Province it w^d be in all respects inexpedient if not impracticable to collect them. And in a renewed conversation which I had a few days since wth Lord D. his Lordship frankly & fully stated his conviction that it w^d be utterly impossible to establish such a claim in L.C. & very dangerous to attempt it."⁽¹⁾ Attorney General Sewell held that clergy were not entitled to tithes under the Constitutional Act.⁽²⁾ Dorchester sent Sewell's judgment to Portland; and Simcoe, while telling Portland that tithes would not be palatable to the people of Upper Canada suggested that the Legislature might pass an Act saying that a Township or Parish would be free from tithes if the inhabitants would clear land for the clergyman and would help to build a Parsonage & Church.⁽³⁾ Portland finally submitted the problem to Mr. Grant, a Crown Lawyer, who reported that only Roman Catholics could collect tithes under the Act of 1774; that such right would have to be given to Protestants by new and special enactment; that the King had the right to exact tythes, but it would be inexpedient to enforce it.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, P. 67, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 6, 1795.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 74-2, pp. 222-229, Oct. 1, 1795.

(3) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. IV, pp. 134-5, Simcoe to Portland, Nov. 8, 1795.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 77, pp. 226-228, Grant to Portland, Jan. 8, 1796.

This chorus of disapproval shook Portland's conviction, but he informed Dorchester that if no tithes were taken, the Provincial Legislature must fix some other mode of providing maintenance for the clergy.⁽¹⁾

The tithe question was early settled in Lower Canada, but it was brought up again several years later in Upper Canada. On March 19, 1816, John Strachan wrote to the Bishop:- "It is pleasing to inform your Lordship, that Governor Gore manifests every disposition to second your views in placing the Church establishment on a respectable footing.

One great difficulty has been the Tithes which are said to follow (?) induction, contrary to my opinion, as 1/7 of the lands of the Province is evidently given as a full equivalent I am happy to find your Lordship giving so decided an opinion . . . such an opinion, or a mere formal one, if thought necessary, from the first Bishop of the Diocese ought to have settled the matter - But it has been said that no declaration or opinion either from the Bishop or Minister of State can take away a right, or prevent it from being asserted if it really exists, I (illegible) that a

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 75-2, pp. 265-269, Portland to Dorchester, June 22, 1796. See also ibid., Vol. 82, pp 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799. The Bishop was apparently not informed of the changed opinion of the Colonial Office for several months. In a letter to Prescott, March 1, 1797, he maintained that tithes were legally collectable under the Canada Act. (See Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 120.)

short Declaratory Act be passed stating that the Clergy in this Province have no right of Tithes. This gives up nothing and sets the question at rest forever, and it became the more expedient as I knew we could not proceed a single step till it was finally settled."⁽¹⁾ This Bill, entitled "An Act relative to the right of Tythes within this Province" was brought down from the Legislative Council on March 12, 1816, read a third time and passed on March 15. Royal assent was promulgated by Proclamation Feb. 20, 1823.⁽²⁾ The delay was caused by the fact that the Imperial Parliament did not ratify the first bill within the two years allowed in such cases, and a similar bill was accordingly passed by the Provincial Legislature in 1821.⁽³⁾

For over two years after the presentation of the petition of Christ Church Montreal no progress was made towards the granting of a favourable reply. Presently the Rector, Wardens and Vestry of William Henry asked whether they were a Corporation having authority to call parish meetings for the purpose of assessing the people. To this question Attorney General Sewell gave a negative answer.⁽⁴⁾ Whereupon

(1) Toronto Public Library, Scadding Collection, John Strachan Papers, Strachan to Mountain, March 19, 1816.

(2) 2 Geo. IV, Cap. 32, Upper Canada.

(3) See Lindsey, Charles, The Clergy Reserves, etc., p. 6.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Sewell to Dorchester, June 10, 1795.

the Bishop wrote to Dorchester:- "I beg permission to suggest that until y^r Lordship with the advice of your Exec. Council shall have constituted & erected in the Parishes hereafter mentioned Parsonages or Rectories according to the Establishment of the Church of England, & shall have endowed them in the manner specified in the Act 31 George III or shall have presented Incumbents to me to be duly instituted & inducted into the same, I humbly conceive that no Act of the Provincial Parliament [as suggested by Sewell in his judgment] can effectively remove the difficulties & discouragements under w^{ch} the Protestant Congregations now labour, or provide sufficient remedies for their defects I would therefore humbly propose that in the first instance Parsonages or Rectories be erected according to the Establish^t of the Church of England in the Boroughs of T.R. & W.H.; or that Ministers be duly instituted & inducted into the said Churches. And I hold it my bounden duty to represent to your Lordship that without one or other of these previous steps the Civil Estab: of the C. of E. in this Province cannot be placed upon any solid foundation, nor the gracious & parental intentions of His Majesty, & his pious concern for the Interests of the Protestant Faith (& with which y^r Lordship's views, I am convinced, in all things concur,) be rendered effectual to any good purpose."⁽¹⁾

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 74, pp. 207-213, Mountain to Dorchester, July 15, 1795.

Dorchester then asked Portland what he should do with regard to the documents he had received from Montreal and William Henry.⁽¹⁾ Portland's advice about William Henry was:- "As to the powers of Vestries, Church Wardens, etc., of Protestant Churches, I conceive that they must be the subject of Legislative regulation, under the limits and restrictions of the late Canada Act, for I do not apprehend that that Act has the effect of introducing into Canada that part of our Common & Ecclesiastical Law that relates to such matters."⁽¹⁾

This opinion was passed on by Dorchester to the Bishop, who in turn handed it over to Prescott. But the Bishop asked that Rectories should be erected first of all.⁽³⁾ Prescott agreed with the design but counselled delay.⁽⁴⁾ As Bishop and Governor did not work together harmoniously, progress was at a standstill for several years.

In his letter to Portland, April 15, 1799, the Bishop wrote:- "We are as yet therefore, My Lord, without the Parishes & without Laws to direct & control the proceedings of Church - Wardens or Vestries. And the rights of our Clergy stand

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 74, pp. 198-201, Dorchester to Portland, Oct. 10, 1795.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 75, p. 1, Portland to Dorchester, Jan. 13, 1796. Portland was simply transmitting Grant's opinion on the problems. See ibid., Vol. 77, pp. 226-228, Grant to Portland, Jan. 8, 1796.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 99, Mountain to Prescott, Aug. 25, 1796.

(4) Ibid., p. 103, Prescott to Mountain, Sept. 13, 1796.

on very precarious ground indeed! . . .

I will take the liberty of stating one very recent occurrence which may serve to show some part of the inconvenience which results from the present situation of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The old Burial Ground at Montreal, situated upon one of the Bastions of the Town, and used with the Consent of Government for the Protestant Inhabitants, was found to be no longer sufficient for the purpose.

The members of the Church of England & the Presbyterians who had used this ground in common made a joint purchase of the ground for Burial, - but a difficulty immediately arose, as to whom the donation should be made.

It is the opinion of His Majesty's Attorney General, that as a Rectory has not yet been erected by the Government at Montreal, Mr. Tunstall, the Rector, instituted & inducted upon His Majesty's Presentation, is not a Corporation, has not by the Municipal or Civil Law of the Province a right to hold property in perpetual succession, - that the Presentation does not give any title to the Church or what is called the Church Yard, & that he cannot receive the donation of the Churchyard.

The Attorney General therefore recommends that the Burial Ground be convey'd to a certain number of the members of the Church of England, with Benefit of Survivorship, in trust for the Congregation.

The Attorney General is further of opinion that the 'Erection of Rectories throughout the Province under the 31 of George 3rd C. 31 would obviate every doubt, not only on the subject in question, but on many others which are of no less moment.' In the meantime the Rights of the Rector of Montreal are, in this particular, completely annihilated."⁽¹⁾

In his reply to Milnes, dealing with the contents of this letter of the Bishop, Portland wrote:- "The next subject for consideration is, the Establishment of Rectories and forming Regulations respecting Church Wardens, Vestries, etc., for which it is evident that the Executive and Legislative authorities of the Province alone can be resorted to for a Remedy. By the Canada Act of 31 George 3^d Chap. 31 and His Majesty's Instructions, you are authorized with the advice of His Majesty's Executive Council to establish Rectories and Parishes, where, and as often as occasion shall call for the Exercise of that power; In this case therefore you have to exercise your own Judgment and Discretion; and I am confident that with the assistance to be derived from the information

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 83, pp. 332-369, Mountain to Portland, April 15, 1799. Complete correspondence between the Bishop and the Attorney General on the subject has been preserved in the Bishopthorpe and Sewell Papers. The closeness and cogency of the Bishop's reasoning show clearly that if the Church, when he was ordained, gained an admirable administrator, the Bar lost a brilliant lawyer.

and advice of His Majesty's Servants within the Province (which you have upon all occasions a right to call for) you will meet with no material difficulty in the attainment of the object in question.

With respect to the Powers of Vestries, Church Wardens, etc., of Protestant Churches, I have nothing to add to what is stated upon that subject in my letter of the 13th January 1796, namely, that they must be the subject of Provincial Regulation, in forming which, as you can have recourse to the same assistance, I have nothing further to observe upon it."⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile a Committee of Council on Ecclesiastical Affairs, meeting on June 7, 1799, had asked Attorney General Sewell's opinion on the proper procedure to follow in the erection of Parishes. He accordingly prepared a learned report to the effect that such a power resided in the Governor in Council, and that the method to be followed was that of issuing Letters Patent under the Provincial Seal.⁽²⁾

In consequence of Portland's instructions Milnes asked the Executive Council to take up the question of erecting Parishes and Rectories seriously. The Bishop prepared a statement of the clergy of Lower Canada and placed it before

(1) P.A.C. Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 22, 1799.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 1, Jan. 6, 1800.

the Board. (1) Herman Witsius Ryland wrote out suggestions for obtaining money for the support of the Church establishment. (2) Finally a Committee of Council brought in the following recommendations:- First, form Protestant Parishes; second, establish a Parsonage or Ecclesiastical Benefice in each Parish. It was recommended that the boundaries of the old Parishes of Quebec, Three Rivers, William Henry and Montreal be adopted as well for those of the Church of England, and that the Governor in Council could erect a Rectory in Dunham when expedient. Again the Attorney General was to be asked for his legal opinion on the proper course to follow. (3)

The Congregation of Christ Church Montreal again memorialized the Governor on March 8, 1802, asking to be made into a Rectory. (4) As before, nothing was done. Yet the Committee of Council made so much progress as to recommend that the Attorney General prepare an instrument under the Great Seal for erecting in the Parish of Quebec a Parsonage or Rectory according to the Establishment of the Church of

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 113, pp. 134-5, May 24, 1800.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 9, June 10, 1800.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 10, June 7, 1800.

(4) Ibid., p. 40.

England.(1)

During the Bishop's stay in England from 1805 to 1808 the subject was thoroughly considered and frequently brought to the notice of the Home Government. In a recapitulation of the whole list of grievances made in 1810 to Sir James Craig, Governor-in-Chief, the Bishop stated:- "In the month of May 1800 the Lieutenant Governor of this Province 'In consequence of directions received from H.M. Secretary of State, called the attention of the Council to the expediency of entering forthwith upon such measures as are essential to a Church Establishment, for which purpose he directed a statement to be laid before the Board, of the number of Clergymen resident in the Province, etc., etc.'

Upon that Reference the Committee of Council, reported their opinion, that it would be proper to begin by the formation of certain Towns, & Townships, into Parishes & the erection of Parsonages therein - which Report was approved by the Lt. Governor in Council.

The business notwithstanding, met with some difficulty in its progress, from the unwillingness of some Canadian members that it should be carried into effect; & from some uncertainty, (which however appears to have been since removed), respecting the legal course to be taken for that purpose.

(1) P.A.C.. Series Q, Vol. 92, p. 320; Executive Council Minutes, June 27, 1803.

For these reasons, I presume, it was that the Lt. Governor did not give an opportunity of resuming it.

When I had the honour of conversing with Lord Castlereagh upon the point, his Lordship expressed considerable surprise that any difficulties could have been suffered to obstruct a measure grounded upon directions from H.M. Secretary of State, (the Duke of Portland), the power of completing which was as amply vested in the Governor & Council, by the Act of 31 of the King, & by H.M. Instructions to the Governor.

His Lordship intimated, further, his conviction, that these difficulties, which he considered to be entirely unfounded, would have no existence under the change which had taken place in the Administration of the Government of this Country; & assured me of his immediate purpose of communicating with Your Excellency upon this subject, as well as upon the general state of the Ecclesiastical affairs of the Province."⁽¹⁾

Again, Craig addressed queries with respect to the erection of Parishes to a legal expert, Chief Justice Monk.⁽²⁾ Again, nothing was achieved.

The Bishop complained of the situation in a Memorial sent to Earl Bathurst, Secretary of State, to be presented

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 113, pp. 112-133, Mountain to Craig, Mar. 8, 1810.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 74, Aug. 10, 1810; Christie, R., History of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, pp. 112-117.

to the Prince Regent, June 3, 1813.⁽¹⁾ He also brought the matter to the notice of Sir Gordon Drummond in the following year. "Having mentioned the difficulty of procuring Clergymen, I will take this opportunity of observing, that it is chiefly to be attributed to the unpleasant situation in which the Ministers of our Church are known to be placed; without any legal possession of the Livings to which they are appointed; without any legal connection with the people over whom they are placed; without any property w^{ch} they can legally call their own. These evils might be at once removed, by the formation of Parishes, the formation and endowment of Rectories & the regular Presentation & Institution of Ministers: a measure to w^{ch} I have never been able to see any just ground of objection."⁽²⁾

Writing to Bathurst the same year the Bishop said, with respect to the erection of Rectories and Parishes - "To this, nothing has been, & nothing can be opposed, but that timid policy, which has feared to touch, even in the tenderest manner, the prejudice of the Catholics."⁽³⁾

To Sherbrooke, on Oct. 22, 1816, the Bishop outlined

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 49; P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 124, pp. 187-203.

(2) Toronto Public Library, Scadding Collection, John Strachan Papers, Mountain to Drummond, Feb. 12, 1814.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 130, pp. 536-553, Mountain to Bathurst, June 6, 1814.

what had been accomplished during the early years of Milnes' governorship, and then proceeded:- "Thus far the hope of the Church of England was pretty uniformly supported; but these favourable indications ceased; and ceased upon no principle that has been discoverable by the Members of the Church of England; - unless it were an apprehension, on the part of His Majesty's Government that, by making the necessary provision for maintaining the worship and discipline of that Church, umbrage might be given to the Church of Rome.

Not a single Parish or Rectory has been erected in these Provinces, and consequently not a single Church has been endowed, not a single Clerk instituted, or inducted."⁽¹⁾

On his second visit to England, 1816-1819, the Bishop pursued the matter unweariedly. He wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury that he would not return until an unequivocal order had been given for the erection of Parishes.⁽²⁾ He enlisted the aid of the S.P.G., who appointed a strong committee to draft a recommendation on this and on other matters to Lord Bathurst.⁽³⁾ This was accordingly done on March 18th 1818.⁽⁴⁾ Bathurst acted without further delay for on the

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 140, pp. 439-447, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Oct. 22, 1816.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Dec. 9, 1817.

(3) Journals of the S.P.G., Jan. 26, 1818.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 148-151.

following April 6th Archbishop Manners Sutton enclosed to the Bishop an extract from Bathurst's despatch to the Governor of Upper Canada authorizing the erection of Rectories, and informed him that a similar despatch was to go to the Governor of Lower Canada.⁽¹⁾ For this news the Bishop sent to Lambeth on the following day his "Grateful and Respectful thanks."⁽²⁾

On the same day the Bishop wrote to Sewell:- "I have this morning received a Copy of Lord Bathurst's Despatch to the Governor of L: Canada, & the President of U: C: 'instructing them to take the necessary legal measures, for constituting & erecting Parishes & Rectories, etc.'

I think it proper to recall to your recollection upon this occasion, those steps, which were taken, so long ago, in this matter, in L. Canada, that they may possibly not be immediately remembered by you.

You will find, in the Minutes of Council, that in the year 1800, in May, the Secy: of State directed the L. Gov^r to call the attention of the Council to such measures as are essential to a Church Establishment - & that, in consequence of his doing so the Council recommended the beginning by erecting Parishes & Rectories, where Clergymen

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Manners Sutton to Mountain, April 6, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to Manners Sutton, April 7, 1818.

were established. You will find too that the Report of the Committee of Council was approved by the Governor in Council: & consequently became an Act of the Provincial Government; & necessarily, as I believe, must be considered still in force as such.

You will perhaps recollect, that the completion of the business was accidentally delayed by some difference of opinion respecting the Form of the Instrument which was necessary for that completion; that this difficulty was afterwards entirely removed: & that you drew up the Form of an Instrument for the Erection of a Rectory at Montreal. (This Form is in my possession; and I took occasion to communicate it to Lord Bathurst -). Sir R. Milnes & succeeding Governors delayed the measures, for reasons which, as far as I could understand them, appeared to be utterly insufficient, - & indeed, personal to themselves. - All difficulties, I trust, now are entirely superseded.

I have wished to recall these things to your mind, because you will of course be consulted, as to the best mode of carrying the Prince Regent's pleasure into effect.

To me it appears, as I have said, that it is now only necessary for the Governor to order the proper Instruments to be prepared, & the thing to be done; for to refer the matter again to the Council, would be evidently actum agere. But this will be submitted to you: as I also should think

it proper to submit it." (1)

A Committee of the whole Council, under Sewell's chairmanship, meanwhile reported on the final petition of the Wardens of Christ Church Montreal praying for the erection of a Parsonage in that City. The new Parish was to have identical boundaries with the Roman Catholic Parish, and a Rectory was to be constituted in it. (2) The Letters Patent was issued on August 12, 1818 and revised and re-issued July 7, 1820. (3)

Further progress was still slow, as the Bishop informed the S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821:- "I long ago explained to the Society the state of affairs in Upper Canada, in regard to the erection of Parishes & Rectories. The Legislature of that Province thought proper to pass a Bill for securing the people, in the case of the erection of Rectories, from the payment of tithe.

This Bill, as the 31 of the late King requires in all enactments to which touch Ecclesiastical concerns, was laid before the Imperial Parliament, & not having been objected to, would of course have passed into a Law, but that it was not sent back, with the allowance within the period necessary to give it legal effect. Another Bill has been

(1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, April 7, 1818.

(2) P.A.C., State Book I, Folio 306, May 2, 1818.

(3) These documents are printed in Adams, F.D., History of Christ Church Cathedral, App. I, pp. 178-196.

passed, before Parliament in this last Session. This has been the cause of delay in Upper Canada.

In the Lower Province, the Duke of Richmond erected the Parish of Montreal into a Rectory, according to the Estab: of the Ch: of England, before my return to Quebec, in 1819: but his Grace had a wish to delay further proceedings 'till I should be present in my Diocese. It is known to the Society, that when I arrived his Grace was absent, & that unhappily he did not return alive to Quebec. The sort of interregnum that followed was not favourable to the completion of a business of this kind: and since Lord Dalhousie succeeded to the Government a great deal of delay has taken place, for much of which I am utterly unable to account, (for no opposition has appeared to the measure in any quarter), but, in part, it has been owing to the difficulty of obtaining, from so many remote places, correct descriptions of the boundaries of Parishes, Church Lots., etc., & in part to that sort of procrastination which is generally complained of, when business passes through the hands of the Gentlemen of the Law.

I am, however, assured by the Solicitor General, and I do myself believe that upon the return of the Earl of Dalhousie, who has been for some months absent, & is expected within a few days, the whole matter will be found ready for completion. And I now, at last, feel satisfied that within

a very short period, I shall have the comfort of seeing every place in this Province, in which a Clergyman is fixed, become a Rectory, according to the Establishment of our Church."⁽¹⁾

The following Rectories were created during the Bishop's lifetime:

Montreal,	Aug. 12, 1818 }
Drummondville,	Aug. 12, 1818
Quebec,	Sept. 8, 1821
Sorel,	Nov. 5, 1821
Dunham,	Nov. 5, 1821 (2)
St. Johns,	May 10, 1822
Charleston (Hatley),	May 10, 1822
St. Andrews,	May 10, 1822
Caldwell & Christie Manors,	May 10, 1822
La Corne (Terrebonne),	May 10, 1822
Kingston,	Jan. 19, 1824
Three Rivers,	Aug. 15, 1823
Chambly,	Sept. 30, 1823
Belleville,	June 20, 1825

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821.

(2) A copy of the Provincial Letters Patent erecting the Parish of Dunham is included in the Appendix. An original copy on parchment, with seal attached, is preserved in the Montreal Synod Archives.

CHAPTER XIV

THE VISITATIONS OF 1809 and 1810

The Bishop's absence in England for the three year period of 1805-1808 made a visitation necessary as soon as possible after his return. He held a Confirmation in Quebec in August⁽¹⁾ and in the autumn of 1808 he performed the rite in Montreal,⁽²⁾ but he undoubtedly made the latter journey in order to give a report to his brother, Dr. Mountain, of the result of his efforts to obtain money for the building of the church. Early in 1809 he wrote to Official Stuart that he might not conduct a visitation of Upper Canada that year,⁽³⁾ but on June 1 he wrote again telling Stuart his plans for the forthcoming journey. He proposed to set out on June 27th and proceed directly to Amherstburg, holding confirmations on the way back as he had done before, Stuart was told to announce the Bishop's coming to the Clergy, to take care that catechumens should be duly instructed, and that none should be admitted to confirmation under fourteen years of age. Clergy "are to give to each candidate a Ticket containing the name of the party, & signifying that the Minister has examined & approved him, or her; which Ticket is to be given to my

(1) Quebec Gazette, Aug. 4, 1808.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV. p. 51, Mountain to Cooke, Oct. 27, 1808.

(3) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Feb. 18, 1809.

Chaplain, on their coming up to the Altar. There must also be given them, for me, previous to the Confirmation, a List, containing the names of all who are to be presented to me."⁽¹⁾ He asked for the exclusive use of a ship on Lake Ontario, but was told that troop movements in Upper Canada would prevent such a courtesy being shown him.⁽²⁾ He then wrote to Dr. Morice, Secretary of the S.P.G. that he was about to set off upon a Visitation of his entire Diocese.⁽³⁾

He finally left Quebec on July 12, and proceeded direct to Montreal.⁽⁴⁾ There he found the building of the new church at a standstill for lack of funds, and the congregation still meeting in the St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church.⁽⁵⁾ He then journeyed to Kingston and in due course of time embarked for points west, but the ship was driven back to Kingston after coming in sight of Niagara.⁽⁶⁾ He

(1) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, June 1, 1809.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 55, Ryland to Mountain, July 6, 1809.

(3) Montreal Diocesan Archives, Mountain to Morice, July 7, 1809.

(4) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, p. 88,

(5) While at Montreal he and Joseph Frobisher dined at a Mr. Clarke's. (M.U.L., Joseph Frobisher's Diary, Aug. 14, 1809)

(6) The Christian Sentinel, January and February 1827, p. 10.

made no further attempt to visit Amherstburg, Niagara or York, but returned to Montreal⁽¹⁾ and made his way to St. Armand by far the most flourishing missionary venture in the Diocese.

Earlier efforts to establish the Church in St. Armand have been described in a previous chapter.⁽²⁾ Both Short and Tunstall had left after staying little more than a year and Cotton was thoroughly discouraged in 1805, when the Bishop left for England. Feeling certain that the mission would soon fall vacant again Bishop Mountain addressed the following letter to the Bishop of Lincoln:-

My dear Lord -

The situation for which I want a Clergyman is in the neighbourhood of Missiskoui Bay, bordering upon the United States, & about 200 miles from Quebec, a populous settlement, in a country which I have understood to be very healthy as well as beautiful. Any Minister of the C. of England who shall be placed there will receive £100 a year from Government, & £50 more, I have no doubt, if he should wish it, from the Society for the Prop: of the Gospel. The Inhabitants undertake to build a Parsonage, (which would be constructed of wood, but of proper dimensions, & rendered, as the houses in that Country generally are, sufficiently comfortable) & a Church, or churches, as they may be wanted, - & to subscribe, in money, or corn or other provisions (which, there, might be quite as convenient as money) £50 a year.

It is proposed that there should be two Churches, about 14 or 16 miles from each other, & that the Parsonage should be placed midway between them (& consequently 6 or 8 miles from each;)-

(1) On the homeward journey he visited Cornwall School, and while there was presented with a Latin Ode which offended his scholar's ear, with its false quantities. See P.A.O. Strachan Papers, Mountain to Strachan, Sept. 25, 1809.

(2) Progress of the Church in Lower Canada, 1793-1805.

as an arrangement for the present, & there are 200 acres of land (in wood) for a Glebe.

This is the favorable side of the business. On the other side, it must not be dissembled that these people are much more ready to promise than to perform their promises - that they are backward in paying their subscriptions; & that altho' they have had three Clergymen in succession, with them (of whom the last is with them still but wishes to be removed) they have not yet built either a Church or a Parsonage: that a sense of Religion, from their having been so long without means of regular Public Worship, has very little influence upon their conduct: that many of them are addicted to profane conversation & dissolute habits: & that, in order to be respected among them & be able to bring them to a better sense of their duty, a Clergyman must combine in his own conduct great regularity & decorum, exemplary piety, indefatigable zeal, tried discretion & distinguished moderation. Possessed perhaps of these rare qualities he might perhaps have more opportunities of being useful there than in almost any other place that could be named; but deficient in any of them, his labour would be in vain.

If a clergyman possessing these qualities could be found, I have little fear but that he would in no great length of time, obtain their respect, & affection - & in that case, the fear of his removal would induce them to perform their promises, & fulfil in all respects their engagements - 'till they have such a man very little can either be done for them, or expected from them.

Mr. Cotton, who is now their Minister, is a very worthy, a very pious, & a very sensible man. But his weak state of health renders him incapable of any very considerable or continued exertion: his mind appears to me to have no peculiar firmness; & perverseness discourages, & difficulties depress him. He has been there about two years.⁽¹⁾

(1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Tomline, Dec. 10, 1806.

The appeal was answered by one of the most remarkable and successful missionaries ever to come to Canada from the Motherland, the Honorable and Reverend Charles James Stewart, third son of John, seventh Earl of Galloway by his second wife, Anne Dashwood. Stewart was born on April 13, 1775,⁽¹⁾ and received his early education from tutors in his own home. He then attended Corpus Christi College, Oxford, graduated in 1795 and became a Fellow of All Souls in the same year. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1798, and to the priesthood in 1799, in Oxford Cathedral. From 1798 to 1826 he was Rector of Orton Longville and Bottlebridge, then in the Diocese of Lincoln, but after his departure for Lower Canada in 1807 the parish was served by a curate. In 1802 he took an extended tour to Leghorn with an invalid sister, and in 1805 he served as Chaplain on his brother's ship, being present at the Battle of Trafalgar,^(1a) so that parish and Rector were often divided. He was however a man of deep piety, and had considered going to India as a missionary, but when Bishop Tomline brought him into contact with Bishop Mountain he decided to come to Canada instead. He was recommended for membership in the S. P. G. by the Bishop of Lincoln on Feb. 20, 1807,⁽²⁾ and on the following May 6 was

(1) Further Biographical details about Stewart may be found in Waddilove, W.J.D., The Stewart Missions, Editor's Preface; Hawkins, Ernest, Annals of the Colonial Church Diocese of Quebec, Appendix A.

(1a) *This has not been definitely confirmed*

(2) S.P.G. Journals, Meeting of Feb. 20, 1807.

recommended to the Society by the Bishop of Quebec to be their missionary at St. Armand.⁽¹⁾ He sailed for Quebec in late July and had arrived at St. Armand West (Philipsburg) by the end of October, 1807. Through his unwearied labour and great generosity he gathered large congregations at St. Armand West and East (Frelighsburg), and by 1809 had built a church at the latter place. Trinity Church at St. Armand East was the first Anglican place of worship to be erected in the Eastern Townships of Quebec. Considering his disappointments in Upper Canada, the Bishop must have strongly anticipated his first visit to St. Armand. Happily His Lordship's account of his experiences there has been preserved in a letter written to Miss Brooke from Missisquoi Bay, August 22, 1809. After describing the beauties of the road leading to Mr. Stewart's Mission, the Bishop wrote:- "But a greater pleasure awaited us at the conclusion of this ride, where the Village, situated on each side of a winding rivulet, is adorned, & as it were consecrated by a very neat, new Church, most happily placed on an eminence on one side, & by the snug elegance of Mr. Stewart's cottage, peeping from beneath a sweeping wood, on the other. The change in the character and manners of the people, since this gentleman settled here, is as wonderful as it is pleasing: and in no part of the world, perhaps, has the power of religion more

(1) S. P. G. Journals, Meeting Of May 6, 1807.

rapidly and more decidedly manifested itself than here. Mr. Stewart, without any sort of cant, and without the least appearance of enthusiasm, has more zeal, and more persevering activity than it has ever been my good fortune to witness. And it has pleased God to prosper his endeavours in an extraordinary manner. Great numbers of the more respectable people were introduced to me; & the whole of my time, not occupied in the business of my visitation, was occupied in conversing with them (three or four at a time) at Mr. S.'s. On Sunday I confirmed about 90⁽¹⁾ and preached to a Congregation of about 600. The psalmody in this part of the world, is generally very superior to what it is in England, but here it was better than I ever heard. The singers, without any distinction of rank, (though the greater part of them were of the better class) assembled about the middle aisle; men and women, especially the latter, young; but no children. They sing in three parts, not with that vulgar twang, and discordant bawling, which are too common at home, but with a softened and chastened tone and manner, and with a perfectness of tune, and sweetness of voice, that were really surprising. They were between 50 and 60 in number. I cannot express to you the effect that this truly devotional music had upon my mind, any otherwise than by saying that if you

(1) In Stewart's report of Oct. 24, 1809, recorded in the Journals of the S. P. G., the number of confirmees is given as sixty. The S. P. G. report for 1809 has the correct number, 60.

had been with me you would have wept outright." (1)

The Bishop then proceeded to Sorel. The Rev. J.S. Rudd, the former missionary had died in March 1808, and in June the Rev. Richard Bradford was moved from Chatham to succeed him, returning to Chatham in November 1811. On the occasion of the Bishop's visit Bradford presented a class of thirty-two for confirmation. (2) On Sept. 25, 1809 Jacob Mountain wrote to John Stuart a letter of thanks for hospitality received, announcing his safe arrival in Quebec. He said that he had fared sumptuously on his way down, on the ham, butter and cakes that Stuart had provided. (3)

Despite a painful illness in the early summer of 1810 the Bishop set out once more accompanied by his daughter to complete the broken tour of the previous year. As before, available references to his travels are very few, but in a letter to Lieut. Gov. Gore, written at Kingston Aug. 23, 1810, he described the circumstances of a further disappointment. On Thursday evening, he related, his ship was in sight of York and of the Niagara light, but a storm came up and he was overtaken by sickness. By midnight on Friday the ship was back at Kingston. The Bishop lamented that he had attempted a Visitation at all, as the late attack of

(1) Q.D.A., Miscellaneous Correspondence, Jacob Mountain to Susanna Brooke, Aug. 22, 1809.

(2) S.P.G. Report, 1809.

(3) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Sept. 25, 1809.

gout had weakened him. He thought that he might be able to come to Upper Canada yet again the winter, but even then he could not go to Sandwich. (1)

Although Sandwich, Niagara and York were omitted from this tour the Bishop was able to visit Ernesttown and Cornwall. The Rev. John Langhorn wrote from the former place, "Our Lord Bishop has been here this summer to confirm, and the Reverend Mr. Stuart says, I was only one short of his number of confirmed ones, which were I think between 40 and 50." (2) The Rev. John Strachan informed the S.P.G. Oct. 30, 1810, that 50 of his parishioners were confirmed the preceding summer by the Bishop of Quebec. (3)

Again, on Oct. 1, 1810, the Bishop acknowledged the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. Stuart. (4)

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 75, Mountain to Gore, Aug. 23, 1810.

(2) Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records, 1933. More Langhorn Letters, edited by A.H. Young.

(3) Ibid., 1929, p. 17, The Mission of Cornwall, 1784-1812, edited by A.H. Young.

(4) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Oct. 1, 1810.

CHAPTER XV

DIOCESAN ADMINISTRATION - 1810-1816

The years 1810-1816 witnessed a number of changes throughout the Diocese, some brought about by the War, and by increased immigration, others as a result of the unflagging efforts of the Bishop to improve the condition of the Church.

In 1811 Richard Bradford returned to his former mission of Chatham on the Ottawa River, and was replaced at William Henry by John Jackson, formerly Evening Lecturer at the Cathedral. The S.P.G. once again gave the usual grant of £50 a year when the Chatham mission was re-opened, and continued to Jackson the £65 stipend formerly paid to Rudd and Bradford.⁽¹⁾ The salary of the Evening Lecturer at Quebec was raised to £150 a year, and the post was given to George Jehoshaphat Mountain after his ordination to the priesthood, Jan. 16, 1814.⁽²⁾ Mountain resigned the office in the following August when he became missionary at Fredericton, New Brunswick, then in the Diocese of Nova Scotia. His successor was the Rev. Joseph Langley Mills, C.F., who had come to Quebec with the troops in 1816. In Montreal, where the new Christ Church was finally opened, Oct. 9, 1814, an Evening Lectureship was instituted in 1815 for the assistance of Dr. Mountain who was then growing

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Morice to Mountain, July 31, 1816.

infirm. The first holder of the office was the Rev. George Jenkins, Chaplain to the Third Brigade, and Senior Chaplain to the troops in Canada.⁽¹⁾

Although the title Evening Lecturer had a long history in the English Church it simply meant, as far as the Lower Canada Chaplains were concerned, that the individuals bearing it officiated at Evening Prayer, and occasionally supplied vacant missions. "Neither Mr. Jenkins nor Mr. Mills ever received any actual Appointment as Evening Lecturer," wrote the Bishop to Col. Darling, Military Secretary, "as the terms upon which the Office is held, according to its establishment by His Majesty are, that the Evening Lecturer shall, at the direction of the Bishop, be at all times liable to be called upon to supply the place of any Clergyman who may be ill, or may have lawful cause of absence from his Cure: Terms upon which such office could not be held by a Chaplain to the Forces. It has, however, been matter of much convenience to place Army Chaplains in this situation, as acting, or Officiating Lecturers, because the Salary is not sufficient to induce them duly qualified persons, under other circumstances, to take upon them that duty."⁽²⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 12, Cochrane to Mountain, April 18, 1815; ibid., Mountain to Cochrane, May 4, 1815; The Montreal Churchman, Jan. 1940 has a short article on Jenkins.

(2) P.A.C., Canada Public Chaplaincies, Series C, 65, pp. 138-9, Mountain to Col. Darling, Military Secretary, May 1, 1821.

The Rev. John Leeds who had gone to Montreal to teach in The Royal Grammar School became curate of Christ Church in 1816 and later succeeded to the incumbency when Dr. Mountain died in the following year.

Shortly before his departure for England the Bishop recommended to Sherbrooke that the Rev. W.D. Baldwyn, the missionary at Cornwall, should remove to St. John's where a handsome brick church had been built. Salter Mountain, who wished to be relieved of his heavy duties at Quebec, could then go to Cornwall, and George J. Mountain could be moved from Fredericton to Quebec.⁽¹⁾ These transfers were subsequently ratified and took place during the Bishop's absence.

Two young men were ordained in May 1815 - James Reid⁽²⁾ and Micajah Townsend. Reid was licensed to St. Armand, as Stewart was about to leave for a year's furlough in England; Townsend was placed in charge of the newly opened mission of Caldwell and Christie Manors. Since the unsuccessful attempt to found the Church in the latter district, recounted in a previous chapter, the inhabitants were given only occasional services by itinerant clergy. After his establishment at St. Armand in 1809 Charles James Stewart paid frequent visits. It was owing to his efforts that the people of the Manors

(1) O.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 68, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Oct. 23, 1816.

(2) For Reid's early life see pamphlet No. 980 in the Public Archives of Canada, entitled "Hypocrisy Detected . . ." Aberdeen, 1812.

agreed in 1815 to complete a church begun four years before, to pay £25 to £30 annually to a clergyman, and to erect a parsonage for the latter's residence.(1)

Although the War of 1812-14 increased the labours of the clergy, particularly in the garrison towns, yet it did not come as close to them as to their brethren in Upper Canada. The only clergyman in the Lower Province who was directly affected was Stewart of St. Armand. When invasion threatened in November 1812 he went to St. John's but remained only a few days. A year later he reported an attack made by the Americans on Philipsburg in October, during which one man on the British side was killed, eight were wounded, and ninety were made prisoner. In the same month the Americans rounded up seventy or eighty head of cattle at Frelighsburg. The invading soldiers, and their leader Col. Clarke, who carried out both forays, were "quite civil" to the faithful missionary, the latter reported to the S.P.G. The cannonading at the Battle of Plattsburg, Sept. 11, 1814, was quite audible to Stewart as he rode to his church at Missisquoi Bay, but the Americans in spite of their victory did not touch Philipsburg again. For several years before the War Stewart had given services to a congregation at Swanton, Vermont, paying the last visit in Sept. 1812 after hostilities

(1) The Church Chronicle for the Diocese of Montreal, August 1861, contains an historical sketch entitled "The Mission of Caldwell and Christie Manors."

had broken out between Great Britain and the United States.⁽¹⁾

On Thursday, Aug. 15, 1811, John Stuart, U.E.L., Missionary at Kingston and Bishop's Official in Upper Canada, died at Kingston, aged seventy-one years. The death of this good man led to clerical changes not only in Kingston, but in Cornwall and York. George Okill Stuart, acquainting the Bishop of his father's demise, asked for the latter's posts as Missionary of Kingston and as Commissary-Official.⁽²⁾ Lieut. Gov. Gore also wrote the Bishop to the same effect. He made no reference to the Officialship, but intimated that Strachan would be more useful at York than at Cornwall.⁽³⁾ Whereupon the Bishop consented to Stuart's removal to Kingston if Strachan would go to York. He reminded Stuart that the application for the post of Commissary was not proper, but consented that the latter should succeed to the position. At the same time he reprimanded Stuart for leaving the mission of York, and the Province, for a considerable time, without his knowledge. The Bishop then offered York to Strachan, who refused it principally because he had not been appointed Official, and hence would not receive the additional salary,

(1) Sewell Papers, Copies of Stewart's semi-annual reports to the S.P.G., 1811-1815, are included in these papers.

(2) O.D.A., Stuart to Mountain, Aug. 29, 1811.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 90, Gore to Mountain, Sept. 28, 1811.

(4) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Oct. 18, 1811.

attached to that office. The Rev. C.C. Cotton of Dunham was the Bishop's next nominee,⁽¹⁾ but this was turned down by Major General Isaac Brock, then administering the Government, on the score that York needed a clergyman of established reputation.⁽²⁾ The Bishop immediately inquired of his brother, Official for Lower Canada, regarding Cotton, and was told that the latter was as good as any clergyman in the Canadas, except in Quebec.⁽³⁾ Justifiably annoyed, his Lordship told Brock that this was his first refusal in his whole episcopate and stated that he would nominate his son George, only he knew that the latter would not attain Brock's standard of having an established reputation.⁽⁴⁾ Less than a week later he wrote to Brock once more in still greater annoyance. He had just received a letter from Strachan, informing him that the latter had been appointed Minister of York. He at once withdrew George J. Mountain's application and asked if he were at liberty to apply for a clergyman for Cornwall.⁽⁵⁾

Brock sent a handsome reply to the Bishop's first letter. It appeared that Gore wished to have a man at York

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 102, Mountain to Brock, Nov. 28, 1811.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 104, Brock to Mountain, Dec. 23, 1811.

(3) Ibid., Vol. V, p. 8, J. Mountain to J. Mountain, Jan. 30, 1812.

(4) Ibid., p. 12, Mountain to Brock, Feb. 15, 1812.

(5) Ibid., p. 13, Mountain to Brock, Feb. 21, 1812.

who would take charge of educational matters. Strachan had at first refused to go but had finally assented. No reflection was being made on Cotton and no disrespect was intended to the Bishop as in any case the transfer was made subject to the latter's approval. Mr. Mountain, Brock asserted, would have reached the highest standard.⁽¹⁾

In his reply to the second letter Brock reiterated that the Bishop had no need to feel hurt. Strachan had written immediately, and the letter had reached Quebec before Government's nomination had arrived. His Lordship was at liberty to appoint anyone to Cornwall.⁽²⁾

The Bishop, however, was not to be mollified, and told Brock in plain terms that his office had been disregarded. He insisted that Cotton would have filled the office acceptably and could have instructed youth as well, although he did not think that it was a good plan to unite the functions of clergyman and schoolmaster in York.⁽³⁾ It was now Major General Brock's turn to stand on his dignity and he informed the Bishop curtly that he failed to understand the latter's attitude.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 14, Brock to Mountain, Mar. 2, 1812.

(2) Ibid., p. 15, Brock to Mountain, Mar. 9, 1812.

(3) Ibid., p. 20, Mountain to Brock, April 9, 1812.

(4) Ibid., p. 24, Brock to Mountain, May 12, 1812.

The following extract from a letter written from Cornwall by John Strachan to a friend in Scotland, the Rev. James Brown, helps to explain this series of disagreements:

In the beginning of Feb^y I received a letter from the Chief Justice of the Province offering me York with the chaplaincy of the troops stationed there, an appointment just annexed to that living. On the former occasion York was offered to me by the Bishop, from whom I could not demean myself to receive it, after his conduct to me respecting the Commissaryship, and there was no Chaplaincy, but now it was offered not by the Bishop but by the Governor, together with the Chaplaincy, which increased the living £150 making the whole £460 of our currency, or about £414 Sterling. I had understood previous to receiving this letter that the Bishop had recommended a Friend of his own after I declined in the Autumn, but this friend the Governor rejected till he received my answer. The offer was made in a manner so delicate, and the prospects at the seat of Gov^t are so much superior to what they are here, that I did not hesitate about the matter, but returned an answer to the Chief Justice accepting the appointment, and at the same time I wrote to the Bishop to say that I had actually accepted. The Etiquette is not to accept of any ecclesiastical appointment without the concurrence of the Bishop, but I knew that his Lordship would have thrown obstacles in the way, and therefore I did not consult him. I know him perfectly, and the sequel justified my conduct. It seems, that after the Gov^t had rejected the Clergyman recommended by the Bishop without assigning any reason, that his Lordship proposed his own Son, a young man just ready to take Orders, but before this application reached York, my appointment had been confirmed. I received a letter from his Lordship containing a severe reproof of my accepting without his concurrence, as it might have embarrassed him very much, and was not sufficiently respectful to my Diocesan; but concluding like a true Courtier with his acquiescence and best wishes, and firm persuasion that I would be eminently useful at the seat of Government. Having finished my warfare with honour I was not disposed to continue hostilities with his Lordship more especially as I wanted assistance to

forward plans of education. I therefore went to Quebec from which I am just returned, to suggest some things, and endeavour to get him actively engaged in their prosecution. I took care, however, as he is a man of great dignity, and very jealous of interference in his official duty to announce to him on my arrival in Quebec, that I had come merely to pay him my respects, before I removed from Cornwall to York. To come three hundred miles as a token of regard was a great recommendation to his Lordship, and deserved a return of kindness and attention. After some recapitulation of our misunderstanding he was exceedingly kind, and I have formed a high opinion of his Lordship than I had previously entertained. I always conceived him to be a man of high literary attainments, but I conceived him deficient (?) in promoting the extension of the Church, and plans of education, but he now (?) communicated to me without reserve his labours and disappointments, and tho' I have still to regret, that he grasped at too much at once, and in many of his views was not so liberal as might be wished, he had been indefatigable. His ideas are all too magnificent for a new Colony; they are drawn from the splendid Universities in England, these are errors which we may expect from an English Scholar. On the whole I do not think his judgment at all equal to his taste and fine classical attainments, and I am persuaded that a person with less learning, and more moderate ideas with good sense would be infinitely more useful. He tells me, that he is in great expectation, that one of his Schemes for the education of the Lower Province will succeed. He approved of some of my suggestions and we parted on good terms.⁽¹⁾

The next problem with which the Bishop had to deal was the filling of the vacancy at Cornwall. On July 10, 1812, he wrote to Dr. Morice, Secretary of the S.P.G.:-

(1) P.A.O., Strachan Papers, 1812 Folder, Strachan to Brown, May 24, 1812. Vide ibid., Strachan to Brown, Nov. 3, 1811. See also Bethune, A.N., Memoir of Bishop Strachan, pp. 36-38, for further reference to this incident.

"I beg leave thro' you to inform the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that Dr. Strachan left Cornwall for York early in the last month, & that Mr. Stuart removed accordingly from York to Kingston. I presume the Society will have no objection to interchange their Salaries. Cornwall is left without a Minister. And under the difficulty of procuring one, I have given permission to a young man of the name of Bethune, educated by Dr. S. for the Ministry, & now in his 21st year, to read the Prayers on Sundays to the Congregation, till the vacancy shall be filled. They on their parts, having met in Vestry, have expressed their thanks to me for this indulgence, their high opinion of the character of this young man, & their desire to wait for a Minister till he shall be of age for ordination that they may in him be sure of one who, as they believe, will render himself entirely acceptable to them. Unless the Society have already in view a Missionary for Cornwall, I do not know that we can do better than to accede to their wish: for Clergymen are greatly wanted in various other quarters, where they have not the means of such a substitution as this, insufficient as it is."⁽¹⁾

In response to an earlier appeal for additional clergy, however, the Society had obtained a man in England, and when they were later acquainted of the specific vacancy

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Morice, July 10, 1812.

at Cornwall they immediately appointed him to that post. "He is a graduate of the University of Oxford (name Baldwyn)," wrote Morice to the Bishop, "about 34 years of age & has a wife & 2 children." (1) William Devereux Baldwyn and his family arrived with the Spring fleet on June 4, 1813. He was the son of the Rev. Edward Baldwyn, who is mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography as a pamphleteer of some importance. He attended Corpus Christi College in Oxford, graduating in 1799. After holding two English curacies he offered himself to the S.P.G. as a missionary. (2)

The Bishop proceeded to explain to Major General R.H. Sheaffe, then administering the Government, the circumstances of Baldwyn's coming, pointing out that by the time Cornwall had expressed the wish to retain Bethune it was too late to alter the Society's arrangements with Baldwyn. (3) Strachan was much disappointed that his favourite pupil could not succeed him and made the suggestion, which was not acted upon, that Baldwyn might replace Langhorn of Ernest Town, who was about to retire. (4) The Bishop also acquainted Major

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Morice to Mountain, July 31, 1812.

(2) The Montreal Churchman, April 1940 contains an article entitled "William Devereux Baldwyn 1778-1842" by T.R. Millman.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Sheaffe, June 4, 1813

(4) P.A.O. Strachan Letter Book 1812-34. Strachan to G.J. Mountain, June 19, 1813.

General De Rottenburg, who succeeded Sheaffe as Administrator, of the details of the arrangement, and of the general outline of the procedure necessary to give Baldwyn authority to enter upon the office. "Until Parishes shall be constituted & Rectories erected," he wrote, "there can be no regular Presentation to the Bishop, nor Institution of a Clerk to a Living. The Government at present, merely signifies its pleasure that the Clergyman should take upon himself the Eccl: duties of the Town, or Township in Question. I don't know what express form has been used in U.C."⁽¹⁾ De Rottenburg then gave the required authority, but added: "As it does not appear that this Government is authorized to pay more than six Clergymen of the Established, and one of the Scottish Church, it is not in my power to add to that number without the authority of Ministers being previously obtained."⁽²⁾

This decree temporarily affected the fortunes of John Gunter Weagant who had been introduced to the S.P.G. a year previously by the Bishop in the following terms: "I have had an application from a Lutheran Minister of the name of Weagant at Williamsburg in U: C: who has long used our Catechism, who admires our liturgy, & unequivocally approves our Articles,

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to De Rottenburg, June 22, 1813.

(2) Ibid., De Rottenburg to Mountain, July 15, 1813.

to be admitted to Holy Orders in our Church. I have also had an application from the C. Wardens and inhabitants of W: & Osnabruck (sic) expressing their concurrence in Mr. Weagant's wishes, and their cordial desire to conform in all things to our Church. Mr. Weagant's Test^s are most full & satisfactory, was well known to the late Dr. Stuart & much esteemed by him, & he is held in like estimation by Dr. Strachan; and I have great reason to be satisfied with his general character. It is my purpose to admit him as a candidate for Orders; and I have some reason to think that his Ordination may tend to introduce other of the Lutheran Congregations of the Province into our Church. They are among the most orderly settlers that we have; & are persons also of established loyalty. Upon these grounds I should be glad to find Mr. Weagant, upon the list of the Society's Missionaries. I shall probably ordain him in the course of 3 months."⁽¹⁾

Weagant was, to use his own words, "a Hanoverian, a King's subject born; having received my education in the Royal University of Gottingen in the Kingdom of Hanover."⁽²⁾

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Morice, July 10, 1812.

(2) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain 1793-1825, p. 27. In later years Weagant had to meet the charge that his secession from the Lutheran body was done secretly and that the congregation did not understand what the change implied. Weagant's refutation of this charge, and other related documents, are contained on pp. 120-130 of Stuart's Volume.

At the close of the century he was in charge of a small Lutheran congregation on the Bay of Quinte. In 1808 he moved to Williamsburg and Osnabruck, but found it impossible to maintain himself and his family on the irregularly paid stipend he received. With the consent of his congregation he joined the Church of England and a number of his people followed his example. He was ordained to the diaconate in 1812 and to the priesthood in 1814. On his appointment to Williamsburg he received from the Provincial Government the annual stipend of £100 formerly paid to Strachan at Cornwall, but when the Mission again procured a clergyman of its own the stipend was once more applied to it. Happily for Weagant, John Langhorn retired at that juncture, and returned to England, so that the Missionary at Williamsburg again received his pay.

The Bishop wrote on Feb. 12, 1814, to Sir Gordon Drummond, then administering the Government, that he had never understood that the Government of Upper Canada was limited to the appointment of six clergy only and urged that if Drummond would apply for further clergy the Home Government would support him in the move. He also informed Drummond of the vacancy at Ernest Town and of his purpose to ordain John Bethune for Augusta (Brockville) when the church and parsonage there should have been completed.⁽¹⁾ Drummond

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Drummond, Feb. 12, 1814.

agreed with the Bishop's plan, consenting as well that Government should pay for a man at Brockville.⁽¹⁾

The Bishop also spurred on Official George Okill Stuart to report on the Augusta situation. Suggestions were coming from Strachan, he wrote, not from Stuart. Dr. Strachan meant well, but it would be more proper if such proposals came through the proper channel.⁽²⁾ Stuart immediately busied himself, quickly replying that Brockville was the best place for the establishment of a clergyman and that Bethune was willing to go there.⁽³⁾ The latter was ordained to the diaconate in June 1814 and was licensed to Elizabethtown and Augusta.

John Bethune, third son of the Rev. John Bethune, Minister of the Church of Scotland at Charlottenburg (Williamstown) U.C., was born Jan. 5, 1791. He was educated by John Strachan at Kingston and Cornwall.⁽⁴⁾ Strachan early recognized that ordinands educated in the Canadas would be more adapted to conditions in their missions than clergy who came from the Homeland. John Bethune was the first product of

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 83, Drummond to Mountain.

(2) O.D.A., Mountain to Stuart, Feb. 17, 1814.

(3) Ibid., Stuart to Mountain, April 30, 1814.

(4) O.H.S., Papers and Records, Vol. XXVIII, 1931, The Bethunes by Professor A.H. Young. See also The McGill News, Summer 1943, for an article by T.R. Millman, entitled The Very Rev. John Bethune, D.D., LL.D.

of what Strachan called an "Experiment in Home Education."⁽¹⁾

When acquainting the Society of Bethune's ordination and expressing the hope that the young clergyman would be adopted as their missionary, the Bishop also wrote that the President of Upper Canada, Sir Gordon Drummond, had applied to the Secretary of State for the appointment of four ministers, two to Quinte and two to higher parts of the Province.⁽²⁾ In due course of time Bathurst informed Drummond that an allowance of £100 per annum to each of four new clergy for Upper Canada would be proposed in the next estimates to be submitted to Parliament.⁽³⁾

Before this arrangement had been put into force, however, the British Government had decided upon a new plan for the payment of the clergy whereby the S.P.G. was made the instrument for paying the stipends, now to be £200 a year. An account of the method by which clergy were paid in old Quebec and in Upper Canada, and of the circumstances surrounding the changed mode of administering the ecclesiastical grants is clearly described in a pamphlet written by Strachan in 1849. The writer first outlined the S.P.G.'s requirements before

(1) P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834. Report of the State of Religion in Upper Canada drawn up for the Chief Justice . . . and presented by him to General Drummond, 1st March, 1815.

(2) Journal of S.P.G., Mountain to S.P.G., July 19, 1814.

(3) P.A.C., Series G, Vol. 57, p. 70, Bathurst to Drummond Aug. 23, 1814.

sending out a missionary - a Church to be built, a glebe secured, a parsonage erected, a subscription entered into for the clergyman's maintenance. When these requirements were met the missionary was given £50 a year, with an outfit of not less than £30. He then continued:-

"The Rev. Dr. Stewart [Stuart] who had been many years Missionary to the Six Nations, on the Mohawk River, was the only Clergyman who came into Upper Canada on the restoration of Peace. He took up his residence at Kingston, where he soon gathered a respectable congregation, while he made occasional visits to his old parishioners, the six Nations, a portion of whom had settled in the Bay of Quinte.

In his new station the Society continued to Dr. Stewart his allowance of £50 per annum, and the Government granted him a stipend of £100 sterling in addition. The Rev. John Langhorn was some years after sent out by the Society from England, and received from them and the Provincial Government the same stipend as had been granted to Dr. Stewart.

On the division of the Government of Quebec into two Provinces, the portion of the stipends of these two Clergymen paid by Government was transferred to the civil list of Upper Canada, and no other Clergyman appears to have been paid out of the Provincial Revenue till the appointment of the Rev. John Weagant, in 1814.

The other Clergymen of the Established Church, who from time to time settled in the Province, were paid £100 sterling each, by the Provincial Agent in London, on whom they drew half yearly, as well as on the Society for half that amount, or £50 sterling.

I find in the estimate of the Provincial expenditure in 1817, which was laid before the Legislature, because in that year it had assumed the payment of the civil list, an allowance of four hundred pounds to four Clergymen as part of the charge which the Secretary of State had sanctioned, although only three had as yet been appointed. This item was, however, struck out by the House of Assembly, and the charge thrown upon the Crown Revenue. Since that period none of the Clergy have been paid from the Revenues of the Colony at the disposal of the Legislature.

In 1813 the few Clergymen, only five in number, serving in the Province, found their small incomes very much reduced from causes over which they had no controul. First: The property tax of ten per cent was levied on their salaries, being paid in England. Second: Their bills on London being of small amount, were subject to a deduction from exchange of from 22½ to 27 per cent. Third: To this was added a depreciation of £25 per cent on army bills, almost the only currency in the Colony. All these items, when added made a fearful deduction from the small incomes of the Clergy.

In this dilemma I was requested by my Brethren to make a full statement of the facts to the Lord Bishop of Quebec, who was always most anxious to protect and assist his Clergy. His Lordship lost no time in forwarding this statement, accompanied by a very strong representation of his own, to the Government at home as well as to the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, stating our great distress, and urging the necessity of immediate relief.

Not satisfied with this, the Bishop in a second despatch to the Society of the 5th of November, 1813, impressed upon them in the strongest language, the justice of increasing their allowances to their Missionaries, and without waiting for the action of Government, which in a period of such peril might be long delayed, to cover at least the loss by exchange and the Property Tax.⁽¹⁾ So much was immediately done by the Society, and at length the Bishop's urgent representations, aided by the combined exertions of the Society, induced the Government to give their attention to the subject. The result was an arrangement entered

(1) The Bishop had seen a newspaper notice to the effect that the S.P.G. was offering £200 free of all deductions, to missionaries who would go to Nova Scotia (Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 20). He immediately wrote to the Society asking for the same advantages for his own diocese. (*Ibid.*, Mountain to Morice, Nov. 5, 1813). Morice replied stating that the Archbishop had had a conference with Bathurst and that the same assistance would be given to Canada. (T.P.L. Scadding Collection, Morice to Mountain, April 18, 1814).

into by Government to make an annual grant to the Society from Parliament of £16,000, by which they were enabled, with their own funds, to allow their Missionaries in British North America £200 per annum, clear of all deductions.

The effect of this was to raise the incomes of the Missionaries from £150, their former nominal allowance, to £200;⁽¹⁾ but inasmuch as the £150 had been liable to the Property Tax and loss by Exchange, they were allowed to add these to their bills so long as such charges continued, so that the real proceeds should be exactly £200. In regard to loss from army bills, it could not be taken into account. From this arrangement the Incumbent of Toronto, then York, was so far excepted,⁽²⁾ that no addition was made to his income, because, being at the Seat of Government it had been settled at £275. But he had leave to add the amount of loss by Exchange and the Property Tax, so long as they continued, that his income might suffer no diminution.

For all this the Clergy was indebted to the first Bishop of Quebec, strongly seconded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; for His Lordship never rested, after he became acquainted with the pecuniary difficulties which were distressing his Clergy, till a remedy was found.

Under this arrangement matters remained without disturbance till 1833. In the meantime Exchange instead of continuing adverse became favourable, and in 1816, the Property Tax was repealed, but of these advantages neither the Government nor the Society took any notice."⁽³⁾

- (1) See Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 22, Hamilton to Mountain, May 20, 1815.
- (2) The incumbents of Kingston and William Henry were likewise excepted, as they already received £200 per annum.
- (3) Secular State of the Church, in the Diocese of Toronto, Canada West. (Printed for the use of the Clergy only), pp. 3-6. A copy of this pamphlet is bound with a volume endorsed "Diocese of Toronto", in the McGill University Library.

During the period under review one further inducement was given by the British Government, acting for the S.P.G., to persuade clergy to go out as missionaries. Lt. Governor Gore was advised in 1811 that £100 per annum would be put on the next estimate for any priest who after spending ten years in Canada returned to England.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop later wrote to Prevost, who had also received a copy of Liverpool's circular, asking for a further explanation of the proposed grant. He named four classes of clergy who did not seem to be included in the "letter" of the circular, but upon whom hardship would be worked if they did not receive the bounty.⁽²⁾ The Archbishop of Canterbury also received a letter from the Bishop, containing the same queries.⁽³⁾ Bathurst's ultimate reply was that the £100 would be given to clergy who after ten years retired to Great Britain on account of age and infirmity. An annual grant of £50 was to be given also to widows of missionary clergy.⁽⁴⁾

Of the four clergymen for Upper Canada, for whom provision was made in 1814 two only had settled in their

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 86, Liverpool to Gore, June 22, 1811.

(2) Ibid., p. 99, Mountain to Prevost, Nov. 27, 1811.

(3) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 14, Mountain to Manners Sutton, July 10, 1812. An answer to the Archbishop's reply is in Series B, Vol. 28, p. 17, Nov. 3, 1813.

(4) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 53, Bathurst to ?. June 18, 1813.

missions by 1816 - John Bethune and Ralph Leeming.⁽¹⁾

Leeming, who had been ordained by the Bishop of London, arrived at Quebec in the summer of 1816 and received the Governor's instructions to go to a new settlement on the River Rideau. Hearing this, the Bishop wrote to Sherbrooke from Montreal, pointing out that there were other more eligible places where the new man might be sent.⁽²⁾ Two places where churches were built were mentioned in a later letter, - Ancaster and Grimsby.⁽³⁾ Finally the Bishop informed the S.P.G. that Leeming had gone to Ancaster with the concurrence of the Governor.⁽⁴⁾

As Upper Canada had to bear the brunt of the American attack during the War of 1812-14, it was only to be expected that the border missions in that part of the Diocese would receive some damage. No sooner had Strachan been transferred to York than he had to meet great danger when the little Capital was captured in April 1813. His church was for two years used as a military hospital. Pollard's parish was early over-run by the enemy and his church at Amherstburg was burned. He himself was taken prisoner at the Battle of

(1) Vide "United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario", Transactions - Hamilton Branch, Mar. 10, 1903, for a biographical sketch of Leeming.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 58, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Aug. 15, 1816.

(3) Ibid., p. 59, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Sept. 24, 1816.

(4) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 24, Mountain to S.P.G., Oct. 16, 1816.

Moraviantown. After his release he performed clerical duties for the troops at Burlington Heights and at York. For about nine months he served the vacant mission of Ernest Town, but then returned to Sandwich. Addison's church at Niagara was burned but it had been sufficiently repaired to permit services to be held in it by 1816. For a time Addison acted as chaplain on the new ship "St. Lawrence" under Admiral Sir James Yeo, but he was not long absent from his mission despite the hazards of war. The church at St. Catharines, at which Addison conducted frequent services after its erection, was used as a hospital and was considerably damaged.

Special services were held in churches throughout the diocese during the war period. Days of Fasting and Humiliation were observed on May 8, 1812 and May 28, 1813. Thanksgiving Services were ordered for April 21, 1814, and May 21, 1816. On each occasion the Bishop consulted the Governor before issuing a printed form of service, copies of which are preserved in the Quebec Diocesan Archives.⁽¹⁾

(1) Volume endorsed "List of Deeds, Acts, etc.".

CHAPTER XVI

THE BISHOP AND THE CLERGY RESERVES

The Constitutional Act of 1791 stipulated that the Governor, in granting public lands, should reserve for the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy lands equal to one-seventh of all those granted in the past or to be granted in the future for other purposes.⁽¹⁾

In Lower Canada the Reserves were to be made in Townships surveyed after the passing of the Act; neither lands granted previous to 1791, nor the Seigniories (which were not Crown property) were subject to any reservation. In Upper Canada the grants were made in respect of the total land area, even of those townships surveyed before 1791. By this great endowment, amounting eventually to well over three and one-quarter million acres, William Pitt planned to provide for all time for a Protestant religious establishment in the Canadas. There is no real doubt that the framers of the Act of 1791 intended that the Church of England should be the chief beneficiary of their bounty.

It was in part the knowledge of the existence of this great potential wealth that influenced the Home Government to grant salaries for the clergy with so sparing a hand. The Reserves, it was thought, should supply sufficient support to the Church without having recourse to direct money

(1) 31 Geo. III c. 31, Sections 36-42, Imperial Statute.

grants. It was only by dint of much writing of despatches, largely by Bishop Mountain, that Westminster learned that the Reserves, however potentially valuable, yielded in the early years of the Diocese of Quebec a negligible sum of money, entirely insufficient to support even the small staff of clergy then at work. Although the first Colonial Secretary with whom Bishop Mountain conducted correspondence, the Duke of Portland, needed much persuading before he was convinced that the taking of Protestant tithes in the Canadas was quite impracticable, yet he did consider that the Reserves would eventually yield sufficient revenue to make tithe unnecessary. It was in order to promote this end that Portland suggested to Dorchester the formation of a Committee of Executive Council for the management of the Church lands so that the Reserves might be rented for the benefit of future incumbents of Rectories to be established under the Act of 1791.⁽¹⁾

A concise account of the steps taken in Upper Canada, during the succeeding four years, towards the efficient administration of the Reserves, is contained in a communication from Peter Russell to General Peter Hunter on the latter's arrival at York in 1799 to take over the Lieutenant Governorship of the colony. Russell wrote as follows:- "In consequence of His Grace the Duke of Portland's letter to

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 343, Portland to Dorchester, April 6, 1795.

Lord Dorchester dated 5th of April 1795, recommending the forming of a Committee of the Executive Council for the Care and Management of the Crown & Clergy Reserves, who should be authorized & intrusted to let the same, I lost no Time after the arrival of a Chief Justice to request the Advice of the Council, the Judges, & the Law Officers of the Crown upon that subject; and having reported to His Grace the Result of their Deliberations in my letter No. 18 dated August the 20th, 1797, His Grace in his answer thereto in his letter No. 7, dated Jany 10th 1798, observes 'that no time should be lost in carrying into Effect His Majesty's Intentions, by putting those Reserves on such a footing as may soonest render them productive: because the new Regulations when carried into Execution being likely to raise the Value of the Reserves, it will become immediately necessary to make provision for their preservation and security against any fraud or trespass that may be committed in respect of them, their limits & boundaries; and proposes that the Governor, Lieut. Governor, or Person administering the Government with the Members of the Executive Council for the time being should be constituted the Conservators & Stewards of this Species of Property; and that all accounts of Rents or Fines received from it should be regularly examined & passed by them and be reported half yearly to His Majesty's Secretary of State and to the Lords of the Treasury in order that the same may be applied from time to time for

the public service of the Colony in such manner as His Majesty shall direct and, as the Provisions of the Canada Act may call for in regard to those sums which arise from the Church Reserves.'

In my letter No. 52 dated June 1798 I had the Honor of Submitting to His Grace the Plan adopted by the Council and myself for leasing the Reserves. Which Plan having received the Approbation of His Majesty's Ministers, with some few Alterations, as signified to me in His Grace's Letters No. 12 & 14; arrangements had been prepared for carrying it into immediate Execution, and a Report made to me thereon by a Committee of the whole Council about the Time of your Excellency's arrival; which having closed the Powers of my Administration the further Proceeding therein must await your Excellency's Pleasure. I think it my Duty however to mention to your Excellency that all the Duke of Portland's letters to me on the subject uniformly press the necessity of rendering these Reserves productive with as little delay as possible, with a View, I presume, that Government may be eased in some of the Expence of a Church Establishment for this Province, as well as that a fund may be early formed by the Crown Leases for supporting the Civil Expenditure thereof without having recourse for it to the Treasury of Great Britain. It may also be further urged, that, as the Rents arising from these Leases are proposed to be increased in a stated progression at the Expiration

of each seven years, it is obviously of no small Importance that no time should be lost in commencing the Business of leasing them, for which there are already about two hundred applications in the Council Office."⁽¹⁾

The Council's plan for leasing the Reserves was drawn up only after long discussion. It probably owed some of its ideas to a memoir on the subject by William Dummer Powell, which contained an elaborate plan for making the Reserves productive.⁽²⁾ According to the scheme finally adopted the leases were to run for twenty-one years but the rates of rent were to be raised at each seven year period.⁽³⁾ Russell kept the Bishop informed about the progress of the Reserve business in Upper Canada. In acknowledging receipt of a preliminary leasing plan the Bishop gave it his approval. At the same time he stated that he was aware that American farmers would prefer perpetual leases; he also suggested that rents might be made payable in grain, as money fluctuated in value.⁽⁴⁾ When the final plan was sent to the Bishop he said in his reply that circumstances had concurred

(1) Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 290-91, Russell to Hunter, Aug. 20, 1799.

(2) Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 311-12, October 1797.

(3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 158, April 22, 1798; see also Lindsay, Charles, The Clergy Reserves, etc., p. 8.

(4) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 178-180, June 12, 1798.

to interrupt the progress of land-granting in Lower Canada, and hence the subject of the Reserves had been prevented from coming regularly under the Executive Government's consideration. (1)

The following extract from a letter from Portland to Milnes, Jan. 6, 1801, shows that the Colonial Secretary recommended that the Lower Province should adopt Upper Canada's plan. "The proposition which you very justly suppose to have been made to His Majesty's Government with respect to the Superintendence & Management of the Crown & Church Reserves, has most probably been carried by this time into execution in Upper Canada, and it seems very necessary that it should be adopted in the Lower Province with as little delay as possible.

The Purport of it you know is that the Governor and the Members of the Exec. Council for the time being should be constituted the Conservators or Stewards of this description of Property, & that all accounts of Rents, or Fines should be regularly examined & passed by them & be reported half yearly to His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department, and also to the Lord's Commissioners of the Treasury, to whom the said Rents and Fines are to be transmitted in order that they may be vested in the Public Funds, and be applied from Time to Time to Public Service of the

(1) Russell Correspondence, Vol. III, p. 65, Mountain to Russell, Jan. 24, 1799.

Colony in such manner as His Majesty shall direct in regard to those arising from the Crown Reserves; and as the provisions of the Canada Act may require with respect to those sums which arise from the Church Reserves. On this account it will be absolutely necessary that the accounts & receipts from the Crown & Clergy Reserves should be kept distinct & separate from each other; as the latter are exclusively appropriated by the Canada Act for a maintenance & support of the Prot. Clergy within the Province; & must therefore be vested in trust for those purposes & for those only."⁽¹⁾

It was not long, however, before the Bishop began to see that the management of the Reserves by Governor and Council was far from satisfactory. As early as June 6th 1803, in a long communication to Lieut. Gov. Milnes, which was later sent to Lord Hobart, then Colonial Secretary, he suggested that, if a Dean and Chapter were appointed to the Cathedral at Quebec, these officials, aided by some of the clergy, might superintend the reserved lands.⁽²⁾

In an anonymous document entitled, "Church Establishment in the Canadas" drawn up while the Bishop was in England on his first furlough, and based on his suggestions for the improvement of the ecclesiastical situation in his diocese,

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 21, Portland to Milnes, Jan. 6, 1801.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 92, pp. 253-274, Mountain to Milnes, June 6, 1803.

the plan adopted in Lower Canada ten years later and in Upper Canada thirteen years later is first clearly stated:-

"Untill there is something more in the Protestant Clergy than merely a vested interest in the allotments assigned for their support, those allotments will not become productive in any degree. But if the Bishop & Clergy or a Corporation or Corporations of them were appointed by the Governor to be Stewards and Conservators of those Allotments, under the Control & superintendence of the Governor & Executive Council with powers to grant Leases, under certain terms and Covenants to be specified & limited in these powers, to receive & sue for the Rents and profits, and to do such other Acts and deeds as are necessary for the care and management of this species of property, it would not only be the means of rendering the allotments more speedily productive, but would tend very much to increase the weight and influence of the Clergy of the Established Church. If this measure is adopted, there is no reason, I apprehend, why it should not be extended to all Church Allotments - whether made before or after the Townships are formed into Parishes - the allotments being appropriated as is the case in the first instance."⁽¹⁾

Although it is probable that the Bishop, with his customary pertinacity, did not cease at frequent intervals to bring the subject of the proposed Corporations to the

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 150-56, Sept. 7, 1806.

notice both of the Imperial and Colonial authorities, yet the next reference to it in his correspondence is found in a letter to Bathurst, June 6, 1814. In this letter he complained that although he had repeatedly mentioned the need of a Corporation for the Clergy Reserves yet nothing had been accomplished towards meeting that need, although the Governor-in-Council had approved of the plan in the previous year.⁽¹⁾ With Sir Gordon Drummond, Administrator of Lower Canada 1815-1816, the Bishop had greater success. A draft of an instrument for erecting such a Corporation was drawn up by the Attorney General, approved by a Committee of Council, and transmitted by Drummond to Bathurst.⁽²⁾ Bathurst agreed to the incorporation of the Bishop and clergy for the administration of the Reserves, and authorized Sir John Coape Sherbrooke the succeeding Governor-in-Chief to proceed with the business if the latter saw no new objection.⁽³⁾

About the same time John Strachan gave the Bishop a report on the Reserve situation in Upper Canada. Ninety-six

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 130-3, pp. 536-553, Mountain to Bathurst, June 6, 1814. The Bishop wrote that the Council's report was made on April 16, 1813. Drummond's despatch to Bathurst (see below), contained mention of his predecessor (Prevost's) approval of the plan on April 29, 1813.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 136, p. 214, Drummond to Bathurst, May 15, 1816.

(3) Ibid., Series G, Vol. 8, pp. 137-8, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, Aug. 6, 1816.

leases had been made, and the annual revenue should have been £527, but some leases were in arrears. He too was in favour of putting the Clergy on a commission for regulating the Reserves, as others would be careless.(1)

Two years later the Bishop gave the S. P. G. a résumé of his efforts to improve the administration of the Reserves: "For many years past he has made incessant efforts to put the management of the lands reserved for the Church in the Canadas in a better train than that in which they had hitherto proceeded. That they were greatly mismanaged was evident because nothing was received from them or at least, nothing was applied for the use of the Church. Although a considerable number of leases had been granted in both provinces for a considerable time, no attention was paid to his representations. Rents continued to be received by the Sheriffs of the different districts and should have been accounted for to the Governor-in-Council, but nothing was heard of them. In the year 1815 arrears were due in L. C. to the amount of £1200, and his Lordship represented to the Government in England and the Provincial Government the propriety of erecting the Bishop & Clergy into a Corporation for the legal management of the Clergy Reserves, but without any power over the funds which by the Act of 1791 were to remain entirely at the disposal of the Governor and Council. In

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 2, Strachan to Mountain, Aug. 24, 1816.

1816 the arrangement was made for the lower province, and his Lordship is not certain whether the same measure has been adopted in the Upper Province, tho' he strongly recommended it to the consideration of the Lt. Gov. Should it hereafter be deemed expedient to follow the example which has been practised in L. C. - it would be adviseable to include some of the Laity in the Corporation as the Bishop does not reside there, and the Clergy are very much scattered."⁽¹⁾ As a result, the Society appointed a strong committee which recommended that, among other important matters, the need of such a Corporation in Upper Canada should be represented to Bathurst. The recommendation was duly carried out.⁽²⁾

In the meantime the subject was being actively pursued at York. Strachan wrote in August 1818 to G.J.Mountain the Bishop's second son, then Rector of Quebec, asking for a copy of the commission erecting the Lower Canadian Corporation. The Bishop, he wrote, had sent him an outline but no particulars. He wanted to know whether the Corporation had been approved or was in actual operation.⁽³⁾ Not long after Strachan wrote to the Bishop:- "I am in hopes that something

(1) S. P. G. Journal, Bishop to S. P.G., Jan. 26, 1818.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 150, pp. 148-151, March 18, 1818.

(3) P. A. O. Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834, Strachan to G. J. Mountain, Aug. 24, 1818.

will be immediately done with the reserves agreeable to your Lordship's plan, which I have never lost sight of. We have procured a copy of the instrument from below, and I am sanguine in getting it adopted, or nearly so, as opposition seems to disappear before perseverance."⁽¹⁾ Five months later he wrote again telling of the final setting up of the Corporation.⁽²⁾ To this letter the Bishop replied:- "I am very glad that the Bishop & Clergy have been incorporated for the purpose of taking the management of the Church Lands in U: C:-

You may perhaps have done wisely in adding the Inspector, & Surveyor General, to our body; (altho' it be contrary to the general principle, - that of committing the care of the lands exclusively to those who are most interested in making them productive;) - but I own that I have some doubts upon the subject. In your time those lay brethren may have a subordinate influence; they may hereafter obtain one that shall be paramount."⁽³⁾ The writer appears to have forgotten that in the previous year he had himself suggested

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, March 12, 1819.

(2) Ibid., Same to same, July 6, 1819; A draft of the U. C. Corporation Charter is in the S. P. G. Archives. The original Letters Patent for setting up the L. C. Corporation is in Q. D. A., Series A, Folder 3.

(3) Ibid., Mountain to Strachan, Aug. 20, 1819.

the addition of lay members to the Upper Canadian Corporation.⁽¹⁾

A year and a half later the Bishop wrote to George Okill Stuart of Kingston, his Official in Upper Canada, expressing his surprise that no information about the Upper Canadian Corporation had been forthcoming. He added that he knew that no disrespect was intended, but asked that the mistake should be rectified immediately.⁽²⁾ Stuart's reply has not been preserved, but in the following May, C. J. Stewart, then Travelling Missionary, wrote to G.J.Mountain:- "I have been requested by Dr. Strachan to communicate to your Father, that the Corporation for the Clergy Reserves has not done anything except ordering & collecting papers, etc., previous to His Lordship's coming, & commencing preparatory work; & to suggest to His Lord'ship that it is adviseable he w^d give advice of his coming to York in order to fix an appointment of a general meeting of the Corporat'n.⁽³⁾ Later in the year Strachan sent the Bishop minutes of two quarterly Corporation meetings.⁽⁴⁾ His Lordship graciously replied:-

(1) See Supra. S. P. G. Journal, Mountain to S. P. G., Jan. 26, 1818.

(2) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, Feb. 19, 1820.

(3) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 6, Stewart to Mountain, May 10, 1820.

(4) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Dec. 13, 1820.

'I thank you also for the Minutes. I see nothing to disapprove; and some things which I think it might be exped^t that we should adopt here - the allowance for instance to the Clergy who attend the Quarterly Meetings from a distance.

But I am surprised to find that you doubt (for so it appears to me) of your authority to grant Leases yourselves, upon any terms that you shall think proper. We have had no hesitation upon this head & our construc: of our Charter is sanctioned by the opinion of the Chief Justice of the Prov."(1)

Strachan answered that in Upper Canada leases were issued under the great seal, not under the Corporation seal, and he enclosed the Attorney General's opinion on the point.(2) The Bishop closed the debate with the tart rejoinder:- "It is not necessary to discuss the comparative merits of our different modes of leasing the lands. I am perfectly satisfied with ours, & have no disposition to find fault with yours."(3)

In April 1822 Strachan told Archdeacon Mountain that it was difficult to collect the rents. He also asked the

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Strachan, Dec. 30, 1820.

(2) P. A. O., Strachan Letter Book 1812-1834. Strachan to Mountain, Feb. 26, 1821.

(3) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Strachan, April 24, 1821.

Bishop to provide a seal for official documents.(1)

One of the first duties of the Lower Canada Corporation was to get the opinion of the Clergy on the length of leases, in the autumn of 1819. All the replies that have been preserved are in favour of longer leases. One reply suggested perpetual leases; another, a ninety-nine year lease. Charles James Stewart thought that forty-two year leases, with a raised rental each fourteen years might meet the situation.(2) It is not known, however, whether any change was made in this direction.

As the organization of the Corporation was completed, By-laws were drawn up, amended, and finally printed in 1822.(3)

Despite the changed administration of the Reserves, improvement in financial returns was slow. Writing to the S. P. G. in 1823 the Bishop reported that the Lands were in train to become ultimately more productive, but that as yet they hardly did more than pay the necessary expenses of the Corporation.(4) But in a letter to an unknown correspondent later in the year he hinted that an improvement in the

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to G. J. Mountain, April 2 (?), 1822.

(2) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 7, Stewart to Mountain, June 2, 1820. Answers of other clergy to the circular letter of 1819 are preserved in the Montreal Diocesan Archives.

(3) Q. D. A., Clergy Reserve Printed Documents. The functions of both Corporations ceased after 1840, with the passing of Imperial Statute 3 & 4 Victoria, cap. LXXVIII.

(4) S. P. G. Journal, Mountain to S. P. G., Feb. 20, and March 1, 1823.

management of the lands had taken place since the creation of the Corporations.⁽¹⁾

The administration of the Reserves presented one great problem to Bishop Mountain; their preservation for the Church of England exclusively presented another, equally great. If the intention of the framers of the Act of 1791 was that the Church of England should get the lion's share of the Reserves, it is clear the opinion was also held that another Protestant body should receive part of them. On May 11, 1794, Dundas wrote to Dorchester:- "I see no objection to your Lordship's making such an allowance to the Presbyterian Ministers at Quebec and Montreal, as your Lordship has proposed for my consideration in No. 13. But the allowance should be understood to be merely temporary and discretionary on the part of your Lordship, for your Lordship will recollect, in forming the Canada Act, that the reservation for the Church and Crown in all Grants of Land, was fixed at a larger proportion than was originally intended, with a view to enable the King to make from those reservations such an allowance to Presbyterian Ministers, Teachers and Schools, as His Majesty should from time to time think proper."⁽²⁾ In 1828 in a speech in the House

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 166, pp. 636-9, Mountain to ?, Sept. 23, 1823; vide Lindsay, op. cit., p. 11, where it is pointed out that for three years after 1819 the revenue from the Reserves diminished.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 77, p. 125, Dundas to Dorchester, May 11, 1794.

of Lords the Earl of Harrowby declared that the opinion of both Pitt and Grenville was that the provisions of 31 George III were not intended exclusively for the Church of England. Lord Sandon, in giving evidence before the Canada Committee, 1828, stated that "a Protestant clergy" in Grenville's opinion, meant any clergy that was not Roman Catholic.⁽¹⁾ Simcoe early saw trouble on the score of the Reserves. Writing to Portland on the subject of a petition by the Rev. John Bethune of the Church of Scotland for a repeal of the Upper Canada Marriage Act, he concluded:- "It is obvious that the next claim of the Dissenters would be a partition of the sevenths set apart for the National Clergy."⁽²⁾ If the Act of 1791 had been more precisely drafted the Clergy Reserve controversy which added to the troubles of three successive Bishops of Quebec, might have been entirely avoided. Bishop Mountain, however, held tenaciously to the opinion that his Church alone had a claim on the Reserves and in this he was followed by Bishop Stewart, by his son George (later Bishop of Montreal) and especially by John Strachan, first Bishop of Toronto. The beginnings of the Clergy Reserve battle, so long and stubbornly fought,

(1) Lindsay, Charles, The Clergy Reserves, their History and Present Position, page 3, f.n., For Strachan's remarks on Lord Sandon's opinion see the former's speech on the Clergy Reserves made before the Legislative Council of Upper Canada, March 6, 1828, pp. 13-14.

(2) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. IV, pp. 309-11, Simcoe to Portland, June 20, 1796.

come into prominence in the later years of Bishop Mountain's episcopate.

In 1819 Presbyterians of Niagara petitioned the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, for an annual allowance of £100 for the support of a minister. Maitland then proceeded to inquire of the British Government whether the Act of 1791 intended to extend the benefits of the Clergy Reserves to all Protestant denominations, or to the Church of England alone. Lord Bathurst asked for the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, and in reply he was told that the provisions of the Act in sections 36 and 42 might be extended as well to the Church of Scotland, as it was a Church established by law - but to no other.⁽¹⁾ Although the Bishop wrote indignantly to Bathurst to disagree with what he termed a 'new' policy and to forecast the confusion that would result from it, Bathurst calmly replied that 'a Protestant Clergy' meant Clergy of both Churches.⁽²⁾ This judicial opinion, the rivalry aroused by the creation of the Corporations, and the fact that the Earl of Dalhousie⁽³⁾ was a member of the Scottish Church, spurred the Kirk authorities from 1819 onwards, to make a strong bid for public support whether from

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 326, pp. 43-46, Nov. 15, 1819.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 159, pp. 425-7, Mountain to Bathurst, June 15, 1821; ibid., pp. 428-9, Bathurst to Mountain, August (?), 1821.

(3) Dalhousie was Administrator of the Government of Lower Canada in 1819, and Governor-in-Chief, 1820-1828.

the Reserves or from other sources. Late in 1820 the Bishop informed the S. P. G. that the Clergy of the Church of Scotland in the Canadas were about to send a memorial to the General Assembly, through Dalhousie, for power to form themselves into a Presbytery. The Rev. James Harkness, (Kirk Minister at Quebec) and his friends, talked confidently of receiving a share of the Reserves, and the Bishop was compelled to admit that the Act was loosely worded.⁽¹⁾ Writing to Strachan a few days later the Bishop remarked, "I thank you for what you have communicated respecting the Catholics & Presbyterians. I have already taken some steps to put the Governm^t at home upon their guard, respecting the aspiring views of the latter; but I have no great confidence in the success of my endeavour. The person who succeeded the late worthy Dr. Sparke here, appears to be an ambitious & a stirring man. He has, even to me, complained of the neglect w^{ch} the Ch: of Scot: has experienced from the Government and I am well informed that he & his friends carry their views to a participation in the Lands reserved 'for a Protestant Clergy,' & that they have consulted Counsel on the subject. You will confine the knowledge of this matter to yourself."⁽²⁾

In a long communication to the S. P. G., Aug. 15,

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 5, Mountain to S. P. G., Dec. 26, 1820.

(2) T. P. L. Scadding Collection, Mountain to Strachan, Dec. 30, 1820.

1821, the Bishop wrote:- "In speaking upon this subject, Sir, I cannot dissemble my opinion, that the number of Clergymen of the Ch: of England required in the Canadas must be deeply affected by the views which His Majesty's Ministers now appear to take of the claims of the Church of Scotland, in this Country, as they have already been deeply affected by that estimate of the claim of the Ch: of Rome, upon which they have thought it expedient to act.

The influence of a Presbyterian Governor, (without imputing to him anything beyond that partiality which it is scarcely possible that he should not feel) will be easily conceived by the Society, as it is daily felt by us, - to have very extensive effects: And the enterprising temper which distinguishes the Presbyterian Minister sent from Scotland to succeed the late worthy Dr. Sparke, are producing effects also which, if they are supported by His Majesty's Government, cannot fail to shake the very foundations of the Church of England.

The following advertisement, extracted from the last Quebec Gazette, may serve to show the system upon which the Ch. of Scotland is now acting, & may point to the expectations which there is great reason to believe she is confidently forming.

'General Assembly of the Church of Scotland'

'Monday, May 28. A Petition from the Presbyterian Churches of Montreal & Quebec was read, which prayed for a more

intimate connection with the parent Church, as a means of facilitating the supply of Preachers of the Gospel to the Canadas. The Chair having been taken by Dr. M. Knight, the late Moderator, Dr. Mearns addressed the Chairman in support of the petitioners, & concluded by moving, that the Assembly appoint a Committee for that purpose; which was agreed to.

Thursday - The Committee on the Petition of the Presbyterian Minister in Canada made their report, which the Assembly unanimously sustained, & again remitted to the Committee, with instructions to carry their proposed measures into effect.'

The Society will observe, that the Report of the Committee shows the true state of the case: i. e., that this Petition proceeded from the individual, Mr. Harkness, & from him alone. . . .

Now Sir, combining with these things, the conclusion to be drawn from the conversation which Mr. Goulburn held with you, the Society will, I think, distinctly see the new & imminent danger which threatens the Church of England in the Canadas.

It is evident, that in the same degree in which they raise the Ch: of Scotland in these Provinces, Government must sink the Ch: of England. But this will not be the whole of the mischief. As there have never been any more than two or three regular Presbyterian Ministers in the two Provinces, the Presbyterians, in the course of thirty years, have become

less tenacious of the opinions of their Sect, & less opposed to those of the Ch: of England. And the consequence has been that they have, everywhere, in great numbers, conformed to that Church.

Now, if the strong excitement which they find in the countenance & example of the Governor, be reinforced by the success of the plans set on foot by Mr. Harkness, & supported by their obtaining a share of the Reserved Lands, can the consequences be doubtful.

Shall we not soon see our Churches deserted by half their congregations, by a general secession of persons, originally Presbyterian, or connected with that Sect, throughout these Provinces? Will there not be a total disruption of 'the Unity of the Spirit, in the Bond of Peace?'

It is for the Society to judge, how far this state of things is entitled to their attention; or may claim their decided interference."(1)

In answer to Bathurst's letter in which it was stated that the Act of 1791 permitted the Kirk to share in the Reserves the Bishop advanced a number of opposing arguments. He cast doubts upon the religious orthodoxy of the law officers who pronounced the opinion of Nov. 15, 1819; he quoted from Tomline's Life of Pitt to show that the latter intended the Reserves for the Church of England alone; he urged that

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S. P. G., Aug. 15, 1821.

there could not be two state establishments in the Canadas. "It will appear, I think plainly, my Lord," he concluded, "that in giving to the Presbyterians a share in the Lands reserved for a Protestant Clergy, his Majesty's Government will go the length of declaring, that the Church of England is not the Established Church of this Country, & that there is no such thing, here as a Constitution in Church & State."(1)

Believing that a union would be effected between the Canadas, members of the Kirk, in 1822, petitioned the British Government that in such a case provision might be made for the support of Kirk Clergy, and that the Church of Scotland might share in the Reserves.(2) Bishop Mountain countered with a letter which was sent to English bishops and cabinet ministers. The following copy was addressed to the Bishop of London:-

Quebec, Feb. 21, 1823.

My Lord:

There are some circumstances which impel me to call upon your Lordship from this remote quarter of the Empire, and to solicit your valuable support in a struggle to which I have reason to apprehend that the Church of England within my Diocese will be exposed in the approaching discussion of Canadian affairs.

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 159-3, pp. 432-8, Mountain to Bathurst, Nov. 16, 1821.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 167, p. 525, Memorial of Members of the Church of Scotland to the King, 1823.

I have been informed by some of my Clergy, upon whom I can perfectly depend, that a Petition has been addressed to the Imperial Parliament, by the Ministers of the Church of Scotland in the Canadas, praying for participation in the reserved lands, allotted for the support of a Protestant Clergy, and for other privileges of the particular nature of which I am not precisely informed, but which tend to invest the Kirk of Scotland with the Character of an Establishment in these Provinces.

I am placed, therefore, as the immediate Guardian of the Church of England in Canada, in a very peculiar situation. It is impossible for me to meet this petition by any similar representation from my Clergy; or from their flocks. The Petition has gone home, and will be submitted to Parliament long before I could collect the voices and signatures of persons spread over so vast a tract of country, with such impeded communication between many of its different points.

And thus, if it had not pleased Providence that the intelligence should be conveyed to me through an unofficial channel, which I had no right to anticipate, a most serious and alarming interference (as I trust that I shall be enabled clearly to shew) with the rights of the Church in my Diocese would have been proposed to the British Parliament without my being even apprized of the circumstances in time to defend the interests committed to my charge.

In this extraordinary dilemma I persuade myself that I shall not resort in vain to the only course which suggests itself to my thoughts; and that the appeal which I thus make will not appear to be the dictate of an undue jealousy nor of a desire to monopolize for my own Church that which is equally applicable to the benefit of others.

The Clergy of the Church of Scotland in Canada have too evidently imagined that the appointment of a Governor-in-Chief of their own Church and Country is to open a door to them to enter into competition with the Church of England. Of this I have had already sufficient proofs. But that the points have been long ago and unequivocally

decided, which are now called in question, and that it is only necessary to maintain what has been already done - to secure to the Church of England what has been already given to her:- in order to allay the irritation produced by a supposed unsettled state of rival claims, will be made evident by the following considerations:

1. That the King's Instructions to his Representatives in Canada declare in express words, "That the powers and privileges of an Established Church belong only to the Protestant Church of England."
2. That therefore, if the words Protestant Clergy in the 31 Geo. III cap. 31 which provides for the appropriation of the reserved lands, do not comprise Dissenting Teachers, (and it has never, I believe, been attempted to shew that they do,) but describe those of an Established Church, it follows inevitably that they describe only those of the Church of England.
3. That the Act in question 'makes it lawful to appropriate the lands for ecclesiastical purposes, 'according to the establishment of the Church of England,' but does not make it lawful in any other case: and if the intervention of the Act is necessary to make it lawful in one case, it can hardly be thought lawful without such intervention in the other.
4. That a Bishop was sent out to this Country, now nearly thirty years ago, upon the understanding conveyed in the Instructions, above alluded to.
5. That for these reasons no such analogy can possibly be sustained, as I am informed that it has been attempted to institute between the present case, and the relative situation of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland in India.
6. That the Canadian Provinces were, in the year 1793, erected into the Diocese of Quebec, and were constituted an integral portion of the Province of Canterbury: the Bishop being 'subject to the Archiepiscopal See in the same manner as any Bishop of any See within the

Province of Canterbury, in our Kingdom of England.'

7. That the recent acts of His Majesty's Government, ordering the erection of Protestant Parishes, according to the establishment of the Church of England in 1819, and erecting the two Provinces into Archdeaconries in 1822, are inconsistent with the supposition of admitting any other Establishment.

8. That even if it were true that the Reserves were originally available by Law for the Church of Scotland, and that His Majesty's Government had had the discretion of applying them, this discretion has been exercised in favour of the Church of England exclusively, by the erection of the Clergy of that Church into a Corporation, for the management of the Reserves, which makes it impossible to suppose that it could be then contemplated to provide for the support of the Clergy of the Church of Scotland from the Reserves.

9. That the circumstances of the Country and the disposition of the Protestant population, so far from calling for any such unlooked for measure as the superinduction of another Establishment within the limits of a Diocese which is itself within the Province of Canterbury, are particularly calculated to afford a foundation for a future religious union, and connection, through the Establishment, with the State. Of this no stronger proof can be advanced than that, whatever may be the multiplicity of Sects still prevailing, yet churches are springing up in all parts of both Provinces, from the River Thames, above Lake Erie, in Upper Canada, to the District of Gaspé in the other extremity of the Lower Province, - much faster than the Bishop can supply them with Missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. And though the Clergy, most of whom have individually a large and scattered charge, have increased in number from twenty-three to fifty-six. (This includes twelve Missionaries voted by the Society for 1822, the greater part of whom have not yet arrived.) Since the commencement of the year 1819 (while the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, including

the Licentiates and the additions made since the existence of a spirit of rivalry amount only to eleven:) Some of these have no pastoral nor directly professional charge, which is not the case with one of those of our own Church. there are at this precise date from twenty to twenty-five churches in the Diocese either built, or in progress, or in immediate contemplation, where no provision has been yet made for the Spiritual wants of the people, and they have received no direct encouragement to hope for a resident Clergyman.

These, surely, are sufficient indications that the Church of England does not require to be forced upon the Protestant population of this country in order to its Establishment. But for further information respecting the Churches and Missionaries of this Diocese, I may venture to give a reference to the Venerable Society whom I have mentioned above.

I conclude therefore, my Lord, by expressing my strong and fervent hope that the Church of England, and the Cause of Justice, will find friends in the Administration, and in the Parliament of Great Britain, willing, and able to defeat this attack upon the property and privileges of a body over whose Members I immediately preside: and I have the satisfaction of confidently assuring you that your Lordship's exertions in this behalf will not be bestowed upon an undeserving nor an ungrateful set of men.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant

J. Quebec⁽¹⁾

At the same time the Clergy Corporation of Lower Canada prepared a petition to the House of Commons, to counter

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 28, Clergy Reserves, Mountain to Howley, Feb. 21, 1823.

the Presbyterian petition of 1822.(1) As the Bishop had heard that Harkness was going to England to look after the Presbyterian interests he sent off his son George to ask Dr. Stewart to go home to represent the Church of England. Before receiving Stewart's reply the Bishop discussed with Ryland what he should do if Stewart could not go. He told Ryland that the only other person whom he would entrust with the mission would be his son, who was not fully acquainted with the business and could not give full explanations if any were required; "& (what is not very improbable perhaps), if Lord Bathurst should get out of temper, & should refuse to present the Petitions to the King and the House of Lords, my son would be placed in a very difficult & delicate situation."(2)

Stewart, however, left immediately for England, bearing the petition with him. Upon his arrival he sent it to Bathurst. A few days later he submitted the Bishop's proposed circular letter to Bathurst for approval.(3)

Stewart was an able advocate of his cause. Harkness,

- (1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 167, pp. 509-20, Petition of the Corporation for superintending, managing, and conducting the Clergy Reserves in the Province of Lower Canada. 1823.
- (2) Bishopthorpe Papers. Mountain to Ryland, March 28, 1823, The scheme to present petitions to the King and House of Lords was never carried out. The Corporation's petition was addressed to the House of Commons.
- (3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 167, pp. 507-08, Stuart to Horton, May 26, 1823.

in applying for an allowance for an Assistant at Quebec had implied that the Church of England there was over-staffed. Stewart pointed out the manifold duties of the Quebec Clergy and assured R. J. W. Horton, Under-secretary of State for the Colonies, that they were not leading lives of ease and inactivity.⁽¹⁾ He later asserted to Horton that rents from the Reserves would never become more than sufficient to pay for the necessary clergy, without aid from the S. P. G.⁽²⁾ Finally on Jan. 1, 1824, Stewart and Horton had an interview in which the object of the former's mission to England was discussed. Horton replied that the whole matter was speculative and not worthwhile agitating. It was notorious that the Reserves were insufficient even for the Church of England, and he imagined that that Church had a prior claim to them. If the Reserves became very productive the Kirk might apply again.⁽³⁾

In the following April Stewart applied to the S.P.G. for permission to stay during the present session of Parliament. He had heard that the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland might apply to Parliament for legal establishment

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 167, pp. 573-576, Stuart to Horton, June 23, 1823.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 170, pp. 627-644, Same to same, Sept. 8, 1823.

(3) Ibid., pp. 523-526, Substance of conversation between Stewart and Horton, June 1, 1824.

of that Church in Canada, as well as for participation in the Reserves, and he wished to oversee the interests of the Church of England,⁽¹⁾ On Sept. 1, 1824, he wrote to an unnamed correspondent, probably the Secretary of the S. P. G., that Harkness' proposals regarding the Church of Scotland in the Canadas were not being listened to. The writer proposed to embark for America on Oct. 1.⁽²⁾

But the Kirk leaders were not disposed to let matters rest, and they carried on concurrent campaigns in the Canadas and in Great Britain. St. Andrew's Church, Quebec, petitioned the Legislative Council for aid. As a result Louis Joseph Papineau was induced to move an address in the Assembly on the subject of the Reserves, pleading the King to recognize the Church of Scotland and Dissenters, as well as the Church of England, as beneficiary of the Reserves.⁽³⁾ At the Assembly's request the Address was forwarded to Dalhousie for transmission to Bathurst.⁽⁴⁾ Again the Bishop rose to defend his Church and wrote to Bathurst in an indignant strain:-

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 6, Stewart to S. P. G., April 17, 1824.

(2) S. P. G. Archives, Stewart Correspondence, Stewart to (?), Sept. 1, 1824.

(3) Q. D. A., Clergy Reserve Printed Documents 1820-55. The entry consists of a clipping from the Quebec Gazette of March 9, 1824, containing Papineau's address.

(4) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 168, p. 118, Dalhousie to Bathurst, May 10, 1824.

My Lord,

I undertake to say that this matter has been urged forward in the Assembly by the exertions, & intrigues, & the restless ambition, of a member of the Kirk of Scotland in this City. The blow was aimed at the Ch: of England; but the Demagogue who brought it forward, has disappointed, & confounded the first mover, by classing him with Methodists, Baptists, Jumpers, etc., etc.

It is no ordinary anomaly to see a measure of this sort introduced by a Papist, & in an Assembly, almost entirely Roman Catholic."(1)

From Upper Canada Dr. Strachan made the Bishop a suggestion designed to set the matter of claims to the Reserves at rest. If the Canadas were to be united he proposed the repeal of sections 41 and 42 of the Act of 1791, and the insertion in the New Union Bill of a Declaratory Clause that the words "Protestant Clergy" refer to clergy of the Church of England and none other.⁽²⁾ As the union was not effected at that time the suggestion fell to the ground.

About a month later Strachan wrote to Hillier, Secretary to Maitland, protesting against the claim of the Kirk to the Reserves. He also enclosed for the Lieut. Governor's

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 170, pp. 483-488, Mountain to Bathurst, Mar. 11, 1824. For a discussion of the Kirk's viewpoint in the whole matter see Reid, W. S., The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada, Chapter VII. "The commencement of the Kirk's Struggles for a Share in Government support and the Clergy Reserves."

(2) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 29, Strachan to Mountain, March 13, 1823.

perusal a petition from the Upper Canadian Corporation similar to that which was prepared by the Lower Canada Corporation for the British House of Commons.(1)

Early in 1824 Strachan produced a plan for improving the administration of the Reserves in the Church's interest. The principal changes, as proposed in a copy of the plan submitted to the Bishop were:- "1st. To take out the Clause of Renewal, and allow in lieu thereof a compensation for the Buildings, when the Reserve is sold, or leased to another. 2nd. To give the Corporation power to sell as well as Lease at their discretion, reserving in each Township such a portion of lands as may be sufficient to endow three or four parsonages in case so many should be required. 3rd. To place the money arising from the Sales in the British Funds - the interest only to be made applicable to the support of the Clergy."(2)

The Bishop made a memorandum on Dr. Strachan's plan, and enclosed it in a letter to Maitland, Feb. 21, 1824. It was a careful criticism, which maintained that although the present administration of the Reserves called for modification

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- (1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 333, pp. 183-87, Strachan to Hillier, April 11, 1823. The Presbyterians of U.C. had also enlisted the House of Assembly of that Province in their favour. See Lindsay, op. cit., p. 11.
- (2) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 57, "Dr. Strachan's Plan," 1824. Lindsay maintained that the document was the joint production of Strachan and Maitland, op. cit., p. 12.

yet the author's expectations were too sanguine and his proposals highly injudicious at such a time.⁽¹⁾ But Strachan was already on his way to England, where he arrived about the end of March, his first return visit to the Old Land since his coming to Canada in 1799.

It would appear that the Bishop accepted the 'fait accompli' and did not give the absolute veto to the Strachan-Maitland proposals. In any case, as Strachan informed his Diocesan in November 1824, he had laid the proposed modification for securing the Clergy Reserves before Lord Bathurst, and both Bathurst and Horton were disposed to accept it. He had also presented a Memorandum from the Bishop in which the latter pointed out the impossibility that the Church should ever be able to repay the Government from the Reserves. He was told that such repayment was not to be required. He and Stewart had gone to the Colonial Office to deal with the application of the General Assembly for Government support of the Kirk in Canada. The application, they found, was very moderately drawn up and did not broach the question of right to the Reserves. Prominent Scottish Churchmen whom he had interviewed spoke of no right to the Reserves; they merely wanted Government support for their missionaries in Canada. He informed the Bishop of a project on foot to form a Company to buy all Crown and Clergy Reserves. He had been detained

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 59, Mountain to Maitland, Feb. 21, 1824.

in London from April to July in order to give information to the Government and had not been able to visit half his friends in Scotland.⁽¹⁾

The Canada Company, when formed, offered to buy one-half of the Reserves, but at so low a price that Strachan opposed the sale. Whereupon five commissioners were appointed to value the land, but again the price was considered too low. When the Commissioners made their report early in 1825,⁽²⁾ Strachan, who was then back again in Upper Canada wrote to the Bishop in great haste. He urged that each Corporation, or both, should petition the King and both Houses of Parliament to insert in the impending bill authorizing the sale of the Reserves two clauses which would prevent injustice being done to the Church's interests.⁽³⁾ In the same letter, he recommended that one of three clergymen whose names be submitted to the Bishop should be entrusted with the task of proceeding to England to oversee the business. In some perplexity the Bishop enclosed Strachan's letter to Maitland, together with a private and confidential letter of his own. The following extract will explain the writer's dilemma:-

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Nov. 1824.

(2) A copy of this report is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives, in the volume entitled "Clergy Reserves, Printed Documents 1820-1855."

(3) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Extracts from a letter from Strachan to G. J. Mountain, Feb. 17, 1825, (in G. J. M.'s writing).

"I suppose your Ex: to be of opinion that a person be sent home. Dr. S. has named 3 Clergy to me as the only persons he thinks qualified for this mission. You will observe that the Dr. appears to consider himself as being out of the question, & to be even very averse from taking the trust: but you will also observe that, in enumerating the qualifications w^{ch} this person sh^d possess, he has precisely marked those which can not but be admitted strongly to characterize himself; much more strongly than they can do any other person, & that he has also hinted that he might be prevailed upon to accept the charge. . . .

To speak plainly, I am, in my private thoughts, entirely satisfied that Dr. S. is very ambitious of this Mission, & sanguine in his hope of being pressed to take it. I feel that on some acc'ts he is undoubtedly the fittest person - but - to say nothing of his so soon again quitting his duties as a Missionary, I do not hesitate to confess to you, that I have strong objections to his going. I know his ambition. I know a good deal of the means w^{ch} he employed to obtain his object. I know that to a certain extent his endeavours were not unsuccessful - and I know that Your Ex: recommend: tho' not so intended was considered in Dow: [ning] S: [treet] as placing him on high & vantage ground for the attainment of a Bishop: if another Dio: had been created.

Another Dio: may yet be created - & if, with all the advantages which he has obtained, Dr. S. sh^d return to Eng.,

he w^d have the fairest chance of becoming a Bishop. I can not conceal from you that this is an event which I sh^d see with very deep concern. Nor do I think that the future consequences to be apprehended to the Ch: of Christ from this appointm^t w^d be redeemed by any services that Dr. S. c^d render respecting the Reserves." The Bishop proceeded to recommend his son George for the mission and to ask Maitland's opinion on the usefulness of sending a petition from the Corporation to the British Government.⁽¹⁾ A criticism of the composition of the Commission for valuing the Reserves, and of Dr. Strachan's proposed amendment of the Articles of Agreement between the Company and the Government, brought the letter to a close.⁽²⁾

Maitland's reply is not available but in answer to it the Bishop said that he still was not sure whether the Lieutenant-Governor considered Archdeacon Mountain or Dr. Strachan the fitter person to go. The Archdeacon was going anyway, and if Maitland insisted, the writer would give permission for Strachan to go as well.⁽³⁾ Maitland's immediate answer was to transmit to the Archdeacon an introduction to

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- (1) The Petition was prepared and sent. As Bathurst thought that it lacked respect to the Government it was not presented. Vide, G. J. Mountain to Horton, June 14, 1825, Q. D. A., B6x.
- (2) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 64. Mountain to Maitland, March 1, 1825.
- (3) Ibid., p. 68, Same to same, March 26, 1825.

Bathurst and to say with regard to Dr. Strachan, "There are reasons connected with his civil duties here that must have prevented my permitting him to leave the Province."⁽¹⁾

The Bishop had earlier written to Strachan a letter which the latter considered a heavy censure. Archdeacon Mountain endeavoured to mollify his Upper Canadian fellow-dignitary by saying: "My father fully appreciates your exertions for the interests of the Church, & I pledge myself to give you all the credit for the information which I expect to receive from you."⁽²⁾ Strachan in his reply regretted the Bishop's censure and expressed his disappointment that the Archdeacon was not coming to York before sailing. He would not, he wrote, have allowed personal feelings to prevent his making his correspondent master of the subject.⁽³⁾ Strachan subsequently supplied Mountain with information about the Reserves in Upper Canada, and had the latter appointed as agent of the Corporation, to act in concert with the Attorney-general of Upper Canada, John Beverley Robinson, who went to England⁽⁴⁾ on the same vessel. He also informed the Bishop

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 71, Maitland to Mountain, April 11, 1825.

(2) Ibid., p. 67, G. J. Mountain, to Strachan, March 26, 1825.

(3) Ibid., p. 70, Strachan to G. J. Mountain, April 8, 1825.

(4) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, pp. 72-4, Strachan to G. J. Mountain, April 20, May 9, May 17, 1825. Vide Memoir of G. J. Mountain, p. 81, for a reprint of the Corporation's Commission.

of what he had done to assist the Archdeacon.(1)

By the time the Archdeacon reached England, May 21, 1825, the bill objected to by the Church authorities in the Canadas had already passed the Parliament, whereby the Canada Company was permitted to buy a large block of the Reserved Lands at the Commissioner's valuation. Subsequently, however, Bathurst informed the Archdeacon that it was Government's intention "to place the Church upon the same footing as before, restoring the one-third of the Reserves if the Company will accept other lands as an equivalent, or substituting these other lands for the support of the Clergy, if they will not."(2) The former alternative was eventually carried out, whereby the Company accepted the so-called "Huron Tract" in lieu of the Reserved Lands. A further discussion of the Clergy Reserve Question would prolong this study far past the end of the Bishop's life; an event which took place during the absence of his son in England.

The strong fight initiated by Bishop Mountain to prevent another Church than his own from sharing in the Clergy Reserves requires little explanation beyond that which has been already given in his own words. He undoubtedly firmly believed that his Church alone had a constitutional

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, pp 75, Strachan to Mountain, May 25, 1825.

(2) Mountain, A. W., A Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, etc., p. 84; Q. D. A., Vol. B6x, p. 76, Horton to G. J. Mountain, June 14, 1825.

right to the Reserves, although he was not opposed, on principle, to granting public support to the Church of Scotland, provided that such support were not taken from the endowment which he was convinced that Parliament had given exclusively to the Church of England in the Canadas. But the key to a fuller understanding of his approach to this as to other problems which beset him in the course of his long episcopate, is to be found in his ruling idea of an Anglican Church Establishment. He could no more allow Kirk participation in the Reserves to pass unchallenged than he could permit the assumption of the title of Bishop of Quebec by Joseph Octave Plessis to go by unnoticed. Both moves, although in different degrees of seriousness, endangered the Church Establishment which he understood it was the original policy of the British Government to foster in the Canadas, and which he believed it was his mission to found and maintain.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE BISHOP'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE EDUCATION IN THE CANADAS

In the generation between the Peace of Paris and the establishment of the Anglican See of Quebec little had been done by government to advance the cause of education in the province. Government's intention, as stated in Governor Murray's instructions, was to encourage the establishment of Protestant schools and to set apart lands for the maintenance of school masters. In addition, no schoolmaster was to be allowed to come from England to teach in Quebec without first obtaining the Bishop of London's licence, and all others were to obtain the governor's licence.⁽¹⁾ But schools and masters were so few that these clauses had little call to be put into operation. The first step of any consequence was taken on May 31, 1787, when a Committee of the Legislative Council, under the chairmanship of William Smith, was charged with the duty of reporting on the subject of Education of Youth. A questionnaire was immediately prepared and sent to a Mr. Panet, a prominent lawyer, with the request that he would elicit information from the parishes in the districts of Quebec and Montreal. He made little effort to carry out his task, and for two years the Committee was moribund. It can

(1) Kennedy, W. P. M., Statutes, Treaties and Documents of the Canadian Constitution. Instructions to Governor Murray, 7 December, 1763, p. 48.

hardly be a coincidence that the next move made by the Committee took place during the Visitation of Bishop Inglis in August 1789. In any case, this untiring educationist, who was at the time successfully promoting a College in Nova Scotia, discussed with Lord Dorchester certain regulations for schools in the province, and suggested as well the establishment of a College in Canada. (1)

The Committee of Council sprang into life again, and on this occasion went to the highest ecclesiastical authority in French Canada, Bishop Hubert and his coadjutor Monseigneur Bailly, addressing to them the same questions that had been sent to Panet. The Bishop replied in the following November, vetoing the suggestion that a University be founded. A few days later the Committee brought in its report, proposing to set up free schools in every village for giving elementary instruction in reading, writing and cyphering, and a county free school for more advanced instruction. They agreed with the Bishop regarding the inadvisability of establishing a University at the time, but made several proposals for the erection of a College or Academy. Both French and English were to be asked to support it, and theological subjects were to be excluded from the course of studies. (2)

(1) P. A. C., Report 1912, p. 236; Harris, R.W., Charles Inglis, p. 105.

(2) The Committee's report, Hubert's letter to the Chairman, and Bailly's acid comment on the letter, may be consulted in William Smith's History of Canada, pp. 177-210.

Here the matter stood when Jacob Mountain arrived four years later. Lord Dorchester, however, had not neglected the subject of education entirely. He had written to Dundas and received a reply which stated in part:- "Your Lordship's ninth suggestion respects the Establishment of an University and of Schools; and I observe that the Legislature of Canada has already brought in a Bill relative to the latter. I am of opinion that an establishment of so extensive a nature as that of an University will rather gain than lose as to future prosperity by being postponed for the present. The appointment of a Bishop for the two Canadas which is immediately about to take place, and the introduction of a more numerous body of Protestant Clergy into the Provinces, which must be the consequence of this measure, will pave the way for such a foundation as is now proposed, and ensure its success, by providing a suitable and corresponding supply of Learning and science in the persons of those whose province it will chiefly be to guide and direct it."⁽¹⁾

In his first Visitation report, made to Dundas, the Bishop alluded to the subject of education as follows:-

"There remains a subject, Sir, upon which I am induced to take the liberty of submitting a few remarks to Y^r consideration. The plan of the Committee of Council for introducing an extensive system of Educ'n into this C. appears to have

(1) P. A. C., C.O. 42, Vol. 22, pp. 258-9, July 1793.

failed by attempting too much at once. We are perhaps not yet ripe for such an institution. But, as introductory to it, good Gram^r Schools should be established & encouraged in Quebec, in Montreal & in Kingston. With those we should immediately begin: but the allowance of 200 a year made by Governm^t for such purposes has been so unfortunately applied by our former Govern^{rs} as to produce no good effect whatever, I have represented this matter to L^d D. & his Ldshp proposes to lay it before the Ex. Council, & to proceed upon their report. Not being a M^r of that Council, I have, of course, no further voice in the business. But I hope that I do not presume too far in earnestly recommending it to your attention & in proposing that £100 a year should be added for the support & encouragement of a School at Kingston; for the education of the youth of the Upper Country. I am convinced that it is a matter of the last importance to the Province. You will see, no doubt, Sir, all the mischiefs that may eventually arise from the necessity of sending our youth for education to the schools of Foreign America, a necessity which at present certainly exists, & to which I know some worthy & prudent parents reluctantly submit."(1)

Not many months later the Bishop had a long conversation with Lord Dorchester, the substance of which he put

(1) Simcoe Correspondence, Vol. III, pp. 91-94, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794. The Bishop subsequently became a Member of the Executive Council.

in a letter of July 15, 1795. The relevant portion is as follows:-

"I w'd also beg leave to introduce here a subject by no means remotely connected with that which I have thus far had the honor of submitting. I mean the general state of Education in this Province. Had the appoint^t of S. Masters taken place under y^r L's Administration, I have no doubt that we should have found the bounty of Gov't accurately applied to the purposes for which it was originally designed - "the liberal instruction of youth; the inducing the Inhabitants to embrace by degrees the Protestant Religion - etc. - At present, it is matter of sufficient notoriety that either from incapacity or inattention in the Parties employed there is not a Gram^r School in the Province that is worthy of the name, - that of inferior Schools there are none w^{ch} proceed upon the principles stated above. This abuse is of great public moment. The almost inevitable necessity which will thus be imposed upon the higher orders of Society to send their Children to the United States for the completion of their Education is pregnant with alarming mischiefs." The Bishop went on to recommend the placing of Protestant English School Masters in every parish to teach the English language gratis, and writing and Arithmetic at easy rates. The persuance of such a policy, so he thought, would in a few years break down the barrier between English and Canadian inhabitants.⁽¹⁾

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 74, pp. 207-213, Mountain to Dorchester, July 15, 1795.

No progress was made in the direction of the Bishop's proposals. When Dorchester was returning to England the following year Jacob Mountain wrote him a parting letter containing best wishes but regretting that circumstances had forbidden him to take any decided steps for the advancement of the Church of England & the Establishment of Liberal Education in the Province.⁽¹⁾

After three years the Bishop returned to the attack, making proposals similar to those submitted to Dorchester, in a communication to Lieut-Governor Milnes. A Committee of the whole Council considered the Bishop's paper, and recommended the adoption of its proposals.⁽²⁾ Sir Robert Milnes transmitted the Bishop's paper and the Council's recommendation to the Duke of Portland, suggesting the reservation of Crown lands for the purpose of establishing grammar schools, and for a college at Quebec.⁽³⁾ Portland fully agreed with the contents of these communications, and authorized the payment, from the provincial revenue, of masters to teach the English language in the free schools. He was of

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. I, p. 94, Mountain to Dorchester, July 8, 1796.

(2) The Bishop's Paper, dated Oct. 19, 1799, and the Committee's report thereon are in P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 84, pp. 183-190.

(3) See Christie, R., A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, pp. 48-9, for extracts from Milne's despatch to Portland, April 5, 1800.

the opinion that one or two grammar schools would be sufficient for the time, but looked forward to the period when a college or university would be necessary, and asked for further action by the Governor in Council respecting the proposed reservation of Crown lands for that purpose.⁽¹⁾

On the death in 1800 of Father Casot, the last Jesuit priest in Quebec, the estates of the Order were taken over by the government, and administered by commissioners. The first Lower Canadian Assembly in 1793 urged the crown to relinquish its claim on the estates in favour of the legislature, the revenue to be devoted to purposes of education. No reply came, and the subject was again brought up in 1800. Milnes informed the Duke of Portland, however, that the publication of the government's intention to establish free schools, in accord with the despatch of July 21, 1800, had had the happy effect of setting aside all reference to the Jesuits' Estates. He also told Portland that the Assembly was even then preparing a bill for carrying the educational policy previously outlined into effect.⁽²⁾

The bill referred to by Milnes created the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, a governing body to supervise all schools in the province and to administer

(1) Christie, R., op. cit., pp. 49-50, Portland to Milnes, July 12, 1800.

(2) Ibid., p. 57, Milnes to Portland, Feb. 18, 1801.

their property. The act also empowered the Governor to erect free parish schools, to appoint masters and fix their salaries.⁽¹⁾ For the support of these schools the Executive Council recommended to the Governor that sixteen townships should be granted from the Crown lands for this purpose, and that Quebec and Montreal should receive gifts of twenty thousand acres each for the maintenance of Royal Grammar Schools. These grants were never made, and the Act of 1801 remained for years a dead letter.⁽²⁾

The eventual completion of the organization of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, by the appointment of trustees in 1818, was brought about by reason of a bequest for educational purposes made by James McGill, a wealthy merchant of Montreal, who died in December 1813. In his will the testator left his property called Burnside to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning "to be constituted and established, under and by virtue of an Act of the Parliament of the Province of Lower Canada made and passed in the forty-first year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled An Act for the Establishment of Free Schools and the Advancement of Learning in this Province" on condition that the Institution should within ten years establish a University or College on the Burnside estate. If the ten

(1) Provincial Statute of Lower Canada, 41 Geo. III, c. 17.

(2) Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 16, p. 452.

years should pass by without the will being carried into effect the property was to revert to McGill's heirs. The merchant also bequeathed £10,000 to the trustees to be paid to the Royal Institution as soon as that Institution should have established a College or University, - the money to be "applied towards defraying the expense incurred in establishing the said University or College, and towards maintaining the same "after it shall have been established." (1)

One of the trustees was the Rev. John Strachan, then Missionary at York, who had married the widow of Andrew McGill, brother of the testator, and to whose acute mind - the bequest probably owed its origin." (2) Strachan visited Montreal shortly after McGill's death and immediately began to think about the constitution of the proposed College. He wrote for suggestions to a friend, Professor Brown of the University of St. Andrews, (3) and to Dugald Stewart. (4) He wrote to Samuel Sherwood. Andrew Stuart and James Stuart, personal friends, and members of the Lower Canadian Legislature as early as Feb. 14, 1815, telling of his plans for McGill

(1) MacMillan, Cyrus, McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921, Appendix A, pp. 277-280.

(2) The Montreal Gazette, Sept. 3, 1829, contains a letter by Strachan in which the writer claims that he encouraged McGill to make the bequest.

(3) Bethune, A.N., Memoir of Bishop Strachan, p. 56.

(4) P. A. O., Strachan Letter-Book, 1812-1834, n.d.

College and advising haste in carrying out the terms of the bequest.⁽¹⁾ Later in the same year he communicated with the Bishop:- "Your Lordship must be acquainted with the Legacy left by the late Mr. McGill for the purpose of establishing a College. Representations were made to Sir George Prevost, as it will be lost if Gov^t do nothing within ten years. Sir George merely referred the matter to the Attorney General, who, as might have been expected, did nothing. Being a Trustee to this Legacy I should be happy to co-operate in any way to put it to the use designed by the Testator. Ten thousand pounds and an excellent scite might induce Gov^t to accelerate the institution which your Lordship mentions."⁽²⁾

The Bishop replied:- "On the subject of Mr. McGill's Legacy, I can only now say, that S^r G. P. c'd never be prevailed upon to do anything effectual: but that I hope better things from Sir G. D."⁽³⁾

This hope was realized when Bathurst wrote to Drummond telling of Government's intention to establish one or more Colleges in Lower Canada for the instruction of youth. Bathurst's idea was that McGill's £10,000 could be used for the erection of a college and that the Jesuit Estates

(1) P. A. O., Strachan Letter-Book, 1812-1834, Strachan to Sherwood, etc., Feb. 14, 1815.

(2) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Sept. 20, 1815.

(3) Ibid., Mountain to Strachan, Oct. 14, 1815.

would yield at least a portion of an endowment.⁽¹⁾ After a perusal of McGill's will Bathurst revised his instructions and authorized Drummond first to constitute the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, with the Bishop, Jonathan Sewell, James Monk, Bishop Plessis, and the Administrator himself, as trustees.⁽²⁾ In a later despatch Bathurst added the names of Alexander Sparke, John Richardson, W. B. Coltman and John Reid to the number of trustees.⁽³⁾

The slow progress made in carrying out Bathurst's plan for the founding of the College was laid by Sir John C. Sherbrooke, Governor-in-Chief, in a letter to Bathurst, at the doors of the two Bishops. Bishop Mountain objected that in the proposed Charter the Chief Justice's name was placed before his own. The Roman Catholic Bishop had declined becoming a member of the Royal Institution, and without his countenance the proposed Institution could not be of general value. Sherbrooke submitted ways of removing Plessis' scruples, and gave it as his opinion that the Institution's charter should be prepared in England.⁽⁴⁾

The Bishop's absence from his Diocese, November 1816

(1) MacMillan, C., op. cit., pp. 52-53.

(2) Ibid., pp. 54-55.

(3) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 8, pp. 39-41, Bathurst to Drummond, April 9, 1816. It is probable that John Reid should be James Reid.

(4) Ibid., Series Q, Vol. 137, pp. 199-201, Sherbrooke to Bathurst, Oct. 23, 1816.

to the Spring of 1819, helps to explain subsequent delay in the prosecution of educational affairs in the Province. However, on Oct. 8, 1818, the Royal Institution was duly organized under Letters Patent, and more trustees were appointed by further Letters Patent dated Dec. 15, 1819, a few months after the Bishop's return. While in England he discussed the business with Lord Bathurst. It is, however, implied by the following letter of Jacob Mountain to Adam Gordon that close or continuous communication was not maintained on the topic between Bishop and Colonial Secretary:- "Lord Bathurst informs me that Instructions have been transmitted to the Duke of Richmond, authorizing him to found a College at Montreal; & placing at his disposal the funds necessary for the commencement of the undertaking.

You will feel, Sir, that it will be a very awkward thing for the Bishop of the Diocese to return to Quebec, without any further knowledge upon this subject, either as to the nature, & extent of the proposed establishment, or the connection which it may, or may not, be intended that he should have with it."⁽¹⁾

In the months following his return from England the Bishop and the other trustees pursued the subject of the proposed college unweariedly. On Dec. 4, 1819, he accepted

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 153-2; pp. 295-297, Mountain to Gordon, April 29, 1819.

the Principalship of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, and proposed the Rev. Joseph Langley Mills as Secretary.⁽¹⁾ To Sewell on the following Dec. 24, the Bishop wrote:- "Various causes conspire to make me anxious that no time should be lost in proceeding to establish our College. - First, what Lord Bathurst himself said to me upon the subject; - secondly, the general attention, & expectation, that has been excited, respecting it: - & Thirdly, & lastly, (to proceed in true Clerical phrase), the impatience of the Government at home, to receive something from this Country relating to it; (as is evident from Papers which Colonel Ready, by the direction of the Duke of Richmond, long ago, & which Mr. Monk since, have put into my hands:) & Mr. Monk's earnest desire which he has continually and urgently pressed upon me.

It would be very unpleasant to me, I must confess, if Lord B. should think there was any reason for accusing me, of backwardness, or negligence, in this matter.

Now, permit me to say, it does appear to me, that under this evident impatience of the Government, on the one hand, & under Mr. McGill's will on the other, (which makes it a condition of our receiving the property, that a College shall previously "be established for the purposes of Education, etc., - with a competent number of Professors &

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 68, Mountain to James Monk, Dec. 4, 1819.

Teachers etc.) our Application for a Charter should be a first step; or at least, might properly synchronize with our application to be put in possession of the property. After all that the Government at home, and here, has expressed upon the subject, may it not be construed into a want of respect not to make every effort to comply with their wishes?

It has struck me, that it might be proper to call a meeting of the Trustees, early in next week, & to show our willingness at least to do all that we can. There are times when we must meet: but I presume that we may meet at any time when we may see occasion to do so."(1)

On Jan. 4, 1820, the Bishop wrote to James Monk, President of the Council and administrator of the Government that the Royal Institution was about to call on McGill's trustees to convey Burnside to them. It had been agreed that the Principal should write to the Secretary of State, informing the latter of the incorporation of the Institution, and asking for a Charter.(2)

The Bishop's communication to Bathurst, Jan. 11, 1820, follows:

(1) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, Dec. 24, 1819 . Sewell did not think that it was correct procedure to apply for a Charter but the Bishop carried his point. Ibid., Mountain to Sewell, Dec. 31, 1819 and Jan. 1, 1820.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p..79, Mountain to Ready, Jan. 4, 1820.

My Lord:

I have the honour to inform Your Lordship that the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning held their first regular meeting, under their Charter, on Tuesday last; when the proper steps were taken for obtaining from the Trustees of Mr. McGill's will, a Conveyance of the Estate bequeathed to them by him; and the foundation was laid for several ulterior proceedings of considerable importance.

I have also the honour of submitting to Your Lordship, at the desire of the Institution, for Your Lordship's consideration, & correction, a Draft of a Charter, such as they humbly conceive to be not unsuited to the circumstances of the case. It having appeared to them to be Your Lordship's wish to forward without loss of time, the Erection of an University or College, & the same wish having been earnestly expressed by the Administrator of His Majesty's Government in this Province, they have been anxious, by submitting their ideas respecting a Charter, in this stage of the business, to supply to Your Lordship, as far as may depend on their endeavours with the means of giving a more early completion to this object.

They hope to be enabled to inform Your Lordship by the next Packet that the Land and House in question has been conveyed to them by the Trustees of the Will; & to submit to Your Lordship their petition to the Prince Regent, that he would be pleased to confer the necessary Charter.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's
most obedient servant

J: Quebec.
Principal of the
Royal Institution⁽¹⁾

Over a year later the Bishop informed Bathurst that Desrivières, McGill's heir, had refused to convey the McGill

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 155, pp. 76-7, Mountain to Bathurst, Jan. 11, 1820.

Estate and had gone to Law. A Charter so he thought might do away with Desrivières' plea, and a plan of such a document was submitted anew along with a statement of proceedings in connection with the Royal Institution and the McGill bequest.⁽¹⁾ But Bathurst in the intervening months had not neglected the business. He had submitted the proposed Charter to the Law Officers of the Crown and had received the reply that it had been compared with that of King's College, Windsor, and had been found unexceptionable.⁽²⁾ Finally, Letters Patent under the Great Seal, for establishing McGill College, were prepared, March 31, 1821. The document was transmitted to Dalhousie, with an accompanying bill of £221 - 4 shillings.⁽³⁾

In order to conform with the conditions of McGill's will it became necessary towards the close of 1823 to make a pro forma appointment of professors, whose names the Bishop was requested to submit. Archdeacon George J. Mountain was appointed Principal of McGill and honorary Professor of Divinity, offices which he held until 1835, although he never acted in his capacity of professor.⁽⁴⁾

Many obstacles lay in the way of the founding of

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 159-2, p. 395; pp. 407-411, Mountain to Bathurst, March 23, 1821.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 156, pp. 109-10, Robinson to Bathurst, Nov. 11, 1820.

(3) Ibid., Series G, Vol. 11, pp. 114-115, Bathurst to Dalhousie, June 16, 1821.

(4) Mountain, A. W., Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, pp. 64-65.

McGill College, but the chief one was lack of financial resources. It had long been felt by those responsible for education in Quebec that the proper fund for this purpose was the revenue arising from the Jesuit Estates. On May 10, 1816, previously to the incorporation of the Royal Institution an order had been sent by the Imperial Government placing the proceeds of these estates at its disposal, but this order was countermanded on the following May 31 because of the Provincial Government's financial embarrassment arising from the conduct of the Assembly. Dalhousie as Governor-in-Chief objected to any appropriation of funds for education from this source, and he refused to pay the salary of the Secretary of the Royal Institution from the revenue of the Estates.(1)

The situation became so serious, particularly because of legal expenses arising out of the contesting of the McGill bequest by Desrivières that the Institution petitioned the Lieutenant Governor, Sir F. N. Burton, for aid. The Memorial pointed out the Institution's destitute condition and pleaded for relief from the Estates. It was drawn up and signed by the Bishop as Principal.(2)

In 1823 Charles James Stewart had been sent to England to resist the claim of the Church of Scotland to a

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 92, Dalhousie to Mountain, Sept. 25, 1820.

(2) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 171, pp. 50-54, Memorial of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning in Lower Canada, March 1823.

share in the Clergy Reserves. As a trustee of the Royal Institution he presented its case to Lord Bathurst shortly after his arrival in May.⁽¹⁾ Later in the year he wrote to Horton: "Allow me to remind you of the situation of that Institution, - without funds - in debt for its Charter - in debt on account of the suit it has been obliged to carry on to acquire the property bequeathed for the establishment of a College - in danger of forfeiting the bequest through want of means to conform to the conditions of the will; and owing to the same cause, disabled from prosecuting the first objects of its institution." Stewart also enclosed a letter which Archdeacon Mountain had written him on the previous June 12, pointing out the immense wealth of Roman Catholic institutions and that this wealth would be greatly increased if they were given a clear title to the Sulpician Estates.⁽²⁾ When Horton asked how the Jesuit Estates could benefit the Royal Institution, Stewart directed his attention to the recent Memorial and counselled putting into force the order of May 10, 1816, (cited above) as it had never been found necessary since that time to appropriate a shilling from the Estates for provincial needs. Stewart also gave Horton full information about the administration of the Estates since

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 167, pp. 504-506, Stewart to Horton, May 16, 1823.

(2) S. P. G. Archives, Stewart Correspondence, Stewart to Horton, Aug. 11, 1823.

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In a conversation with Horton on Jan. 1, 1824, Stewart was told that the Lords of the Treasury had been strongly recommended to advance £5000 on the credit of McGill's legacy.(2) This advance was never made, although small loans were doled out from the Jesuit Estate revenue to keep the Royal Institution solvent.(3)

Bathurst and the Duke of Richmond has asked Jacob Mountain to prepare a plan for the proposed University or College. To this task the Bishop set his hand not long after his return from England in 1819. His "Hints for the Government of a College" were prepared by Nov. 8, 1819. They provide a marked contrast to the rules which govern McGill University to-day.

1. There shall be a Principal (President or Head,) & Fellows, or Tutors:- with such Salaries as may be worth the acceptance of men of learning & character.
2. The Principal shall deliver Lectures in Divinity, & Moral Philosophy. There shall be

One	Professor	in Classics & History
One	-	in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy
One	-	in Civil Law
One	-	in Medicine

[1] P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 170, pp. 627-644, Stewart to Horton, Sept. 8, 1823.

(2) Ibid., pp. 523-26, Jan. 1, 1824.

(3) Macmillan, Cyrus, op. cit., pp. 66 and 68.

3. The Students shall pay a fixed sum to the Professors, for the Lectures, which they shall respectively attend.
4. Christians of all denominations shall be admitted as Students - The Principal, & such of the Professors as are Clergymen, shall be members of the Established Church; and, - in the first instance at least, Graduates in one of the English Universities.
Professors of Medicine, or Civil Law, being Laymen, may be Graduates of the Universities of Scotland.
5. A Chapel shall be provided for Morning & Evening Prayers, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England.
6. Attendance upon Prayers, & upon the Theological Lectures, shall be indispensable as far as relates to the Members of the Church of England, but optional on the part of other Students.
7. A certain number of Scholarships - not less than 15, nor more than 30, - with a given Salary, - not less than 20 nor more than 30£ a year, shall be instituted; to which such Students shall be elected by the Principal, & Professors, as shall have made the greatest proficiency:-
(respect being had, in cases of perfect equality, to their respective circumstances:-)
The Scholarships shall be held for a limited time; & be vacated upon obtaining any provision in the College, or otherwise.
8. The Statutes of the College shall be modelled upon those that govern Colleges in the English Universities; with such modifications, as the circumstances of this Country may require.- They shall strictly enforce attendance upon the Lectures; i. e., upon the Theological Lectures, by all the Students, with the exception of those who are not of the Church of England; and by all Students without exception upon Classical, & Mathematical Lectures; But such Students as shall declare for Civil Law, or Medicine, & such

only, shall be obliged to attend the Lectures in these Sciences.

9. Annual Examinations by the Principal & Professors, Fellows, & Tutors, shall take place in all the Branches; & distinctions or prizes, shall be conferred according to merit.
Distinctions also, or prizes, may at other periods, be conferred, as the reward of Voluntary, & extraordinary exertion.
10. Degrees shall be conferred (with such local adaptation as may be found necessary) as they are in the English Universities.
No Degree, of any kind, or for any purpose, shall be conferred, by Diploma, or obtained by Purchase.
No Degree shall be conferred on account of mere standing; or as a matter of course, independently of sufficient attainments.
Regular Grades of distinction, according to proficiency, shall be observed, recorded, & made public, in conferring the Bachelor's Degree.
11. All Members of the College shall wear an Academical Dress, in the College & in the Town, & Precincts.
12. The internal economy, & Government of the College, the Courses of Lectures, & Exercises, the Arrangements of Examinations, & such necessary Regulations of Discipline, as shall not be prescribed by higher authority, shall be committed to the Principal, assisted by the Professors, and Tutors.
13. All differences with respect to these matters, & all doubtful cases, shall be referred to a Visitor, to be duly appointed for that purpose.
14. The fundamental Rules, & Provisions, for the Establishment, & Government, the Powers, & Privileges of the College, must emanate from the Crown; as must also all changes, & enlargements, of the original Establishment.
15. The Professors, or Fellows, the Graduates

residing in College, & the Undergraduates, shall constantly be in commons, during Term, & shall dine, & sup, in the College Hall, at stated hours; and the Undergraduates shall not be allowed to absent themselves, except in cases of illness, (which shall be certified to the Principal or to one of the Professors), or with the leave of their Tutor.

No Undergraduate shall put himself out of Commons, unless in case of sickness, or when, with the leave of his Tutor, he be leaving college for more than 24 hours; & upon his return, he shall immediately put himself into Commons again.

The Expense of Commons, & all other Regulations concerning them, shall be settled, & determined, by the Principal, & the Professors, & Tutors; who shall also have power, from time to time, to make such alterations as circumstances may require.

The Principal, or two Professors, shall have power to put an Undergraduate out of Commons, & to restore him when they think proper.

16. Vacations shall follow the course, observed in the English Universities; - but with such variation, as the circumstances of this Country may appear to require.

17. The Management of the Funds, & the Authority of Audit, & Control, with respect to the Expenditure, will be vested, it is presumed, in the Trustees, or Governors.⁽¹⁾

Although Bishop Mountain died long before the organization of McGill University, yet his labours as Principal of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, in procuring the Charter and in endeavouring to bring the Montreal College to birth, are worthy of grateful remembrance by succeeding generations.

(1) Q. D. A., Volume Endorsed - "Education, 1819-1862."

Notwithstanding the Bishop's representation to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794, and to Dorchester July 17, 1795 - notwithstanding Portland's approval, and the Executive Council's recommendation for a large landed endowment,⁽¹⁾ the Royal Grammar Schools of Quebec and Montreal were not opened until 1816. Two years later they were placed under the control of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. On June 7, 1816, Bathurst informed Sherbrooke that the Rev. John Leeds would shortly proceed to Canada to fill the situation of Master of the Quebec Grammar School. Mr. Robert Burrage of Benet College, Cambridge, and the Rev. John Wilson of Queen's College, Oxford would depart at the same time to superintend schools at Montreal and Kingston.⁽²⁾ Leeds had arrived by October but proceeded to Montreal.⁽³⁾ He did not succeed as a teacher, and became incumbent of Christ Church where he remained until 1818. The new master of the Montreal Grammar School was Mr. Alexander Skakel of the University of Aberdeen.⁽⁴⁾ Robert Raby Burrage, afterwards ordained, served for many years as Master of the Quebec Grammar School. For

(1) Supra, p.

(2) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 8, pp. 83-84, Bathurst to Sherbrooke, June 7, 1816.

(3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 63, Sherbrooke to Mountain, Oct. 4, 1816.

(4) P. A. O., Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834. Strachan to Ready, Dec. 21, 1815.

a time at least the salaries of Skakel and Burrage were paid from the Jesuit Estates.

Concurrently with his efforts to effect the establishment of McGill College, and the Royal Grammar Schools, the Bishop laboured earnestly to provide a means of education for those children whose parents did not wish or could not afford to send them to these institutions of higher learning.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, begun in 1699, had as two of its objects the diffusion of Holy Scriptures and religious books, and the promotion of education at home and abroad. In 1811 the "National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" was founded, thus relieving the older society of the educational department of its labours. The development of the National Society was very rapid; thirty-six years later it claimed to be giving instruction to nearly a million children in England and Wales. The method of instruction adopted by the Society took its name from Andrew Bell, a Churchman in Holy Orders who died as a Canon of Westminster in 1832. He had served his apprenticeship in teaching in Madras, and there learned how monitors could be employed to instruct younger children. Another Englishman, Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, also promoted the use of the monitorial system. Lancaster's method of instruction was undenominational.

Bishop Mountain watched the growth of the National

Society with keen interest and had decided to introduce the Bell plan of instruction into Canada as early as 1813. Thaddeus Osgood, a Congregational missionary working among Indians and settlers in Canada since 1810 resolved to go to England in 1812 to raise money with which to found Lancastrian Schools. He tried in vain to gain the Bishop's support, pointing out to His Lordship that "it is thought by many respectable gentlemen of the Establishment, that some plan of instruction more liberal than that of Dr. Bell's must be adopted especially in the Colonies."⁽¹⁾ He also attempted to get the sanction of the Rev. Charles James Stewart, who in December 1812 sent a package of letters to the Bishop concerning him.⁽²⁾ The Bishop told Stewart that he considered Osgood ignorant, presumptuous and ill-principled.⁽³⁾ Stewart replied that he agreed with the two former epithets but would not go so far as to call Osgood dishonest.⁽⁴⁾ The latter did found a School in Quebec, but it remained in operation only four years.⁽⁵⁾ Other Lancastrian schools were organized in

- (1) Q. D. A., Volume endorsed "List of Deeds, Acts, etc." Osgood to Mountain, May 28, 1813.
- (2) Ibid., Series B, Vol. I, p. 85, Stewart to Mountain, June 14, 1813.
- (3) Ibid., p. 84, Mountain to Stewart, June 4, 1813.
- (4) Ibid., p. 86, Stewart to Mountain, June 23, 1813.
- (5) For further notice of Osgood see Monitorial Schools in the Canadas 1810-1845 by George W. Spragge. Thesis for degree of Doctor of Pedagogy in the University of Toronto.

the Diocese of Quebec in the Bishop's lifetime, but they had no definite Church connection.

In 1816 a Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was set up in Halifax, and a "National" School was opened in December of that year. George Jehoshaphat Mountain while Rector of Fredericton (then in the Diocese of Nova Scotia) 1814-1817, had formed a Committee there. On his return to Quebec as Rector in 1817 he eagerly turned his attention to the creation of a similar committee and of National Schools for girls and boys.⁽¹⁾ It is stated however in the eighth annual Report of the Quebec Diocesan Committee - "It is not, perhaps, generally known, that the original formation of the Committee in 1818, was in obedience to instructions received from his Lordship, who was then in England."⁽²⁾ In the first annual Report of the Committee, May 4, 1819, issued when the Bishop was still absent from the Diocese, the intention was announced of establishing a school at Quebec in connection with the National Society. A master and mistress, trained and qualified to teach according to the Madras System had already been sent for, and the Duke of Richmond had promised £100 a year for

(1) Mountain, A. W., op. cit., pp. 41-42.

(2) The Christian Sentinel, January and February 1827. This issue contains synopses of the first eight annual reports of the Diocesan Committees of the S.P.C.K. It is from these synopses that the information following is derived.

the school's support. The second annual Report, May 2, 1820, states that several communications passed between the Committee and the Bishop before the latter's return to Quebec, with the result that a master and mistress had been sent out from England. On Nov. 1819 the school was opened in the Hope Gate Barracks. Regimental school masters and others had been called upon to study the Bell system. An address had been presented to the Administrator of the Government praying that no person might be appointed to the charge of any school of Royal Foundation under 41 George III cap. 17 in any of the Protestant settlements in the Province, unless he could procure a certificate of his being master of the Madras System of education. The report for 1821 tells that several masters had been partially instructed in the Madras System, and others perfected by attendance at the Boys' School. One Master had been sent to the Richmond Military Settlement in Upper Canada, and another had been placed in charge of the School of Royal Foundation at Missisquoi Bay.

A money grant from the S. P. G., a grant of land, and a personal contribution from the Earl of Dalhousie, made it possible to erect a new building. Scholars were transferred to it in April 1824. The School was placed under the Royal Institution and the salary of the master was paid from the legislative grant made to that body.

District Committees of the S. P. C. K. were soon formed in various parts of the Diocese - at York, Kingston

and Montreal. At Montreal a National Free School was founded early in 1819, and a one-storey building for its accommodation was erected in 1823. The master's salary came from the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

Jacob Mountain's connection with educational matters in the Upper Canadian portion of his diocese was never strong at any time. Had Lieut. Gov. Simcoe remained longer, the Bishop's efforts in the Upper Province might have been more firmly pursued and might have produced greater results. After Simcoe's departure, however, the Bishop had little further to do with education, and when the legislature finally was enabled to make progress in the direction of the establishment of schools it was the Rev. John Strachan who emerged as the great educational pioneer.

Even before his arrival in Canada, Simcoe planned "to lay the foundation stone of some society that I trust might hereafter conduce to the extension of science."⁽¹⁾ To Dundas, April 28, 1792, he sent a letter proposing schoolmasters at Kingston and Niagara at £100 per annum, and a university at the Capital, whose professors, with the possible exception of the medical professor, would be clergymen of the Church of England.⁽²⁾ Dundas replied that schools

(1) Hodgins, J. George, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, p. 11, Simcoe to Banks, Jan. 8, 1791.

(2) Ibid., Simcoe to Dundas, April 28, 1792. The Bishop also urged the opening of a school at Kingston, Q.D.A. Series C, Vol. I, pp. 23-26, Mountain to Dundas, Sept. 15, 1794.

would be sufficient for some time and that the government would be disposed to assist at least one higher seminary.⁽¹⁾

Writing from Kingston, April 30, 1795, Simcoe put the Bishop in possession of his ideas with regard to education in Upper Canada, particularly with his University plans. "I am, therefore," he concluded, "the more authorized to make this statement to your Lordship, and most earnestly do I hope that you may be able by God's help to complete this desirable work in this province which my various avocations do not permit me to undertake with due vigor and perseverance."⁽²⁾

In his reply the Bishop gave Simcoe little hope that the university scheme would succeed. "The desire of doing as little as possible at one time" - he wrote, "the habit, w'ch my experience tells me prevails, of postponing the concerns of these distant Provinces to considerations which, if not more important, come more home to the business & bosoms of Ministers, - & the first dislike to all expence of which the immediate advantage is not calculable, fill me with fears infinitely stronger than the best hopes I can cherish, that Y'r Ex'y's liberal & noble scheme will be thought of too great magnitude to be soon determined, & be laid by among the things upon which it is inconvenient to decide." He counselled Simcoe to urge first the necessity of founding a good grammar

(1) Hodgins, J. George, op. cit., Dundas to Simcoe, July 12, 1792.

(2) Ibid., Simcoe to Mountain, p. 13, April 30, 1795.

school.⁽¹⁾ But Simcoe was quite unrepentant. A few months later he wrote to the Bishop:- "My views in respect to a University are totally unchanged. They are on a solid basis, & may or may not be complied with as my superiors shall think proper, but shall certainly appear as my System to the judgment of Posterity."⁽²⁾

Later in 1795 Simcoe told Portland that in consultation with the Bishop he had appointed the Rev. John Stuart of Kingston to superintend the school there until his Lordship should have provided a proper person. He felt himself authorized to offer £100 per annum, the salary allowed at Montreal and Quebec. He also pointed out the need of a school at Niagara, stating that Mr. Addison was willing to undertake the office on the same terms as Mr. Stuart.⁽³⁾ In his reply, Portland said that as qualifications for teachers in Upper Canada were not high, salaries should be very moderate. Higher education could for the time be provided for at Quebec and Montreal, and in Nova Scotia.⁽⁴⁾

The Bishop's comment on this advice was not favourable.

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 3, Mountain to Simcoe, June 25, 1795.

(2) Ibid., p. 13, Simcoe to Mountain, Oct. 16, 1795.

(3) Hodgins, J. G., op. cit., p. 13, Simcoe to Portland, Nov. 8, 1795. For further reference to the Kingston School see Chapter "Progress of the Church in Upper Canada 1793-1805."

(4) Ibid., p. 14, Portland to Simcoe, June 22, 1796.

"His Grace refers us to Quebec and Montreal, & to Nova Scotia for higher education," he wrote to Russell. "£200 a year was allowed by Government (long before I came into it) for encouragement of Schools. It was unhappily so distributed as to be rendered entirely useless, & it cannot now be recalled. The Nova Scotia College appears totally to have failed." Apparently King's College Windsor had only three pupils in 1798, as far as the Bishop's information went - so nothing remained but to send young men to England or to the United States for higher education, and the latter place was not safe for youth.⁽¹⁾

One result of Simcoe's educational plan was the bringing to Canada, in 1799, of a young Scot, John Strachan, who had come out in the hope of filling a position in the proposed university. Disappointed in this hope he acted for a time as tutor to the children of Robert Hamilton and Richard Cartwright, prominent merchants of Kingston and members of the Assembly. After his ordination in 1803 Strachan was placed at Cornwall as Missionary, and opened a school there. As noted before, the Bishop called at the school during the visitation of 1803, and probably in 1810 as well, although no reference is made to it at the latter time.

Many years later Strachan was given the credit, by Sir John Beverley Robinson, for suggesting and urging the

(1) Russell Correspondence, Vol. II, pp. 178-180, Mountain to Russell, June 12, 1798.

passing of the Public School Act of 1807, by which Grammar Schools were established in each of the eight districts of Upper Canada.⁽¹⁾ The second statute in the series by which the educational system of Upper Canada was set up - an Act to provide Common Schools throughout the province, also owed its inception to the same remarkable man, now missionary at York. He reported to the Bishop his share in procuring this legislation in the following words. "During this session of Parliament I have been instrumental in preparing two bills on Education which are now in progress. The first is for establishing Common Schools throughout the Province, and though several material alterations (not very judicious) have been made in my draught yet much that is excellent remains, and we shall obtain the power of directing the books to be used and the qualifications of the Masters. . . . The first will undoubtedly pass."⁽²⁾

With the exception of the period 1802-1810 the Mohawk settlement near Kingston was supplied with a schoolmaster during the whole of Bishop Mountain's episcopate. The master in charge in 1793 was a Mr. John Berringer (Bininger ?) but he resigned in 1795. In 1796 William Bell was appointed, and served until 1802, when he was dismissed because the Indian children refused to attend school. Both

(1) Hodgins, J. G., op. cit., p. 70, f. n.

(2) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, March 19, 1816.

these men received £30 a year from the S. P. G. In 1810 a Mr. Green was appointed schoolmaster with a salary of £20 and John Hill, as Reader and Catechist, received £10. Both Green and Hill were still holding their positions at the time of the Bishop's death.⁽¹⁾ Although the Bishop was much interested in the Mohawk Mission, yet the immediate oversight both of church and school was part of the duty of the incumbent of Kingston.

In response to an inquiry addressed to the S. P. G. by the Bishop, Nov. 7, 1800, he was told that the schools which the Society encouraged were those of an inferior sort, to teach children to read, write, make accounts, and learn their Catechism - "as their low situation may seem to require." Such schools were to be placed in country missions where missionaries could catechize. The Society did not patronize Grammar Schools or Seminaries of Learning.⁽²⁾

As far as is known the S. P. G. gave regular support to no other school except that of the Mohawks, in the Diocese of Quebec.

A number of the Diocesan Clergy taught school from time to time in Upper Canada. Addison opened a school at Niagara as early as 1792. John Bethune and William D. Baldwyn

(1) These details are drawn from the Annual Reports of the S. P. G. For further information about the Mohawk School, see Hodgins, J. G., op. cit., pp. 35-39.

(2) Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 28, "SPG. 1800-1844." S. P. G. to Mountain, Nov. 7, 1800.

taught in the Eastern District Grammar School. Thomas Creen opened a private school at Niagara in 1824. John Leeds taught at Montreal and Brockville. John Wilson, though head of the Midland District Grammar School at Kingston gave part time service to the vacant mission of Ernest Town. As already noted, John Stuart taught at Kingston, George Okill Stuart at York and Kingston, and John Strachan at Cornwall and York. Several clergy also served as trustees of the District Grammar Schools and as members on District Boards of Education. But with none of these activities did the Bishop have any direct concern.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE BEGINNINGS OF ANGLICAN THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE CANADAS

One of the many great problems which Jacob Mountain had to solve was that of supplying clergy for the missions and parishes of his diocese. That the problem was acute is illustrated by the fact that he ordained only six men to be added to the list of parish priests in the first eighteen years of his episcopate. Reference has already been made in an earlier chapter to efforts made by the S.P.G. and the Duke of Portland to persuade clergy to emigrate to the Canadas, and the failure of their endeavours.⁽¹⁾ In this crisis John Strachan came forward, in 1812, with an idea which when further developed proved to be the origin of theological training in the Church of England in Canada. He urged the Bishop to ask the S.P.G. for a limited number of scholarships for prospective ordinands, offering, himself, to conduct the education of the Upper Canadian candidates. The Bishop immediately acquainted Archbishop Manners Sutton with Strachan's plan.⁽²⁾ When he told Strachan that he had written to England the latter replied:- "I rejoice greatly that your Lordship has written the Arch-Bishop & the Society respecting some provision for bringing forward young men for the Church, & I

(1) Progress of the Church in Upper Canada, 1793-1805.

(2) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 14, Mountain to Manners Sutton, July 10, 1812.

trust that your application will be successful." (1) Whether or not the Bishop wrote directly to the Society in 1812, as Strachan understood he had done, he wrote again three years later in terms identical with those he used in his letter to the Archbishop. Whereupon the Society agreed that the sum of £200 be placed in the hands of the Bishop of Quebec to be disposed of by His Lordship in the manner and with the securities proposed. (2) The grant was to be made annually for five years, but it was renewed in 1820 for the same period, and in 1825 for two years further.

In the same letter in which the Bishop presented the scholarship scheme to the S.P.G. he told of two candidates for the ministry in Lower Canada, James Reid and Micajah Townsend. Reid was a Scot who came out to Canada as a disciple of Robert Haldane the evangelist. But he found that he could not support himself as a preacher, and became a school teacher. Encouraged by his countrymen, Strachan and Stewart, he studied theology under the latter and was ordained deacon on May 6, 1815. He was then licensed to St. Armand East. Townsend was the son of one Micah Townsend of Brattleborough, Vermont, a "later Loyalist", who had settled in the Township of Farnham in 1802. He pursued his theological studies under Charles

(1) P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book 1821-34, p. 32, Strachan to Mountain, Oct. 1, 1812.

(2) Journals of the S.P.G., Mountain to S.P.G., Jan. 30, 1815.

Caleb Cotton, missionary in the adjacent Township of Dunham. He was ordained on the same day as James Reid, and was licensed to the mission of Caldwell Manor. The S. P. G., in reply to the Bishop's letter ordered that a gratuity of £30 should be divided between Stewart and Cotton for their tutorial work. James Reid and Micajah Townsend may be considered the first of the list of young men who benefitted by the liberality of the S. P. G. When John Strachan heard that a favourable reply had come from the S.P.G., he wrote, "I am much pleased to find, that the Society has at length attended to Your Lordship's suggestions respecting Candidates for Holy Orders, and I beg your acceptance of my thanks for the favourable representation you have made of me to that Honourable Body.

William Macaulay, who lives with me, may be named as very deserving of the bounty; but, as he will certainly be brought forward to the Church, whether he receive it or not, I am diffident of recommending him. A young Gentleman, son of the late Dr. Rolph, an Eminent English Physician, who came to this country to settle some years ago, has applied to me to enter himself a Student in Divinity. To him the bounty would, I am persuaded, be most acceptable, as the affairs of the Family are not so prosperous as was expected

There are two young men at Kingston looking forward to the church. They have learned the common branches of education from Mr. Whitelaw, Teacher of the public School at that place,

and appear to be very promising youths. But I should be wanting to the cause of true religion, were I not to state to Your Lordship, that Mr. Whitelaw's opinions are not only unfavourable to our Church, but to some of the doctrines, which I consider essential to Christianity Should your Lordship feel inclined to patronize any of the persons mentioned, I shall be happy in communicating your intentions towards them, and in devoting a portion of my time to their instruction and improvement." (1)

The Bishop made further inquiries from Strachan about Macaulay's financial condition, agreeing at the same time that Rolph would be a fit subject for the Scholarship. "As for the two other young men," he continued, "I presume they may be too young, - but if both or either of them are 18, - if they have left or are about to leave Mr. Whitelaw's School, if they are seriously determined to study for Holy Orders, & that determination is approved by their Parents or Guardians, - if they will remove to York to read under your direction (or of Mr. Stuart w^d give them some attention, supposing them to be inhabitants of Kingston, - I sh^d not be deterred from encouraging them; for there will be time and means of removing any wrong impressions that they may have received." (2)

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Sept. 20, 1815.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to Strachan, Oct. 14, 1815.

On the following December 9 the Bishop accepted Strachan's recommendation of Macaulay and Rolph - and asked for additional information about John Stoughton and William Merrill, the two Kingston Students.⁽¹⁾ Three days later, he, in turn, recommended Macaulay and Rolph to the S.P.G.⁽²⁾

On Strachan's suggestion, the Bishop inquired of G.O. Stuart about the two young men at Kingston.⁽³⁾ When Stuart answered this inquiry the Bishop wrote again:- "You know, I presume, that Dr. Strachan made an offer, generally, of his services to Students in Divinity, some time ago; & not being aware that you were helping these young persons forward, I naturally looked to him. They cannot be in better hands than they are."⁽⁴⁾ On Oct. 16, 1816, Stoughton and Merrill were likewise recommended to the Society.⁽⁵⁾

All four candidates for the Society's Scholarships were natives of Upper Canada. The Bishop, while attempting to present an equal number of students from the two Canadas, may have considered that Reid and Townsend sufficiently represented the Lower Province at the beginning. William

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Strachan, Dec. 9, 1815.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to S.P.G., Dec. 12, 1815.

(3) O.D.A., G.J. Mountain to G.O. Stuart, Dec. 9, 1818.

(4) Ibid., Mountain to Stuart, Feb. 10, 1816.

(5) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 24, Mountain to S.P.G., Oct. 16, 1816.

Macaulay was a son of Robert Macaulay, a Kingston merchant. He stayed under Strachan's tutelage only a short time, then proceeded to England to continue his education in Queen's College, Oxford. He left the University without taking his degree, was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London at Fulham, July 5, 1818, and returned to Canada in the Spring of 1819. After his ordination to the priesthood, Oct. 9, 1819, he was licensed to the mission of Hamilton, near the present day Cobourg. He continued to receive the S.P.G. scholarship while at Oxford.

On July 25, 1819, Strachan made the following report on Rolph and Stoughton. "Mr. Romaine Rolph, who has been studying under my direction for three years past, as much as an infirm state of his health would permit, is now twenty-four years of age, and, tho' in point of learning not by any means so far advanced as might be wished, is yet possessed of so many good qualities, as to induce me to submit his case to Your Lordship's favourable consideration He is a well behaved discreet young man; his knowledge of the articles & principles of religion is very correct, and he is of pious habits and naturally serious.

With Your Lordship's permission he will come to Quebec when it may be convenient for Your Lordship to ordain Mr. Stoughton, who is a most excellent young man, whose attainments will give great satisfaction " (1)

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, July 25, 1819.

Romaine Rolph was the son of Dr. Thomas Rolph, and brother of the Hon. John Rolph, M.D.⁽¹⁾ John Stoughton was the son of William Stoughton, Silver-smith, one-time warden of St. George's Church, Kingston. He attended Mr. Whitelaw's school in his native town, and later succeeded Macaulay in Strachan's household at York, where he also assisted in the York Grammar School. Both men were ordained to the diaconate at Quebec on Oct. 9, 1819, Rolph being licensed to Amherstburg and Stoughton to Ernest Town.

The last of these first S.P.G. students, William Merrill, was the son of Samuel Merrill, a vestryman of St. George's Kingston. He enjoyed the Society's allowance only from July 1 to Nov. 1, 1814, when he became master in the District School at Sandwich. He continued his theological studies for a time but never took Orders.

In the letter of July 25, 1819, quoted above, Strachan further wrote:- "I beg leave to submit to Your Lordship's favourable notice Mr. Alexander Bethune, brother to the Rev. Mr. Bethune of Montreal, as a proper person to succeed Mr. Stoughton when he shall have been ordained. Alexander Bethune, should he be so fortunate as to receive Your Lordship's patronage, will come to York and place himself under my particular direction. He is an amiable youth

(1) See Canniff, The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, p. 590. Romaine Rolph was born in Thornbury, Gloucestershire, May 7, 1795. He died Jan. 22, 1868. On his tombstone at St. Mark's, Niagara it is recorded that he was born May 7, 1794 and died Jan. 18, 1868. (Note from J. J. Talman)

of great sweetness of disposition and well advanced in his studies. I have known him from his infancy, and feel a great interest in his progress, but without some assistance he has not the means of supporting himself till he attain the proper age. He is now a little more than eighteen."⁽¹⁾ The Bishop subsequently recommended Bethune to the S.P.G.⁽²⁾ He was ordained to the diaconate Aug. 13, 1823, to the priesthood Sept. 28, 1824, and after the latter ceremony was licensed to Grimsby. Many years later he succeeded his revered tutor as Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto.

Bethune was followed in the scholarship list by Allan Macaulay son of a prominent citizen of York, Dr. James Macaulay.⁽³⁾ He had been brought up with a view to the Church and studied under Strachan and Bethune, but had not completed his studies before the Bishop's death. He himself died, after a very short ministry, on Oct. 5, 1830.

Another scholarship holder at this period was Job Deacon. He was born in Kilkenny, Ireland, was educated in Dublin and came to Canada as tutor to Lord Ramsay, son of the Earl of Dalhousie.⁽⁴⁾ The circumstances of his recommendation to the Bishop, and of his theological training,

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, July 25, 1819.

(2) Journals of the S.P.G., Mountain to S.P.G., Oct. 20, 1819.

(3) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to G.J. Mountain, Feb. 21, 1822; Canniff, The Medical Profession in Upper Canada, p. 480.

(4) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, p. 317.

have not yet come to light. He was made a deacon Oct. 21, 1822 and was licensed to Adolphustown.

William Abbott, born in Yorkshire, a brother of the Rev. Joseph Abbott, missionary at St. Andrew's, Lower Canada, was appointed to the National School at that place. He was placed on the scholarship list April 18, 1819,⁽¹⁾ but it is not known with whom he studied. More than five years passed before his ordination to the diaconate June 12, 1824. He was then licensed to Yamaska Mountain, afterwards named Abbotsford by his brother.

Abbott and Deacon were succeeded by Robert Short and Arthur Norman. The former of these was the grand-son of the Rev. R.Q. Short of Three Rivers. He studied under the Rev. John Wilson of Kingston. After his ordination to the diaconate Jan. 24, 1825, the last ordination in which the Bishop took part, he was attached, for a short time to the staff of Holy Trinity Cathedral, Quebec.

Arthur Norman was placed on the scholarship list in 1823.⁽²⁾ He too studied with Wilson at Kingston, and later with the Rev. Edward Parkin at Chambly, but this took place after the Bishop's death. He was ordained by Bishop Stewart.

George Robert Field Grout, born 1804, was the son of John Grout of Quebec City. He was early destined for the

(1) Journal of S.P.G., Meeting of April 18, 1819.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to S.P.G., Feb. 20 and Mar. 1, 1823.

Church and was for a time assistant at the Quebec Grammar School under R.R. Burrage. "He is a young man who has been brought up under my own eye," wrote the Bishop when recommending him to the S.P.G. for a scholarship, July 20, 1824.⁽¹⁾ He too was ordained by Bishop Stewart.

The last student proposed to the Society by Bishop Mountain was William Arnold, brother of an officer in the commissariat. He was strongly recommended by Archdeacon Stuart of Kingston, and by "the Reverend Messrs. Leeds, Blakey and Wilson (under the two last of whom he has for some time been reading.)"⁽²⁾

Grout, Macaulay, Norman and Arnold were the four men who received the Scholarships at the end of the Bishop's life. The system was continued for many years, even after the establishment of theological colleges. After a review of the subsequent record of the recipients of the Society's bounty it is possible to give cordial assent to the Bishop's approving words:- "I am satisfied that the Society never expended any money more truly conducive to the objects they have in view, than this; and I should even be disposed warmly to press them to augment the benefit, by an additional Grant, for two more Students, if I were not afraid of too far

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to S.P.G., July 20, 1824.

(2) Journal of S.P.G., Mountain to S.P.G., Dec. 27, 1824.

trespassing upon their bounty."⁽¹⁾

The audacious Rector of York did his best to get a government grant for theological education in Upper Canada. On March 19, 1816, Strachan wrote to the Bishop concerning two School Bills which were then in progress in the Legislature of Upper Canada:- "One of them contained a clause appropriating a certain sum of money for assisting Students in Divinity to prosecute their studies; but owing to little squabbles among one or two of its supporters on other matters I am doubtful of its success."⁽²⁾

Finally Strachan petitioned the Assembly for financial aid, as follows:-

The Petition of John Strachan, D.D., Humbly Sheweth,
That your petitioner has been nearly twenty years engaged in the education of the youth of this Province, and with a degree of success which your Honourable House can now sufficiently appreciate.

That he has been frequently applied to by the parents of the pupils, not only to advise them as to their future destination, but to assist in settling them in the world.

That next to the Professions of the Law and Commerce, the Church offers a growing provision for the young men of this Province, but, from the nature and length of the preparation, almost entirely beyond their reach, as their parents are unable to support them so long unemployed, this difficulty operates in some instances, so grievously that Your Petitioner was induced to educate several of his scholars for the Church, at his own particular charge.

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., March 19, 1822.

(2) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, March 19, 1816.

That Your Petitioner, convinced from experience that the Church might be supplied with respectable clergymen brought up and educated among us, and feeling his means inadequate to continue, much less to multiply the sacrifices he was then making, did, in May 1812, represent to the Lord Bishop at Quebec the great hardships sustained by this Province from the want of clergymen, and the still greater hardships to the inhabitants of having this honourable profession in a manner shut up from their children and given to strangers; requesting His Lordship to lay the case before "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts," and to state the propriety of making a yearly allowance to a limited number of young men from the age of eighteen to twenty-three, the period of Ordination, the money to be repaid, if any of them changed their minds during their studies; offering at the same time, to conduct their education and give them the use of his library, without putting them to any expense.

That the Lord Bishop of Quebec entered warmly into the views of Your Petitioner and, in 1815, procured from the Society a grant of two hundred pounds per annum, for four students in Divinity, accompanied with an expectation that, as their funds were not large, and depended greatly upon annual donations, that the Legislature of Upper Canada would in a short time, relieve them from this burden, by extending the provision and supplying the same from the Provincial Revenue, the more especially as the Society contributes one hundred pounds sterling, per annum, towards the support of every clergyman that settles in the Province.

That, in England, young men destined for the Church receive aid in the prosecution of their studies, from the foundations of their different Colleges, but, in this country, there are no such resources, and, while in other professions a young man commences at twenty-one, in this he must be twenty-three.

That a small appropriation, sufficient for a number of young men equal to the number of Districts, in addition to those who, at present, enjoy the bounty of the Society, would fill the Province in a few years, with a respectable clergy, natives of the country, and particularly qualified from their knowledge of the manners and customs of the people, to be extremely useful.

That Your Petitioner will most willingly pay the same attention to the studies of such young men,

as he does to those assisted by the Society, being sufficiently rewarded by the consciousness of doing good to the Province, in thus promoting their views.

Wherefore Your Petitioner entreats Your Honourable House to fulfil, during the present session, the reasonable expectation⁽¹⁾ of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by extending your patronage to such young men as may be desirous of studying Divinity, in such a way, and on such terms and conditions as in your wisdom, it may seem meet.

And Your Petitioner, as in duty bound will ever pray,

John Strachan

York, 25th February, 1818.

The Compiler of the Documentary History of Education dryly adds, in parenthesis:- "(No action was taken by the House of Assembly on this petition of Dr. Strachan asking for a grant in aid for theological education.)"⁽²⁾

(1) No reference to this 'reasonable expectation' can be found in the Bishop's correspondence.

(2) Hodgins, J.G., op. cit., pp. 117-118. Further details on early theological education in the Canadas may be consulted in an article in The Montreal Churchman, April 1939, by T.R. Millman. Another article on the same topic, by A.R. Kelley, is printed in The Quebec Diocesan Gazette, September, 1942.

CHAPTER XIX

THE VISITATIONS OF 1813 AND 1816

"My public duty, as an Ex: Coun:," wrote Jacob Mountain to Charles James Stewart in June 1813, "will call for my residence at Montreal for the greater part of next month: When I leave that place, I shall, if circumstances will permit, visit the Upper Province: & not go to your Bay 'till after my return: but if the Enemy should render my voyage upward impracticable, I think of proceeding from Montreal to you."⁽¹⁾ Stewart replied, "My Lord:- Last Thursday I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 4th. I am very happy to find by it that you propose coming here this Summer - I am glad of it on many accounts - especially in your being able to undertake a Visitation; but I do not expect that it will be in your power to go to the Upper Province. Your Lordship will not find any great difficulty in coming from St. Johns to Philipsburg, Missiskoui Bay (by the way of South River) in one day. But previous to your coming on this side of the River St. Lawrence I shall hope to communicate with you on the subject of your journey."⁽²⁾

The earlier part of this sixth and most adventurous visitation of the Diocese is described in some detail in the "Memoir of George Jehoshaphat Mountain", the author of which

(1) Q.D.A., Series B. Vol. I, p. 84, Mountain to Stewart, June 4, 1813.

(2) Ibid., Series D, Folder 5, Stewart to Mountain June 23, 1813.

had at his disposal rough notes of the journey made by the subject of the memoir, the Bishop's son. The party set out from Quebec by batteau early in July, but were forced to return after covering only a few miles. On the 22nd of July the Bishop left Quebec again, with his own horses, and in five days' time had arrived in Montreal. His two sons travelled by steamer and reached their destination in forty-eight hours.⁽¹⁾ The baggage, too heavy and cumbersome to be sent by the little steamer, was entrusted to a schooner. "After waiting a month for his baggage," it is recorded in the Memoir, "he [the Bishop] despatched a servant and some men in a bateau in search of the schooner. They met it twenty miles below Montreal, and the baggage, having been transferred to the bateau, reached Montreal on the 30th of August."⁽²⁾ During his stay the Bishop confirmed forty two candidates in the St. Gabriel St. Presbyterian Church as Christ Church was yet unfinished.

On Sept. 1, the Bishop's party left Lachine by bateau, accompanied by other bateaux carrying soldiers to Upper Canada. Kingston was reached by Sept. 8. Here the Bishop was provided with ten Indian canoemen and an interpreter, and he immediately departed for York. Some trouble was experienced in the course of the voyage as the Indians

(1) The steamer would be the "Swiftsure", the second Molson boat to ply between Quebec and Montreal.

(2) Mountain, A.W., op. cit., p. 25.

took fright when American enemy ships were sighted, and had to be strongly persuaded to proceed.⁽¹⁾ On Sept. 19 Sir George Prevost sent the Bishop two communications from Kingston. The first commiserated His Lordship on the difficulties of the voyage.⁽²⁾ The second informed him that a flotilla of British ships had left Kingston and that he need not feel alarmed when they appeared off York.⁽³⁾ The Bishop stayed at York only two days, and confirmed forty persons.⁽⁴⁾

The return trip to Kingston is described by Jacob Mountain in a letter written from that place to Prevost. "I got safely to this place with my Indians last night, one of whom, however, deserted me at York. I beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the letters which you did me the honour to address to me there. It was naturally very satisfactory to the people there to have previous information respecting the Fleet they were about to see. I left York early on Wednesday morning, & at noon on Thursday saw the whole fleet, which passed between two or three miles of us, off Smith's

(1) The Christian Sentinel, January-February 1827, p. 11 f.n.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 56, Prevost to Mountain, Sept. 19, 1813.

(3) Ibid., Same to same. Same date.

(4) P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book 1812-1834. Strachan to Morice (no date). "Notwithstanding the times," he wrote, "the Bishop came up as far as this in Sept^r, remained two days, confirmed 40 chiefly young people."

Creek.⁽¹⁾ The shore was crowded with people in apparent alarm or doubt: but these I conceive I must have dispelled by a display of our colours: which they would hardly suppose anyone would have hoisted, who was not perfectly informed that the Fleet was English. -- Davis, at whose house we passed the night, & who came off the Lake in the evening, asserted that he had seen the Enemy's Fleet within about eight miles of ours, & that it consisted of eight vessels. We suggested that he had mistaken the eight transports for the American Fleet, but he persisted in saying that he had counted 14 of our Vessels, & had seen the American Fleet besides, at the distance before mentioned. I hardly think him entitled to any credit, but the unhappy affair on Lake Erie unavoidably increases our anxiety & awakens greater attention to everything that relates to our little Navy upon this We met eleven Batteaux with the Troops on board, on Friday, near Jones' Creek,⁽²⁾ & five or six more below Myers' Creek,⁽³⁾ on Saturday."⁽⁴⁾

At Kingston a crew of French Canadians were detailed to take the Bishop by bateau to Williamsburg, Cornwall,

(1) Port Hope.

(2) Unidentified.

(3) Belleville.

(4) P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 99, pp. 155-6. Mountain to Prevost, Sept. 21, 1813.

Chatham on the Ottawa, and from thence to Lachine.⁽¹⁾ No account of the visit to Williamsburg has been preserved, but a class of seventeen was confirmed at Cornwall, where the Rev. W.D. Baldwyn had been established the previous year.⁽²⁾ The journey to Chatham was unavailing as Bradford has the misfortune to be absent, despite previous advice of the Bishop's coming. The careless missionary received a deservedly severe letter from his Diocesan after the latter had returned to Quebec.⁽³⁾

From Montreal the Bishop endeavoured to make good his promise to Stewart and to visit Missisquoi Bay, but the War intervened. On Oct. 13 Col. Edward Baynes wrote:-

"My Lord - I hasten to acquaint your Lordship that an express has just been received from the outposts announcing that the Enemy had landed a corps of four or five hundred men in Missisquoi Bay, had made Prisoners Colonel Luke & Major Powell & were committing every species of depredation & plunder on the private property of the Settlers - their flotilla was anchored in the bay. The attack took place early yesterday morning. Under the circumstances added to the unfavorable state of the weather, your Lordship will I conclude, relinquish your proposed journey to that place. I shall therefore

(1) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, pp. 149-50

(2) Mountain, A.W., op. cit., p. 55.

(3) Stuart, H.C., op. cit., pp. 151-3. Mountain to Bradford, Oct. 29, 1813.

not forward the directions required to Captⁿ Fremont unless I hear further from your Lordship respecting them."⁽¹⁾

Baynes' conclusion was correct, and the Bishop proceeded directly to Quebec. No record remains of stops at Three Rivers or Sorel.

Writing to the S.P.G. Nov, 5, 1813, the Bishop reported:- "I have recently returned after an absence of more than 3 months, from confirming in every part of my Diocese, not actually in the possession of the Enemy, where a mission is established. I found the Clergy doing everything that can be expected from them, and in the disadvantageous circumstances in which they are placed, Mr. Baldwyn is settled at Cornwall, & appears to be very acceptable to the people."⁽²⁾ But the resolute Bishop was not to be deterred from visiting St. Armand. "I am happy to inform you", wrote Stewart to the S.P.G. in May 1814, "that the L^d Bishop, notwithstanding the delicate state of his health came here f^m Quebec in March. He arrived here on the 8th. On the 10th he preached in Trinity Ch^h, & confirmed 29 persons belong^g to my Congregⁿ - & 20 of the Rev. C. Cotton's Congⁿ

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Baynes to Mountain, Oct. 13, 1813.

(2) Q.D.A., Series B. Vol. 28, p. 20, Mountain to S.P.G., Nov. 5, 1813. Bradford's absence from Chatham was not mentioned.

of Dunham: & on the 11th he Preached in St. Paul's Ch^h, & confirmed 41 persons."⁽¹⁾ In a letter to the Bishop of Lincoln Jacob Mountain referred to this journey of 450 miles over the snow to confirm eighty nine persons as a hardship at his age.⁽²⁾

Early in 1816 Jacob Mountain told Lieut. Gov. Gore that he would make a visitation in the following summer, and of his hope that it would be "more auspicious and of greater advantage to the Church than any preceding one."⁽³⁾ It was conducted with great care partly because the Bishop regarded it as a farewell journey. He was about to sail for England in the autumn, and did not expect to return.

By arrangement with the North-West Company a canoe with some equipment was provided at Montreal, and twelve of the Company's reliable men were employed to do the paddling. "There can be no doubt", wrote William McGillivray, "that this mode of travelling is best adapted to your Lordship's purpose - it is expeditious, certain and safe. A bateau can easily be hired to go as far as Kingston, but there, perhaps there might be no vessel for York or Niagara, and the wind must serve. The same difficulty would again probably occur on Lake Erie, for there are few British vessels yet on the

(1) Sewell Papers, Stewart to S.P.G., May 2, 1814.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 85, Mountain to Tomline, May 20, 1814.

(3) Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 40, Mountain to Gore, Feb. 6, 1816.

Lakes. In visiting the settlements about Sandwich, and the River Thames, I should suppose a conveyance to go by water would also be necessary." McGillvray estimated the cost for wages and equipment at £140 currency, with an extra £50 for provisions if not furnished by Government.⁽¹⁾

No detailed account of this extensive journey has as yet come to light. Robert Addison reported from Niagara that at the Bishop's visitation fifty four were confirmed and that the number would have been almost doubled had not the enemy been so long in possession of the country and destroyed the town.⁽²⁾

On this occasion the Bishop visited Sandwich for the first time but no reference to the event can be found in Pollard's semi-yearly report to the S.P.G. In a letter to the Bishop, Strachan writes of his introduction of the former to Colonel Talbot, who was delighted at the meeting. He remarked that the Bishop had now seen all the country, and extended good wishes for the trip to England.⁽³⁾

A report to the S.P.G., written by the Bishop on Oct. 16, 1816, gave further information respecting the visitation of the Lower Province. He related that he passed through

(1) Stuart, H.C., op. cit., p. 192.

(2) O.H.S., Papers and Records, Vol. 19, "The Rev. Robert Addison," by A.H. Young.

(3) Q.D.A., B6x, p.2, Strachan to Mountain, Aug. 24, 1816.

the new Townships from Missisquoi Bay to the Valley of the St. Francis. At Stanstead the people had already completed a Church and Rectory House, but they had not decided whether these were to be devoted to the exclusive use of the Church of England or not. The people at Compton had engaged to build a Church and support a clergyman. The Church at Caldwell Manor was nearly completed; Hatley and Melbourne intended to build, and at Ascot a Mr. Felton proposed to erect a church at his own expense. In Upper Canada, he concluded, churches were built at Ancaster and Grimsby.⁽¹⁾

In a letter to George J. Mountain, Oct. 7, 1816, the Bishop said:- "You will be glad to hear, that I got through my long visitation, (three months and four days), in all respects more satisfactorily than I expected. Travelling in the canoe enabled me to see a great deal more of the country and of the people than I could otherwise have done. That part of the Upper Province which was new to me, far exceeded in beauty and fertility all that I had seen before, and the climate appeared to be delightful. A great part of the new townships in Lower Canada surpassed in beauty, and equalled in fertility, all that I had seen in Upper Canada. I can scarcely imagine anything more picturesque or romantic. The country around Lake Memphremagog more especially. I think can hardly be exceeded anywhere; but the climate is not so soft, nor the

(1) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 24, Mountain to S.P.G., Oct. 16, 1816.

colour and form of the woods so admirable, as in Upper Canada. From St. Armand to the river St. Francis, (a short of zig-zag diagonal of all these townships), we travelled in waggons, over high mountains, rocks and roots, only exchanged, occasionally for deep, black, swampy soil. Nobody would believe, before I tried it, that it could be so accomplished; but, thanks be to God, it was so accomplished, although we sometimes could not advance more than twelve miles a day, and though we ourselves thought the obstacles insurmountable. It has been accomplished, too, (through mercy), not only without injury to my health, (though, for a few days, I had reason to fear that the old complaint in my side was alarmingly increased by it,) but with a great improvement of it. I found myself able to walk seven or eight miles at a time, through bad roads, and much more through good. My rest was perfect; the coarsest food was acceptable to me. My strength and activity seemed almost daily to increase; and though I was often sensible of fatigue, it was not a fatigue followed by languor or debility. I never took cold, though wet through on the water, and sleeping on the shores of the lakes, six times in a tent, and often in strange houses. I had preached at every place where I stopped and found it practicable to hold divine service (four times, for instance, in five days), and made many arrangements for the establishing of future churches. Have I not great reason

to be thankful that I have been enabled to do all this, and that, having done it, I yet experience, undiminished, the strength and activity which I have recovered? At my time of life, this cannot last long, but it becomes me gratefully to enjoy it while it does. The reception which I met with on the journey (from Governor Gore downwards) was in the highest degree gratifying, as well as that which I have since met with from Sir J. Sherbrooke. (1)

Careful preparation preceded this visitation. Exhaustive lists of questions dealing with the temporalities of the different missions, the number of services, the equipment of the churches, the church population, etc., were sent to the incumbent of each cure. Replies from Jackson of Sorel, Reid of Frelighsburg, Baldwyn of Cornwall, Townsend of Caldwell and Christie Manors, Cotton of Dunham and Bethune of Elizabethtown and Augusta are preserved in the Montreal Diocesan Archives. Among these papers is also a list of persons confirmed on Aug. 19, 1816, at St. Armand West.

(1) Mountain, A.W., op. cit., pp. 33-35.

CHAPTER XX

THE BISHOP'S SECOND VISIT TO ENGLAND

Early in 1816 the Bishop informed Lord Bathurst and Archbishop Manners Sutton of his purpose to return to England that year in order to press his resignation of the bishopric of Quebec on the Home Government. (1) His application for leave of absence was favourably received by Sir John C. Sherbrooke, the Governor-in-Chief, who expressed regret at being deprived of the Bishop's presence and abilities. (2) No secret was made of his desire to remain in England and the diocesan clergy did not expect his return. Shortly before he sailed the clergy of Lower Canada made him a laudatory address of farewell. To it, the Bishop had the grace to answer, in part:- "My Reverend Brethren, The commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my conduct in my office, is highly gratifying to me, although I cannot conceal from myself that it far exceeds my deserts. If, in this respect, you have erred in judgment, there certainly is no ground for impeaching your sincerity." (3)

The Bishop and his family sailed from Quebec during

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 140-2, pp. 419-428, Mountain to Bathurst, Feb. 10, 1816; Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 48, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Mar. 23, 1816.

(2) Ibid., p. 438, Sherbrooke to Mountain, Oct. 12, 1816.

(3) Quebec Gazette, Nov. 7, 1816; Christian Sentinel, Jan.-Feb. 1827, pp. 15-16.

the last week in October. On Dec. 3, 1816, he wrote to Bathurst and the Archbishop that he had arrived in England after a long and rough voyage.⁽¹⁾

Jacob Mountain's first efforts were directed to the severing of his ties with the Diocese of Quebec, and within a month of his landing he had interviewed the Prime Minister Lord Liverpool, Bathurst, and the Archbishop. But as he later confided to Canning, he seemed to sense "an unwillingness to translate Colonial Bishops." In the same letter he stated flatly that he was not returning to Canada, and that he did not want to be a pensioner.⁽²⁾ Canning replied that a Colonial Bishopric was "a final resting place in the Church rather than a road to home preferment." He went on to say that Parliament would provide a pension.⁽³⁾ As before, Canning was of no assistance to the Bishop.

The alternative to an English bishopric was an Irish bishopric, and the Bishop made an attempt to obtain such a post. Liverpool turned the suggestion down, informing his correspondent that the rule with regard to the Church of

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol.VI, p. 69, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Dec. 3, 1816; For the Bishop's welcome from members of his family in England see Mountain, A.W., op. cit., p. 35, f.n.

(2) Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 77, Mountain to Canning, Dec. 23, 1816. The Bishop later qualified the first part of this statement by saying that he could be induced to return, (Mountain to Canning, Jan. 8, 1817; ibid., p. 83.

(3) Ibid., p. 81, Canning to Mountain, Jan. 3, 1817.

Ireland was that only beneficed Irish clergy were promoted to the episcopal bench of that country.⁽¹⁾

The sensible proposal made by Bishop Tomline of Lincoln was that if all failed the effort should be made to get Government to appoint a bishop to Upper Canada, a move which would **relieve** the Bishop of Quebec of arduous visitations.⁽²⁾ Mountain's reply to the proposal has not been preserved but from a further letter of Tomline it may be inferred that he rejected the suggestion on two counts, - first, that long visitation tours would still be necessary, and, second, that such an appointment would prevent any increase in the Quebec episcopal stipend.⁽³⁾

The Bishop had frequent communication with Bathurst, but progress in the direction of any of his Lordship's wishes was very slow. As early as Dec. 17, 1816, he wrote to the Colonial Secretary, pleading his duties as Bishop and as Legislative and Executive Councillor, for favourable consideration on behalf of Government.⁽⁴⁾ No satisfactory reply being forthcoming a further letter was sent to Bathurst on

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 104, Liverpool to Mountain, Aug. 22, 1817; see also ibid., p. 80, Armine Mountain to Jacob Mountain, Jan. 8, 1817; ibid., p. 75, Canning to Mrs. Jacob Mountain, Dec. 18, 1816.

(2) Ibid., p. 79 and p. 105. Tomline to Mountain, Jan. 1, 1817 and Aug. 27, 1817.

(3) Ibid., p. 110, Tomline to Mountain, Sept. 19, 1817.

(4) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, Dec. 17, 1816.

July 17, 1816, in which the Bishop referred to the suspense he was in over his future prospects.⁽¹⁾ Bathurst answered that Lord Liverpool was the person to deal with this suspense.⁽²⁾ Not long after, the Bishop expressed to the Colonial Secretary his hope that opportunity would soon occur to talk with Liverpool. He also desired Bathurst's opinion as to the amount of pension he should ask for.⁽³⁾ He prodded Bathurst yet again just before the meeting of Parliament.⁽⁴⁾ Yet nothing was done. Late in 1817 Mountain wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury a painstakingly composed letter whose much-corrected draft in the Bishopthorpe Papers is succinctly endorsed "Case Stated." After reviewing the situation of the Church in the Canadas he reiterated that he would not return unless an unequivocal order were given for the erection of Parishes, and for the carrying out of other of his oft-repeated proposals. He complained that he was in the dark about the Government's intention, and that the evil of the last year with its delay and suspense was felt not only by himself but by his Diocese.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VI., p. 98, Mountain to Bathurst, July 17, 1817.

(2) Ibid., p. 99, Bathurst to Mountain, July 21, 1817.

(3) Ibid., p. 107, Mountain to Bathurst, Sept. 10, 1817.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 147-2, p. 479. Mountain to Bathurst, Dec. 12, 1817.

(5) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Manners Sutton, Dec. 9, 1817.

The Bishop had, however, found a friend in court - Lord Wodehouse.⁽¹⁾ Several letters passed between them in the summer of 1817, and the latter attempted at that time to get Government to attend to the Bishop's case. On Jan. 2, 1818, Wodehouse wrote again to an unnamed correspondent, probably Lord Bathurst. He had known the Bishop of Quebec for a long time, he said, and respected him. Yet Mountain was kept dangling, a situation that was painful "to a person of as liberal a mind as he possesses." Wodehouse begged to be forgiven for writing again, but he pleaded with his correspondent to delay no longer.⁽²⁾

On the following May 14th the Bishop addressed a further letter to Bathurst. In it he stated that he had learned from Lord Wodehouse that Bathurst deemed it proper that a letter should be written containing reasons for the writer's desire to resign. The reasons then followed. He stressed the extent of the Diocese of Quebec, the difficulty of making visitations, his age (sixty-eight) and his twenty-five years of service, twenty one years of which were spent in Canada.⁽³⁾

(1) Sir John Wodehouse, 6th Baronet, M.P. for Norfolk, 1784-1797; created Baron Wodehouse, of Kimberley, Norfolk, 1797. Died 1834.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150-4, pp. 943-4. Wodehouse to (?), Jan. 2, 1818.

(3) Ibid., pp. 852-854, Mountain to Bathurst, May 14, 1818.

Wodehouse faithfully continued to act as the Bishop's intermediary with the Government, attempting to obtain a suitable pension for his friend. He had several interviews with Bathurst and at one time the way seemed clear for making application to Parliament for a pension of £1500 - the annual amount to be given to the Bishop of Calcutta upon the latter's retirement.⁽¹⁾ But when Bathurst learned that Middleton's pension was to come not from Parliament but from the East India Company, he refused to apply to Parliament on behalf of Mountain. The Army Extraordinaries, from which the episcopal stipend was drawn, would not bear more than £1000 a year, and under these conditions the Bishop felt impelled to refuse the offer.⁽²⁾ The Bishop of Lincoln, in reply to a letter of Mountain announcing the Colonial Secretary's decision, said:- "Nothing can exceed the surprise your account excited in my mind. The reasoning appears to me very curious. The Government of a Country cannot give more than £1000 a year to the Bishop of Quebec because a Trading Company of that Country has given £1500 to the Bishop of Calcutta after a much shorter service.

It seems indeed absolutely impossible on any account that you should accept such an offer, & the only comforting reflexion is, that the good of the Canadian Church will be

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Manners Sutton, June 3, 1818. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, first Bishop of Calcutta was consecrated in 1814 and died in 1822.

(2) Ibid., Tomline to Mountain, June 5, 1818.

promoted by your return."(1)

The Government's next offer, and the Bishop's response to it are contained in the following extract from the latter's communication to Bathurst, July 2, 1818.

My Lord:-

The Information which your Lordship was pleased to authorize Lord Wodehouse to give me of the intention of His Majesty's Government to make an addition of £600 a year to my income, in the case of my returning to my Diocese, I receive with a very grateful sense of their consideration for me: but I must not, by any views of comfort, or convenience to myself, be influenced to forget the infinitely more important interests of my Church.

My resuming (in spite of age) my station at Quebec, my Lord, could very little contribute to advance those interests, unless His Majesty's Government would condescend to accede to certain propositions, which all persons acquainted with the state of the Church of England in the Canadas, know as well as I do, to be essential to its support.

I feel a very great difficulty in so expressing myself upon the subject, so as to avoid the offensive appearance of presumptuously attempting to make conditions with His Majesty's Ministers on the one hand, & the danger, on the other hand, of compromising, by an excess of deference the duty which I owe to my Divine Master, & to His people committed to my charge.

Under this difficulty, I can only earnestly entreat your Lordship wholly to free me, in your liberal opinion, from all intentional presumption, & all want of due respect.

The propositions to which I have alluded are these -

That it be distinctly given to be understood in the Canadas, by His Majesty's Government, that the Church of England is to be considered as the Established Church of that Country.

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Tomline to Mountain, June 5, 1818.

That the arrangements for giving effect to my Jurisdiction over my own Clergy & people in my Diocese, which were entered upon & undertaken for, by the Secretary of State, when I last returned to Quebec from England, be now completed.

That the granting of Marriage Licenses, (a power vested by Act of Parliament in all Bishops, . . .) be left to be exercised by the head of the Church of England, in behalf of the members of that Church, as it is exercised by the head of the Church of Rome for the members of that Community.

That the Bishop's Commissaries, or Officials, for Upper & Lower Canada, be put on a foot of equality, in respect to their Salaries, with the Ecclesiastical Officers of the same rank in Nova Scotia.⁽¹⁾

Mountain immediately acquainted Manners Sutton of the rise in pay, of his acceptance of it, and of the four proposals that he had made to Bathurst.⁽²⁾ The Archbishop replied that two of the proposals might be favourable considered, but that the other two would probably not be granted. "I am sincerely glad", he concluded, "that you have derived so much assistance from Lord Wodehouse; & I shall be still more gratified if by his means such an undertaking be brought about between your Lordship & the Regent's Ministers as may terminate in the resumption of your episcopal duties."⁽³⁾

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150-4, pp. 858-861, Mountain to Bathurst, July 2, 1818.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, July 3, 1818, Mountain to Manners Sutton.

(3) Ibid., Manners Sutton to Mountain, July 15, 1818. In his answer the Bishop said that he expected objections. But he continued "In behalf of a settled & Established Church it is sufficient to aim at probable advantages, but for one that is depressed & sinking, everything not impracticable is to be attempted at whatever risk to him who attempts it." Ibid., Mountain to Manners Sutton, July 21, 1818.

In acknowledging the Bishop's letter July 2, Bathurst stated that the B600 was a testimony of the interest of the Prince Regent in the welfare of the Established Church. He wished to know whether the four propositions were merely for discussion, or ultimata without which the Bishop would not return to Canada. He was willing, he said, to discuss them under the former understanding only, and he pressed the Bishop to declare clearly whether the latter was prepared to return.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop replied that he hoped that Bathurst would look upon the propositions as claims of the Church, not conditions of return, and again he pleaded for a declaration of Anglican "Establishment" in Quebec.⁽²⁾ To this Bathurst sent two replies, one unofficial, and severe in tone,⁽³⁾ the other, official, suggesting pointedly that the time had come for the Bishop to return to Quebec.⁽⁴⁾ When, however, Mountain explained the difficulties in the way of making the journey to Quebec that Autumn,⁽⁵⁾ Bathurst consented to a delay until the following Spring.⁽⁶⁾ Upon

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Bathurst to Mountain, July 9, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to Bathurst, July 18, 1818.

(3) Ibid., Bathurst to Mountain, July 24, 1818.

(4) Ibid., Same to same, July 25, 1818.

(5) Ibid., Mountain to Bathurst, July 30, 1818; also P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150-4, pp. 862-3.

(6) Ibid., Bathurst to Mountain, Aug. 5, 1818.

being assured of Mountain's decision to return he sent the Bishop a more cordial note a few days later.⁽¹⁾

When the Archbishop heard of the final decision to return to Quebec in 1819, he wrote, "In determining to return to Quebec your Lordship has judged wisely for the Protestant Church in Canada, & I trust, not improvidently for yourself. There certainly is no man in our profession so well informed as your Lordship in the defects & want of that Church. You have sought a remedy for them with zeal & indefatigable earnestness; & altho: you have not succeeded in all points, in some you have succeeded, & the rest you have so developed to Government as to have left nothing on your part unexplained.

For yourself I think you have determined wisely; because the residence of a Bishop in this Country dispossessed of his duties, & shorn of his authorities, is ill calculated to satisfy an active mind."⁽²⁾

Meanwhile, in the Canadas, the episcopal succession was exercising the minds of Charles James Stewart and John Strachan. Writing to Henry Goulburn on Oct. 8, 1818, Stewart said that he had received the latter's letter of July 8, and one from his brother Lord Galloway enclosing a letter from the Bishop, from all of what he learned that Mountain was

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Bathurst to Mountain, Aug. 10, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Manners Sutton to Mountain, Aug. 17, 1818.

not resigning. "With regard to your former letter," he wrote, "and the inquiry conveyed in it, I am far from accusing you of any impertinent curiosity. At the same time, it did lead me, more than any other information I received, not to expect the return of the Bishop. This event, however, is not a great disappointment to me. I wished to be Bishop chiefly that I might do much good, but it is an arduous situation. That of a Missionary at Hatley will be attended with less anxiety." (1)

On Christmas Day, 1818, John Strachan wrote to Sir Peregrine Maitland respecting a new Bishop:- "In consequence of Your Excellency's request I enclose two projects. The first is undoubtedly the best, but we want a Bishop so much who is able to go around the Province once every year that I have added the second project should the first fail - an event hardly to be looked for." The first project was that Jacob Mountain should be allowed to retire on full salary of £2000 if not satisfied with less. His successor might be given £400 in lieu of a Palace, £300 from the Reserves of Upper Canada and £200 from those of Lower Canada, until Dr. Mountain's death. Strachan added that he had reason to suppose that Charles James Stewart would become coadjutor on being assured the succession, and being allowed to retain

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150-4, pp. 926-928, Stewart to Goulburn, Oct. 8, 1818.

"in commendam" a small living in England. The second project would be to consecrate Stewart for Upper Canada, allowing him £500 from the Reserves of Upper Canada, and £400 from the S.P.G. (a sum not more than the Bishop of Nova Scotia received from that source) at the same time permitting him to retain his living.⁽¹⁾

Informing Stewart of the steps he had taken, and that Maitland was about to write to Bathurst on the subject, Strachan continued:- "I have reason to think that His Lordship will be very willing to return to this country if he can procure an honourable retreat. He is a person of very high intellectual attainments and I believe anxious for the good of the Church & its extension but the measures he pursued involved him in difficulties at the very outset and too little attention was paid to him, even to his most reasonable representations.

It cannot however be concealed that his habits and manners were calculated rather for an English Bishop than the Missionary Bishop of Canada. We want a primitive Bishop who will go round the Country & preach the Gospel to the people, stir up a religious spirit among them, gradually bring them into order, and abstain in all matters of indifference from hurting even their unreasonable prejudices. We

(1) P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book 1812-1834, Strachan to Maitland, Dec. 25, 1818.

want a Bishop that will encourage his Clergy by frequent & liberal communications with them, by affability tempered with dignity, & give them an example of attention to duty combined with learning and moderation - but I must conclude or miss the Post!"⁽¹⁾

At the same time as these premature plans were being discussed, however, the Bishop was applying for a frigate to take him back to Quebec. A frigate, he pointed out, would expose him less to sea-sickness than a merchantman.⁽²⁾ His request was granted, and the "Active", under Captain Sir James A. Gordon was placed at his disposal by the Admiralty. The "Active" was originally destined for Halifax but was diverted to Quebec at the Bishop's desire. About the 26th of May the frigate sailed from Portsmouth bearing the episcopal party of ten persons⁽³⁾ back to Canada, and reached Quebec early in July 1819.

The four propositions submitted to Bathurst by the Bishop on July 2, 1818, received scant attention from the Government but they were again presented in an amplified form to the Colonial Secretary early in 1819. One of these

(1) P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book 1812-1834, Strachan to Stewart, Jan. 11, 1819.

(2) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 25, Mountain to Canning, Dec. 28, 1818.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 153-2, p. 298, Mountain to Goulburn, (?), May 13, 1819.

asked that Archdeacons should be appointed.⁽¹⁾ As this was not only promised but actually fulfilled without undue delay it will be proper to sum up here the Bishop's efforts to have Archdeacons appointed in his Diocese.

As related in a former chapter⁽²⁾ Commissaries had been appointed at an early date in the Diocese of Quebec and Nova Scotia under powers granted by the Bishop's Patents. In Lower Canada the Rev. Philip Toosey was first Commissary and was succeeded in 1797 by the Rev. Jehoshaphat Mountain. In Upper Canada the first Commissary, the Rev. John Stuart was succeeded in 1811 by the Rev. George Okill Stuart.

In a letter written to the Duke of Portland, Nov. 6, 1795, after relating the financial straits of Toosey and Stuart, the Bishop observed:- "On the subject of the Commissaries, I beg leave further to say, that I entirely coincide in the opinion expressed by Governor Simcoe in his letter subjoined mark'd No. 1. It is indeed an opinion which I have long entertained. The number of Military Commissaries in this Country, & the low rank in Society which many of them hold has so far sunk the respectability of the Appellation it seems rather to disgrace than to confer dignity upon the character of a Clergyman. I therefore humbly make it my

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 153-2, pp. 277-290, Mountain to Bathurst, March 1, 1819.

(2) Chapter IV.

request, that, without changing the powers already conferred, I may be authorized to change the title of Commissary into that of Archdeacon.⁽¹⁾

Portland asked Archbishop Moore's opinion and received the following reply:- "There can, I think, be no objection to His Lordship's proposal to change the title of Commissary to that of Archdeacon; & the reason assigned in the Bishop's letter for doing so appears to be very just and sufficient."⁽²⁾ Three weeks later, however, Portland expressed to Dorchester his doubts concerning the propriety of calling Commissaries, Archdeacons. The two reasons assigned for the refusal to authorize the change of name were:- 1. that the tenure of the two offices was different, that of Commissary being held during the Bishop's pleasure only, while that of Archdeacon was for life; 2. that Archdeacons were vested with powers and jurisdiction of their own exclusive of the Bishop's court. But he suggested that the title be changed from Commissary to Official.⁽³⁾ The Bishop adopted the alternate title but with no great enthusiasm and henceforward addressed each former Commissary as "Official". The death of Jehoshaphat Mountain

(1) P.A.C., Q. 74-2, pp. 403-13, Mountain to Portland, Nov. 6, 1795.

(2) Ibid., Series Q, Vol. 77, pp. 322-25, Moore to Portland, June 7, 1796.

(3) Ibid., Series Q, Vol. 75-2, pp. 265-69, Portland to Dorchester, June 22, 1796. Neither of these objections had any real validity. Even the Bishop never received powers to set up a Court.

in 1817, during the Bishop's absence led to the appointment of a successor, George Jehoshaphat Mountain. George Mountain and George Stuart remained Bishop's Officials until their promotion to be Archdeacons not long after.

With the increase of clergy, the Bishop's long absence in England, and his frequent illnesses after his return, the officialship became more than a mere sinecure. On July 2, 1818, the Bishop asked Bathurst "that the Bishop's Commissaries or Officials, for Upper and Lower Canada be put upon a footing of equality with respect to their salaries, with the Ecclesiastical Officers of the same rank in Nova Scotia."⁽¹⁾ Finally, as noted above, he included in his list of proposals made to Bathurst on March 1, 1819, one that he had made to Portland twenty-four years before, - that the Officials should be made Archdeacons.⁽²⁾ This time the Colonial Secretary gave his assent, although refusing to pay any extra salary.⁽³⁾ On the following June 10, Bathurst informed the Bishop that the latter could not appoint Archdeacons, but that Archdeaconries could be erected under Letters Patent. This would not be done, however, until he was assured that the expense would be justified.⁽⁴⁾ The

(1) *Supra*, p. 8, Mountain to Bathurst, July 2, 1818.

(2) *Supra*, p. 14, Mountain to Bathurst, March 1, 1819.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 46, Bathurst to Mountain, April 27, 1819.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 53, Bathurst to Mountain, June 10, 1819.

Bishop replied on Sept. 7 repeating his arguments on behalf of the creation of Archdeacons and stating that no added expense would be incurred, beyond that of preparing instruments for the establishing of Archdeaconries as Bathurst had already declined to raise the Commissaries' salaries.⁽¹⁾ Whereupon the Colonial Secretary informed Jacob Mountain that the business would be immediately attended to.⁽²⁾

Bathurst's rare agreement with the Bishop's proposal may have been prompted by the fact that a precedent had already been set in India. In 1813 an Act of the Imperial Parliament renewed the Charter of the East India Company, and erected their territories into the great Diocese of Calcutta.⁽³⁾ Thomas Fanshawe Middleton was appointed Bishop, by letters patent, at a salary of £5000 a year, and three Archdeacons were nominated to Fort William, Fort George and Bombay at £2000 a year each.

The following letter shows that the Patent Office used the Indian precedent in the creation of the Canadian Archdeaconries:-

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. Vii, p. 56, Mountain to Bathurst, Sept. 7, 1819.

(2) Ibid., p. 62, Bathurst to Mountain, Nov. 5, 1819.

(3) Imperial Statute, 53 Geo. III, c. 155.

Patent Office,
 Lincolns Inn,
 19 July 1820.

My dear Sir:-

I shall be very glad to assist in any measure calculated to serve the Attorney and Solicitor General from any Trouble not now necessarily cast upon them - but I have some difficulties on the subject of the Form of the Patent for erecting 2 Archdeaconries in Canada, which I would wish to submit to you.

It is proposed to make these Officers, without further Appointment, Commissaries to the Bishop.

By the Constitution of the See of Quebec in 1793, the Bishop has authority from Time to Time to name his own commissaries, and to remove them as to him shall deem expedient, - There may be some Doubt as to the power of the Crown now to make the proposed alteration in that Authority.

It seems to have been intended to make the appointment revocable by the Crown - If so a Clause I think should be introduced directly for the purpose as in the Appointment of Archdeacon in the East Indies - but it is to be observed that the Bishop of Calcutta is himself removeable by the Crown, which I apprehend is not the case with the Bishop of Quebec.

The Archdeacons in the East Indies are created Corporations sole - If it should be thought right to confer the same Quality on the Archdeacons now to be created I apprehend that a Clause somewhat to the effect of the one I have sketched will be necessary.

There are particular Reservations in the East India Appointments as to the Jurisdiction of the Temporal Courts, whether any such Reservations may be necessary in the present case, I am ignorant, but I think it right to remind you of them.

I am, Dear Sir,
 Yours very Faithfully, (1)
 Hen. Dealtry.

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 156-1, pp. 97-105, Dealtry to Goulburn (?), July 19, 1820.

Further delay prompted the Bishop to make a query to Bathurst regarding the progress of the business.⁽¹⁾

Bathurst replied that the patents were to be mailed before long.⁽²⁾ The Bishop acknowledged receipt of the patents of the Archdeacons of Quebec and York on August 24, 1821.⁽³⁾

Jacob Mountain set himself immediately to promote the interests of his Archdeacons and to instruct them in the proper performance of their office. To the Solicitor General of Lower Canada, he wrote that Archdeacon Mountain was not getting sufficient attention at the Castle of St. Lewis, the Presbyterian Governor-General, the Earl of Dalhousie, probably being unaware that Archdeacons were third in rank in the Church, coming after the Bishops and Deans. "I need not remark to you," he added in explanation, "that distinctions and observances of this sort in the Church as well as in the State & the Law are not the work of weak & vain men, but of men conversant with human nature & deeply versed in affairs of the world. I will not therefore apologize for troubling you upon a matter which might otherwise appear to give unnecessary importance to what in itself is unessential."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 102, Mountain to Bathurst, Dec. 22, 1820.

(2) Ibid., p. 118, Bathurst to Mountain, June 16, 1821.

(3) P.A.C., Series S, Vol. 153, p. 36, Mountain to Ready, Aug. 24, 1821. See Appendix I for a copy of the Letters Patent.

(4) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 119, Mountain to (?), Aug. 25, 1821.

On the same day the Bishop wrote to Archdeacon Stuart on the subject of the new appointment. He told Stuart that no extra salary was attached to the office; that Archdeacons were third in rank; that Visitations, though annual in England, were to be triennial in Canada; that the situation was for life; that on paying formal calls the Archdeacon should wear a short cassock and a coat similar to that worn by any Church dignitary. He asked Stuart to come to Quebec for collation as soon as possible.⁽¹⁾

Despite Bathurst's refusal to grant an increased salary, the Bishop coolly asked for a raise of £50 per annum for each of the Archdeacons, giving as his reason for the request the need of their making visitations. "I am aware of the pressing necessity of economy in every department of the State:," was his rather neat way of putting the proposition before Bathurst, "but such a sum as £100 a year is scarcely a tangible point in the expenditure of the Empire."⁽²⁾ No addition was made to the salaries of the Archdeacons during the Bishop's lifetime. They remained at £150 a year, the same sum as that paid to Mountain and Stuart when they were Officials.

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 121, Mountain to Stuart, Aug. 25, 1821.

(2) Ibid., p. 120, Mountain to Bathurst, Aug. 29, 1821.

(3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, March 28, 1825.

Not long before his death the Bishop heard that Bathurst planned to appoint two more Archdeacons as assistants, at £750 a year each. Mountain wrote immediately telling of his disapproval of the scheme. It would be a reflection on the Bishop, he said, as well as on the present Archdeacons to supersede the latter by two new men at five times the salary.⁽¹⁾ This plan of Bathurst's was never put into operation.

One of the first acts of the new Bishop, Charles James Stewart, was to effect the appointment of two Archdeacons to Upper Canada, at York and Kingston, at salaries of £300 a year. The salary of Archdeacon Mountain was raised to £500 a year.⁽²⁾ New patents were made out when the Archdeaconry of Upper Canada was divided.⁽³⁾

During his prolonged stay in England - about two and one half years - the Bishop had no settled abode. He lived at Hastings during the winter of 1817-18 but the addresses on his letters show that at other times he resided in Beaconsfield, Gerard's Cross, Bath and Tunbridge Wells. Family affairs rarely enter his correspondence, but just as he was leaving England

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, March 28, 1825.

(2) P.A.C., Series G, Vol. 61, pp. 303-05, Horton to Maitland, Sept. 12, 1825.

(3) An article on "Establishment of Archdeaconries in the Old Diocese of Quebec", by T.R. Millman, is printed in the Montreal Churchman, November, 1939.

to return to Quebec he made an effort to "provide" for his eldest son, Jacob. He wrote to Lord Eldon, the Chancellor, asking for a prebend's stall for his son, pointing out that Mr. Mountain was married, with a large family and had been ordained eight years, but that the latter's income was only £300 per annum.⁽¹⁾ He wrote to Lord Liverpool in the same strain,⁽²⁾ but from neither did he receive any favourable reply.⁽³⁾

On March 28, 1919, the Bishop preached a sermon at the Anniversary of the Royal Humane Society in Christ Church, Surrey. The sermon was afterwards printed.⁽⁴⁾

As on the occasion of his former furlough in England, the Bishop failed to achieve his main object, viz., to effect his resignation from the See of Quebec. He returned to Quebec in a much better financial condition than when he sailed away in 1816, as the generous addition of £600 to his former salary and allowance brought the total to £3000. The principal advantage gained by his diocese was the erection of Parishes.

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Eldon, May 13, 1819.

(2) Ibid., Mountain to Liverpool, May 7, 1819; see also ibid., Tomline to Mountain, May 14, 1819.

(3) For Liverpool's reply, see Bishopthorpe Papers, May 11, 1819.

(4) A copy is in the Pamphlet Collection of the Public Archives of Canada, and another is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives.

CHAPTER XXI

DIOCESAN AFFAIRS DURING THE BISHOP'S ABSENCE:
AND THE RECORD OF 1819

During the Bishop's absence in England he kept in close touch with developments in both sections of his diocese. From Lower Canada he received a series of letters from Herman Witsius Ryland, many of them reflecting the political animosities of Quebec. From Upper Canada he was plentifully supplied with information both political and ecclesiastical by John Strachan and by Official Stuart. In England itself he interviewed prospective candidates for missions in Quebec, corresponded with the S. P. G., and attended occasional meetings of the Society. It is abundantly clear that his long furlough did not relieve him of diocesan responsibilities. These he bore willingly, while at the same time attempting to pursue the objects which took him home, viz: to effect his resignation and to persuade Government to improve the condition of the Church in Canada.

From Bath he wrote to Ryland and to Sewell, introducing the new Solicitor-General, Mr. Charles Marshall, who was a college friend of his sons Jacob and George.⁽¹⁾

Ryland wrote as follows on the 17th of September, 1817:- "I every day more and more lament your Lordship's absence from this Province. I cannot comprehend the system, on which our G^r is acting, or account for his Measures on

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Ryland and to Sewell, April 2, 1817.

any principle of common policy or common sense. . . . If you are not to return I should wish to exclude from my mind forever all thought about our Colonial Politics." He then went on to propose appropriating the Jesuit farm at Beauport to the See of Quebec.⁽¹⁾

On Oct. 26, he wrote a "most private and confidential" epistle, pouring scorn on "your Lordship's pretended Friend the C.[hief] J.[ustice] who, in my Estimation, is the most selfish, the most subtle, and the most contemptible politician in this part of His Majesty's Dominions. I think that your Lordship must by this time view this man in the same light that I do and have done for many years past." What the reasons were for Ryland's hatred of Sewell are not clear. In the course of the letter, however, he mentions an attempt of Sewell to get possession of the Jesuit Estates, and of the Chief Justice's efforts to be placed at the head of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. He again lamented the Bishop's absence, as the Governor [Sherbrooke] had fallen into the hands of persons "who are destitute of Political Integrity and who would not hesitate to sacrifice the Welfare and Constitution of the Colony to their own private Interests."⁽²⁾

Another letter from Ryland enclosed documents

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Sept. 17, 1817.

(2) Ibid., Ryland to Mountain, Oct. 26, 1817.

dealing with the trial of Mr. Justice Foucher.(1) Still another described Bishop Plessis' entrance to the Legislative Council.(2) A further communication hailed with relief the coming of the Duke of Richmond.(3)

The Bishop wrote to Sewell reviewing the various steps that had been taken in regard to the erection of Parishes.(4) It speaks well for his Lordship's tact that throughout his episcopate he remained on friendly terms both with Sewell and with Ryland.

Thomas Amyot, Provincial Agent, wrote to the Bishop from Downing Street, Aug. 8, 1818, that Mr. Justice Ogden had just arrived in Quebec, bearing a letter from Ryland. The latter, according to Amyot's report, "thinks that the Assembly will carry their threats into execution next year against Pensioners & Absentees, unless the Duke of Richmond should possess firmness and influence enough to counteract them. The transfer to the Assembly of the right of controul over the Civil Expenditure he considers to have been a most serious measure."(5)

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Jan. 6, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Ryland to Mountain, Feb. 1, 1818.

(3) Ibid., Ryland to Mountain, Feb. 10, 1818. See Chapter VII, p. 150.

(4) Sewell Papers, Mountain to Sewell, April 7, 1818.

(5) Bishopthorpe Papers, Amyot to Mountain, Aug. 8, 1818.

A few changes took place among the clergy in Lower Canada in the Bishop's absence. George Jehoshaphat Mountain returned to Quebec as Rector in 1817. Jehoshaphat Mountain died at Montreal, April 12, 1817,⁽¹⁾ and was succeeded in the Officialship by his nephew above-mentioned. Richard Bradford died during the same year. Regarding the two vacancies the Bishop wrote as follows to the S. P. G.:-

"The death of Dr. Mountain (which took place in April) has vacated the living of Montreal. There will be considerable difficulty, I apprehend, in properly fitting this vacancy; respecting which the Governor, Sir John Sherbrooke, has referred himself to me. The duty will for the present, I believe, be performed by the Rev^d Mr. Leeds (the Gentleman placed by Government as a Schoolmaster at Montreal) who, I understand, wishes to hold the living for two years. He is a perfectly unexceptionable man, but it does not seem proper, nor indeed practicable that he should become the established Minister, if his school, as it is to be hoped it will, should considerably increase; for in that case it would be impossible that he should give due attention to the duties of so large a Parish; and a like objection would be against each of the Gentlemen who holds the situation of Chaplain to the Forces. Among the Missionaries in that Province there are no persons who appear to me

(1) The Montreal Herald of April 12, 1817, has an obituary notice.

entirely suited to fill the office of Minister at Montreal, and therefore no change is, in consequence of that vacancy, likely to take place in any of the Missions. It is perhaps not improbable that before it become necessary for Mr. Leeds to relinquish the duty, some fit person may be found.

The Rev^d Mr. Bradford, Missionary at Chatham, died about the middle of May last, at Montreal: and the Congregation at Chatham consequently remains without a Minister."⁽¹⁾

Leeds had already written to the Bishop that his school had failed, and asked whether he could hold the curacy of Montreal, while giving services to Chambly as the Rev. John Wilson was doing at Ernest Town.⁽²⁾ The Chambly project failed but Leeds continued in charge of Christ Church until the appointment of John Bethune as Rector in 1818. The latter was Rector of Montreal for fifty-two years.

The Mission of Chatham was not re-opened; but on July 6, 1818, the Rev. Joseph Abbott arrived at Quebec and was appointed by Official Mountain to the Mission of St. Andrews, seven miles from Chatham. St. Andrews was the

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 5, Mountain to S. P. G., July 10, 1817; Bradford died on May 11, 1817, after a year's painful illness. A brief obituary is contained in the Montreal Herald, May 17, 1817. He was sixty-two years old.

(2) Montreal Diocesan Archives, Leeds to Mountain, May 12, 1817.

principal place in Sir John Johnson's Seignior of Argenteuil and held promise of becoming a Rectory as soon as a Church was built. Joseph Abbott was born in Yorkshire in 1791, educated in Brampton School, Westmoreland, and at the University of Aberdeen where he took the degree of M. A.⁽¹⁾ Not long after his arrival he married the daughter of the Rev. Richard Bradford. During his first period of incumbency at St. Andrews, 1818-1824, he itinerated through the neighbouring country as far as Hawkesbury, Hull and Richmond. In 1824 he proceeded to Yamaska Mountain (named Abbotsford after himself) where he remained for eight years.

The Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart was in England on furlough from October 1815 to September 1817. Upon his return he first visited St. Armand where he found the Rev. James Reid and his two congregations in a satisfactory state. He then looked for another mission in which he could repeat his pioneering labours. Stanstead was carefully considered by him but he was not able to unite the people under his care, or to provide a Church building exclusively for Anglicans. He then decided to settle at Hatley, subsequently getting the sanction of the Governor and of the Bishop's Official.⁽²⁾ Reid was thereupon appointed to St. Armand.

(1) Stuart, H. C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, p. 279.

(2) Journals of S. P. G., Meeting of June 17, 1818. Stewart's letter of Feb. 28, 1818, is quoted in the Journal.

The opening of the Mission at St. John's calls for further mention than the brief reference made in a previous chapter. It is probable that the first Anglican services at that Post were conducted by the Rev. John Stuart who had spent a short time there in 1781 on the journey which finally took him to Kingston.⁽¹⁾ The Rev. John Doty of Sorel made occasional visits in the 1790's⁽²⁾ The appointment of a military chaplain was suggested in 1797 but whether any action was taken in this regard is not known.⁽³⁾ During his years as Missionary at St. Armand the Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart visited the little town at least annually. As previously noted, he retired to St. John's, or Dorchester as it was then called, at the height of the War, but soon returned to St. Armand.⁽⁴⁾

In 1809 the inhabitants of Dorchester sent a representation to the Bishop, stating that for nearly fifty years they had been without a place of worship and a clergyman, and asked his Lordship to supply the latter deficiency. The Bishop replied regretfully that he had no minister to send,

(1) While in Montreal, in 1782, he paid monthly visits to the St. John's Garrison. Vide Lydekker, J. W., The Faithful Mohawks, p. 173.

(2) Vide Chapter XI, Progress of the Church in Lower Canada, 1793-1805, p. 207.

(3) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 3, Prescott to Wyndham, May 13, 1797.

(4) Vide Chapter XV, Diocesan Administration, 1810-1816, p. 286.

but he promised to approach the Government on the subject.⁽¹⁾
No results followed.

Under the leadership of the Rev. Micajah Townshend, who was placed in charge of the Mission of Caldwell Manor in 1815, a fund was raised for building a Church at St. John's. The first service was held in the new building on Jan. 19, 1817. St. James Church, which still stands, is the oldest church building in the present Diocese of Montreal. The Government had granted £500 for the building of the St. John's Church but the structure was completed before the money was available. The money was later devoted to the purchase of a parsonage and the buying of a bell.⁽²⁾ The Rev. William Devereux Baldwyn arrived from Cornwall to take charge of the new mission in Feb. 1818.

Much of John Strachan's correspondence with the Bishop dealt with various theological students, actual or prospective, in whose education the writer was keenly interested.⁽³⁾ On May 12, 1817, he told of the failure of his School Bill in the Lower House. He also recounted the story of Col. Nichols' attacks on the Clergy Reserves in the Assembly. In order to be in a better position to defend the

(1) Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 26, Mountain to Inhabitants of Dorchester, Oct. 2, 1809.

(2) Ibid., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 46, Bathurst to Mountain, April 27, 1819.

(3) See Chapter XVIII entitled 'The Beginnings of Theological Education in the Canadas.'

Church he wished to be a member of the Legislative Council, and he hinted broadly to the Bishop to effect this for him.⁽¹⁾ The Bishop made the desired recommendation to Bathurst, and the appointment was made by the end of 1820.⁽²⁾ In the same letter in which he told of the application to Bathurst, he defended himself against Strachan's charge that he was neglectful of the Church's interests in Upper Canada, particularly in permitting concessions to be made to the Roman Catholics of that province.⁽³⁾ A few months later he sent Strachan a number of private papers to be shown to a few influential Churchmen in Upper Canada so that the latter might not lose confidence in their Bishop.⁽⁴⁾ A perusal of these papers extracted from the critical Scot the following encomium: "The great exertions made by your Lordship to place the Church upon a more respectable footing do more than equal my expectations, which were not perhaps moderate, and are not to be valued by their success. They will reflect the greatest credit upon your Lordship, when we are all

(1) P. A. O., Strachan Letter Book, 1812-1834, Strachan to Mountain, May 12, 1817.

(2) Bethune, A. N., Memoir of Bishop Strachan, p. 78. See also Spragge, G. W., Dr. Strachan's Motives for becoming a Legislative Councillor. - Canadian Historical Review, Dec. 1938, pp. 397-402.

(3) T. P. L. Scadding Collection, Mountain to Strachan, Feb. 18, 1818.

(4) Ibid., Mountain to Strachan, July 9, 1818.

mingled with the dust." (1)

Strachan also brought to the Bishop's attention the fact that George Stuart, while at York as Missionary, had obtained for himself two valuable acres of the landed Endowment of the Parish, and that the progress of the Church was in consequence retarded. (2) Thereupon the Bishop remonstrated with Stuart, and suggested that the Government might possibly give a fair equivalent elsewhere. (3) Stuart answered that the land was not obtained by fraud, but by consent of the Administrator and Council, who had power to make the grant. If he had acted wrongly he would want no compensation, but if not, then he expected his Diocesan Bishop to uphold him. (4)

On Feb. 10, 1818, Strachan wrote again to Mountain, acknowledging a reply to his former letter of the previous May 12. "I should not have troubled your Lordship at this time," he proceeded, "had it not been suspected that you were about to be promoted to the Bench of England, or to retire this winter on a Pension. The former I should hail with joy, though not without some mixture of regret that the interests of this Diocese and your own had not been

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, March 12, 1819.

(2) Ibid., Strachan to Mountain, Nov. 10, 1817.

(3) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, Feb. 27, 1818.

(4) Ibid., Stuart to Mountain, Aug. 14, 1818.

compatible, till we were placed on a more respectable footing.

There are, however, a few things which I wish to see accomplished by your Lordship before you cease to be Bishop of Quebec, not only because they would keep the first Bishop in grateful remembrance but because they have already occupied much of your Lordship's time and attention. 1st. Placing the Clergy Reserves under such a Commission or such regulations as would render them productive and secure. . . . 2. Placing the School appropriation of this Province under a similar commission to promote objects for which they have been reserved. (3) To urge the Government respecting Mr. McGill's Legacy. I shall ever be mortified if the ten years are allowed to elapse, and the legacy to fall. It was at Cornwall on a visit to me that he determined to make the donation. Five years have passed away and Gov^t has done nothing.

The School here is flourishing. I have hired two Assistants by which we are enabled to extend our system of education. At present I lose all my labour as the Provincial Salary £100 per annum, and the fees, hardly suffice to pay my Ushers, who are both respectable young men. Were Gov^t to give us the same advantage that is given to Kingston, Montreal and Quebec, namely two hundred per annum, I should procure a third Teacher, and wait patiently for a reasonable reward for my labours, when the school lands become productive. . . . I was lately at Cornwall two days and found Mr. Mountain delighted with the place, and the people with

him."(1)

On July 25, 1819, Strachan wrote again congratulating the Bishop on his return to Canada, conveying at the same time further information about S. P. G. students and about Church building.(2)

Before leaving for England the Bishop informed the Governor-in-Chief, Sir John Sherbrooke, of the arrival of the Rev. John Wilson who was about to proceed to Kingston to take charge of the Grammar School.(3) But Wilson was appointed by Sir Robert Hall, Commodore of the Lakes, to be Chaplain to the Navy Yard and Point Frederick. With the Bishop's approval he took duty on alternate Sundays at Ernest Town, a mission that had been vacant since the resignation of John Langhorn in 1813. The S. P. G. disapproved of the Bishop's recommendation that Wilson be given £100 per annum for this part time work,(4) but the latter continued to give occasional services to Ernest Town, at £50 a year, until the reopening of the Mission by the appointment of John Stoughton

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Feb. 10, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Strachan to Mountain, July 25, 1819.

(3) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VI, p. 65, Mountain to Sherbrooke, Oct. 5, 1816.

(4) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Hamilton to Mountain, July 18, 1817.

in 1819. Wilson then resumed his duties as a teacher,⁽¹⁾ but was Naval Chaplain until 1822.

In the same letter in which Stuart informed the Bishop of Wilson's appointment to the Naval Chaplaincy he announced the arrival in Kingston of the Rev. Rowland Grove Curtois as Chaplain to the Forces.⁽²⁾ Curtois' coming relieved Stuart of the care of the military for three or four years, but also reduced the latter's salary by the amount of the chaplain's pay.

Early in 1817 the Society procured the services of the Rev. William Sampson as Missionary. At the Bishop's request he was sent to Grimsby⁽³⁾ where a Church had been built and where a parsonage house and a subscription towards the minister's support had been promised. Official Stuart informed the Bishop of Sampson's arrival.⁽⁴⁾

William Sampson was the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Sampson, of Wandsworth, England, where he was born Oct. 4, 1790. It is not known where he was educated,⁽⁵⁾ but he was in

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, Nov. 10, 1819. Wilson also tutored several theological students at Kingston. Years later when once again in Oxford he was offered a post on the staff of McGill College but decided against accepting it. (Montreal Diocesan Archives, Letter dated Aug. 17, 1833.)

(2) O. D. A., Stuart to Mountain, March 23, 1817.

(3) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 5, Mountain to S. P. G., April 7, 1817.

(4) O. D. A., Stuart to Mountain, Aug. 28, 1817.

(5) It has been pointed out to me by Dr. J. S. Talmon that in Foster's Alumni Oxonienses, 1715-1886, the following entry occurs: - Rev. Wm. Sampson, S. Thomas of Wandsworth, Surrey, doctor. University Coll. matric. 11 Oct. 1808, aged 18.

priest's Orders when he came to Canada. Within a few weeks after his settling in Grimsby he espoused Mary Eliza Nelles of that place. Early in 1818 he lost his house and all his possessions by fire. His early death was caused in 1822 by the accidental discharge of a gun when out hunting.⁽¹⁾

The year of the Bishop's return to Canada, 1819, saw further progress in the Church in his diocese. On April 18, 1819, he made several recommendations to the Society. (a) That William Abbott be allowed £50 per annum until of age for ordination. (b) That Robert Raby Burrage be ordained and appointed to Aubigny (Levis) where he could give services, while continuing to teach in the Grammar School. (c) That a missionary be appointed "for visiting in rotation the Townships which are not yet prepared for an Establishment. (d) That new missions be opened at Drummondville and Perth, and that Samuel Simpson Wood and Michael Harris, respectively, be appointed to these posts. The Society agreed to all these proposals.⁽²⁾

Robert Raby Burrage remained in charge of Aubigny for several years after the Bishop's death.⁽³⁾ A son of

(1) History of St. Andrew's Church, Grimsby.

(2) Journal of the S. P. G., Meeting of April 18, 1819.

(3) Biographical details may be consulted in Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, pp. 295-296; Pascoe, C.F., Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., p. 869; Fee, J. E., Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Church, Montreal, 1911.

Robert Burrage, Esq., he was born at Norwich, England, June 9, 1794. He received his university education at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he formed a life-long friendship with S. S. Wood, later of Three Rivers. Before taking his degree he was recommended for the mastership of the Royal Grammar School at Quebec, and he proceeded to Canada without delay. He remained in charge of the School until 1837 when he was succeeded by the Rev. F. J. Lundy. He was ordained in 1819 and was licensed to Levis, a mission which he continued to serve until he was pensioned in 1846. For a number of years he was secretary of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. Late in life he was placed in charge of St. Mary's, Hochelaga, 1860-1863. He died in Montreal in December 1864.

William Abbott was not ordained to the diaconate until 1824, and probably received the £50 until he was placed on the Society's Scholarship list. According to Joseph Abbott's report to the Society, the younger brother had received the appointment of school-teacher at St. Andrews.

The first Visiting Missionary to be appointed, at a salary of £300 a year, was the Hon. and Rev. Charles James Stewart, who laboured untiringly at his new work, travelling several times over the whole inhabited portion of the old Diocese of Quebec until he attained the office of a Bishop in 1825. Accounts of his journeys were printed in the S.P.G. Reports for 1820 and 1822. He was succeeded at Hatley by the Rev. Thomas Johnson, who was born in County Westmoreland,

England, in 1789. For a time Johnson was master at Bampton School, an institution attended by the Abbott brothers. In 1815 he was ordained deacon by the Archbishop of York, and two years later he was priested by the Bishop of Carlisle. Although he had come out irregularly, through a misunderstanding of the Bishop of Carlisle's letter to him, yet he was accepted by the S. P. G. and placed in charge of Hatley temporarily at first, and then permanently. While at Hatley, and later at Abbotsford, he had many out-stations. He lived to the age of ninety-two.(1)

Samuel Simpson Wood, a graduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was born Feb. 21, 1795, the son of a British army officer. He was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Shute Barrington of Durham, and came to Canada after spending less than a year in a curacy near Berwick-on-Tweed. He was known to acquaintances of Bishop Mountain and had good testimonials.(2) After being admitted by the latter to priest's orders he was stationed at Drummondville and later at Three Rivers, where he carried on successful ministries for many years.(3)

(1) Biographical details of Thomas Johnson may be found in Bliss, C. V. F., The Clerical Guide, 1876, p. 69; Borthwick, J.D., History of the Diocese of Montreal, p. 100. A number of his letters are preserved in the Hatley Volume in the Quebec Diocesan Archives.

(2) Q.D.A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 32, Mountain to S. P. G., May 15, 1819.

(3) Canadian Church Magazine and Mission News, April 1890.

Michael Harris, eldest son of Michael Harris of Dublin, was born in 1795 and was educated at Trinity College in his native city. The Bishop received satisfactory references from him in the spring of 1819 and informed the S.P.G. that Harris wished to complete his term before leaving College.⁽¹⁾ He proceeded to Canada in the same year, was ordained to the diaconate on August 24, and immediately settled at Perth, near Rideau Lake, in the Johnstown District of the Upper Province. His whole ministry was spent in the same area of Ontario, where he was the pioneer Anglican clergyman. He retired in 1833.

Writing to Strachan Aug. 20, 1819, the Bishop said:- "I have great satisfaction in learning the exertions that the people are making in building Churches. To the three Candidates, who, I suppose, will soon be ordained, I may possibly be able to add another Mission or two for the U: Prov: from those whom I expect from England."⁽²⁾

One of the new missionaries for Upper Canada was

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- (1) Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 32. Mountain to S. P. G., May 15, 1819. H. C. Stuart writes, in his Episcopate of Jacob Mountain: "Having graduated at Trinity College, and being too young for ordination, he entered the 99th Regiment as an Ensign, and came with his regiment to Canada in 1815. Three years later he retired on half-pay." p. 274. It would appear that Harris completed his theological training at Trinity in 1818-1819.
- (2) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Aug. 20, 1819, Mountain to Strachan.

mentioned in a letter to Maitland written on the same day as the writer communicated with Strachan. "The Rev. Mr. Thompson was sent to U. C. by the Society, at the request of the inhabitants of the Township of Hope; and he has been for a short time in that Township: but he thinks that he sh^d be more usefully placed at Cavan: & as my information goes he appears to be right." (1) Late in 1819 Thompson was removed to Belleville, but trouble arose about the building of the Church there so that he returned to Cavan early in 1820.

Joseph Thompson was born in the Parish of Horton, Ribblesdale, England, on March 1, 1765. He was ordained deacon in Tatham Chapel, Tatham Fell, Lancashire on Sept. 20, 1795, and priest on Sept. 11, 1796, by the Rt. Rev. William Cleaver, Lord Bishop of Chester. With his wife and family he emigrated to Canada, arriving in Quebec after a stormy passage in 1818. He remained as Missionary at Cavan until his retirement in 1833. He died March 24, 1844, and is buried in the Cemetery of St. John's Church, Ida, Ontario. (2)

The Rev. John Suddard, who came with his two brothers from Whitehaven, Cumberland County, England, was licensed to Gaspé, Sept. 20, 1819. He was the first Anglican clergyman on the Gaspé coast.

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Maitland, Aug. 20, 1819.

(2) For some of these details I am indebted to a great-grand-daughter of the Rev. Joseph Thompson, Mrs. Richard Vance, of Bethany, Ont.

The Rev. Richard Knagg had been ordained by the Bishop of Chester, and, like Johnson, came out to Canada in 1819 "irregularly", that is, he had not made the customary arrangements with the S. P. G. He had a perpetual Curacy at Silverdale in the County of Lancaster, and he embarked for Quebec with wife and child, at his own expense. As the Stanstead people wished to try out an Episcopalian in their undenominational church the Bishop sent him there in the hope that he might unite the congregation.⁽¹⁾ But he proved incompetent, removed for a short time to Rivière du Loup en Haut (near Three Rivers) and then proceeded to Gaspé to assist Suddard. Ill fortune surrounded the founding of the first Gaspé mission, and both men were dismissed in 1825.

At the little military post of Chambly occasional Anglican services had been held before the founding of the See of Quebec.⁽²⁾ A church had been projected in 1817 on condition that the congregation would unite under the Rev. John Leeds,⁽³⁾ but the plan failed. In 1819 however, an Army Chaplain, the Rev. Brook Bridges Stevens arrived from England, was stationed at Chambly, and succeeded in getting the present Church built. Stevens was born in 1787, the son

(1) Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 34, Mountain to S.P.G., Oct. 20, 1819.

(2) David Chabrand Delisle paid two visits per year from 1771.

(3) P. A. C., Series S, Vol. 130, p. 10, G.J. Mountain to Civil Secretary A. W. Cochrane, Nov. 6, 1817.

of the Rev. Thomas Stevens, D.D., Rector of Panfield and Vicar of Helions, Bumpsted. He graduated from Jesus College, Cambridge, and was curate for a time of the Parish Church of Great Goggeshall, Essex. He entered the Chaplain service, saw duty in France and came to Canada in 1819 with high recommendations, to replace the Rev. Horace Parker, then on half-pay. He was placed at Chambly and within a short time had encouraged the congregation, with considerable assistance from Government, to build the church structure which still stands. He was then transferred to Fort George in Upper Canada. (1)

The first S. P. G. missionary at Chambly was the Rev. Edward Parkin, son of a Yorkshire clergyman. He arrived at Quebec early in September 1819. He was at first destined for Stanstead by the Bishop but was finally placed at Chambly where he remained until 1828. As Garrison Chaplain, school-teacher, tutor to theological students and itinerant missionary to a number of settlements near the Fort his years at Chambly were busily spent. (2)

In addition to placing the seven recently arrived Clergy in new missions in 1819, three students were ordained.

(1) See Adams, F. D., A History of Christ Church Cathedral, pp. 62-64, for further information about Stevens.

(2) The Montreal Churchman, July 1939 - August 1939, has an article entitled:- "Edward Parkin, First S. P. G. Missionary at Chambly, 1819-1828." by T. R. Millman.

These were John Stoughton who re-opened the Mission of Ernest Town, Romaine Rolph who became assistant to Pollard at Amherstburg, and William Macaulay who opened the Mission of Hamilton, near the present town of Cobourg. Thus the twenty-sixth year of Jacob Mountain's episcopate saw greater advances than any other year had witnessed.

The appointment of each of these new men to their respective missions was made with the sanction of the provincial Administrator. As the following extract from a letter to Maitland shows, the Bishop wished to preserve at least the form of royal patronage, although the Home Government, since 1815, had been permitting the S. P. G. to be its ecclesiastical agent, and to take over functions which had earlier been fulfilled by Secretaries of State. It is plain that Jacob Mountain disapproved of the new procedure. He wrote:- "Since H: M: Govern^t placed in the hands of the Society for the Prop: of the Gospel, the payment of the whole of the salaries of Missionaries sent out to the different Colonies, it appears to have been the practice, to appoint such Missionaries without reference either to the Provincial Governments, or to the Government at Home.

I am myself desirous of continuing the practice, which I have for so many years observed; - that of receiving the sanction of the Colon: Governments respectively, to every appointment of this kind, which takes place within my Diocese; and I am led to entertain this desire by two main considerations; - first, that of respect for the Government; &

secondly that of regard to the Principle, that as the Presentation to all these benefices will be in the Crown, whenever Parishes & Rectories shall be erected, it is both proper & expedient that the Represent: of the Patron should in the meantime be made acquainted with the situations in which it is proposed to place the Ministers of the Church."⁽¹⁾ The Bishop then proceeded to inform Maitland about ecclesiastical changes in Upper Canada, all of which have been related in the present chapter.

Despite the Bishop's desire to walk in the old paths the practice of presentation to the incumbency of missions by the colonial Governors became more and more a formality and in time was discontinued. For the most part Bishop Stewart placed his missionary clergy without reference to Government. The right of presenting incumbents to Rectories however remained vested in the Crown until 1852. By an act of the Parliament of Canada, 14 & 15, Victoria Cap. CLXXV, Sections 38, 39 & 40 of the Act of 1791 repealed and the right of presentation was vested tentatively in the Church Societies. Subsequently such right passed on to the Bishops.

A contemporary Act of the British Parliament, which related to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec, and which touched Bishop Mountain to the quick, was the Colonial Clergy

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Mountain to Maitland, Aug. 20, 1819.

Bill of 1819.(1) The Bishop was in England when the Act was passed, and criticized it roundly in a letter to Bathurst, written just after he had embarked for Canada. He adverted to it again in a further letter to Bathurst written on the following Sept. 7th, and dealt with it in full in a communication to the S. P. G., Aug. 15, 1821. As Bathurst explained the Act to Maitland, the Canons of the Church of England required that every Person applying for ordination to a Bishop should possess an adequate title. Appointment to a cure of souls in the Colonies was not considered adequate within the meaning of the Canon. Hence the Act gave special permission to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and to the Bishop of London to authorize other Bishops to admit persons into Holy Orders for the colonies.(2) The statute further stated:- "And be it further enacted, That from and after the passing of this Act, no person who shall have been admitted into Holy Orders by the Bishop of Quebec, Nova Scotia, or Calcutta, or by any other Bishop or Archbishop than those of England or Ireland, shall be capable of officiating in any Church or Chapel of England or Ireland, without special permission from the Archbishop of the Province in which he proposes to officiate. . . ."

(1) 59 George III, cap. LX. An Act to permit the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishop of London, for the time being, to admit Persons into Holy Orders specially for the Colonies.

(2) P. A. C., Series G, Vol. 59, pp. 158-159, Bathurst to Maitland, Aug. 10, 1819.

The Bishop first protested that the Act threw discredit on colonial bishops, implying as it did that the qualifications of the latter were less than those of English bishops. He advanced his own qualifications as follows.

"I was, for one, for several years a Fellow of a College in the University of Cambridge; I took a Doctor's Degree there: I held a very valuable Preferment; I had a Stall in the Cathedral of Lincoln; & had the promise of the Arch-deaconry of Huntingdon. . . .

It is a most unfortunate mistake, to suppose that less is required in the Colonial Bishops, & Clergy, than in those of the Mother Country.

Their Office demands more general knowledge, more Religious zeal, more moral courage, & more discretion and address."⁽¹⁾

In a later communication to Bathurst he maintained that one English Bishop, an Oxford man at that, had ordained ten non-University men to his one, and that such ordinations were quite frequent in the Diocese of York.⁽²⁾

To the S. P. G. he wrote:

With respect to the Act for Regulating Ordinations for the Colonies to which your letter of the 20th of March refers, I must take the liberty of saying that it appears to me impossible that the Colonial Bishops and Clergy

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 153, Part 2, pp. 299-303, Mountain to Bathurst, May 29, 1819.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 56, Mountain to Bathurst, Sept. 7, 1819.

can be otherwise than dissatisfied with it, or can avoid considering it, as both hurtful and degrading.

Any Bishop of England, or Ireland, being authorized by either of the Archbishops, or the Bishop of London, may ordain for the Colonies: and the person so ordained may be employed, or may hold preferment in England, or Ireland, under certain conditions; but if a Colonial Bishop happen to be in England, & shall there ordain (with permission of course from the Bishop of the Diocese in which he is) any person for his own Diocese, such person 'shall be incapable in any way or on any pretence whatever, of at any time holding any parsonage, etc., as a Minister of the Established Church of England, & Ireland.'

This distinction, which places a Colonial Bishop ordaining in England, for his own Diocese, under circumstances much more unfavourable in their effects than are imposed upon any Eng: or Ir: Bishop who may ordain for that Diocese, (- the Diocese of another,) - is a strong mark of distrust fixed upon him by the Legislature, & therefore, in my judgment, unquestionably degrading -

And how can it be thought otherwise than degrading to the whole body of Clergy in the Colonies, - Bishops as well as Rectors, & Missionaries, - that persons ordained for those Colonies may be excluded, however deserving, from being employed, or holding preferment at home, by any Eng: or Ir: Bishop, who may happen not to be disposed to accept them?

Earl Bathurst, in a letter to me, accompanying a Copy of the Act in question, after disclaiming every idea of want of entire respect for the Colonial Bishops, is pleased to add, - 'What I did say (in the House of Lords) was, what your Lordship surely can not be disposed to deny, - that in ordaining persons for some of the Colonies it was not expedient to require the same qualifications (such as being educated at one or other of the Universities) as are required from those who are ordained for the service of the Church in England.'

With all deference to Earl Bathurst, I certainly should be disposed to deny, that qualifications of a lower order, on the whole,

are required in a person to be ordained for the Colonies, than for England: and I might further say, that, (whatever may be the case hereafter) at present, many more persons, not being of either University, & usually called Literate, are ordained in England, than in the Colonies; & therefore that the distinction does not appear to be either necessary, or just. I might also, with the strictest regard to truth, assert (& certainly without meaning the slightest disrespect to the practice of the English Bishops, or intending to speak unfavourably of any of my own Clergy), that if I were to pick out from the Missionaries, those whose attainments are to be considered as the most slender, I must take them from among those who were ordained at home; & not there ordained for the Colonies.

Lord Bathurst tells me that 'the clause restraining the Colonial Bishops from ordaining when absent from their Diocese, was introduced at the suggestion of the University of Oxford.' Upon this interference I have no intention to comment.

The reduction which this Act will make in the supply of Candidates for orders in the Colonies, can hardly be doubted. I have already had several proofs of it. Of these I will only mention one. Of six persons who before the passing of this Bill had applied to me for ordination upon Letters Dimissory from the Bishop of Nov: Scotia, two only have come forward, since the Bill passed into a Law; the rest having declined.

The idea of exclusion from preferment, or employment at home, is intolerable to them. Many a man would pass his whole life contentedly in the Colonies, who yet would be miserable if he were told that he should never go home.

There are probably very few of the Missionaries who may be likely to seek employment at home, & still fewer who are likely to obtain preferment there; but many, perhaps most of them have often cheered their labours with this hope: & he can know little of human nature who would wonder at, or be disposed to condemn them, for indulging it.

It may be said that there is little probability, that a Missionary (not altogether excluded by the Act), who had fairly done his duty, would be rejected: - that there is some

probability of it, however, the very existence of the Clause demonstrates: & in that probability is necessarily felt a great degree both of discouragement, & humiliation.(1)

That Bishop Mountain's irritation was not peculiar to himself is evidenced by the fact that objections to the principle of the Act, despite its amendment in 1874, have been made in the Colonies and Dominions down to the present day.(2)

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S. P. G., Aug. 15, 1821.

(2) Vide Clarke, Lowther; Constitutional Church Government, S. P. C. K., London, 1924; Chapter V, pp. 72-4, entitled 'The Colonial Clergy Acts'.

CHAPTER XXII

ADDITIONS TO THE STAFF OF CLERGY

1820 - 1825

CHAPLAINCIES

The years 1820-1825 witnessed great growth in the Diocese of Quebec. About twenty new missions were opened and as many clergy were added to the ministerial ranks. As these additions made during the later years of Jacob Mountain's episcopate were all routine appointments it will be sufficient therefore to indicate the situation of the new missions and to set forth a few biographical details about the clerical accessions of 1820-1825.

William Leeming, a Yorkshireman, born Feb. 25, 1787, was educated at St. Bees College, Cumberland, and was ordained in England. He was sent out by the S.P.G. in the spring of 1820, and was placed by the Bishop at Chippawa, not far from his brother Ralph's Mission of Ancaster. His whole ministry in Upper Canada was spent in this vicinity where at various times he served the Church in Fort Erie, Stamford, Thorold, Queenston and St. Catharines. He died June 1, 1863, aged seventy-seven.⁽¹⁾

On Dec. 9, 1819, the Bishop wrote to the S.P.G. that he had received an application for the establishment of a

(1) A biographical sketch of William Leeming is printed in the Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Vol. XXXI, 1936, pp. 135-154.

mission in the Township of Eaton, Lower Canada. The Rev. Jonathan Taylor, Presbyterian clergyman in that place, had decided to become an Anglican, and a number of his congregation had accompanied him in his shift of allegiance. Dr. Stewart had interviewed Taylor and was impressed with the latter's sincerity. The Bishop also brought to the Society's notice Thomas Campbell, who had been recommended to him by Sir Peregrine Maitland and Dr. Strachan. Campbell was a graduate of the University of Glasgow, and had been a Minister Probationary in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.⁽¹⁾

The Society consented to adopt both men.⁽²⁾ The Bishop then replied that he would ordain Campbell on returning from the Visitation, and would give further consideration to Taylor's case.⁽³⁾ Campbell was accordingly ordained on the following Sept. 24 and was placed temporarily at Quebec. An assistant for the Cathedral Parish had been sent out from England but did not arrive in Quebec until the following year. In 1821 Campbell went to Belleville where he laboured faithfully until his death at the age of forty-seven on Sept. 17, 1835.

(1) Journals of the S.P.G., Letter of the Bishop dated Dec. 9, 1819. Strachan's recommendation is in P.A.O., Strachan Letter Book 1812-1834. Strachan to G.J. Mountain, Jan. 17, 1820.

(2) Q.D.A., Series B. Vol. 28, p. 39, S.P.G. to Mountain, March 2, 1820.

(3) Ibid., p. 41, Mountain to S.P.G., June 17, 1820.

On Jan. 13, 1821, Jonathan Taylor was ordained, and was appointed to the Mission of Eaton. The Bishop's visit to that Mission took place about six weeks later. Taylor, the son of Jonathan and Dorothy Taylor, was born at Danbury, N.H., Feb. 5, 1778. He was educated at Dartmouth College, Vermont, took a theological course in a Presbyterian College, and became a minister of that denomination. He came to Canada in 1814, and spent the whole of his ministry as a Presbyterian and an Anglican in Eaton Township.⁽¹⁾

Early in 1821 the Bishop wrote apologetically to the Society:- "At the same time that I ordained Mr. Taylor I ordained also Mr. Fred: Myers, who, like Mr. T. was a Lutheran Min^r. In the conduct of this business I have been guilty of an oversight which I cannot think upon without regret, nor mention without confusion. Yet, I am persuaded, that the Society will not suspect, that because I have for 27 years experiences invariably encouragement & support from them, I am disposed so to presume upon their indulgence, as to take upon myself to act in matters depending upon them, without their sanction. With the persuasion that they will not thus judge of me I endeavour to reassure myself while I

(1) Stuart, H. C., op. cit., pp. 291-2. Some doubt exists about Taylor's ecclesiastical background. The Bishop calls him Lutheran, Stewart calls him Independent, while H. C. Stuart dubs him Presbyterian. An article in the Quebec Diocesan Gazette of 1900, p. 103, states that he was a Presbyterian minister and school-master, serving in a Congregationalist charge at Eaton in 1816, when he first met Charles James Stewart.

state that I ordained Mr. M. & placed him in the Cure of Souls at Matilda, in U: C: without recollecting that I had not received the approbation of the Society for doing this, nor had made any representation to them on this Subject.

I acted under the impression that I had made such a representation, and had received (as in the similar case of Mr. T.) the concurrence of the Society. I can only attempt to Acc: for this extraordinary lapse of memory by supposing that it may have had its source in the interruption given to the general train of my thoughts & course of my business, by the diversity & long continued exertion of my Visitation, during the Summer: & by the time (more than a year) which has elapsed, since Mr. Myers' first application to me upon this subject. The Society will recollect that I have not received applications of this sort, without great caution, & perhaps some degree of suspicion - & I took much time in this case for enquiry, & deliberation; & having received more than common satisfaction respecting Mr. M's Education, conduct & motives, & having personally conversed with & examined him, (while I was upon my late Vis: in U: C:) I accepted him as a Candidate for orders, & ordained & employed him as I have said, under an impression certainly, that I had long before communicated with the Society upon this Subject. I can only add that Mr. Myers now knows that he is not the Society's Missionary; that he is only employed by me as a Curate at Matilda, & that it depends solely on the

pleasure of the Society whether he shall be clothed with any higher character." (1)

The Reverend Anthony Hamilton, (2) Secretary of the Society, replied:-

My Lord:-

I am directed by the Society P.G.F.P. to transmit to your Lordship the following resolutions -

1. That the Bishop of Quebec be informed that the Society are perfectly satisfied with the explanation of his Lordship has been pleased to enter into respecting the Ordination and appointment of Mr. Myers to Matilda in Upper Canada.

2. That the Society most willingly adopt the Gentleman as a Missionary with the usual Salary & confirm his appointment.

3. That the Society readily embrace this opportunity to assure his Lordship of their perfect reliance on his judgment & discretion . . .

Two gentlemen the Rev. M^r Blakey & the Rev. Mr. Whitwell have lately been adopted by the Society & placed at your Lordship's disposal. M^r Whitwell is desirous of being placed in the neighbourhood of his friend M^r Parkin." (3)

Frederick Augustus Myers was born in Hanover, Jan. 9, 1766, and was educated in Germany and in the United States. In 1814 he came to Williamsburg to take charge of a Lutheran congregation, but he followed the example of Mr. Weagant and

(1) T.P.L. Scadding Collection, Mountain to S.P.G., March 23, 1821.

(2) The two Secretaries of the S.P.G. with whom Bishop Mountain corresponded were the Rev. Dr. William Morice who held the post from 1778 to 1819, and the Rev. Anthony Hamilton who succeeded Morice and remained Secretary until 1833.

(3) T.P.L. Scadding Collection, S.P.G. to Mountain May 21, 1821.

entered the Church of England. His active ministry was short as he was ill during the last four years of his life and had two successive assistants. He remained at Matilda until his death, April 25, 1832.⁽¹⁾ leaving a widow and four children.

The first mention of Blakey and Whitwell was made by Stewart in a letter to Hamilton, Feb. 16, 1821, while the writer was in England. "I have lately seen two clergymen," he announced, "who propose to offer themselves to the Society to be employed as Missionaries in Canada. The one is the Rev^d R^d Whitwell, Curate of Flockton, near Wakefield; a letter from whom to me you will recollect I showed to you when I was at your house. The other gentleman is, the Rev^d Mr. Blakey, Curate of Ecclesfield near Sheffield I am persuaded that they will make useful missionaries. Mr. Whitwell will not be free until the end of June Mr. Blakey has a wife and four children, but he will be free to go, without delay, I believe."⁽²⁾

m On the following Sept. 28 Stewart informed Hamilton that he had arrived at Quebec on Sept. 14 bringing Whitwell with him. In accordance with the Bishop's desire, Whitwell was appointed to Shefford where he remained until his removal

(1) Stuart, H.C., Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, pp. 277-278; Carter, Story of Dundas, p. 198; Stewart to S.P.G., June 26, 1832.

(2) S.P.G. Archives, Stewart to Hamilton, Feb. 16, 1821.

to Philipsburg in October, 1826. While at Shefford he itinerated as well to Stukely, Bolton, Brome, Farnham, Granby and Yamaska Mountain.⁽¹⁾

Richard Whitwell was born at Haxby, Yorkshire, Feb. 13, 1787, the son of Richard Whitwell and Ann (Graves) Whitwell. He was ordained to the diaconate June 27, 1819, and to the priesthood July 2, 1820, by Archbishop Harcourt of York. He married Mary Olcott, at Frost Village, Shefford, Nov. 4, 1822.⁽²⁾

The Bishop wrote to the S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821:-
 "The Rev. Robert Blakey arrived about three weeks ago: & has been placed at Prescott (a considerable establishment, including Fort Wellington) where a Church is built; & a house provided for him: and he is to take charge of the neighbouring Village of Johnstown."⁽³⁾

Robert Blakey was born at Woodend Wensley, Yorkshire, Dec. 25, 1790, the son of John and Eleanor Blakey. He was ordained to the diaconate and to the priesthood by Archbishop Harcourt. On Nov. 22, 1811, he married Ann Coates of Aysgarth Yorkshire. His whole life in Canada was spent in Prescott, where he died in March, 1858.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Whitwell's Correspondence with the Bishop and Archdeacon, 1821-23, is in the Montreal Synod Archives.

(2) Thomas, C., Eastern Townships, p. 24.

(3) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821.

(4) Stuart, H.C., op. cit., p. 306.

Another accession of 1821 was the Rev. James Burton, As early as 1815 the Bishop had been petitioned for a missionary at Terrebonne, but he replied that more populous townships had first to be supplied.⁽¹⁾ A few years later the Society informed the Bishop that a Mr. Burton wished to go to Canada as a missionary. The Bishop replied that the new man might go to Terrebonne.⁽²⁾ From a professor of Trinity College, Dublin, he received a strong recommendation of the Rev. James Edwin Burton, M.A., (T.C.D.) regularly ordained in the Church of Ireland, who had served as Curate in the Diocese of Meath and who wished to be a Visiting Missionary in Upper Canada.⁽³⁾ But as the following extract shows, the Bishop's plans for him were carried out:- "Mr. Burton has been fixed, with his own good liking, at Terrebonne: within about fifteen miles of Montreal. The people are preparing to build a Church; & will provide a dwelling house for him. He is also to take charge of the adjoining Seigniory of La Chenaye, & the Townships (contiguous also) of Rawdon & Kilkenny, new settlements, of which the latter is but commencing but is likely to become speedily populous."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Montreal Synod Archives, Mountain to Roderick Mackenzie, July 31, 1815.

(2) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 5, Mountain to S.P.G., Dec. 26, 1820.

(3) Montreal Synod Archives, Letter of Nov. 4, 1820.

(4) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821.

Tragedy clouded Burton's early years in Terrebonne. "I have further to mention," wrote the Bishop to the S.P.G. a year later, "that poor Mr. Burton, who has had the misfortune to lose his wife in consequence of an overturn in a carriage & who is unhappily left with eight children, of whom the eldest is only 12 years old, finds it necessary, for the affairs of his family, to go to London next spring, to remain a short time."⁽¹⁾ He came to Canada again and worked in the great area that constituted his mission until his final return to Ireland in 1833.⁽²⁾

The Rev. C.S. Williams, a Cambridge graduate, in deacon's orders, appeared in Quebec in the summer of 1821 and was recommended by the Bishop to be placed at Rivière du Loup (en Haut) as a successor to the Rev. Richard Knagg.⁽³⁾ The S.P.G. declined to accept Williams, who immediately gave up his mission.

The Rev. John Campbell Driscoll, M.A., (T.C.D.) arrived in the spring of 1822, and was appointed by the Bishop to succeed Knagg and Williams at Rivière du Loup en

(1) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., Sept. 25, 1822. While in London he applied to the Colonial Office, through Charles James Stewart, for financial assistance. P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 167, p. 599, Aug. 23, 1823.

(2) For further reference to Burton, See Hawkins, Ernest: Annals of the Diocese of Quebec, pp. 81-82. The Montreal Synod Archives has some of his correspondence.

(3) Q.D.A., Series D, Folder 6, Mountain to S.P.G., Aug. 15, 1821.

Haut. He was also in charge of Nicolet, where a stone church was opened in 1824. Driscoll is described in the 1824 Quebec Almanac as "Chaplain to the Right Honourable Earl of Carrick and Donoughmore, and Viscount Lismore in Ireland." He continued in his mission until his death in 1832.

In 1822 the mission of Adolphustown was opened. The Rev. John Langhorn had held services in this Bay of Quinte township years before, but the Rev. Job Deacon was the first settled clergyman. Deacon was a favourite with Bishop Stewart and accompanied the latter on a trip to Halifax in 1829.⁽¹⁾ He remained in Adolphustown until his death, May 22, 1850.⁽²⁾

Another mission opened in 1822 was that of Sherbrooke and Lennoxville. The first missionary was Clement Fall Lefevre, born Nov. 12, 1797, at Berkhamstead, Hartfordshire. He was educated at the school of his father, the Rev. George Lefevre, and on coming to Canada read theology with the Rev. John Wilson at Kingston. He was ordained to the diaconate at Fulham Chapel by the Bishop of London, Dec. 21, 1821. On March 21, 1822, he married Mary Clowes of Hampstead, Long Island, and took charge of his new mission in the following May. On June 27, 1823, he was raised to the priesthood.

(1) Hawkins, Ernest, Annals of the Diocese of Quebec, pp. 113-118.

(2) A monument in Adolphustown cemetery contains as well the dates of deaths of several members of the Deacon family.

In 1829 he became a Universalist and left for the United States.⁽¹⁾

On Jan. 13, 1820, the Bishop pointed out to the S.P.G. the increase of work in the Parish of Quebec, and the need of a further assistant. The Society promptly agreed to send out a man on condition that he should officiate as well in settlements adjoining the City. The Rev. Louis Charles Jenkins sailed from England to take this position late in 1820 but his ship was driven back from the St. Lawrence by adverse winds and was forced to winter in Prince Edward Island. Mr. Jenkins improved his time by doing missionary work throughout the winter and marrying the daughter of the Rev. Theophilus Desbrisay, Rector of Charlotte.

After several efforts to reach Quebec he finally arrived, by way of the United States, in August 1822. He was favourably received by the Bishop, who naturally required full explanation of the long delay. On Mr. Desbrisay's death, the young couple returned to P.E.I. in 1823, with the Bishop's consent. Mr. Jenkins died at Charlottetown sixty years later. The vacancy at Quebec was filled by the ordination of George Archbold to the diaconate.

Archbold was born in Ireland in 1783. At an early age he entered the army and at the time of his retirement in 1821 he was a Lieutenant in the 68th Regiment of Foot.

(1) Stuart, H.C., Memoir of Bishop Jacob Mountain, p. 303.

He studied theology under the Rev. B.B. Stevens at Montreal, and was ordained in 1823. After a year at Quebec he became locum tenens at York in 1824 when John Strachan was in England. He succeeded Stewart as Visiting Missionary when the latter became bishop; from 1830 until his death on Oct. 14, 1840, he was the Rector of Cornwall.⁽¹⁾

In 1821 the Rev. B.B. Stevens, replaced at Fort George as Chaplain by the Rev. Dr. J. Cockayne Frith, was stationed at Montreal. As few troops were posted there at the time his chaplaincy duties were not heavy. He promoted the building of a church at Hochelaga, and he succeeded the Rev. George Jenkins as Evening Lecturer in Christ Church. The construction of the Lachine Canal led to the stationing of a few soldiers there, and to a growth of the civilian population. Here Stevens organized a congregation which met first of all in the upper story of a Batteau Store.⁽²⁾ The present St. Stephen's, Lachine, was built by him in 1831-32, and he was buried under its chancel when he died in 1834.

The death of the Rev. William Sampson at Grimsby early in 1823 created a vacancy which the Bishop filled by ordaining Alexander Neil Bethune to the diaconate and placing him in charge of the mission. Bethune remained at Grimsby

(1) Hawkins, Ernest, Annals of the Diocese of Toronto, pp. 137-140.

(2) P.A.C., Chaplaincy, C.65, p. 203, Mills to Darling, Sept. 10, 1822.

for four years, before beginning a long ministry of forty years in Cobourg.⁽¹⁾

Two further additions were made to the ranks of the Upper Canadian clergy in 1823, the Rev. Thomas Morley and the Rev. John Byrne, both former priests of the Roman Catholic Church. Morley, the son of a clergyman and the grandson of a bishop, was received into the Anglican fold again and was accepted by the S.P.G. as missionary to the Mohawks. He had arrived in Quebec by June 1823, and proceeded immediately to the Quinte Mohawks, but he made no success of his work there. After three years he was placed in charge of the newly opened mission of Chatham. It is recorded that "Mr. Morley was a man of huge size, but very active in his missionary labours. His wife and invalid child never lived here in Chatham but in a place called Hallowell in the state of Maine, where he was in the habit of spending a few weeks every summer. He died suddenly from heart failure in the home of a friend in Amherstburg in the year 1836."⁽²⁾

(1) See the O.H.S.'s Papers and Records, Vol. XXVII, 1931, p. 560, for a biographical note. See also Chapter on Theological Education in the Canadas, p. 388

(2) Kent Historical Society No. 3. Papers and Addresses, 1917. It is more likely that the Hallowell referred to was the village in Prince Edward County, now Picton, rather than a locality in Maine. Morley was married in Hallowell in August 1823 by the Rev. T. Campbell of Belleville. Further references to Morley may be found in Hawkin's Annals of the Diocese of Toronto, pp. 113-4; 117. His registers have been printed in the Papers and Records of the O.H.S. *Mrs. Morley died at Picton, Mar. 24, 1854. (The Church, May 4, 1854)*

John Byrne arrived later in 1823. As he was an Irishman the Society recommended placing him in an Irish settlement.⁽¹⁾ He was first stationed at March on the Ottawa River, some miles above the present city, but as Richmond had made further preparation for a clergyman he was sent to the latter place in 1824.⁽²⁾ His ministry at Richmond ended with his death in 1828.

The first missionary to be stationed permanently at March was Amos Ansley, the son of Amos and Christian Ansley, born in Kingston in 1802. He probably studied under John Wilson but at present little is known of his early life except that he was educated by a Presbyterian gentleman for the Anglican ministry. H.C. Stuart relates that he was educated in Scotland, taking his M.A. degree at Edinburgh.⁽³⁾ He was ordained to the diaconate in June 1824 and was sent to March during the next month. After his ordination to the priesthood he was licensed to Hull where he laboured for eight years, travelling through the townships near his mission

(1) T.P.L., Scadding Collection, Hamilton to Mountain April 2, 1823. In this letter Morley and Byrne are introduced to the Bishop.

(2) Richmond petitioned for a clergyman, Mar. 11th 1823. See P.A.C., Chaplaincy Book C. 65, p. 10.

(3) Stuart, H.C., op. cit., p. 333.

as other early clergy continually did.(1)

The Rev. John Grier, M.A., opened the mission at the Carrying Place, the portage between the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario, in 1824. He was born at Rasharkin, near Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, Jan. 8, 1791, the son of Robert and Rose Grier. He prepared for the Presbyterian ministry, taking his degree at Glasgow University, but became an Episcopalian and offered himself to the S. P. G. for foreign work. In 1823 he was ordained deacon, and in the following year he began a seventeen-year ministry at the Carrying Place. He died in 1870.(2)

The efforts of Richard Whitwell and Edward Parkin had encouraged the people of Yamaska Mountain to build a church, the exterior of which was completed in the summer of 1823. In the next year William Abbott, brother of the Rev. Joseph Abbott of St. Andrews, and long an S. P. G. Student, was ordained to the diaconate and placed in charge of the new mission. Early in 1825 the brothers exchanged missions, Joseph going to Yamaska Mountain and William to St. Andrews.(3)

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- (1) May, E. G., History of the Parish of Hull, p. 7; Young, A. H., The Parish Register of Kingston, p. 101; Stewart to the Ecclesiastical Board, P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 185, pp. 551-556, Dec. 1827.
- (2) Memoir of the Life and Work of Hannah Grier Coome, p. 15.
- (3) See Abbott, J., op. cit., Chap. XII, for an account of the journey to Yamaska Mountain. The change was made at first without the Bishop's knowledge but later received his permission.

On Nov. 27, 1823, the Rev. Anthony Hamilton wrote to Bishop Mountain:- "The Rev. John Wenham will have the honour to deliver this to your Lordship. . . . Mr. Wenham was appointed by the last Board to the Mission of Fort Erie in Upper Canada, which appears by your Lordship's recommendation to be prepared for the reception of a missionary, under the usual conditions. He will embark for Quebec in a few days via New York. It is possible that the name of this gentleman has already been mentioned to your Lordship by Dr. Stewart who was acquainted with him when last in England, & took some interest in forwarding his application to the Society. He was originally connected with the Dissenters & engaged in business in London - but his views now appear to be conscientiously directed towards the church: Some of our most active members have taken great interest in promoting his object, & considered him likely to prove a diligent & zealous missionary. (1)

Wenham proceeded to Fort Erie immediately upon his arrival in 1824 but his stay there was brief. From August to November 1824 he supplied at York while Strachan was absent in England, and then exchanged missions with the Rev. John Leeds of Brockville. Here he remained until his return to England in 1831.

Leeds came from Fort Erie to Cornwall in 1829 to

(1) T. P. L., Scadding Collection, Hamilton to Mountain, Nov. 27, 1823.

assist the ailing Rector, the Rev. S. J. Mountain, who died in the following year. He was then placed in the small mission of Coteau du Lac where he stayed until his retirement. He died at New York, when on his way back to England, March 12, 1847.⁽¹⁾

Of the four missions opened in 1824 (Carrying Place, Yamaska Mountain, Hull and St. Thomas) the last received the appointment of the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh. He was first stationed at Port Talbot but had moved to St. Thomas by 1826. Mackintosh was of Scotch descent, and had been recommended to the Bishop by Dr. Stewart who interviewed him in 1820. At that time he was district school-master at Sandwich. He was ordained deacon in June 1824 and priest in 1826. He remained in St. Thomas until 1829 but disappeared from the roll of clergy in 1830.⁽²⁾

In May 1824 Chief Justice Sewell proposed to erect a proprietary chapel in Quebec. In June the Bishop wrote to the Earl of Dalhousie suggesting that the chapel should be so aided as to provide a maintenance for Sewell's son, who was to be the minister. The chapel was begun in September 1824 and was opened on Nov. 27, 1825. It cost over £4000 to build.

(1) For biographical details of Leeds and Wenham see "A Brief History of the Parish of St. Peter's Church, Brockville, Ontario."

(2) Stuart, H. C., op. cit., pp. 330-332; Stewart to S.P.G., Feb. 12, and Sept. 20, 1830. (S. P. G. Archives Stewart Correspondence).

The first incumbent of the Chapel of the Holy Trinity was the Rev. Edward Willoughby Sewell, the son of the Hon. Jonathan Sewell and Henrietta Smith his wife, who was born in Quebec, Sept. 3, 1800. He received his early education in that city and in Brentford, England. He read for Holy Orders under the direction of the Bishop and was ordained deacon May 11, 1824. He remained incumbent for forty-five years, and died Oct. 24, 1890.⁽¹⁾

Bishop Mountain's last ordination was held on Jan. 5, 1825, when Robert Short, an S. P. G. student, grand-son of the Rector of Three Rivers, was made a deacon in the Cathedral. He was sent for a short time to Sandwich to replace the Reverend Richard Pollard who died Nov. 6, 1824.

Throughout this study various references have been made to the chaplains who cared for the spiritual wants of the military in the Diocese of Quebec. It may be of value to collect in one place a few details about these men, and to repeat some of the information already given concerning them.

For the most part chaplains consisted of two classes. The smaller of these was made up of commissioned men such as Mills of Quebec and Stevens of Montreal who were either attached to permanent garrisons or to moveable military units such as regiments or brigades. The second and larger

(1) Beverley, A. R., A Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, Quebec, Nov. 27, 1911.

class was composed of parochial or missionary clergy who functioned as acting, officiating or deputy chaplains and whose remuneration was either deducted from the stipends of commissioned absentees, or paid directly by government. One naval chaplain only, Wilson of Kingston, had any close connection with the Diocese.

The following letter written by Governor Prescott to the Hon. William Wyndham, Secretary of State for War, throws light on the chaplaincy problem and shows that the Imperial Government attempted to institute a new policy in that regard not long after Bishop Mountain's coming to Quebec.

Quebec, May 13, 1797.

Sir:

I had the honour to receive your letter of the 14th December last enclosing His Majesty's warrant for the general abolition of Regimental Chaplaincies and the due performance of religious duties in the army particularly in that part of it which is stationed abroad.

The regular regiments stationed in this country have none of their own chaplains present with them but they have each of them a clergyman attached to them in that capacity under the appointment from the commanding officers, who receive two shillings and six pence a day each, which is charged by the agents and by them deducted from the pay of the Chaplains. . . .

I should apprehend that the following number of clergymen are necessary in this country for securing to the troops a due performance of the services of the Church, in case it should be judged expedient to abolish the non-resident Regimental Chaplains and not to employ those now officiating with the regiments in the manner above stated, viz:

At Quebec	One
Montreal		One
Wm. Henry		One
Three Rivers		One
St. Johns		One

The duty at Quebec I would recommend to be done by the Garrison Chaplain, the Rev. Herbert Croft, now absent without leave, who should be ordered to join.

The duty at Montreal to be done by the Rev. James Tunstall, now absent in England without leave, but having a deputy officiating during his absence.

The duty at Wm. Henry to be done by appointment from home.

For Three Rivers I shall take the liberty to recommend the Rev. Jehoshaphat Mountain, residing on the spot, he is brother to the Bishop of Quebec.

For the same purposes in Upper Canada I would recommend to be stationed

At Kingston	One
Fort George (late Niagara)	One
Amherstburg (late Detroit)	One
Island St. Joseph (late Michilimackinac)	One

To do the duty at Kingston, Upper Canada, I would recommend the Rev. John Stuart, the resident Clergyman. To the posts of Fort George, Amherstburg and Island St. Joseph the appointment should be from home. . . .

I have the honor to be, etc.,

Rob^t Prescott⁽¹⁾

Some of these recommendations were carried out. No trace of a settled chaplain at St. Johns at this period has come to light, and no further reference has been found to Island St. Joseph. A modification of the policy outlined in this letter became necessary during the War of 1812-14, when several regimental chaplains accompanied the troops to Canada,

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 3, Prescott to Wyndham, May 12, 1797.

At the head of this branch of the armed services was the chaplain general, with headquarters in London. During part of the period under study the post was held by the Rev. John Owen, D.D. In Canada the senior chaplain received the reports of other chaplains and transmitted them to London, George Jenkins and Joseph L. Mills acted in that capacity. While the presence of the military undoubtedly created more work for the few clergy in these early years, two advantages resulted. The pay made a welcome addition to meagre clerical stipends; and several army chaplains rendered the church good service as Evening Lecturers and in ministering to civilians.

At Quebec, as the Quebec Almanacs show, the Rev. Sir Herbert Croft was non-resident Chaplain to the Garrison, at a stipend of £115 - 5 per year from 1794 to 1811. Even paying 2/6 per day to his deputies the incumbents of Quebec he could still enjoy the £70 addition to his income without doing much to earn it. Joseph Langley Mills was Garrison Chaplain from 1814 until his death in 1832, and Senior Chaplain from 1821. In various ways he contributed to the advance of the Church's work in the diocese.

At Three Rivers chaplaincy duties were performed by the incumbents. In 1797 the Rev. Jehoshaphat Mountain acted in that capacity, and the Rev. R. Q. Short continued to do the same as occasion demanded. He was giving services to the troops in October 1808, and again in 1825 when the 70th

Regiment was in garrison.

At William Henry (Sorel) the incumbents served the troops. The Dominion Archives contains regular quarterly certificates of the services of the Rev. John Jackson, Rector and officiating chaplain, from 1822 to 1825. The certificates are signed by the commanding officer, and tell of the number of services held and the number of sick visits made.

At Montreal the duty was done by the Rev. James Tunstall, 1797-1799, and for a number of years by his successor in Christ Church, the Rev. Dr. Jehoshaphat Mountain. The Rev. George Jenkins who came out as a commissioned chaplain in 1814 was placed at Montreal and was senior chaplain until his death in 1821. Both Jenkins and the Rev. B. B. Stevens his successor were Evening Lecturers at Christ Church. Stevens, besides being instrumental in the building of two churches on the Island of Montreal was also secretary of the Diocesan Committee of the S. P. C. K., and in Bishop Stewart's time edited the Christian Sentinel for a year.

According to the Quebec Almanac the Rev. Horace Parker was a Chaplain in 1816. As the Rev. B.B.Stevens his successor was placed at Chambly in 1819 when Parker retired on half-pay, it is legitimate to infer, in the absence of precise information, that the latter was stationed at that post. In any case Stevens spent a few months at the fort in 1819, encouraging the civilian population in the building of a church. In Chambly as in other places, Government provided aid in money

and labour for church building in order to accommodate the soldiers. The first missionary at Chambly, the Rev. Edward Parkin did garrison duty from 1821 on, as his certificates attest.

It is not known whether chaplains were regularly posted at St. Johns before the establishment of the mission there. Occasional services were given to the troops by visiting clergy such as the Rev. D. C. Delisle of Montreal in the 18th century and by the Rev. Charles Stewart of St. Armand East after 1807. The first missionary at Caldwell and Christie Manors, the Rev. Micajah Townsend officiated after his appointment in 1815, and served Isle aux Noix as well for a time. Later the Rev. W. D. Baldwyn of St. Johns did duty at Isle aux Noix as Townsend's parish activities were varied enough to keep him fully occupied.

On May 13, 1820, Senior Chaplain Jenkins wrote from Montreal to the Military Secretary at Quebec that the Rev. Joseph Abbott would be able to undertake the spiritual charge of the troops at the Grenville Encampment on alternate Sundays during the summer. The distance from St. Andrews was seventeen miles over the worst of roads. Abbott received £60 for these services during several summers. Certificates for 1820-21-22 are preserved in the chaplaincy books at Ottawa.

When in 1819 the inhabitants of Prescott decided to build a church they petitioned Government for timber which

was left over from the construction of Fort Wellington. The first missionary, the Rev. Robert Blakey, who arrived in July 1821, held services in the Block House and in the Commanding Officer's quarters until the church was opened in the following November. He was allowed fifteen shillings per service as officiating chaplain, from Jan. 1822 to May 1823, and probably for a longer period.

At the important military and naval centre of Kingston the successive incumbents John Stuart and George Okill Stuart officiated as chaplains for many years, and the troops attended St. George's Church, both the old and new buildings. At one time John Stuart received £100 a year for this work. During the War of 1812-14 the larger garrison led to the appointment of a regular Chaplain, the Rev. Rowland Grove Curtois. On his return to England on half pay in 1819 he was succeeded by the Rev. William Cockayne Frith, LL. D. In 1821 Frith petitioned to leave Kingston for Montreal, but was sent to Niagara instead.

The Rev. John Wilson, M. A., of Queen's College, Oxford, came to Kingston as a school-master in 1816. For five years after 1817 he was chaplain to the Dock Yard. Both he and Curtois gave services to the vacant mission of Ernest Town, and he himself was chaplain to the military in Curtois' absence. Apart from these duties Wilson taught school and tutored several theological students. He returned to England in 1825, and died in 1848 when perpetual curate of Grinsdale,

Cumberland. For a short time the Rev. William Hough was chaplain but the duty soon devolved again upon the Rector of Kingston.

The large number of troops in York during the War added to the duties of the Rev. John Strachan. This intrepid man not only attended to their spiritual wants but fought by their side. For two years his church was used as a military hospital. The Public Archives of Canada has certificates showing Strachan's attendance upon the military, 1823-1825. During his absence in 1825 Wenham and Archbold took over his duties.

For many years after the Rev. Robert Addison was settled at Niagara, the Rev. E. Drewe, absentee Chaplain of Fort George continued to draw the pay and Addison did the work. For a brief period during the war he was naval chaplain on the new war-ship "St. Lawrence", commanded by Sir James Yeo. The missionary was paid varying sums from time to time, however, but eventually a permanent chaplain was placed at Niagara. One of these, already mentioned, was the Rev. W. C. Frith who came in 1821 and stayed for a year. Another was the Rev. E. B. Stevens who in 1820 aided the building of a Church at Queenston. The Rev. Robert William Tunney went to Fort George in 1822 and remained for three years, also taking charge of the congregation at Queenston.

With one short break Richard Pollard was officiating chaplain at Amherstburg from 1802 to 1822. From 1802 to

1810 no allowance was fixed, but Governor Craig gave him £30. When his parish was invaded by the Americans he stayed with the troops and was captured at Moraviantown in 1813. He performed chaplain's duties at Burlington Heights until he was removed to Ernest Town, but he returned to Sandwich in 1815 and picked up the threads once more. A monthly trip to Amherstburg, eighteen miles, took three days, and for this he received £12, later £20 per annum. Some time after the appointment of Romaine Rolph to Amherstburg in 1819 Pollard gave up the chaplaincy at that post.⁽¹⁾

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- (1) Much information regarding the chaplain services in the Canadas, 1793-1825, is contained in the Chaplaincy Books in the Public Archives of Canada. Further information may be found in the reports of the missionaries to the S. P. G. For the reports of two missionaries who officiated as chaplains in Upper Canada (Addison and Pollard) the most convenient volumes to consult are the Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, Volumes 19 and 25. See also Some Notes on the Clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada Prior to 1840, by J. J. Talman, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Third Series, Section II, Volume XXXII, 1938; also an article entitled "Chaplaincies in Upper Canada", by J. J. Talman, in the Canadian Churchman March 28, 1940. An article on B. B. Stevens, by the Rev. S. B. Lindsay, is printed in the Montreal Churchman, June 1931.

CHAPTER XXIII

DIOCESAN SUPERVISION AND CONSOLIDATION

1819 - 1825,

INCLUDING JACOB MOUNTAIN'S LAST VISITATION

In the missionary districts of Lower Canada, George Jehoshaphat Mountain performed with great faithfulness his duties as Official. In January 1818 he set out from Quebec, driving his own horse, to Drummondville and Shipton, later proceeding to Chambly by way of Sorel. In the following September he travelled up the River Chaudière to a German colony sixty miles from Quebec. February 1819 saw him once again in the settlements along the St. Francis River, and at Hatley.⁽¹⁾ After his appointment as Archdeacon his travels became more extended and laborious.

Dr. Stewart was appointed Visiting Missionary in the latter year and entered upon his new duties with great energy and enthusiasm. In the autumn of 1819 he visited Shefford, Eaton and Stanstead, but on Jan. 2, 1820, he began an 1800 mile tour of missions in both the Canadas, travelling over much territory which the Bishop also covered in the summer a few months later. His route to Montreal lay through Stanstead, Shefford, St. Armand, Caldwell and Christie Manors, St. John's and Chambly. From Montreal he went to St. Andrews, Hawkesbury, Cornwall, Prescott and Kingston. Next to be visited were Hamilton (Cobourg), Port Hope and Cavan. From York he proceeded to Ancaster, Grimsby,

(1) Details of the Official's (later Archdeacon's) journeyings are to be found in A. W. Mountain's Memoir of G.J. Mountain, Chapters III and IV.

Queenston, Chippawa and Barton. Late in March he visited the Indians on the Grand River and continued westward to Chatham, Sandwich and Amherstburg. On the return to York he passed through Colchester, followed the Talbot Road to the Talbot Settlement, and revisited the Grand River Indians in company with the Rev. Ralph Leeming of Ancaster. From York he went by land to Cobourg, Carrying Place, Belleville, the Mohawk Mission, and Bath, to Kingston. After a digression to Perth he returned to Brockville, Prescott and Montreal, and then proceeded to Quebec where he reported to the Bishop, and to Sir Peregrine Maitland then administering the Government of Lower Canada. On this long journey he heartened the missionary clergy and encouraged the building of churches.⁽¹⁾

Dr. Stewart went to England later in 1820 but returned to Quebec in the autumn of 1821. Immediately his journeyings began again. Missions in the Eastern Townships were visited as soon as winter roads were fit for travel. The spring, summer and autumn of 1822 were occupied with a second tour of the Canadas, even more extended than that made in 1820. Only in November did Stewart arrive back at his residence in Hatley, tired and ill.⁽²⁾ Still another

(1) Stewart's account of this tour is printed in the S.P.G. Report for 1820. The account has recently been edited, and reproduced in mimeographed form by J. J. Talman, University of Western Ontario, 1942.

(2) The Journal of this tour is printed in the S.P.G. Report for 1822.

trip to England was made in 1823-1824, but by November of the latter year he had once again returned to Canada, and he promptly set out on a tour of many of the Lower Canadian Missions.⁽¹⁾ He was travelling in the Upper Provinces when he heard of the Bishop's death in the middle of 1825.

Dr. Stewart was not only efficient and hard-working in giving pastoral supervision to the scattered Anglican flocks in the Canadas. He was also the first to take practical steps towards assisting the settlers in building churches. The following paragraphs will show how with the aid of the Bishop and the Venerable Society he took the lead in providing church homes particularly for the thousands of immigrants who poured into the Canadas at the end of the Napoleonic Wars.

On July 13, 1815, Stewart wrote to the Society that he had obtained permission from the Bishop and from Sir Gordon Drummond to return to England. He said that he expected to leave at the beginning of August and to arrive about the middle of September.⁽²⁾ In the following year, July 24, 1816, he wrote to Bathurst asking for a subscription

(1) The Journal of this tour is printed in the S. P. G. Report for 1825. George Okill Stuart had visited the churches in the Archdeaconry of York in the summer of 1824. The charge delivered by him to the Clergy, at York, Niagara and Cornwall is contained in the issue of the Canadian Magazine for October, 1824.

(2) Sewell Papers, Stewart to S. P. G., July 13, 1815.

towards a fund for the building of Churches in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada. He enclosed a paper setting forth the ground upon which he recommended the subscription.⁽¹⁾ A letter written a few weeks later to Henry Goulburn shows that Stewart first circulated his list among particular friends before making a public appeal.⁽²⁾

A reprint of Stewart's letter, entitled The Church of England in Canada and addressed "To The Pious and Charitable", dated Nov. 28, 1816, is preserved in the papers of the Parish of St. Armand East. It points out that in the 3,000 square miles of territory in the Townships, and among a population of 20,000 Protestants, only the Seigniories of St. Armand and Caldwell Manors had churches, and that only three ministers of the Established Church were on hand to look after the people. It concludes with the words:- "The Hon. and Rev. Charles Stewart, late Fellow of All Souls College, who has recently come to this country, after a residence of eight years as Minister in St. Armand, Lower Canada, and who proposes soon to return thither, will attend to the proper disposal of the money subscribed, under the direction of the Lord Bishop of Quebec; and, in case of Mr. Stewart's death, or inability to perform this duty, the money subscribed shall

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 140, p. 524, Stewart to Bathurst, July 24, 1816.

(2) Ibid., p. 534, Stewart to Goulburn, Sept. 3, 1816. Bathurst subscribed ten guineas (Ibid., Vol. 147, p. 499, Stewart to Goulburn, Aug. 21, 1817.)

be paid to the Bishop of Quebec, to be applied by his Lordship to the purpose proposed. The smallest Donations will be acceptable."

According to an Account of the Fund rendered by Stewart to the Bishop in August 1820 the receipts amounted to £2547 - 2 - 2 currency.⁽¹⁾ Of this amount £2036 - 4 - 0 had been subscribed when Stewart sailed for Canada in Sept. 1817. A few late subscriptions, and accrued interest, made up the larger sum as it stood as the date of accounting. Twenty-five churches were assisted from this fund. Those in Lower Canada were Stanstead and Compton (to each of which the S. P. G. gave £50), Hatley, South and North Eaton, East and West Shefford, Christie Manor, Chambly, Dunham and Ascot. Churches aided in Upper Canada (although the fund was originally intended for the lower province only) were Sandwich, Amherstburg, Chatham, Colchester, Queenston, Grimsby, a church near York (probably York Mills), Markham, Yonge Township, Hamilton, Carrying Place, Belleville, Perth and Prescott. When the Bishop informed the Society in August 1821, of the condition of the Fund as in August 1820, some of the churches enumerated above had only received promise of a grant - the money to be paid when sufficient progress had been made with the building.⁽²⁾

(1) Some £75 was added during the next year.

(2) Journals of the S. P. G., Mountain to S. P. G., Aug. 15, 1821. In addition to outright gifts, some loans were also made. Strachan, for example, applied for £600 to enlarge the Church at York. The Bishop would consent to a loan of £250 only. (T. P. L. Scadding Collection. Mountain to Strachan, no date probably 1820 .

Appended to the Account mentioned above is a further "statement of Churches having received aid or promise of aid from the Bishop of Quebec from the fund arising jointly out of the Society's Bounty - the balance of the Subscription Fund & the local subscription now raising." At the time of the compilation of the Account the balance of the Stewart building fund was £264 - 13 - 5 - the sum neither promised nor paid for the purpose for which it was raised; whereas by the appended statement twelve churches had received aid, or promise of aid, of £800. The difference between these two sums was made up from two sources - the "Society's Bounty" and "the local subscription now raising."

Reference is made to the latter fund in the letter accompanying the various statements to London. After describing the critical nature of the situation in which the Church in the Canadas found itself and the necessity of preserving "that ascendancy, & pre-eminence, which are the sole means of attaching many to our Communion," the Bishop went on:- "It is with a view to the promotion of this object, that the City of Quebec has recently been called upon to co-operate with the benevolence of the Society, by forming an addition to the Fund for building Churches - a measure of which the propriety became the more apparent from the frequency of applications from Communities, engaged in the erection of particular Churches, to the bounty of the Inhabitants both of Quebec, & Montreal.

The Gentlemen who have undertaken to collect subscriptions in this City for the general Fund, have nearly completed their circuit, & have met with as much success as the circumstances of the times could lead them to expect. They will enable me, I believe, to form an augmentation of the Fund, of between two, & three hundred pounds."(1)

The other source of revenue for church building is thus described in the S. P. G. Report for 1820:-

"During the last year, to meet the growing wants of a rapidly increasing population, and to facilitate the measures which are now in progress for the division of the Seigniories and Townships in the two Provinces into Parishes, wherever Clergymen of the Church of England are established, the sum of £2,000 was placed at the disposal of the Bishop of Quebec, in aid of the expences & attending the erection of Churches throughout the Diocese. Previously to this grant, the Society had in various instances encouraged the laudable efforts of the people, by assistances of the same nature, but it was considered that the occasion required a more ostensible proof of their readiness to afford every encouragement for the propagation of the Gospel. Independently of this considerable aid, and to promote the same object,

(1) Vide Supra, Mountain to S. P. G., Aug. 15, 1821. According to the Memoir in the Christian Sentinel, Jan.-Feb. 1827, the Quebec subscription amounted to nearly £400. No detailed account is available.

another source of encouragement has been opened by the bequest of the Rev. Thomas How, Rector of Huntshell, Somersetshire, who has left by his will, to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the sum of £1,000 in trust for the erection of Churches in Canada.

The Bishop has already appropriated some portion of the Society's grant to two different Churches, but his Lordship will in no case authorize the actual payment of the money until the Churches are raised and covered in."⁽¹⁾

Some uncertainty exists as to the actual amount paid by the Society to the Bishop from these two sources, but from a correspondence carried on with the Society in later years by Bishop Stewart it appears, according to his understanding of the matter, that the total grant was £2,000 only, inclusive of the £1,000 legacy.⁽²⁾ In an account of the Canada Church Fund rendered to Bishop Stewart in 1832 by the Treasurer of the Society it is stated that "In 1821 the Society received £900 in full of a legacy of £1,000 bequeathed by the Rev^d Thomas Howe, the whole of which was drawn for by the Bishop of Quebec."⁽³⁾

Writing to the Society Dec. 29, 1828, Stewart appended a Post Script. "Permit me to observe that in the printed

(1) S. P. G. Report, 1820.

(2) S. P. G. Archives, Stewart Letters, Stewart to S. P. G., Mar. 1-8, 1834.

(3) Ibid., Stewart to S. P. G., Sept. 8, 1832.

account of your examination before the Committee of the House of Commons it is stated that you said that £2,000 granted by the Society in aid of building Churches in Canada had been expended. Since my consecration to the Bishoprick no draft upon the grant has been made (all assistance of the kind in this Diocese having been furnished out of the fund raised by me for that purpose in A. D. 1823-24) and the Archdeacon of Quebec's account of monies received and charged to that grant during the late Bishop's life amounts to £1710 - 14 - 9 Curr'y - viz t £1539 - 13 - 3 - Stg."(1) The story of this second Building Fund, referred to in the foregoing letter, is as follows.

Early in 1823 Stewart was delegated to go to England to support the claim of the Church of England for an exclusive right to the Clergy Reserves.⁽²⁾ His duties as Visiting Missionary had given him an intimate knowledge of the Diocese, and he recognized that even the Society's grant to the Bishop would not be sufficient to meet the needs of this church-building period. His first fund was now exhausted. Accordingly he set in motion another appeal to the English public, and distributed a letter entitled "To the Pious and

(1) S. P. G. Archives, Stewart Letters, Stewart to S. P. G., Dec. 29, 1828.

(2) See Chapter entitled "The Bishop and the Clergy Reserves."

Faithful on behalf of the Church in Canada."(1) As the fund progressed the letter was reprinted, July 17, 1824, with a list of subscribers. The sheet pointed out the success of the fund of 1816-17, and the need of further assistance to promote the same object. The appeal was broad in scope, taking in the whole of the Canadas, and making special detailed mention of the needs of the Mohawk Indians. At the time of printing £1722 had been raised.(2) The approximate total amount is given in a letter written to the Society several years later where reference is made to "the fund which I had, with the assistance of my friends, raised in England in the years 1823 & 1824, and subsequently, amounting to about £2500."(3)

During the latter years of Jacob Mountain's episcopate it is certain that more than £5000 made up from Stewart's two funds and the grant of the Society, as well as the smaller sum raised in Quebec City, was spent in building Churches in the Canadas.

The last and most extended Visitation of the first Lord Bishop of Quebec, a journey in which his Lordship covered the whole of his great diocese (Gaspé excepted) was made in 1820-1821. It contrasts forcibly with the first Visitation

(1) Q. D. A., Vol. B.16, p. 5, Travelling Missionaries.

(2) S. P. G. Archives, Stewart Letters.

(3) Ibid., Stewart to S. P. G., March 8, 1834.

of 1794, and shows the great growth which the Church of England had made in the Canadas during the intervening quarter century despite the many disappointments and failures which Jacob Mountain experienced in the course of his duty.

On May 24, 1820, the Bishop wrote to Official Stuart, saying that he expected to leave Quebec about the middle of June.⁽¹⁾ On the same day he wrote to the Military Secretary, Colonel Bowles, as follows:- "I take the liberty of requesting thro' you, that his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief would have the goodness to direct that a Batteau, with five men, may be provided for me at Montreal, and placed at my disposal as far as Kingston. I have hitherto, upon the occasion of my Visitations, been indulged with having a commodious covering placed over the Boat: & in begging that this indulgence may be continued I would make the further request, that a Conductor may be selected for me of known good character, as I may sometimes have occasion to leave the Batteau, & my baggage, for several days together."⁽²⁾

In answering the Bishop's letter George Okill Stuart offered his Lordship hospitality. The Bishop replied that a Mr. Coffin had also offered accommodation, and said that he would turn his son over to Mr. Coffin if Stuart would be inconvenienced. "I expect to set off from Quebec,"

(1) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, May 24, 1820.

(2) P. A. C., Can. Pub. Chaplaincies, C.65, pp. 101-102, Mountain to Bowles, May 24, 1820.

he concluded, "on this day se'nnight, but some uncertainty arises from a promise of holding an ordination for the Bishop of Nova Scotia before I go." (1)

The Bishop and George J. Mountain travelled to Montreal by steamboat, and to Kingston by batteau, as arranged, arriving at the latter place on June 29. (2) The steamboat "Frontenac" carried them to York. From York G. J. Mountain wrote to G. O. Stuart asking the latter to inform the clergy of Williamsburg, Perth, Brockville and Ernest Town to be at York on July 25 for the Bishop's charge. A meeting of the Clergy Corporation was to be held the previous day. The clergy were instructed to wear clerical robes and bands. (3)

The Bishop and his Chaplain proceeded to Fort Erie, probably by road, and from that place took a steamer to Amherstburg. Here the first confirmation of the tour was held in a new brick church, in which the first service had been conducted in the previous December by the venerable pioneer missionary, Richard Pollard, and the recently appointed young incumbent, Romaine Rolph. The Bishop made no

(1) O. D. A., Mountain to Stuart, June 13, 1820. The ordination did not take place.

(2) Quebec Gazette, July 10, 1820.

(3) O. D. A., G. J. Mountain to Stuart, July 5, 1820. C. J. Stuart had proposed advance notice of a meeting of Corporation in a letter written to G. J. Mountain from Hamilton (Cobourg) on May 10. (Q. D. A., B6x).

effort to see the unfinished churches at Chatham and at Colchester, but Stewart had inspected them both earlier in the year.

From Amherstburg to Sandwich the Bishop and Chaplain drove in wagons.⁽¹⁾ A confirmation was held in another brick church opened for worship a few weeks before - the fourth building erected through the efforts of Mr. Pollard.

From Sandwich the episcopal party crossed to Detroit and took a steamer back to Fort Erie, thereby avoiding the strenuous journey by land through the new settlements bordering on the Lake.

An uncompleted, non-denominational church building stood at the time at Fort Erie. It was bought by the Anglicans a year and a half later and served by the Incumbent of Chippawa, but was not in use in 1820. At Chippawa a new missionary, the Rev. William Leeming, had arrived only about a month before, and naturally had not had time to prepare a class for confirmation. Chippawa Church was not built until 1821.

"From Fort Erie they proceeded to Queenston," states the Memoir, "where the Bishop met the Rev. B. B. Stevens and other gentlemen, with whom he 'went to see the new church,

(1) No account of the Visitation of 1820 from the Bishop's hand has been preserved. Happily the biographer of George J. Mountain had at his disposal full notes of the tour made by his father, the subject of the Memoir. These notes, printed in the Memoir, Chapter III, provide the framework for this section of the Chapter.

and promised an assistance of £40 if they placed the altar and pulpit properly'."(1) It is recorded in the S. P. G. Report for 1820 that "The Rev. B. B. Stevens, Chaplain to His Majesty's Forces in Fort George, has been very instrumental in promoting the erection of a Church at Queenston, as well as at Chambly, where he had regularly officiated for the civil part of the community, without fee or reward. He now performs Divine Service at Queenston every Sunday, besides occasional visits, and at the instance of the Bishop, the Society have agreed to allow him a salary of £50, so long as he continues his present services."

The Rev. Robert Addison, Missionary at Niagara since 1791, had been looking forward to the Bishop's visit. He wrote to the S. P. G. July 4, 1820, that "he had been much occupied in superintending the repairs of the Church and preparing for a confirmation by the Bishop in the course of a few days."(2) As the restoration of the Church, which was burned in 1813, was not completed until later in the year 1820, the confirmation (seventy persons) was held in the Indian Council House at Fort George, where the Bishop preached "with his usual energy and effect."(3) It was Mr. Addison's custom to avail himself of the presence of the military

(1) Memoir of G. J. Mountain, by A. W. Mountain, p. 45.

(2) Journals of the S. P. G., Vol. 33, 1821-1822, p. 74.

(3) The list of confirmed persons is in the Montreal Synod Archives.

chaplains to take the opportunity of visiting several settlements in the neighbourhood of Niagara, as well as to oversee the Indians on the Grand River. A little Church had been built at St. Catharines, and served by him, as early as 1796. The Bishop did not call on these out-stations. It is probable that any candidates for confirmation would be brought to Niagara for the rite.

After Fort George, the next confirmation, (thirty persons) was held in the school house at Grimsby, Mission of the Rev. William Sampson. The uncompleted church was, as G. J. Mountain observed, "remarkably pretty."

An evening confirmation was held on the same day at "Barton Free Church" in Barton Township in which part of the Rev. Ralph Leeming's Mission was situated. This church was held at the time in common with the Presbyterians, but it was bought for exclusive Anglican use in 1827. Leeming relieved the Missionary of Niagara to some extent by giving periodic services to the Indians at the Grand River, but Addison continued to visit them as well to the end of his days. As Stewart had made two calls to the Mohawks earlier in the year the Bishop did not go to see the Indians.

The next stop was York where eighty were confirmed in the first St. James Church on Sunday, July 23. "After the Morning Service," it is related in the Christian Recorder, "the Lord Bishop went to the Altar, and the persons to be confirmed were called up by the Minister of the Parish. As

they approached the Altar they delivered their tickets of preparation and approbation to the Chaplain."(1) On Monday a meeting of the Corporation for Managing the Clergy Reserves was held, and By-laws, similar to those in use in Lower Canada, were passed. On Tuesday a Visitation of the Clergy took place, attended by fifteen of the Brethren, The sermon was preached by the Rev. G. O. Stuart. The Christian Recorder tells that:- "The Lord Bishop after the Sermon was ended, taking his place opposite to his clergy, all standing, delivered a charge which must have been heard to form an adequate conception of its excellence and effect. The venerable dignity of his manner, the melody of his voice, . . . and the chaste propriety of his action, added to the strong truths which he delivered made such an impression as will not soon be forgotten."(2) Dr. G. J. Mountain's comment was "Certainly I never heard anything more impressive, and I hope

(1) The Christian Recorder. Strachan's account, given to the Bishop, of his resolve to begin the publication of this paper, is as follows:- "I have issued proposals for publishing a monthly religious journal. I found that such a work was in agitation among the Sectaries, and I determined to anticipate them, tho' the labour will add much to my present employment, which occupies already most of my time. I will gradually lead my readers in favour of the Church, taking care to insert nothing particularly offensive to Dissenters: as the work gains ground we can be more explicit, but caution is necessary as the whole of the population not of our Church is ready to join against us." (T. P. L. Scadding Collection, Strachan to Mountain, March 12, 1819.) The Recorder ran for two years only. See Scadding, Henry, "The First Bishop of Toronto" pp. 10-21.

(2) Christian Recorder, July 25, 1820.

none of us heard it in vain."⁽¹⁾ The justly admired charge was delivered as well at Montreal and was later printed at the request of the clergy of the diocese.⁽²⁾ Its religious fervour and sound practical wisdom prompts the reader to wish that Jacob Mountain had been free to exercise more vigorously the spiritual duties of his episcopal office, without pursuing the ignis fatuus of "Establishment". After the Visitation the Bishop and clergy, sixteen in all, dined at Government House with Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland.

The Bishop and Chaplain then proceeded by road to Hamilton (near the present Cobourg) where a confirmation was held in the Court House as the first St. Peter's Church, two miles east, had not yet been built. The Rev. Joseph Thompson from Port Hope joined his candidates with those of the Rev. William Macaulay the local Missionary, and thirty were confirmed, Sunday, July 30.

The party hastened eastward in order to meet the next appointment at Ernest-Town (Bath) on Tuesday. The Memoir mentions an unfinished wooden church at the Carrying Place, and a brick church in a similar state at Belleville. It is certain that the Bishop did not divert his journey to see the one - (Stewart had done so in the spring) and he

(1) Mountain, A. W., op. cit., p. 46 f.n.

(2) A charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec, in the year 1820, by the Right Reverend Jacob, Lord Bishop of that Diocese. Quebec: Printed and Published by John Neilson, No. 3, Mountain Street, 1820, p. 48.

spent little time inspecting the other. Although young Mr. John Stoughton had been in charge of the Mission of Ernest Town for less than a year he had assembled thirteen candidates who were confirmed on Aug. 1, in the unpainted wooden church built in Langhorn 's incumbency. The Bishop and his son went on to Kingston the same night.

On Thursday, August 3, confirmation (sixty-six candidates) was held in the first St. George's Church at Kingston. "The church," commented the Chaplain, "is a long, low, blue wooden building, with square windows, and a little cupola, or steeple, for the bell, like the thing on a brewery, placed at the wrong end of the building. They are taking measures, however, to build a new one." (1)

By Sunday, Aug. 6, the episcopal party had reached Brockville where a large Confirmation was held in the Court Room, a half finished, high, brick building. A number of people attended from Augusta, a settlement which was also given pastoral care by the Missionary at Brockville, the Rev. John Leeds, who had exchanged posts two years before with the Rev. John Bethune of Montreal.

Early in the afternoon of the same day they left for Perth, travelling over a very rough road. George Mountain remarked:- "An Irishman in the service of Major Powell of Perth, being asked by his master how he had got along upon

(1) Mountain, A. W., op. cit., pp. 52-53, Building of the new church was begun in 1825.

the road (with a waggon) replied, that he had got along pretty well, for he had found bottom in every place but one."⁽¹⁾ Services at Perth were being held in the school-house.⁽²⁾ No confirmation took place as the missionary the Rev. Michael Harris had not been able to return from York, owing to an accident to the American steam-boat on which he was coming back from the Visitation.

After returning from Perth the Bishop resumed his journey by batteau down the river. He went ashore at Fort Wellington (Prescott), to see how the building of the new church there was progressing. He also stopped at Matilda to encourage the people to repair the church, - a structure originally built by Lutherans but made over to the Church of England, - and to prepare for the establishment of a mission. Fifty persons were confirmed at the Rev. J.G. Weagant's church at Williamsburg on Friday, Aug. 11. The last

(1) Mountain, A. W., op. cit., p. 53.

(2) When the school-house was built the understanding was that when a Church of England Minister arrived he was to take charge. When Harris came, the Rev. William Bell, (a Presbyterian Military chaplain), was teaching in the building and was very reluctant to vacate. A government order from Quebec was necessary in order to oust Bell and place Harris in possession of the school-house and in charge of the school (Vide P. A. C., Can. Pub. Chap. C.65, pp. 70-72, Lt. Col. Cockburn, to Major Powell, Nov. 8, 1819). Bell later related the story of his troubles at Perth in Hints to Emigrants, in a series of Letters from Upper Canada, by the Rev'd William Bell, Minister of the Presbyterian Congregation, Perth, Upper Canada. Edinburg, 1824. The Canadian Magazine, June, 1824, has an amusing review of this little book.

confirmation in Upper Canada, sixty-five persons, was held, probably on the following Sunday, at the Rev. S. J. Mountain's charge at Cornwall. Fourteen missions had been visited in the Upper Province.

Salter Mountain then joined the episcopal party which travelled to St. Andrews, where a class of thirteen was confirmed in the school-house on Friday, Aug. 18.⁽¹⁾ The author of Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary makes reference to this service but either intentionally or by mistake he has combined the visits of Stewart (Jan. 1820) and the Bishop, into one.⁽²⁾

On Sunday, Aug. 20, 150 were confirmed in Christ Church Montreal, - evidence of the assiduity of the Rector, the Rev. John Bethune, who had assumed charge of this important parish two years before at the age of twenty-seven.⁽³⁾ The new church so long in building was, according to George J. Mountain's comment, "very large and handsome, but not in so good taste as the church at Quebec."⁽⁴⁾ On the following Tuesday fourteen clergy assembled to hear Official Mountain preach and to receive the Bishop's charge.

(1) The list is in the Montreal Synod Archives.

(2) Abbott, A. M., The Rev. J., Philip Musgrave; or Memoirs of a Church of England Missionary in the North American Colonies, London, 1846, pp. 16-17.

(3) The list is in the Montreal Synod Archives.

(4) Mountain, A. W., op. cit., p. 56.

The Rector of Montreal had at this time an Evening Lecturer as an assistant, the Rev. George Jenkins, who had come to Canada in 1814 as Chaplain to the Third Brigade. He was also senior Canadian Chaplain, through whose hands reports of other chaplains whether regular or officiating, had to pass before being transmitted to the Chaplain-General in London. A gifted musician, he edited and arranged a selection of Psalms set to music, for use in Christ Church. The book was dutifully dedicated to "The Right Rev. Father in God, Jacob, Lord Bishop of Quebec." Jenkins died on April 26, 1821, aged forty-two years.⁽¹⁾

The three Mountains then hastened on to Quebec, where the Rev. Joseph Langley Mills had been in charge during the Rector's absence. Mills, whose commission was dated Oct. 12, 1812, had seen service in Portugal during the War, and came to Quebec as Chaplain to the Garrison in the summer of 1814. For a short interval after George J. Mountain went as Missionary to Fredericton the post of Evening Lecturer at Quebec was vacant, but in 1815 the appointment was given to Mills who kept it until shortly before his early death, Aug. 15, 1832.⁽²⁾ From 1819 he was Secretary for the Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and

(1) An Article by T. R. Millman, entitled "The Rev. George Jenkins, B.D., 1779-1821" is contained in the January 1940 issue of the Montreal Churchman.

(2) A Memorial Tablet to the Rev. J. L. Mills is in Quebec Cathedral.

Secretary also of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: a thankless, and for a time a payless position. He succeeded Jenkins as Senior Chaplain.

On Sept. 26, 1820, the Bishop announced to the S. P. G. his completion of the tour of Upper Canada, and his intention to wait until winter when the roads would be better, to visit the remaining missions in Lower Canada.⁽¹⁾ His son George, to whose pen posterity is indebted for much information about the Bishop's later life, did not accompany him. Only a few scrappy details of this journey have been preserved.

Brief reference to the trip is contained in the obituary article reprinted in the Christian Sentinel of 1827. "The last two visitations comprehended a visit to the missions at the upper end of Lake Erie, which, by the Route which the Bishop took, are scarcely less than a thousand miles from Quebec. There were also considerable lateral digressions to be made, besides the whole circuit of the Lower Province, which, in 1820, was reserved for winter-travelling, on account of the inconvenience which the Bishop suffered, being then in his seventieth year, from travelling in the light but common and rough waggons of the Country, over roads in many places cross-laid with trees, as well as from the extreme heat, and the torment of the mosquitoes, in particular situations where they swarm. During this winter circuit,

(1) Journals of S. P. G., Letter of Sept. 26, 1820.

which lay chiefly through the eastern townships of Lower Canada, where the population is entirely Protestant, the Bishop preached ten times in less than three weeks,"(1)

In a letter to his eldest son the Bishop supplied further comment on the last Visitation of Lower Canada. "Between the 7th of February and the 3^d of this month, I completed my Visitation by going thro' the New Townships near the line 45, & by confirming at every place (ten in number) at which a Clergyman is established. And I preached at each of these places an extemporaneous sermon.(2) There was considerable exertion required to accomplish this. It was necessary previously to fix the time for each Confirmation - and I was impeded, first by a heavy Rain at Sorel, which spoiled the roads as far as St. John's (50 miles), & then by successive falls of Snow, which nearly obliterated them, thro' the whole of the Townships. I did, however, accomplish my object, & confirmed at every place upon the day

(1) The Christian Sentinel, Jan.-Feb. 1827.

(2) In Travels through Canada and the United States of North America in the years 1806, 1807, & 1808, etc., published in London in 1810, the author, John Lambert, wrote:- "The Protestant Bishop of Quebec is said to be a man of abilities, and a most eloquent and masterly preacher, but I never had the pleasure of hearing him. His salary is £3500 per annum, and he preaches two sermons annually." Vol. I, p. 351. This latter ill-natured remark was incorrect on two counts. The Bishop's salary at the time was £2000. It is certain, as well, that his Lordship preached frequently while on Visitations, although he may have been rarely heard at the Cathedral. Lambert made his journey when Jacob Mountain was absent in England.

appointed. I went with hired horses, & drivers, & took with me only Paine. . . . I had a cold during the whole journey; but, except for a few hours, I was never ill. The new Churches rising every where, & the neat and handsome manner in which several of them are finished gratified me greatly; & the Country itself, even in winter, is most beautiful. . . . The whole journey was about 600 miles." (1)

Before setting out for Upper Canada in the summer of 1820, comprehensive lists of questions concerning the condition of each mission were sent according to the usual custom, to incumbents throughout the diocese. The following copies are kept in the Montreal Synod Archives - Montreal, St. Andrews, Chambly, St. Johns, Caldwell and Christie Manor and St. Armand for Lower Canada; Augusta for Upper Canada.

At Sorel, the Mission of the Rev. John Jackson, twenty-two were confirmed; at Chambly where the Rev. Edward Parkin was placed there was a class of twenty-four, and the same number was presented by the Rev. W. D. Baldwyn of St. Johns. The Rev. Micajah Townsend had gathered forty-two candidates for the confirmation on Feb. 15th, 1821, at Noyan, part of Caldwell and Christie Manors. These three latter churches, built of stone brick, and wood respectively were inspected by the Bishop on this occasion for the first and the last time. At St. Paul's Philipsburg thirty-six were

(1) Q. D. A., Miscellaneous Papers, Jacob Mountain to J. H. B. Mountain, March 25, 1821.

confirmed on Feb. 16, while on Feb. 18, twenty-four of the Rev. James Reid's candidates from St. Armand East, and thirty-one of the Rev. C. C. Cotton's from the Township of Dunham received the rite in Trinity Church, Frelighsburg. The Bishop then proceeded to Hatley, the Rev. Thomas Johnson's station, where ten were confirmed, and to Eaton where there were thirteen candidates. Visits were paid to Drummondville where the Rev. Samuel S. Wood was just beginning work, and to the old Parish of Three Rivers, supervised for many years by the Rev. Robert Short, but no record remains of confirmations at either place.⁽¹⁾ On the whole tour of the Canadas between eight and nine hundred were confirmed.

A large section of his diocese which Bishop Mountain never visited was that of Gaspé, along the coast of which many Protestant fishermen were settled. As early as 1801 the people of Paspebiac on Chaleur Bay had written directly to the S. P. G. for a clergyman. The Bishop approved of the idea and supported the petition but nothing came of it.⁽²⁾ In those barren years from 1800 to 1815 the Society even found difficulty in obtaining men to go to the older and

(1) The numbers of confirmed persons on the winter tour were jotted down by the Bishop on a sheet of paper preserved in the Montreal Diocesan Archives. Although no numbers are given for Drummondville and Three Rivers it would appear from the Bishop's letter to his son (*Vide Supra*) that the rite of confirmation was in fact administered in all the missions.

(2) *Vide Progress of the Church in Lower Canada 1793-1805; also Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 9. Mountain to S. P. G., June 25, 1803.*

more thickly settled parts of the Canadas.

From time to time the spiritual plight of the Gaspésians was brought to the episcopal notice. In 1807, the Bishop who was then in England received a letter from Sewell containing an enclosure from Judge Crawford of Gaspé, asking for a clergyman to be sent. In seeking Milnes' assistance in the case the Bishop recalled the earlier attempt to place a missionary at Gaspé and implied that the reason for its failure was that an Independent missionary, an associate of the Rev. Clarke Bentom, had established himself there at that time. The project of sending an S. P. G. Missionary was therefore dropped.⁽¹⁾ A similar fate met the proposal of 1807. On Jan. 8, 1813, a certain Henry Johnston sent to the Bishop from Douglastown a long letter, describing the industry, trade and population of the district, and requesting in the most earnest terms that clergy and teachers should be sent.⁽²⁾ Once again the project failed.

In the spring of 1819, while the Bishop was in England, the Rev. John Suddard was adopted by the Society and placed at his Lordship's disposal.⁽³⁾ Suddard arrived

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 53, Mountain to Milnes, May 3, 1807.

(2) Stuart, H. C., op. cit., pp. 155-163. The letter quoted by Stuart is in the Q. D. A.

(3) Q. D. A., Series B, Vol. 28, p. 31, Minutes of S. P. G., April 16, 1819.

in Quebec in the following September and was licensed to Gaspé in October, the first Anglican clergyman to be stationed in that extensive region. For the next two years he laboured with some success in the fishing villages extending from Gaspé Bay to Paspébiac, and promoted the building of at least two small churches.

The unexpected arrival of the Rev. Richard Knagg in Quebec in 1820 presented a problem to the Bishop. The latter's characteristic comment on Knagg is thus recorded in the Society's minutes:- "The Bishop believes him to be a worthy pious man and well versed in the Scriptures but he has a great want of respectability of appearance, such a clownish simplicity of manners and so total an ignorance of the world that it can only be among people all of whom are of the lowest Order that there can be any possibility of success in his Ministry. Such a situation there is in the district of Gaspé. Another Minister in addition to Mr. Suddard is greatly wanted on those populous & extensive shores."⁽¹⁾ After staying for a short time at Stanstead and for a shorter period at Rivière du Loup en Haut, Knagg set out for Gaspé in August 1821. He was licensed to Percé.

On April 24, 1822, the Bishop wrote as follows to the Earl of Dalhousie:-

"My Lord:- As I have, for some time, had two clergymen

(1) Q. D. A., Series D, Folder 5, Mountain to S. P. G., Dec. 26, 1820.

established in the District of Gaspé, I have an earnest desire to visit that part of my Diocese, in the course of the approaching summer; but I find so many difficulties opposed to this undertaking, that unless your Excellency will be so good as to afford me some facilities for the accomplishing of my object, I fear I shall be obliged to abandon it."(1)

Dalhousie replied that he had no vessel at his disposal, but that a government vessel was stationed at Halifax, under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, for the protection of the fisheries. He promised to write to Sir James Kempt on the subject.(2) Kempt answered that he would like to assist, but that Bathurst had requisitioned the vessel, the "Chebucto" by name, and that it would not be possible to send it to Quebec.(3)

Meanwhile Mr. Knagg was succeeding no better at Paspébiac (whither he had been sent, rather than to Percé) than he had at other Missions, and the Bishop ordered him to return to England, giving him at the same time a year's grace so as not to work any unnecessary hardship on the erring missionary.(4) In addition, it was decided at

(1) P. A. C., Chaplaincy Book C.65, p. 186, Mountain to Dalhousie, April 24, 1822.

(2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. VIII, p. 11, Dalhousie to Mountain, April 25, 1822.

(3) P. A. C., Chaplaincy Book C.65, pp. 192-3, Kempt to Darling, May 29, 1822.

(4) Stuart, H. C., op. cit., pp. 366-367.

Quebec that Gaspé should be visited at last, not by the Bishop but by his son, Archdeacon G. J. Mountain. The latter made the journey by schooner "Two Brothers", with very cramped accommodation, and arrived at St. George's Cove, nine miles up Gaspé Bay on August 24, 1824. Here in the afternoon the Archdeacon preached in French, in a little Methodist chapel, two unprecedented events as far as he was concerned. He then proceeded across the Bay to the place where Mr. Suddard lived and where a new church had been built. He admired the music and the singing, chiefly conducted by one family, "which supplies a female and three male voices, a flute, violoncello, and a violin."⁽¹⁾ Mal Bay, Percé and L'Anse à Beau-fils were then visited, and several days were spent at Pasp. biac. A church was nearly finished at that place, and the frame of another had been erected at New Carlisle. Suddard took the opportunity of crossing Chaleur Bay and visiting settlements on the opposite shore, then in the Diocese of Nova Scotia. Apart from mentioning one or two peculiarities in the way in which Knagg rendered the Service, the Archdeacon made no further references to the unfortunate missionary in his journal. The return

(1) Stuart, H. C., op. cit., pp. 367-374; Mountain, W. W. Op. cit., pp. 68-79, Portions of the journal describing this journey are in the Quebec Diocesan Archives. Parts of it are quoted by Stuart, and further extracts were made by A. W. Mountain in the Memoir of his father. The only remaining section of the manuscript of the journal has been printed in the 1941-42 Report of the Quebec Provincial Archives, with an introduction and notes by the Rev. Canon A. R. Kelley, M.A.

journey to Quebec was made by proceeding along Chaleur Bay to the Restigouche River, travelling up this river and the River Matapedia by canoe, and portaging across to the St. Lawrence on foot, Several boat trips were made before the Archdeacon arrived at his home.

In the following year Suddard was also dismissed, so that the early stages of the missionary work in Gaspé were fraught with great difficulty. Bishop Stewart informed the S. P. G. Nov. 18, 1825, that in consequence of the destitute state of the Mission of Gaspé, he had sent the Rev. William Hough there after consultation with the Lieut.-Governor, Sir Francis Burton.(1)

It is apparent that during the last six years of Jacob Mountain's episcopate, neither he, his Visiting Missionary nor his Archdeacons, spared themselves in extending the work of the Church of England throughout the vast extent of the old Diocese of Quebec. The record of the untiring labours of these men, combined with the stories of individual missionary priests, shows that the Anglican system, while less flexible than that of the Methodists, could yet adapt itself successfully to the needs of a pioneer society.

(1) Journals of S. P. G., Stewart to S. P. G., Nov. 18, 1825.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION

Detailed reference has already been made to the Bishop's ineffectual efforts, particularly on the occasions of his two visits to England, to resign his diocese, on a suitable pension. Each time, by refusing to pay the Bishop a pension which he considered adequate, the Government made his resignation impossible, although they twice raised the episcopal stipend. When in England, 1816-19, the Bishop pleaded advancing years as a reason for resigning, it was proposed by Bishop Tomline that a division of the diocese might relieve the strain. This proposal was turned down by Bishop Mountain.⁽¹⁾

In the spring of 1823 the Bishop resumed with Bathurst the subject of his resignation. He recalled his attempt to resign in 1817, stating that the reasons then given for wishing to do so were more applicable at the time of writing as he was now seventy three years old. Arguments were put forward for a larger pension than Government had heretofore been willing to promise. In conclusion he expressed his wish to return to England in the summer, so that a successor could be consecrated to come out in the fall.⁽²⁾ The letter containing the proffered resignation was taken

(1) See Chapter XX, "The Bishop's Second Visit to England."

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 167, part 2, pp. 482-484, Mountain to Bathurst, Mar. 25, 1823.

to England by Charles James Stewart, who returned to the homeland that year on Clergy Reserve business.⁽¹⁾

A communication written from London on the following June 7, unsigned, but perhaps from Stewart or from J.H.B. Mountain, the Bishop's eldest son, told of difficulties that had arisen. The writer had waited on Canning and Bathurst. The latter said that Jacob Mountain could come back on the following terms - £1500 pension (half the present salary), the other half to be applied to establish a suffragan or suffragans, not being bishops.⁽²⁾ Bathurst promised also to write the Governor to ask the Assembly to provide for the Bishop, and that a portion of such pension should be continued to the widow. The Archbishop, the letter concluded, strongly objected to bishops without sees, and was not favourable to the appointment of a suffragan bishop or a coadjutor, Parliament would not provide for a retired bishop.⁽³⁾

The Bishop thereupon wrote to Bathurst as follows:-

(1) See Chapter XVI "The Bishop and the Clergy Reserves".

(2) By "Suffragan" Bathurst meant "Archdeacon". See Chapter XX "The Bishop's Second Visit to England" p. 21. See also Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, March 28, 1825.

(3) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 170, part 3, pp. 495-496, (?) to Mountain, June 7, 1823.

My Lord,

As my son informed me that he understood Your Lordship to have expressed your intention to send out leave of absence, for my return to England in the autumn of this year, & also to direct the Earl of Dalhousie to recommend it to the Provincial Parliament to make some provision for me, & for Mrs. Mountain in the case of her surviving me, I should have thought it my duty to await this official communication of your Lordship's pleasure, if every other circumstance had combined to favour my return, but this has been far from being the case.

Your Lordship's commands have never been received; & if they had, the state of my health, during this autumn has been such as to render a voyage impracticable; nor can I, nor ought I to conceal from Your Lordship, that I felt great disappointment, respecting the amount of the pension which Your Lordship had been pleased to propose for me, & the mode of making some provision for Mrs. Mountain, which had presented itself to your Lordship's mind.

I hope Your Lordship will pardon me if I say that £1500, (subject to a large deduction, as it must necessarily be if it is to be paid in this Country) would not, as far as I may presume to judge, support me in a manner at all corresponding to the station which I hold; nor would the Assembly, I am convinced, make any provision for the widow of a Protestant Bishop or for himself.

Let me beg Your Lordship's patience, while I submit a very few observations upon the State of embarrassment in which I feel myself. In my letter of the 23 of March last, I took the liberty of reminding your Lordship that at home the Judges, after fifteen years service, are entitled to retire upon two thirds of their Salaries; and I could not but flatter myself that a Bishop who in a distant & arduous situation had served for twice that period, would be thought not unworthy of equal consideration.

I was the more strengthened, my Lord, in this expectation, because Chief Justice Osgoode, who served only eight or nine years in these Provinces, & Ch: Jus: Livius who served a

shorter term, each retired with two thirds of his salary. And I have had reason to believe that your Lordship was not satisfied with those votes of the Assembly of this Province, which gave only half of their respective Salaries to Ch. Justice Monk and Mr. Justice Ogden

I wish to be permitted to recall to Your Lordship's recollection, that when I was in England in 1816, Your Lordship in the first instance was pleased to propose, through Lord Wodehouse, to make me an allowance of £1500 a year upon my retirement, though my Salary was at that time £600 a year less than it has been since. Your Lordship indeed, while I was deliberating upon that proposal, reduced it (from some motive of political expediency as I understood) to £1000 which I asked your Lordship permission to decline. It was natural for me now, My Lord, to hope & I trust I might do so without too eager a desire of worldly advantages, that to the allowance which Your Lordship then first intended for me you would not be disposed to confine yourself, after so much longer service, with an income so considerably increased.

I had it much at heart, my Lord, to obtain a reversion of part of my pension, for Mrs. Mountain - Your Lordship has not judged that this desire was an unreasonable one, since you had the goodness to think of an application to the Provincial Parliament for the purpose of affecting it. I therefore humbly hope that if Your Lordship should be convinced (as I am satisfied you will be) that such an application would be utterly ineffectual, your benevolence will lead you to seek it from a higher source.

There remains a subject which I cannot touch upon without feelings of painful humiliation - Your Lordship has been told that I enjoy excellent health; information which I have reason to fear induced some suspicion that a complaint of ill health had been made as a pretence, to forward my wish of being allowed to retire upon a pension. It is infinitely mortifying to have incurred, at my time of life, and in my office more especially, a suspicion of artifice so mean, and so unprincipled. If Your Lordship will be pleased to refer to my letter of the 23rd of March you will find that I grounded my application upon no ill state of health, real or pretended, but simply and solely upon this

consideration, that the labours of a Diocese of such immense extent as mine, are too great to be effectually performed by a man in the 73rd year of his age. And really, my Lord, if your Lordship will condescend to consider the nature of these labours, which present no ordinary difficulties to the traveller, you will, I am confident, be satisfied that there could be no occasion on my part to pretend or to seek for any other cause to justify my proposal to retire. My health, however, for several years, has been very imperfect, and since the commencement of the Autumn it has been such as to prevent the performance of any duty which could not be discharged in my own house, where I have been regularly attended twice in every day, by my physician. Your Lordship's silence and the circumstances already stated, having necessarily suspended the decision of the question of the resignation of my bishoprick, I have now only earnestly to request, that Your Lordship will have the goodness to resume the consideration of it, not only from a regard for the concerns of this Diocese, which it materially affects but with a benevolent disposition to afford your protection to me and my family.

I have the honor, etc.,

J: Quebec.

Q.Q. Since I concluded this letter I find by a Message from Lord Dalhousie to the Assembly that His Majesty strongly recommends an allowance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of their respective salaries to Chief Justice Monk & Mr. Justice Ogden.⁽¹⁾

Meanwhile Bathurst wrote on Dec. 3, 1823, regretting the Bishop's illness, and saying that he had instructed Dalhousie to grant his correspondent a year's leave of absence.⁽²⁾ He acknowledged the foregoing letter of Dec. 15 on March 3, 1824, but stated that he would defer any decision

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 167, part 2, pp. 484-488, Mountain to Bathurst, Dec. 15, 1823.

(2) Bishopthorpe Papers, Bathurst to Mountain, Dec. 8, 1823.

on the question of the pension until the Bishop's arrival.⁽¹⁾

On June 15, 1824, the Bishop replied with unaccustomed brevity:- "Your Lordship will pardon me, that, at my time of life, & with my infirmities, I cannot undertake a voyage across the Atlantic in utter uncertainty whether I shall be enabled to remain at home; that I cannot leave my Diocese, without knowing that my place will be supplied

For myself, my Lord, if my services of thirty one years, are not sufficiently considerable to afford me a fair claim to be satisfied, before I leave this Country, respecting my resignation I must die at my post."⁽²⁾

On the same day he remonstrated with the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying that he could not understand why he could not retire after thirty one years when two West Indian bishops were to be permitted to do so after twelve years, and the Bishop of Calcutta could do likewise after fifteen years.⁽³⁾

In the following spring, however, the Bishop capitulated. He wrote to Bathurst that if his health permitted it he would like to return to England, and at the same time asked for a frigate for the use of himself and his party - Mrs.

(1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Bathurst to Mountain, March 5, 1824.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 170, part 3, pp. 489-493, Mountain to Bathurst, June 15, 1824.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 45, Mountain to Manners Sutton, June 15, 1824.

Mountain, his daughter, and three servants.⁽¹⁾ The frigate "Herald" Sir Henry Leeke, Commander, arrived after the Bishop's death, but in October the ship took Mrs. Mountain, her son Armine, and her daughter back to England.⁽²⁾

It may be inferred that part of the reason why the Bishop consented to return in 1825, still in partial uncertainty about his pension, was that he had heard that Charles James Stewart was willing to be appointed to Upper Canada, and would consent to act for him in Lower Canada, at a government salary of £1000.⁽³⁾

Even before Stewart's first arrival in Canada, Bishop Mountain had thought of him as a possible successor. When attempting to resign on his first visit to England he wrote to Canning:- "If H.M. should be pleased to admit my pretensions, a favourable opportunity now appears to present itself for providing a Successor in the See of Quebec in the person of the hon'ble Charles Stewart, a brother of Lord Galloway, who is actually soon going out to Canada to take a situation there as a private clergyman."⁽⁴⁾

During the Bishop's second absence, Stewart applied

- (1) Bishopthorpe Papers, Mountain to Bathurst, March 7, 1825.
- (2) Mountain, Mrs. Armine S.H., Memoirs and Letters of the late Colonel Armine Simcoe Henry Mountain, C. B., p. 60.
- (3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VIII, p. 53, Memorandum in Mountain's hand, March 28, 1825.
- (4) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. III, p. 65, Mountain to Canning, June 5, 1807.

for the position, as he had heard that Mountain was resigning, but he was not greatly disappointed when he heard that his Lordship was going back to Canada. "I wished to be Bishop chiefly that I might do much good," was his simple comment.⁽¹⁾

Again he renewed his application in 1821 as he had apparently been informed by the Bishop of the latter's intention to return to England in the following year.⁽²⁾ But in the autumn the Bishop wrote that he could not leave the next spring, and would wait until early in 1823. "I trust," his Lordship concluded, "(tho' I do not again express myself confidently), that I shall then, if it please God to spare my life, be prepared to go home; if otherwise, the See will sooner be vacant for you."⁽³⁾

The letter of March 25, 1823, containing the Bishop's desire to resign was taken to England by Stewart himself, and in due course the latter once again applied to succeed.⁽⁴⁾ Horton, Under-Secretary of State asked Stewart

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 150, part 4, pp. 926-928, Stewart to Goulburn, Oct. 8, 1818.

(2) Ibid., Vol. 159, p. 497, Stewart to Goulburn, July 21, 1821.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VII, p. 129, Mountain to Stewart, Nov. 21, 1821.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 167, p. 503, Stewart to Bathurst, May 13, 1823.

frankly to state the terms on which he would accept the office of coadjutor during Mountain's lifetime. Horton offered £1000 plus a Council seat at £100, assuming that the S.P.G. would continue to pay the £300 which Stewart was already receiving as Visiting Missionary.⁽¹⁾ The latter accepted the proposal expressing the hope that in time the salary would be raised, and that he might be allowed to retain the Rectory of Orton Longville, a living which added nearly £200 to his income after a curate had been paid and other expenses met.⁽²⁾ The Bishop wrote once more to Stewart explaining his delay in leaving Quebec and avowing that he was not trifling with his correspondent.⁽³⁾

From Kingston, U.C., in July 1825, Stewart applied to Bathurst for the last time.⁽⁴⁾ The application was favourably received. He sailed to England and was consecrated second Bishop of Quebec in Lambeth Chapel, Jan. 1, 1826. He continued to receive a salary of £3000, but gave up the Rectory of Orton Longville.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VIII, p. 43, Horton to Stewart, June 14, 1824.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 170, pp. 571-572, Stewart to Horton, June 17, 1824.

(3) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. VIII, Mountain to Stewart, June 16, 1824.

(4) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 174, pp. 483-484, Stewart to Bathurst, July 4, 1825.

(5) Lincoln Diocesan Record Office, Reg. 40/F 344.

The proposed division of the Diocese into the Dioceses of Upper and Lower Canada, a move considered as far back as 1793, caused flutterings in the breast of John Strachan and indeed of George J. Mountain. Both men, and Stewart himself, knew that such a division ought to be made, and that only Government's refusal to pay the stipend of a second bishop stood in the way. When Strachan was in England in 1824 he urged the matter before the Bishop of London and supplied the latter with his credentials for the office of Bishop of Upper Canada.⁽¹⁾ His desire to return to England in 1825, a desire that Bishop Mountain frustrated, was prompted by the wish to prosecute the matter more vigorously. Writing to Sir George Arthur many years after, Strachan related that in 1825 Bathurst had the thought of dividing the diocese, but that the division did not take place as opposition to any diminution of salary was made by Bishop Stewart's powerful friends Sir James Graham, Lord Darnley and others.⁽²⁾ This may indeed have been the case. Certainly Stewart himself would have desired a smaller diocese, even at a smaller salary. Commenting on the partition both of diocese and salary, A.N. Bethune states in his Memoir of Bishop Strachan:- "Why this very reasonable proposition - which would have been so cheerfully acquiesced in

(1) S.P.G. Archives, Fulham Papers, Strachan to Howley, June 7, 1824.

(2) S.P.G. Archives, Strachan to Arthur, May 4, 1838.

by the excellent Dr. Stewart, was not ultimately carried out, it would be difficult to explain. It was felt by Dr. Strachan, when the time so soon arrived for putting it into practical operation, that strange influences were at work to extinguish all hope of his own elevation to the proposed new See, - his claims to which the united voice of Churchmen in Upper Canada would affirm to be paramount. With this opinion there is every reason to believe that the Colonial Minister concurred; but how it came to be counteracted, and the necessary division of the Diocese suspended, it is better not to attempt to account for." (1) It may be accounted for sufficiently, however, by Strachan's explanation, given above, and by Bishop Mountain's resolve that Strachan should not be made a bishop.

Archdeacon Mountain, whom the Bishop was so determined should go to England on Clergy Reserve business in 1825, was indeed destined by his father to succeed him at Quebec, (if the division were made) as Stewart wished to go to Upper Canada. But apart from presenting the Government with his qualifications the Archdeacon did not press his candidature. It was presently arranged that Jacob Mountain should continue to be Bishop of Quebec under a new patent - the diocese covering only Lower Canada - and that Dr. Stewart should be consecrated for Upper Canada, on the agreement that the latter should administer Lower Canada as well if Mountain's

(1) Bethune, A.N., Memoir of Bishop Strachan pp. 100-101.

health did not permit his doing it himself. The Bishop's death, however, prevented the project being put into force. All the contestants in this little ecclesiastical struggle eventually became bishops, - Stewart in 1826, Mountain in 1836 and Strachan in 1839.

CHAPTER XXV

JACOB MOUNTAIN'S FRIENDSHIPS
and his
POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATORS
OF THE CANADAS

Jacob Mountain took great pains with the training of his children and spent upon them without stint the ample stipend which he enjoyed from the Government. He spared no efforts to procure the promotion of his sons. In return they repaid him with an affection bordering upon worship. Armine Mountain wrote of his father as "the most princely-minded, the most highly gifted, the kindest, noblest, most strictly upright, simple-hearted human being I have ever seen."⁽¹⁾ George Jehoshaphat Mountain, baptized, confirmed, ordained to the diaconate and priesthood, and married by his father, - the latter's amanuensis, chaplain, companion on visitations and unwearied servant as Archdeacon, has inscribed in the Memoir reprinted in the first copy of the Christian Sentinel, 1827, an equally enthusiastic and sincere account of Jacob Mountain's character. The same extraordinary warmth of feeling that bound the father to the family was also shared by the mother and was manifested in relations between the children themselves. Mrs. Mountain's shadowy figure moves in and out of the Bishop's private correspondence. She provided material care for a large family, ably managed the domestic concerns of a periodically uprooted household, and as co-heiress with her sisters of Little Bardfield Hall, a

(1) Memoir of A.S.H. Mountain, p. 60.

Wale: possession for six centuries, she was able to hold her own in Quebec Society, and was on the best terms with the Governors' wives in the little Provincial capital. On one of the rare occasions in later life when the Bishop exercised the Muse he addressed a little poem to his wife, Jan. 1, 1815.⁽¹⁾ John Strachan paid her a graceful tribute in his memorial sermon preached not long after the Bishop's death. Her last years were spent near her two clergyman sons in England.

Neither with his fellow bishops in North America nor with his own clergy, John Stuart excepted, was Jacob Mountain on terms of close intimacy. Bishop Inglis was a correspondent during the early years, and his account of diocesan administration in Nova Scotia was undoubtedly of some aid to the Bishop of Quebec. But the two men never met, and before long all connection between them ceased. Bishop Hobart of New York wrote at least once to Jacob Mountain, but the latter had little interest in church events in "Foreign America". He planned to sail from New York when making his second visit to England, but the plan was not carried out.

An early acquaintance was made however with John Stuart, Missionary at Kingston and Bishop's Commissary in Upper Canada. On the occasion of his visitations the Bishop stayed at the latter's house. He extended his

(1) Library of Bishop's University, Lennoxville, Nicolls-Mountain Papers.

patronage to Stuart's family in the same degree as he enjoyed the patronage of Tomline for his own. For many years John Stuart was the Bishop's agent for the purchase of butter for the Mountain household at Quebec. Matters of domestic and diocesan concern are humourously mingled in their letters. The correspondence between the two men, preserved in the Ontario Diocesan Archives at Kingston, reveals the fact that John Stuart possessed a personality of great charm and simplicity, and that Jacob Mountain recognized to the full the excellent qualities of his Commissary.

The Bishop held a favourable opinion of Richard Pollard, and of Robert Addison, two of the pioneer Upper Canadian clergy. At one time he did express the opinion that Addison was not over-inclined to exert himself. He found it hard to be patient with the rough-hewn but faithful John Langhorn, and in return the latter entertained no high regard for his elegant and cultured Diocesan. The clash of personalities between Jacob Mountain and John Strachan was unfortunate in its consequences. The Bishop seems never to have forgotten Strachan's insubordination in the matter of the appointment to York, and was inclined to be fearful of the latter's adventurous and vigorous disposition. Strachan, while privately strongly critical of Jacob Mountain's qualifications for the work of a missionary bishop, made public recognition, in his memorial sermon, of the Bishop's achievements for the Church in the Canadas.

Among the clergy of Lower Canada Charles James Stewart commended himself highly to the Bishop, not only because of his admirably devoted record as missionary but because of his aristocratic birth. From 1807 on, the Bishop looked upon Stewart as his successor in the See of Quebec.

George Tomline (the name was originally Pretzman but was changed to Tomline in order to qualify for a legacy) Bishop of Lincoln and later of Winchester, was Jacob Mountain's life long friend. To him the latter turned for advice and direction in many emergencies, although the Bishop of Lincoln's political influence was greatly lessened after Pitt's death in 1804. No other individual exercised a stronger influence on Jacob Mountain's life. It is probable that the state which was maintained by the first Bishop of Quebec, a state which rendered necessary the latter's disproportionate interest in his own stipend and pension, originated in a desire to reflect in Canada the episcopal pomp of Lincoln. Nothing that touched Quebec lacked interest for Bishop Tomline. He cared for the Mountain sons; he followed the political situation through his friend's letters; he urged clergy to go to the Canadas; he assisted the church building fund. The missionary outreach of his diocese was not limited to Quebec alone. Thomas Fanshawe Middleton, afterwards promoted to be Bishop of Calcutta through Tomline's interest, was examined for Holy Orders by Jacob Mountain when the latter was diocesan examining chaplain. Tomline wrote

to Mountain in 1814:- "I attended the consecration of the Bishop of Calcutta who sailed early in June I feel confident that my recommendation of Bishops for the East & West will be remembered among my good deeds."⁽¹⁾

In Quebec Jacob Mountain's closest friends were Jonathan Sewell and Herman Witsius Ryland. With both men the Bishop had manifold relations throughout his whole episcopate. Jonathan Sewell, as Attorney-General and Chief Justice of the Province, and as a faithful member of the Anglican congregation in Quebec, was concerned with the establishment of rectories, the framing of Letters Patent, the legal position of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Bishops, the building of the Cathedral, the establishment of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning and the beginnings of McGill College. He had a high opinion of the Bishop's judgment, and the latter did not hesitate, on a number of occasions, to question the cogency of Sewell's reasoning. After the appointment of Sewell to the office of Chief Justice the two men wrangled amiably over the question of precedence in the Executive Council. Yet each recognized the other's integrity, and despite surface ruffles, a feeling bordering on affection developed between them and extended to their families.

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. V, p. 104, Tomline to Mountain, July 22, 1814.

The intimacy between Ryland and Mountain is harder to account for, but it began early and increased in warmth with the passing of the years. As secretary to successive governors for twenty years Ryland was in contact with diocesan affairs from the beginning. Despatches from secretaries of state dealing with the Quebec ecclesiastical situation passed through his hands. For long he administered the Jesuit Estates, the source from whence he firmly believed the Anglican Establishment of Quebec and the educational system of the Province should be supported. He and the Bishop were in fundamental agreement on the necessity of the policy of governing Lower Canada with firmness, although they would have expressed themselves very differently on the point. He was on uniformly bad terms with Sewell, - except for a period of partial reconciliation during Sir James Craig's regime - for reasons which are not at all clear, but he never succeeded in undermining Mountain's confidence in Sewell. He was easily swayed by his feelings and expressed himself bluntly and forcibly in his correspondence. Whether he maintained to the end his opinion that the Protestant Church Establishment in the Canadas "ought to have as much splendour and as little power as possible",⁽¹⁾ he did not abet the Bishop in all the latter's efforts to elevate the fortunes of the Church of England in Quebec, and in return he was held in

(1) Christie, R, History of Lower Canada, Vol. VI, p. 72, (1866 ed.)

high personal esteem by the more suave and astute churchman. The following undated note, typical of others, reflects the relations between Ryland and Mountain:-

The honourable
H.W. Ryland.

My dear Sir,

Whatever satisfaction you derived from the perusal of my son's sermon, it could not have been so great as that which we felt upon reading your note; so expressive of everything that is pleasant, kind, & friendly, on the subject.

Be assured that I most sincerely pray God to confer upon you, & yours, every comfort, & blessing, which you have asked for us.

I am, dear Sir,
ever truly yours,

J. Quebec.(1)

Thursday, 25 May.

Above all else Jacob Mountain strove to create a firmly based Anglican Church Establishment in the Diocese of Quebec. The temperature of his relationships with successive provincial administrators was in direct ratio to the manner in which the latter aided or thwarted this aim. He constantly deplored the tendency, both in Quebec and in London to subordinate the promotion of the Church's interests, as he understood them, to political expediency. For thirty-two years, inclusive of the years spent in England between 1793 and 1825, he watched governors come and go at the provincial

(1) Library of King's College, Halifax, William Inglis Morse Collection.

capitals. It may be of value to make a brief review of his impressions of these men (and, in part, of their attitude to him) as they filed past him through the old city.

With Lord Dorchester the Bishop made little progress in the prosecution of his plans. The words of the late Professor Young, applied to the whole period of Dorchester's connection with Quebec, are emphatically true of the years 1793-1796:- "It is clear that the Church of England has no reason to look back to the administration of Lord Dorchester as to a time when her interests were promoted or even regarded up to the limit of the Royal Instructions."⁽¹⁾ When Dorchester left Quebec the Bishop thanked him for personal kindnesses, but regretted that circumstances had forbidden the Governor to take any decided steps for advancing the Church of England, or the establishment of liberal education.

At the beginning of Governor Prescott's term of office, the possibility of a breach with the United States caused him to avoid the agitation of questions that might possibly alienate French Canada. Accordingly he warned the British Government to be most guarded in giving ecclesiastical powers to the Bishop. When the war clouds passed away the land-granting controversy arose to alienate the leaders of Church and State. The Executive Council, dominated by Chief

(1) Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association, 1926; pp. 64-5. "Lord Dorchester and the Church of England" by A.H. Young.

Justice William Osgoode fell under the Governor's displeasure. Although on at least one occasion the Bishop endeavoured to soften the asperities of the struggle by reviewing an address of Osgood to Prescott, and cutting out offensive phrases, yet he too was suspected by the Governor, and he seems to have reported this fact to London. Prescott, explaining the quarrel with Osgoode, made the following remark about the Bishop:- "I am particularly sorry that the Lord Bp. should have been prevailed upon by misrepresentation to think it possible, even for a moment, that his uprightness or Integrity of Heart had ever been in the remotest Degree doubted of; or that his acquiescence in any of the measures that were not strictly just, had proceeded from any other cause than that of his taking it for granted that the Facts were as they were stated to be, without actually examining whether they were so or not."⁽¹⁾ Yet according to Osgoode the Governor a few weeks later was at such enmity with the Council that he refused to exchange common civilities with the writer and the Bishop.⁽²⁾ Under these unhealthy conditions even the pressing needs of the Church were not attended to by Prescott. "Our Governor is a great economist," wrote Mountain to Inglis, "& very cautious of supporting measures

(1) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 55-63, Prescott to Portland, Jan. 8, 1799.

(2) Ibid., C.O. 42, p. 107 ff., Osgoode to (?), May 2, 1799.

on behalf of the Church that bring with them any degree of expense."⁽¹⁾ Finally the Bishop's feelings found lengthy expression in his despatch to Portland, April 15, 1799. Portland immediately wrote to Milnes, Prescott's successor recommending that the latter communicate freely with the Bishop, as "the evils which he (Mountain) so very properly and forcibly lamented, have in a great . . . Measure, if not entirely, arisen from a want of mutual understanding and concert between him and the Executive Authority in Lower Canada."⁽²⁾

Sir Robert Milnes and Jacob Mountain were in agreement on many points of policy, and a close friendship grew up between the two families, who lived during the summer in neighbouring houses.⁽³⁾ The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity is a testimony to the co-operation of Governor and Bishop. Mrs. Mountain and Lady Milnes were very intimate. Sir Robert acted as godfather for the Bishop's youngest child, Charlotte Milnes Mountain. Both men returned to England in 1805 and continued their acquaintanceship during the succeeding three years. Yet they were completely opposed on the advisability

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. I, pp. 181-2, Mountain to Inglis, Sept. 16, 1798.

(2) P.A.C., Series Q, Vol. 82, pp. 288-299, Portland to Milnes, July 24, 1799.

(3) Mountain. A.W., Memoir of G.J. Mountain, p. 11.

of making any concessions to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. The Bishop attributed Milnes' changing attitude towards the Anglican Establishment in Quebec to two things - first, to the latter's desire to resume the Sulpician property for the Crown, a move for which the Roman Catholic Church would need to receive some concessions; and second, to the baleful influence of a certain Mr. Coffin, a sort of private secretary to Lord Dorchester, who had then become very popular at the Castle of St. Lewis, with the result that the Governor had become "more timid, & if possible more afraid of responsibility, than L^d Dorchester himself." The Bishop in his letter, to Bishop Tomline, went on to ask his correspondent to warn the Colonial Secretary Lord Camden to place no confidence in Coffin (who was then going to England), with respect to the politics or the ecclesiastical policy of Canada. Coffin, he wrote, "is a decided enemy to our Church Establishment; always endeavoured to ridicule the sending of a Bishop to this Country; thinks it folly to stir any question about Religion, (one being in his opinion just as good as another), has repeatedly calculated the expence of building the Church; has been terribly scandalized at the amount; and has made many forcible remonstrances against such extravagant and useless profusion."⁽¹⁾ The Bishop went on to say that he was on good terms with Minles, without

(1) Q.D.A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 69, Mountain to Tomline, Oct. 26, 1804.

approving the latter's conduct. On another occasion he confided in John King that Milnes was a popularity seeker, without firmness or decision. It would thus appear that the impression held at least by Plessis and Prevost that Milnes was at the Bishop's beck and call was not founded on fact. Yet this political animosity did not permanently embitter relations between the two men.

Sir James Craig had held office a year before the Bishop's return from England. The extant correspondence between them does not indicate any great degree of cordiality, although the firm methods which Craig employed as Governor were similar to those which Jacob Mountain had all along been advocating. As far as one can judge from the material at present available, circumstances did not permit of any close personal intimacy between Governor and Bishop. On questions of political policy there must have been complete agreement.

There is no lack of information, however, about the mutual feelings of the Bishop and Sir George Prevost, the succeeding Governor. Open war was waged between them. Again, the steps seen by the Bishop as necessary to be taken to procure the proper establishment of the Church were viewed by the Governor as highly inexpedient in the light of the political situation, when the support of the French Canadians was regarded as vital to the war effort.

By means of the correspondence carried on between the Bishop and Sewell, when the latter was in England during his impeachment by the Assembly, it is possible to observe with some detail the ill-feeling that existed between Governor and Executive Council in 1814 and 1815.

In the summer of 1814, at the Council's request, the Bishop drew up an address to the Prince Regent dealing with the dangerous political state of the province. The Bishop admitted to Sewell that he would have liked to add a great deal more to the address, such as a protest against Prevost's concessions to the Roman Catholics, but that he had to insert only such charges as would pass the Executive Council, which contained a French Canadian membership. However he was able by reshaping a list of observations made by Ryland on the conduct of the Assembly, to complete the document, and to have it debated in Council. Although it was there decided not to submit it to Prevost yet three members made extracts which they promptly despatched to the Governor! The Address was finally sent to Bathurst, with a covering letter, in French, by de Bonne, one of the French Canadian Councillors. Before his departure for England in the Spring of 1815, Prevost, in a stormy interview with the Bishop, accused the latter of duping the Council, and threatened to make difficulties for him in the homeland. In order to protect himself the Bishop arranged for the drawing up by the Councillors of another document to be sent to Bathurst, in which

they each accepted their personal responsibility for the original Address, and repudiated the suggestion that Bishop Mountain had in any way swayed their judgment. As Prevost did not carry out his threat to stir up trouble for the Bishop in England, the sole thanks that the latter received for his prominence in the matter was a rebuke from Bathurst for his hastiness. Prevost was, however, dismissed from the governorship, probably more because of his military mistakes than for his political ineptitude. In the whole matter the Bishop disclaimed any personal hostility to Sir George. The business was distasteful to him, and made him, as he wrote to Sewell, "sick at heart."⁽¹⁾

With Sir John Sherbrooke the Bishop had little to do, nor had he any dealings with the unfortunate Duke of Richmond, as he was in England from 1816 to 1819.

Dalhousie warned in advance by Bathurst to beware of Sewell and Mountain! Yet he and the Bishop agreed well together, despite the fact that the dispute between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland on the question of their respective claims to the Clergy Reserves took place at this period, and that Dalhousie was in sympathy with the Church of Scotland. In later years indeed, the Earl proved a warm friend to Armine Mountain, the youngest son of Jacob

(1) This Correspondence is contained in the Sewell Papers. Private correspondence between the Bishop and Prevost is in Q.D.A., Series C.

Mountain. The lack of friction between Mountain and Dalhousie may be explained by the substantial political agreement of the two men and the fact that the Bishop took a smaller part, after his return in 1819, in provincial politics. The growth of his diocesan labours consumed most of his waning energies.

The Bishop's relations with the administrators of Upper Canada was naturally not so close as with those of the Lower Province. He was never an active member of the Councils at York and was thus spared a repetition of the troubles at Quebec. It was John Strachan who had to enter the political arena and do battle for the Church in Upper Canada. Yet the Bishop had personal relations with a number of the governors of this province, also a part of his great diocese, and some were included among his friends.

John Graves Simcoe, ~~son of a Rectory~~, first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, was an ardent Churchman, eager to promote the interests of the Establishment in his Province in every possible way. Even before leaving England he had been insistent on the appointment of a bishop, and when one came to the Canadas he did his best to uphold the episcopal arms.

From the day of their first meeting at Newark in 1794 Jacob Mountain and Simcoe agreed well together. Simcoe asked the Bishop to send Bibles and Prayer Books to Upper Canada - books with large print for old people. He advocated that in a pastoral letter the Bishop should recommend that

people should meet in one another's homes for divine worship.⁽¹⁾ He obtained from the Imperial Government a grant for Church building. He supported the claim that the issuing of Marriage Certificates should be in episcopal hands. His educational plans exceeded those of Jacob Mountain in extent. He acted as god-father to the Bishop's son. Among all the provincial administrators there was none other with whom Jacob Mountain saw more nearly eye to eye. Simcoe's departure in 1797 was a great disappointment to the Mountains of Quebec.

Much correspondence passed between the Bishop and the Hon. Peter Russell. The latter was no less anxious than Simcoe to forward the work of the Church in Upper Canada. Lieutenant Governor Hunter was also obliging and civil, but he appears only rarely in Jacob Mountain's correspondence. When Francis Gore first came to Canada the Bishop was in England, and the latter's first impression of the Lieutenant Governor, gained at second-hand from reports, was not flattering. Strachan, on the other hand, held a high opinion of Gore. With Isaac Brock the Bishop had an unfortunate disagreement on the subject of John Strachan's removal from Cornwall to York. The blame for this must be attributed to Strachan rather than to Brock. The Bishopthorpe Papers show

(1) The Bishop, fearing the entering in of Methodism and Enthusiasm saw dangers in this suggestion, but he promised to act upon it if a clergyman should come out to York in the following Spring, 1796. As no missionary arrived, the matter was dropped.

that a very close friendship was formed between Jacob Mountain and Roger Hale Sheaffe, who regarded the former with filial veneration. This friendship rested on personal grounds alone and had nothing to do with politics. Francis de Rottenburg, who lived for a time at Quebec was well known to the Bishop. General Sir Gordon Drummond and Lady Drummond had a great regard for the Mountains, especially for Armine Mountain.

After Simcoe the governor of Upper Canada with whom Bishop Mountain was in closer accord than with any other was Sir Peregrine Maitland. Maitland was a man of firm religious convictions and was a loyal member of the Church of England. He was a close friend of John Strachan and was regarded with great approval both by Jacob Mountain, and by the latter's successor, Charles James Stewart.

CHAPTER XXVI

AN ESTIMATE
OF JACOB MOUNTAIN'S CHARACTER AND ACHIEVEMENT

The Bishop had not been in good health since 1823, a fact that lay behind his earnest efforts to resign. He continued, however, to administer the diocese until a few days before his death, which took place after a brief illness on June 16, 1825. At that time none of his sons were present although Armine arrived soon after from Fredericton. The body was taken from Marchmont to the Chateau St. Lewis, and on the funeral day was borne in procession from the Chateau, through a lane formed by the military, to the west door of the Cathedral, while the trumpets of the band of the 71st Regiment played the Dead March in Saul. The burial service was read, in the absence of the Rector, by the Rev. Dr. J. L. Mills, Chaplain to the Garrison. The ceremony was of great solemnity and was attended by the whole of Quebec officialdom, including the Lieutenant-Governor, and members of the Councils and of the Bar. "The Church was very full, and a great number of Ladies were present," so runs the obituary notice in the Quebec Gazette, "to pay a last mark of respect to a character so generally and so justly esteemed."

The body of the Bishop was placed in a vault under the chancel of the Cathedral, where a fine monument of white marble, surmounted by a bust, was later erected by the Mountain family. It bears the following inscription:-

Hic Jacet
 Vir admodum reverendus
 Jacob Mountain, S. T. P.
 Episcopus Quebecensis
 Ecclesiae Anglicanae
 In Canadis fundator,
 Qui obiit A. S. MDCCCXXV,
 Aetatis suae LXXV,
 Episcopatus XXXIII:
 Praesul in divino munere obeundo,
 Promptus, fidelis, indefessus;
 in Memoriam
 Viri egregii
 et sibi Carissimi
 hoc Marmor
 Conjux et liberi
 Superstites
 P. C.

On the character of the first Lord Bishop of Quebec much praise has been deservedly bestowed. In the Memoir, so often quoted, his son George J. Mountain wrote:- "Never was a character more perfectly genuine; more absolutely elevated above all artifice or pretention; more thoroughly averse from all flourish or ostentation in religion, and for that reason, perhaps, his character was not by all parties fully appreciated in the day in which his lot was cast. He was friendly, at the same time, both from feeling and principle, to all exterior gravity and decorum in sacred things; and in his own public performance of the functions proper to the Episcopal office, the commanding dignity of his person, the impressive seriousness of his manner and the felicitous propriety of his utterance, gave the utmost effect and development to the beautiful Services of the Church." (1)

(1) The Christian Sentinel, January-February 1827.

The Board of the S. P. G., while deploring the Bishop's death, professed to be consoled with the reflection "that the value of his Lordship's character and services were duly appreciated in the Colonies, as well by the Government as by all ranks of his Majesty's subjects, who have vied with each other in paying every possible tribute of veneration and affection to the memory of their late excellent Prelate, whom they justly regard as the Founder of their Church, and as the Apostolical Pattern of its doctrine, discipline and duties; and to whose pious zeal, unbounded charity, highly cultivated talents, commanding eloquence, and dutiful loyalty, they feel indebted for the diffusion of sound religion and of attachment to the Institution of the Mother Country."⁽¹⁾

John Strachan, in a remarkable memorial sermon, expressed eloquent admiration for the excellent qualities of the late Bishop.

It is possible, after a review of Bishop Mountain's extensive correspondence, to echo the sentiments of his contemporaries. He was an alert guardian of the interests of his Church, an assiduous public servant, a model husband and father. A sense of duty was one of his marked characteristics. Time after time he urged the Government to take steps in accordance with his wishes for the church, knowing full well that he was laying himself open to misunderstanding,

(1) The Christian Sentinel, January-February 1827.

and indeed wearying the Secretaries of State with his constant pleas. Yet to the end of his days he never courted popularity by swerving from his convictions.

He had a very high conception of the episcopal office and maintained its dignity in every possible manner. It was unfortunate that he grew to manhood in a century in which the standards of that office were falsified, and in which some bishops were worldly, selfish and careless. It is to this contemporary influence that his undue regard for stipend must be attributed. Yet his son records:- "The Bishop of Quebec held it for a maxim, that his salary was given him, not for his private benefit, but as the means of usefulness, and as the instrument also of maintaining the dignity of his station: in fact, he never saved money in his life."⁽¹⁾ Possibly, too, he regarded the additions to his stipend, his extensive furloughs and his grants of land as a sort of recompense for the constant disappointments which met him on the road of his duty.

To these disappointments may also be traced his fervent attempts to resign his diocese, particularly on the occasion of his first visit to England. Coolness and indifference on the part of the British Government, apathy and

(1) Examples of the scale of his giving are the following: £300 to aid the Home Government in carrying on the War in 1799; -£50 per annum to the Loyal and Patriotic Society of U.C. during the War of 1812-14; £50 towards the purchase of the Cathedral Organ, 1801; £50 to the fund raised in Quebec and Montreal for the building of Churches in 1820. His great friend, Bishop Tomline, left a fortune of £200,000.

active opposition at Quebec,⁽¹⁾ lack of clergy and churches - these untoward circumstances provide at least some justification for the deep pessimism into which he fell at that time with regard to his future - a future that in England would have held greater honour, less labour, and multiplied material advantages. Yet in the end he did not resign, but, as he himself foresaw, died at his post.

The first Lord Bishop of Quebec has not been without his critics. John Strachan, while recognizing his Diocesan's superior abilities and high intellectual attainments, uttered perhaps the most searching and fundamental criticism of all in stating that Jacob Mountain's "habits and manners were calculated rather for an English Bishop than the Missionary Bishop of Canada."⁽²⁾ Yet, paradoxically enough, it is to Strachan's pen that we owe the following judicious words:- "Should the future historian feel inclined to find fault with the little that has been done by the first Protestant Bishop

(1) "I have been informed from high authority at Home, that with respect to Eccles: matters, (with which Ministers are so unwilling to intermeddle, that they will avail themselves of any pretence to avoid them,) I must not expect anything effectual to be done, that is not pointedly recommended by the Government here: and, on the other hand, I have repeatedly been told here that, in matters of so much delicacy, & difficulty, nothing less than express & positive Instructions from home, would bear a Government out, in endeavouring to reform them." (Bishophthorpe Papers, Mountain to Ryland, June 2, 1813). By and large, the statement above might be applied to any given period during the whole of Jacob Mountain's episcopate.

(2) Vide the Bishop's Second Visit to England, p. 418.

of Quebec, I request him to pause before pronouncing judgment, in order to examine the many obstacles in his Lordship's way during the whole of his Episcopacy, and how little disposition the people of Great Britain manifested, till lately, towards the religious instruction of the Colonies." And in the peroration he quoted from an address written by George Okill Stuart, and printed with the episcopal charge of 1820:- "But his name shall be held in everlasting remembrance, and future times will have reason to bless the first Bishop of Quebec by whose exertions a fair foundation has been laid for the diffusion of Christianity throughout these Provinces, according to the Apostolic principles of the Church of England, a Church which, arrayed in her beautiful garments, is turning darkness into light, and sowing those seeds of righteousness and truth which shall spring up and bloom for ever."(1)

In recent years Jacob Mountain has found his most severe critic in the late Professor A. H. Young of Trinity College, Toronto. The following expressions have been culled from the latter's writings:- "there is abundance of evidence to show that Mountain was more concerned with questions of precedence in Council, display at levees, personal and family aggrandizement and political intrigue, than he was

(1) Strachan, John, A Sermon Preached at York, Upper Canada, Third of July, 1825, On the Death of the Late Lord Bishop of Quebec, by John Strachan, D.D., Kingston, 1826.

with the spiritual interests of the backwoods settlers committed to his care."

"It was Dr. Mountain's attitude towards the Church of Scotland and the Clergy Reserves, provided for in the Constitutional Act, that laid the foundation for the infamous quarrel over the Reserves." It was through his "wrongheadedness" that the Reserves became a hindrance and not a help to the Church. The controversy over them was his "ill-fated legacy."

The Bishop was "top-lofty and censorious." He was for thirty-two years, "unfortunately," Bishop of Quebec. He was "tardy" in applying for the McGill Charter. He chose Quebec to be his See city and place of residence "to the detriment of Upper Canada." He could have let the questions of "tythes, rectories, rights of presentation, and the like," to be settled by later generations.

"Had Dr. Jacob Mountain been wise enough he could & he would have used the money provided by the Imperial Government in and before 1799 for Church buildings in Upper Canada. He would have fallen in with Dr. Strachan's suggestion that the schoolmasters should be allowed to read the service and approved sermons in their schoolrooms. He would not have created the feeling among his clergy that he was concerned with his own pecuniary advantage more than with that of the Church. And he would not have assumed that superior attitude toward 'American' manners which he showed in his

correspondence with the Society. Had he itinerated and appointed travelling missionaries as Dr. Stuart and Dr. Strachan did; had he shown the same zeal and energy in the creation of a native ministry that Dr. Strachan displayed, his episcopate would have been one to recall with pleasure as well as with pride. And if he had been more courteously and Christianly disposed towards those whom he called 'dissenters' and 'Nonconformists', he would not have disappointed his own hopes of seeing them conform to the Church of England." (1)

In his enthusiasm for Bishop Strachan, Professor Young was led to do less than justice to the memory and accomplishments of Bishop Mountain. It may be readily granted that, judged by their respective achievements, John Strachan was by far the greater man. Yet one may well question whether the record of the latter would have been more substantial had he been Bishop of Quebec from 1793 to 1825, had he come to Canada at the age of forty-three rather than at twenty-one, and had he been granted only thirty-two years of life in this country instead of sixty-eight.

A number of these charges may be summarily dismissed as their detailed refutation has been implied in the details

(1) Among other places, Professor Young's historical writings may be consulted in the Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society, the Queen's Quarterly, the Canadian Churchman, Reports of the Canadian Historical Association, as well as in numerous addresses published from time to time in pamphlet form.

of the preceding chapters. Jacob Mountain's controversy with Jonathan Sewell on the question of precedence in the Executive Council was of little moment, and did not even affect the feelings of mutual esteem that were felt by the two men. The Bishop was a stickler for form, and strove only to maintain the place which he sincerely believed his mandamus gave him. As for "display at levees", no record at present available is of sufficient detail to make a judgment possible. The charge of personal and family aggrandizement has already been met in some degree. It may be remarked however, in passing, that no ship ever brought to the shores of this country a family that made a greater contribution to the growth of the Anglican Church than that one which docked at Quebec on All Saints' Day, 1793. Not many years have passed since the last of the Cornwall Mountains left a considerable bequest to Bishop's College, Lennoxville.

Resuming the comment on A. H. Young's allegations, it is true that if Jacob Mountain was not a Strachan, neither was he a Stewart. He was not a missionary in the sense that the latter was, nor was he possessed of Stewart's evangelical piety and selflessness. Yet his unwearied efforts to obtain clergy and to provide for their support are patent to all who will read his letters. To this extent he did not forget "the spiritual interests of the backwoods settlers."

The choice of any other location than Quebec for a

See city in 1793 was hardly open. No Upper Canadian town could possibly have been chosen. The capital of old Quebec Province, the seat of Government, was the obvious place for a Bishop of the Establishment to dwell. Tithes, Bishop Mountain quickly saw, could not be collected, and he paid little attention to them. His long struggle for the establishing of rectories was motivated by a desire: 1.- to provide for the financial support of the Church by means of the landed endowment contemplated for such rectories by the Constitutional Act; and 2.- to place the parochial organization on a sound legal basis - two unexceptionable aims. His superior attitude to American manners was not peculiar to himself, and had more apparent justification in a period of political animity between Great Britain and the United States. He did appoint a travelling missionary, the best that his diocese afforded, in the person of Charles James Stewart, and his officials and archdeacons gave good service in this respect. He did adopt willingly Strachan's suggestion for the creation of a native ministry. Tardiness in applying for the McGill Charter may be accounted for by the difficulty in incorporating the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning because of Roman Catholic opposition, by the upheaval caused by the war of 1812-14, by the political troubles with Sir George Prevost, and by the Bishop's long absence in England from 1816 to 1819. As it is, the actual obtaining of the Charter was a result of the Bishop's efforts, despite opposition of other members of the Board of the

Royal Institution.

Regarding the Clergy Reserves it may be stated at once that John Strachan, Charles James Stewart, and George J. Mountain, men of independent mind and varied personality, all paid the first Bishop of Quebec the compliment of adopting his precise viewpoint in this connection. It is easier to criticize than to point out an alternative course that might have been followed. Without attempting to praise or dispraise Bishop Mountain's handling of the Reserve business it may be stated with more justice that with this as with other problems it was not so much his "wrongheadedness" that was at fault as the fact that he had been sent to Quebec to put into practice a well-meant but unworkable ecclesiastical policy - that of organizing and endowing a dominant church, the church of a minority of the population, in a new land fundamentally opposed to such an institution, As a result, however, of the course pursued by the first three Bishops of Quebec, and the first Bishop of Toronto, by governmental recognition of the merits of the case, and by the devotion of the many clergy who commuted their life interests in the Reserves and made over the capital sum to the Church Society, the Church of England particularly in the old Diocese of Toronto has possessed for nearly a century, and continues to enjoy to the present day, the income from a large endowment. The Church of Scotland was also a beneficiary of the Reserves.

Finally it is necessary to meet the charge that the Bishop was concerned overmuch with politics and political intrigue. It has already been related that even before his arrival in Canada it was the intention of the British Government that he should be a member of the Legislative Council.⁽¹⁾ But when he came he was immediately aware that it was as a member of the Executive Council that he could best "politically serve the Church." From 1795, throughout his residence in Quebec, he sat in both Councils, and possessed the right to do so in those of Upper Canada.

The Executive Council acted as a Court of Appeal, its meetings in this capacity being held usually at Quebec, but at least once at Montreal. Writing to Sewell Jan. 17, 1815, he said "The Court of Appeal is now sitting, & occupying every hour of my time." Although the Bishop was absent from the Provinces for two long periods it seems certain that he was a constant attendant at Executive Council, particularly until 1816 when he went to England. After his return he absented himself for long periods of time.

As the journals of the Legislative Council show he served occasionally on committees and was present at many sessions. In 1814, for example, he attended twenty-one times; in 1816, nine times; in 1821, twenty-eight times;

(1) See also The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803. Vol. XXIX, p. 429.

in 1822 and 1823 four times each year. On occasion he took part in debates.

Although the ostensible purpose of the Bishop's presence in the Councils was to attend to the interests of the Church and of Education yet he was often employed in secular concerns that had not the remotest connection with the Church's welfare.

From the nature of the case it was inevitable that the Bishop should be affected by all cross-currents in the governing body of Lower Canada. It was also inevitable that he should 'intrigue' against Governors who consistently allowed expediency to govern their attitude to the Church. It does not appear that he ever became interested in politics for its own sake. When he "went into opposition" as Lord Dorchester once expressed it, he did so for the Church and not to forward personal or party interests. The only way to have avoided the political net would have been to give up attending the Councils, a course which his strong sense of duty would not allow him to adopt.

In the period under review the Church of England in the old Diocese of Quebec was a missionary Church, partly supported by Government but latterly more by a missionary society, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. The time for synodical government had not arrived. The Corporations for Managing the Clergy Reserves were the only local institutions charged with any responsibility

to the Church as a whole. Only on rare occasions were the clergy called together to hear an episcopal charge. In the parishes and missions, apart from a few later-developed committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge no other organization existed to draw the people together. Congregations were content to maintain the parish property but paid practically nothing towards the clergyman's support. Under those conditions, episcopal duties were much less varied than in modern times.

No monument to Bishop Mountain, in the sphere of organization, remains today, and the only still-existing material structure for which he was primarily responsible is the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity at Quebec. Yet he saw the clergy grow in numbers from nine to sixty. He introduced order and discipline into the clerical ranks. He was a good judge of character, and ordained, or received into the Diocese many who gave long years of excellent service to the Church. He persuaded those in authority to provide adequate stipends. He was highly esteemed by the S. P. G. and exerted prodigious efforts to present the Church's needs to Government. The second Bishop of Quebec inherited from his predecessor many uncompleted tasks, but both he and the first Bishop of Toronto, men whose names are better known to posterity, built upon the solid and strong foundations laid by Jacob Mountain.

Like other men he modified some of his opinions with the passing years. In later life he did not express himself

so sharply on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church as he did shortly after his arrival when he found his own Church establishment so insignificant and that of the rival body so great. After his return to Quebec in 1808 he appears to have adapted himself more to Canadian life, and considered himself less of an exile. He was no political prophet, but was on the contrary a fixed believer in strong, autocratic government. In other respects he was a typical, English, 18th Century ecclesiastical dignitary with all the virtues and rather less of the limitations of his class and age.

CHAPTER XXVII

CONCLUSION

It is notoriously difficult to define "Established Church" precisely and comprehensively. One such definition states:- "The establishment of a religious society is the recognition and protection of its proceedings by the State. The word conveys no suggestion as to the method by which the State recognizes the Society, whether by special Acts such as those which define the status of the Church of Scotland or under a complex because ancient body of law such as that which defines the status of the Church of England."(1)

Given this broad definition, there is no doubt that the Church of England was established in the Canadas, but so was the Church of Scotland, and insofar as Lower Canada was concerned, so was the Church of Rome.(2) As, however,

(1) Article by H. J. Bardsley, sub voce "Established Church" in the Prayer Book Dictionary.

(2) Edmund Burke wrote in 1792 - "I voted last session, if a particular vote could be distinguished, in unanimity, for an establishment of the Church of England conjointly with the establishment which was made some years before by Act of Parliament, of the Roman Catholics, in the French conquered country of Canada." (A Letter from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, M.P., to Sir Hercules Langrishe, Bart., M.P., on the subject of Roman Catholics in Ireland London, MDCCXCII, pp. 83-4.) Attorney-General Jonathan Sewell, in his Report to the Governor-in-Council on the state of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, May 29, 1801, expresses his views as follows:- "When the Government of a Country provides a fund by public authority for the maintenance & teachers of an Religion, that Religion may be said to be established. This is the case with respect to the R. C. Religion in Canada, the Quebec Act of 1774 having not only permitted 'the free exercise' of that system, but supported it by Tithes & all other Church dues." Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 29.

the phrase "Established Church" as applied more particularly to this study, and in the sense in which it was used by Bishop Mountain, denotes the peculiar relation between Church and State existing at the time in England, it is of interest to inquire to what extent the English institution was reproduced in the Canadas, and whether that institution differed in any marked respect from the Church in England in the old American Provinces, or in the remaining Provinces of British North America.

As far as the old continental American colonies were concerned, the status of the Church of England varied in each.⁽¹⁾ In none of these colonies was there a resident Bishop, hence some of the problems which arose in Quebec were never found there. The absence of a bishop, on the other hand, led to the delegation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction respecting the granting of marriage licenses, and probates of wills, and of the collation to benefices, to the Governor as "Ordinary". These functions continued to be exercised by governors of the Canadas, despite the episcopal appointment.

In Nova Scotia the first Provincial Assembly in 1758 passed a statute enacting "that the sacred rites and ceremonies

(1) The question is treated in some detail in Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, Series XX. The Establishment of the English Church in Continental American Colonies, by Elizabeth H. Davidson, Durham, N.C., Duke University Press. 1936.

of divine worship, according to the liturgy of the Church established by the Laws of England, shall be deemed the fixed form of worship amongst us, and the place wherein such liturgy shall be used, shall be respected and known by the name of the Church of England as by law established."⁽¹⁾ A further act provided for the election of church wardens, whose duty it was to determine the amount of church rates.⁽²⁾ Statutes, in some respects similar to the first were passed in 1786⁽³⁾ and 1803⁽⁴⁾ by the respective legislatures of New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, but in neither of these provinces was any provision made for the imposition of legally collectable church rates. It is clear that it was the somewhat tentative policy of Government to give to the Church of England in the colonies an advantageous position approximating that which the Mother Church occupied in the home land, and the appearance of that policy in regard to Quebec was only to be expected.

Reference has already been made to the course which the British Government instructed successive administrators of the old Province of Quebec to follow, with respect to the Church of England and the Church of Rome. It is explicitly

(1) 32 Geo. II, c. 5, Nova Scotia.

(2) 33 Geo. II, c. 2, Nova Scotia.

(3) 26 Geo. III, c. 4, New Brunswick.

(4) 43 Geo. III, c. 6, Prince Edward Island.

stated in section 20 of Governor Carleton's Instructions, 1775, "that it is a toleration of the free exercise of the religion of the Church of Rome only, to which they are entitled, but not to the power and privileges of it, as an established Church, for that is a preference, which belongs only to the Protestant Church of England." But the absence of an English bishop from 1763 to 1781, the small number of adherents to the English Church on the one side, and the great majority of French Canadian Roman Catholics on the other, made it very difficult for governors to exercise any effective control over the Church of Rome or to take any steps to elevate the Church of England. By the time of the appointment of an Anglican Bishop of Quebec the development of a practical working relationship between the Executive Government and the Roman Catholic Church had become so strong that its current could not be diverted.⁽¹⁾ Neither negatively, in opposing the Roman Catholic Church, or positively, in creating an effective establishment of the Anglican Church, was Bishop Mountain able to carry out his plans. It is plain that in these two respects his cause was lost before he set foot on the soil of the Canadas in 1793. When to the inherent difficulty of his task are added

(1) A broad statement of "Relations between Church and State in Canada since the Cession of 1763" is printed in the Catholic Historical Review, January 1933. It is the presidential address delivered at the thirteenth annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, Toronto, Dec. 28, 1932, by James F. Kenney.

the untoward circumstances of the period - the luke-warm attitude of Government officials in England, the lack of missionary spirit in the Church itself, and the constant shadow of the Napoleonic Wars up to 1815, not to mention the war and threat of war with the United States, the marvel is that Jacob Mountain accomplished so much, not that he achieved so little. A man of less courage and perseverance must have utterly failed.

In spite of the collapse of 18th century official policy with regard to the two major Churches in the Canadas the Church of England even in its attenuated state of "establishment" yet possessed some real and apparent advantages. Government paid the episcopal stipend, provided the Bishop's transportation across the Atlantic, gave some small assistance for a time in meeting the cost of visitations, and built a Cathedral. Part of the clerical stipends and some assistance towards church building also came from the same source. Without this financial aid, and the accompanying prestige which the Church enjoyed as being the form of worship countenanced more than any other by the State, it is certain that Anglicanism, more especially in Lower Canada, must have remained in insignificance. Adherents of that communion who had come from Great Britain or from the United States had never been taught adequately to support their Church. Transition to the "Voluntary System" was partially accomplished during the later episcopate of Bishop Stewart.

Even then such a system was only adopted perforce, because the parliamentary subvention paid to the S. P. G. was drastically reduced.

For this governmental recognition the Church had to pay a high price. As in the case of the appointment of Tunstall to Montreal in 1798 and of Strachan to York in 1812 it was possible for administrators to exercise their constitutional right of presentation to benefices without the Bishop's approval. The knowledge that financial aid would come from outside the parishes did not encourage the latter to put forth a full effort. Most patent disadvantage of all was that the church was constantly at the mercy of the political situation. Religious matters were often made subservient to politics, and were not considered on their merits.

In view of later developments in the legal status of the colonial episcopate, a special interest attaches to the appointment of the Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, an interest which is of equal strength with regard to the appointment of Bishop Mountain. The Diocese of Quebec was created, and a bishop appointed to it by an instrument called Letters Patent. Quebec at the time was a colony possessing representative institutions under the Act of 1791. The draft Letters Patent was approved by three prominent English lawyers, Sir John Scott, Sir William Scott and Sir John Mitford (afterwards Lord Eldon, Lord Stowell and Lord Redesdale). The idea behind this act of the lawyers seems

to have been to establish, by exercise of the Royal Prerogative, an Imperial Church of England bound by ties of interest and loyalty to support the throne. An Act of Parliament, on the other hand, was passed in order to permit the consecration by the two Archbishops, of those clergy who were subjects of foreign states, without requiring the prospective bishops first to take the usual oath of allegiance and supremacy. The Diocese of Quebec was founded when Tory political theory was in the ascendant and when those legal luminaries only who held correct views of the Royal Prerogative were advanced to high positions. The old High Church view point, which then prevailed in Court articles and was reflected in legal decisions, held that Church and Crown should be in close connection, mutually supporting each other.

But a change came about when the constitutional lawyers of the 19th century replaced the prerogative lawyers of the 18th century. When, for example, the first Bishop of Tasmania, appointed in 1842, seemed about to exercise to the full the powers apparently granted to him by his Letters Patent, and when the case had been submitted to the Crown lawyers, the latter pronounced that "Her Majesty had no authority by Letters Patent to create the ecclesiastical jurisdiction complained of." Succeeding Letters Patent were accordingly changed in compliance with this new doctrine. Finally in 1865, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council giving their decision on a case that had come to them from

South Africa, stated that the Bishop's Letters Patent, being issued after constitutional government had been established in the Cape of Good Hope, were ineffectual to create any jurisdiction, ecclesiastical or civil, within the Colony. The Committee went on to say that "The Church of England, in places where there is no Church established by law, is in the same position with any other religious body, in no better but in no worse position. . . ." This opinion is in direct variance with that which was held in 1793, but it is the former that has been acted upon ever since with regard to the appointment of bishops in self-governing colonies and dominions. Thus by a later development in legal opinion it has been made clear that the Bishopric of Quebec was bad in its origin, having been created after the grant of representative institutions. The Imperial Church of George III never had any legal existence!(1)

One may advance the opinion, however, that the partial Church Establishment of the Church of England in the Canadas in the early 19th century(2) was quite congruous with the

(1) The subject is dealt with in a pamphlet entitled "Some Account of the Legal Development of the Colonial Episcopate," by Lord Blachford, formerly Under-Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, London, 1883.

(2) For an argument that the Church of England was never established in either province see "A Fallacy in Canadian History", by A. H. Young; and, "The Position of the Church of England in Upper-Canada, 1791-1840", by J. J. Talman. Both papers are printed in the Canadian Historical Review, December 1934.

partially developed system of self-government. It was only after Responsible Government had been fully granted that the necessity for its ecclesiastical parallel was clearly grasped. By 1863, however, the Church of England in Canada was organized in synods and its original legal defects had been made good by local legislation. It has been, ever since, an autonomous body in communion with the Church of England itself.

APPENDIX "A"

LETTERS PATENT
ERECTING THE DIOCESE OF QUEBEC

GEORGE THE THIRD by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all whom these presents shall come, Greeting.-

Whereas we did, by Letters Patent, under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, bearing date the thirteenth day of August in the twenty seventh year of Our reign, give and grant unto the Right Reverend Father in God Charles, by divine permission, Bishop of Nova Scotia in North America by himself & by his sufficient Commissary, or Commissaries to be by him substituted and appointed full power and authority to exercise Jurisdiction Spiritual and Ecclesiastical in the Province of Quebec, now divided into two Provinces and called the Province of Lower Canada and the Province of Upper Canada as well as in the Provinces of New Brunswick and the Island of Newfoundland respectively, according to the Laws and Canons of the Church of England as by Our said Letters Patent relation being thereto had will more fully and at large appear.

Now we have thought fit to revoke and determine and do hereby revoke and determine so much of our said Letters Patent as relates to the said Province of Quebec (now the Province of Lower Canada and the Province of Upper Canada) and every clause, article or thing in Our said Letters Patent contained as relate thereto. And whereas the doctrines

and discipline of the Church of England are professed and observed by a very considerable part of our loving Subjects of the said Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada and their dependencies in North America.

And whereas by an Act of Parliament passed in the thirty first year of Our reign intituled "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the fourteenth year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America and to make further provision for the Government of the said Province" sundry provisions are thereby made respecting the allotment and appropriation of lands for the support of a Protestant Clergy within Our said Provinces, and also respecting the constituting, erecting and endowing Parsonages or Rectories within the said Provinces, and also respecting the presentation of Incumbents or Ministers to the same, and also respecting the manner in which such Incumbents or Ministers shall hold and enjoy the same.

And whereas the Churches of the said Provinces are not without great difficulty supplied with Ministers duly ordained, and the people thereof deprived of some offices prescribed by the Liturgy and usage of the Church of England for want of a Bishop residing in the said Provinces; for remedy of the aforesaid inconveniences and defects, We have determined to erect the aforesaid Provinces into a Bishop's

See, and We do by these Presents erect, found, ordain, make and constitute the said Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada and their Dependencies to be a Bishop's See, and be called from henceforth the Bishoprick of Quebec, and to the end that this Our Intention may be carried into due effect, We having great confidence in the Learning, Morals, Probity and Prudence of our beloved Jacob Mountain, Doctor in Divinity, do name and appoint him to be Bishop of the said See of Quebec and its Dependencies so that he the said Reverend Jacob Mountain shall be and be taken to be Bishop of the Bishop's See of Quebec and its dependencies and may by virtue of this our nomination and appointment enter into and possess the said Bishop's See as the Bishop thereof during his natural life without any let or impediment of Us, Our Heirs or Successors.

And we do by these Presents give and grant to the said Jacob Mountain and his Successors Bishops of Quebec and its Dependencies full power and authority to confer the Orders of Deacon and Priest, to confirm those that are baptized and come to years of discretion, and to perform all the other functions peculiar and appropriated to the Office of a Bishop and his Successors having been first duly ordained or consecrated Bishop according to the form prescribed by the Liturgy of the Church of England, and also by him or themselves or by his or their Commissary or Commissaries to be by him or them substituted or appointed to

exercise Jurisdiction Spiritual and Ecclesiastical in and throughout the said See and Diocese according to the laws and canons of the Church of England in the several causes and matters hereafter in these Presents expressed and specified & no other.

And for a declaration of Our royal will the special causes and matters in which we will that the aforesaid Jurisdiction shall be exercised, We have further given and granted, and do by these presents give and grant to the aforesaid Bishop and his successors free power and authority by him or themselves or by his or their sufficient Commissary or commissaries by him or them substituted and named to give Institution to Benefices and grant Licences to Curates and to visit all Rectors, Curates Ministers & Incumbents of all the Churches within their said Diocese wherein Divine Service shall be celebrated according to the Rights and Liturgy of the Church of England and all Priests and Deacons in holy orders of the Church of England resident in their said Diocese with all and all manner of Jurisdiction power and coercion ecclesiastical that may be requisite in the premisses as also to call before him or them, or his or their Commissary or Commissaries at such Competent days, hours and places whatsoever when and as often as to him or them or his or their Commissary or Commissaries shall seem meet and convenient the aforesaid Rectors, Curates, Ministers, Incumbents, Priests or Deacons in holy orders of the Church of England

or any of them and to enquire by witnesses to be sworn in due form of law by him or them or his or their Commissary or Commissaries and by all other lawful ways and means by which the same may by law be best and most effectually done as well concerning their morals as their behavior in their said offices and stations respectively, as also to administer all such oaths as are accustomed to be taken in Ecclesiastical Courts and to punish and correct the aforesaid Rectors, Curates, Ministers, Incumbents, Priests and Deacons in holy orders of the Church of England according to their merits, whether by removal deprivation suspension or such other ecclesiastical censure or correction as they may be liable to according to the Canons and Laws ecclesiastical aforesaid.

And further, we have given and granted and do by these Presents give and grant to the aforesaid Bishop and his successors full power and authority from time to time to name and substitute under his or their hands and episcopal seals one or more efficient Commissary or Commissaries to exercise and perform all and singular the premisses in the said Diocese and the several parts thereof with effect, and to remove and change the said Commissaries from time to time as to him or them shall seem expedient.

And We will that during a vacancy of the said See by the demise of the said Bishop or his successors or otherwise, Institution to Benefices and Licences to Curates may be given by the Commissary or Commissaries who were so as aforesaid

named and substituted by the last preceeding Bishop and were in possession of that office under such Institution and appointment at the time when the See became vacant and in case of the death of such Commissary or Commissaries before another Bishop is appointed to the said See, We will that Institution to Benefices & Licences to Curates within the said Diocese may be given by or by the authority of any two Clergymen of the Church of England resident in the said Diocese who shall be appointed for that purpose by the Governor of the Province.

And moreover We command and by these Presents for us, Our Heirs and Successors strictly enjoin as well all and singular Our Governors, Judges and Justices as all and singular Rectors, Curates, Ministers, Incumbents and other Our Subjects in our said Provinces of Lower Canada & Upper Canada and their dependencies that they and every of them be aiding and assisting to the said Bishop and his Successors and his or their Commissary or Commissaries in the execution of the Premises in all things as becomes them.

Nevertheless We will and do by these Presents declare and ordain that it shall be lawful for any person or persons against whom any Judgment, Decree, or Sentence shall be pronounced by any Commissary or Commissaries of the said Bishop or his successors to demand a re-examination & review of such Judgment, Decree or Sentence before the Bishop himself or his Successors, who upon such demand made shall take cognizance thereof and shall have full power and authority

to affirm reverse or alter the said Judgment sentence or Decree of His or their Commissary or Commissaries after having fully and maturely re-examined and reviewed the same.

And if any party or parties shall conceive himself or themselves aggrieved by any Judgment decree or sentence pronounced by the said Bishop or his successors either in case of any such revision or in any cause originally instituted before such Bishop or his Successors, it shall be lawful for such party or parties as conceiving himself or themselves to be aggrieved to appeal from such sentence to Us, Our Heirs or Successors in Our High Court of Chancery of Great Britain so as notice of such appeal be given to the said Bishop within fifteen days after such sentence shall have been pronounced, and good and sufficient security in the penalty of One Hundred pounds given to the appellant or Appellants to pay such costs as shall be awarded in case the sentence appealed from shall be affirmed by Commissioners to be named by Us, Our Heirs and Successors under our Great Seal of Great Britain for the hearing and determining of the same.

And We will that such Commissioners shall have power finally to decide and determine the said Appeal in as ample manner and form as the Commissioners appointed and assigned under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, by virtue of the Statute made in the twenty fifth year of the Reign of King

Henry the Eighth (intituled "An Act for the submission of the Clergy and restraint of appeals") can or may hear and definitely determine appeals from any of the Courts of the Archbishops of Our Realm of England.

Moreover We will and grant by these Presents that the said Bishop be a body Corporate, and do ordain, make & constitute him to be a perpetual Corporation, and to have perpetual succession and that he and his successors be forever hereafter called and known by the name of Bishop of Quebec and that he and his successors by the name aforesaid shall be able and capable in the law to have free power to purchase, have, take, hold and enjoy, such manors, messuages, lands, tenements, annuities and hereditaments, of what nature of kind soever in fee and in perpetuity or for term of life or years as by grant or licence under the Great Seal of Our said Provinces of Lower and Upper Canada he or they, shall at any time be authorized to take, hold and enjoy, and also all manner of goods, chattels and things personal whatsoever of what nature and value soever and also to demise any of the said manors messuages lands, tenements, and hereditaments whereof or wherein he or they shall have any Estate or Interest as aforesaid in such manner as by licence under the Great Seal of Our Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada he or they shall at any time be authorized for that purpose: and that he and his successors by and under the said name may prosecute, claim plead and be impleaded,

defend and be defended, answer and be answered in all manners of Courts of Us, Our Heirs and Successors and elsewhere in and upon all and singular cases, suits, writs, & demands real, personal and mixed, as well temporal as spiritual and in all other things, causes & matters whatsoever and that he and his successors shall and may forever hereafter have and use a Corporal Seal and the said Seal from time to time at his and their will and pleasure to break, change, alter or make new as to him or them shall seem expedient.

Moreover We will and ordain by these Presents that the Bishop of the said See of Quebec and his Successors shall be subject and sub-ordinate to the Archiepiscopal See of the Province of Canterbury and to the most Reverend Father in God John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury Primate of all England and Metropolitan and his successors in the same manner as any Bishop of any See within the Province of Canterbury in Our Kingdom of England is under the authority of the aforesaid Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury and the Archbishop thereof; save and except in the matter of appeals from Judgments, Decrees or Sentences pronounced by the said Bishop of Quebec or his Successors, which we will shall not be made to the said Archbishop of Canterbury or his Courts, but to Commissioners appointed by Us or Our Successors in manner aforesaid,

And to the End that all the matters & things aforesaid may have their due effect, We do hereby signify to the
Mos

Most Reverend Father in Christ John Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan, that we have erected and founded the aforesaid Episcopal See of Quebec and have named and preferred our beloved Jacob Mountain Doctor in Divinity to the said Bishoprick and have appointed him the Bishop and ordinary Pastor thereof, requiring and by the Faith and love whereby he is bound unto Us, commanding him to consecrate the aforesaid Jacob Mountain, Bishop of Quebec, in manner accustomed and diligently to do & perform all other things appertaining to his office in this behalf with effect and further to the end that all the other things aforesaid may be firmly holden and done We will and grant to the aforesaid Jacob Mountain that he shall have Our Letters Patent under Our Great Seal of Great Britain duly made and sealed.

In Witness whereof We have caused these Our Letters to be made Patent

Witness Ourselves at Westminster the Twenty eighth day of June in the thirty third year of Our Reign.

By Writ of Privy Seal

Yorke.

APPENDIX "B"

LETTERS PATENT

CREATING JACOB MOUNTAIN LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC

GEORGE THE THIRD, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth, to all to whom these present Letters shall come, Greeting: Know ye, that We of our special Grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have advanced, preferred, erected, appointed and created the Right Reverend Father in God, Our right trusty and well-beloved JACOB, by divine permission Bishop of Quebec and its dependencies in North America, to the state, degree, dignity and honor of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC, and its dependencies in North America, within Our said Province of Lower-Canada, in North America, and him the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC, and its dependencies in North America, LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC, and its dependencies in North America, within our said Province, do by these presents advance, prefer, erect, appoint and create, and we have appointed, given, granted, and by these presents, for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do appoint, give and grant unto him, the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC aforesaid, the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title and honor of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC aforesaid, within our Province of Lower-Canada, in North America aforesaid, to have and to hold the said name, state, degree, style, dignity, title and honor of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC aforesaid, unto him, the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC, in perpetual succession

forever within our said Province, willing, and by these presents granting for Us, our Heirs and Successors, that the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC and his successors aforesaid, and every of them successively, may bear and have within our said Province the name, state, degree, style, dignity, title and honor of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC aforesaid, and they, and every of them successively, may within our said Province, be called and styled by the name of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC and its dependencies in North America; lastly we will, and by these presents for Us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant to the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC, that these our Letters Patent, or the enrolment thereof, shall be sufficient and effectual in the law for the dignifying and investing him, the said JACOB, BISHOP OF QUEBEC, and his successors aforesaid, with the tile, state, dignity and honor of LORD BISHOP OF QUEBEC aforesaid, within our said Province.

In testimony wehreof we have commanded and caused these our Letters to be made Patent, and the Great Seal of our said Province of Lower-Canada to be hereunto affixed, and the same Letters to be duly enrolled and entered of record in one of the books of Registry and enrolment in our Register's Office of our said Province of Lower-Canada, at our City of Quebec.

Witness our trusty and well beloved the Right Honourable Guy Lord Dorchester, our Captain General and

Governor in Chief in and over our Provinces of Upper and Lower-Canada, in America, at our Castle of St. Lewis, in our City of Quebec, the twenty-ninth day of May, in the thirty-fourth year of our Reign, and year of our Lord, one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-four.

(Signed) D. G.

(Signed) George Pownell, Secy.

From the Journals of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada, Tuesday, Jan. 6, 1795.

The Original Letters Patent is in Q. D. A., Series A, Folder 1.

APPENDIX "C"

MANDAMUS ADMITTING JACOB MOUNTAIN
TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF LOWER CANADA

Signed GEORGE R.

Right trusty and well beloved We greet you well.
We being well satisfied of the Loyalty, Integrity and ability of the Right Reverend Father in God our right trusty and well beloved Jacob, Lord Bishop of Quebec and its Dependencies have thought fit hereby to signify our Will and pleasure that forthwith upon receipt of these Presents you swear and admit him the said Jacob to be of the Executive Council in our Province of Lower Canada and to take his seat next after our Chief Justice of the said Province, and on the death or absence of such Chief Justice next after the Senior Executive Councillor of our said Province for the time being. Provided nevertheless that the said Jacob by virtue of his appointment and of his being so sworn and admitted as aforesaid shall not be entitled to any salary as a Member of our said Executive Council. And for so doing this shall be your Warrant and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our Court at St. James' the thirteenth day of June 1794 in the thirty-fourth year of our Reign.

By His Majesty's Command.

(Signed) Portland.

To our Right Trusty and well beloved Guy Lord Dorchester, K.B.,

our Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our Province of Lower Canada in America-- Or in his Absence to our Lieutenant Governor or Commander in Chief of our said Province for the time being.

APPENDIX "D"

MR. TOOSEY'S COMMISSION
AS BISHOP'S OFFICIAL, 1794.

JACOB by Divine Permission Bishop of Quebec to our well beloved in Christ Philip Toosey, Clerk, Minister of Quebec in the Province of Lower Canada & Diocese of Quebec. Greeting.

We do freely and out of mere good will nominate, constitute and appoint you to be our lawful Commissary in the Province of Lower Canada in our Diocese of Quebec and We do give & grant to you full power & authority to visit all Rectors, Curates, Ministers and Incumbents of all the Churches within the said Province wherein Divine Service is or shall be celebrated according to the Rites & Liturgy of the Church of England, & all Priests & Deacons in Holy Orders of the Church of England resident in the said Province with all manner of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical that may be requisite in the Premises. As also to call before you as often as shall seem meet & convenient, the aforesaid Rectors, Curates, Ministers, Incumbents, Priests or Deacons in Holy Orders of the Church of England or any of them, & to enquire by Witnesses to be sworn in due form of Law & by all other ways & means for your information in & concerning such matters & things as appertain to us & to our Jurisdiction in the said Province. As also to administer all such Oaths as are accustomed to be taken in Ecclesiastical Courts - (you having first before us made such subscription & taken such

Oaths as are in this case prescribed by Law to be subscribed & taken) - and you are from time to time, with diligence & effect duly to certify us concerning whatever you shall have transacted & done in the Premises by virtue of these Presents. Provided always, and We do hereby expressly declare that this our Nomination & Appointment of you the said Philip Toosey, to be our Commissary shall be & continue during our Pleasure only, & no longer.

In virtue whereof We have caused the Seal which in this behalf We use to be hereunto affixed this 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord, one Thousand seven hundred & ninety four, & of our consecration the Second.

(Q. D. A., Volume endorsed Cathedral B.4)

APPENDIX "E"

FORM OF PRESENTATION

Robt. Prescott,
Governor.

Province of Lower Canada

GEORGE the Third by the Grace of
God of Great Britain France and
Ireland King Defender of the Faith
and so forth.

To our Trusty and well beloved the Right Reverend
Father in God Jacob Lord Bishop of Quebec or to his Commis-
sary duly authorized by him in this behalf, GREETING -

WHEREAS Philip Toosey Clerk was collated admitted
and appointed to the office of Curate and Minister of the
Gospel in our Church set apart for the performance of Divine
Worship according to the Church of England in the City and
Parish of Quebec in our Province of Lower Canada and the
said curacy appointment and office hath lately become vacant
by the decease of the said Philip Toosey AND WHEREAS the
Reverend Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain Clerk hath during these
twelve months last past officiated as an assistant Minister
of the Gospel in performing the several duties of the said
Philip Toosey at Quebec aforesaid and in our Protestant
Church there established to the great satisfaction of the
congregation of the said Church the said Salter Jehoshaphat
Mountain being first duly ordained and admitted in holy orders

and we receiving good report of the piety learning and abilities and likewise of the loyalty prudent conduct and sober conversation of the said Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain and being persuaded that he is a fit person to be presented to and fill the vacancy of the last incumbent and to have the care of the souls of our good subjects professing the Protestant and Catholic Faith congregating in our said Church at the City of Quebec aforesaid DO PRESENT unto you and to the said Church at the Parish of Quebec aforesaid now vacant by the death of the said Philip Toosey the last incumbent our trusty and well beloved in Christ the said Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain Clerk requiring and by the faith and love by which you are bound to us commanding you to admit and canonically to institute him the said Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain parson and rector of the said Church at Quebec aforesaid and to invest him the said Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain with all and singular the rights, members and appurtenances thereunto belonging and to do all other things which to your pastoral office may in this case appertain and belong.

IN TESTIMONY whereof we have caused these Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of our said Province of Lower Canada to be hereunto affixed.

WITNESS our trusty and well beloved Robert Prescott esquire Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our said Province of Lower Canada, etc., etc., etc..

At our Castle of Saint Lewis in our said City of Quebec in our said Province of Lower Canada this fifteenth day of September in the year of our Lord Christ one thousand seven hundred and ninety seven and in the thirty seventh year of our reign.

(Signed) R. P.

(Signed) Geo. Pownall, Secy.

APPENDIX "F"

LETTERS TESTIMONIAL

(A)

By the Tenor of these presents we Jacob, by Divine Permission Bishop of Quebec do make it known unto all men that on Sunday the tenth day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen We the Bishop beforementioned solemnly Administering Holy Orders under the protection of the Almighty in the Cathedral Church at Quebec did admit Our beloved in Christ John Stoughton (of whose virtuous and pious Life and Conversation and competent Learning and Knowledge in the Holy Scriptures We were well assured) into the Holy Order of Deacons according to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of England, and him the said John Stoughton did then and there rightly and Canonically ordain Deacon He having first in Our presence freely and Voluntarily subscribed to the thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to the three Articles contained in the thirty sixth Canon and he likewise having taken the Oaths appointed by Law to be taken for and instead of the Oath of Supremacy.

In Testimony whereof We have caused Our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed the Day and Year above Written and in the twenty seventh Year of Our Consecration.

JACOB

QUEBEC

(SEAL)

(B)

John Stoughton, Clerk --- Holy Order of Priests
Ordained Priest Sept. 10, 1820.

I, John Stoughton, do declare that I will conform
to the Liturgy of the Church of England, as it is now by
Law Established.

(Signed) John Stoughton.

(Seal)
Jacob
Quebec.

This Declaration was made and subscribed
before Us by the said John Stoughton to
be licenced to the Cure of Souls in Ernest
Town in the Province of Upper Canada within
our Diocese and Jurisdiction this twelfth
day of October in the year of our Lord
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Nineteen and
of Our Consecration the Twenty Seventh.

(Ontario Diocesan Archives)

APPENDIX "G"

LICENCE

Jacob, by Divine Permission Bishop of Quebec
To our beloved in Christ John Campbell Driscoll, B.A.,
Clerk, Greeting.

SEAL

JACOB
QUEBEC.

We do by these presents give & grant unto
you, in whose Fidelity, Morals, Learning, and sound
Doctrine & Diligence We do fully confide, our Licence
& Authority to perform the Office of a Priest in the
Protestant Portion of the Parishes or Seigniories of
The Rivière du Loup, Masquinongé, Lake Maskinongé,
Machiche and Nicolet, all in the District of Three
Rivers, & of Berthier in the District of Montreal,
in reading the Common Prayers & performing other ec-
clesiastical duties belonging to the said Office,
according to the Form --- in the book of Common
Prayer, made & published by authority of Parliament
& the Canons & Constitutions in that behalf lawfully
established & promulgated, & not otherwise or in any
other manner, & also publicly to preach the Word of
God & expound the Holy Scriptures (You having first
before Us subscribed the Articles & taken the Oaths
which in this case are required by Law to be sub-
scribed & taken).

In Witness whereof We have caused our Seal
which we use in this case to be hereunto affixed.

Dated the twelfth day of November in the
year of our Lord 1822 and in the thirtieth year
of our Consecration.

(Bishophthorpe Papers)

APPENDIX "H"

LETTERS PATENT
ERECTING THE PARISH OF DUNHAM

GEORGE THE FOURTH BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND KING, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH: TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENT LETTERS SHALL COME --- GREETING:

WHEREAS His late Majesty King George the Third by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain bearing date the Twenty eighth day of June in the Thirty-third Year of His Reign did Erect, Found, Ordain, make and Constitute the Provinces of Lower Canada and Upper Canada and their dependencies to be a Bishop's See to be called from thenceforth the Bishopric of Quebec, --

AND WHEREAS by a certain Statute or Act of the Parliament of Great Britain passed in the Thirty first Year of his said late Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act to repeal certain parts of An Act passed in the fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, An Act for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec in North America and to make further provision for the Government of the said Province" sundry provisions were made respecting the allotment and appropriation of Land for the maintenance and support of a Protestant Clergy within the said Provinces and it was among other things more especially enacted that it should and might be lawful for His Majesty, His Heirs and Successors to authorize the Governor or

Lieutenant Governor of each of the said Provinces Respectively or the Person Administering the Government therein from time to time with the advice of such Executive Council as should have been appointed by His Majesty his Heirs or Successors within such Province for the affairs thereof to Constitute and Erect within every Township or Parish which then was or thereafter might be formed Constituted or Erected within such Province One or more Parsonage or Rectory or Parsonages or Rectories according to the Establishment of the Church of England and from time to time by an instrument under the Great Seal of such Province to endow every such Parsonage or Rectory with so much or such part of the Land so allotted and appropriated as aforesaid in respect of any lands within such Township or Parish which should have been granted subsequent to the commencement of the said Act or of such lands as might have been allotted and appropriated for the same purpose by or in Virtue of any instruction which might be given by His Majesty in respect of any lands granted by His Majesty before the commencement of the said Act as such Governor or Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government should with the advice of the said Executive Council Judge to be expedient under the then existing circumstances of such Township or Parish. --

AND WHEREAS the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England being professed and observed by a very considerable

part of our loving subjects resident in the Township of Dunham in the District of Montreal in our said Province of Lower Canada, Our Trusty and Well Beloved GEORGE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military Order of the Bath, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over our said Province of Lower Canada hath with the advice of Our Executive Council of our said Province Judged it to be expedient to constitute and Erect a Parsonage or Rectory within the said Township of Dunham according to the Establishment of the Church of England and with the advice of the said Executive Council hath also judged it to be expedient under the now existing circumstances of the said Township of Dunham to endow the said Parsonage or Rectory with the Church Lands and immoveable Estate hereinafter particularly set forth and described. --

NOW THEREFORE KNOW YE that Our said Trusty and Well Beloved George Earl of Dalhousie Our said Governor being thereunto by Us duly authorized pursuant to the aforesaid Statute hath and by these Our Letters Patent with the advice of Our Executive Council of Our said Province doth Ordain make constitute and declare all that precinct included within the bounds and limits of the aforesaid Township of Dunham as described in a certain Letters Patent bearing date at Our Castle of Saint Lewis in Our City of Quebec the second day of February in the Year of Our Lord One thousand seven hundred and ninety six deposited of Public Record in the

office of the Secretary of Our said Province and Registered in the office of the Registrar of Enrollments of our said Province and by which said Letters Patent the said Township was Constituted and Erected to be and same shall be from henceforth and forever an Ecclesiastical Division and Parish of the aforesaid Bishopric of Quebec and be called by the name of the Parish of Dunham. And within the said Parish Our said Governor being also thereunto by us duly Authorized pursuant to the aforesaid Statute hath constituted and Erected and by these Our Letters Patent with the advice of Our said Executive Council doth constitute and Erect One Parsonage or Rectory according to the Establishment of the Church of England to be called from henceforth the Parsonage or Rectory of the Parish Church of Dunham and hath and doth ordain make constitute and declare the precincts contained within the limits and bounds of the said Township of Dunham to be the precincts of the said Parsonage or Rectory of the said Parish of Dunham. --

AND having great confidence in (the) Learning, Piety, Morals, Probity and Prudence of CHARLES CALEB COTTON, Clerk, a Minister of the Church of England duly Ordained according to the Rites of the said Church, Our said Governor being also thereunto by Us duly Authorized pursuant to the aforesaid Statute hath Nominated Presented and Collated and by these Our Letters Patent doth Nominate present and Collate the said Charles Caleb Cotton to the said Parsonage or

Rectory and Parish Church of Dunham to be the Incumbent thereof and to Have Hold and Enjoy the same and all Rights profits and Emoluments thereunto belonging or granted as fully and amply and in the same manner and on the same terms and conditions and liable to the performance of the same duties as the incumbent of a Parsonage or Rectory in that part of Our Dominions called England.

AND to the end that all the matters and things aforesaid may have their due effect We by these Our Letters Patent do Signify unto the Right Reverend Father in God Jacob Lord Bishop of Quebec that We in manner aforesaid have Ordained made constituted and declared the aforesaid Township of Dunham to be an Ecclesiastical Division and Parish of the aforesaid Bishopric of Quebec and have Erected and constituted within the said Parish the aforesaid Parsonage or Rectory and do present unto him the said Lord Bishop of Quebec the said Charles Caleb Cotton requiring and by the Faith and Love by which he is Bound to Us commanding him to admit the said Charles Caleb Cotton to the said Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church of Dunham and to cause him to be instituted and inducted into the same with all the Rights Members and appurtenances and to do and execute all other things in this behalf which shall belong to his Episcopal Office. And we do hereby will and grant that the Rector of the said Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church of Dunham and his Successors Rectors of the said Parsonage or Rectory and

Parish Church be and shall continue a Body Corporate with perpetual succession by the Name of the Rector of the Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church of Dunham. And We further will and grant that he and his successors by the name aforesaid shall be able and capable in the law and have full power to purchase have, take, hold and Enjoy such Messuages, Lands, Rents, Tenements, Annuities, hereditaments heritages and Real Estates of what nature and kind soever in fee and in perpetuity or for term of life or years as by Grant or licence under the Great Seal of Our said Province he or they shall at any time be authorized to take hold and enjoy and also all manner of Goods Chattels and things personal whatsoever of what Nature or Value soever and also to determine any of the said Messuages Lands tenements hereditaments heritages and Real Estates whereof or wherein he or they shall have any Estate or Interest as aforesaid in such manner as by licence under the Great Seal of Our said Province He or They shall at any time be authorized for that purpose and that he and his Successors by and under the same name may prosecute claim plead and be impleaded defend and be defended answer and be answered in all manner of Courts of Us Our Heirs and Successors and Elsewhere in and upon all and singular Causes, Suits, Writs and demands Real personal and mixed and in all other things Causes and Matters whatever.

AND MOREOVER We Will and Ordain by these Presents that the said Charles Caleb Cotton Rector of the said

Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church of Dunham and his Successors Rectors of the said Parsonage or Rectory or Parish Church shall be subject to the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Right Reverend Father in God Jacob Lord Bishop of Quebec and his Successors Bishops of the Bishopric of Quebec in the same manner as any Rector of any Parsonage or Rectory or Parish Church within that part of Great Britain called England is under the Authority and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of the Diocese within which such Parsonage or Rectory or Parish Church is situated. --

AND KNOW YE further that Our said trusty and Well Beloved George Earl of Dalhousie Our Governor as aforesaid being thereunto also by Us duly Authorized pursuant to the aforesaid Statute, hath with the advice of Our said Executive Council Allotted and appropriated Ordained made and Constituted Appointed and declared and by these Our Letters Patent doth allot and Appropriate, Ordain, make, Constitute Appoint and declare the Church Erected on the Lot of Ground herein after particularly described in the said Township of Dunham to be the Parochial or Parish Church of the said Parish of Dunham and the said Parish or Rectory of the said Parish Church of Dunham with the said Church hath and by these our Letters Patent doth endow. And the freehold and inheritance of the said Church and of all the appurtenances thereunto belonging hath and by these Our Letters Patent doth give grant and vest forever to and in the said Charles Caleb Cotton

Rector of the said Parsonage or Rectory of the said Parish Church of Dunham and his Successors Rectors of the said Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church and the same Church is hereby declared to be forever dedicated to the service of God to be therein more especially applied to the use and behoof of Our loving Subjects professing the Doctrine and discipline of the Church of England now inhabiting and from time to time hereafter to inhabit the said Parish of Dunham.

AND KNOW YE further that Our said Trusty and well beloved George Earl of Dalhousie Our said Governor being thereunto by Us duly Authorized pursuant to the aforesaid Statute hath and by these Our Letters Patent doth with the advice of Our said Executive Council endow the said Parsonage or Rectory of the Parish Church of Dunham with all that piece or Parcel of Land situate lying and being in the said Township of Dunham as represented in a certain plan certified by Our Surveyor General of Our said Province and Annexed to these Presents on which Piece or Parcel of Land is erected the Church herein before mentioned and which is described by the said Surveyor General as follows that is to say:
Bounded on the North by the Land owned and occupied by Nathaniel Stevens beginning at the South West Corner of Lot Number Eleven in the sixth Range thence along the south line of the said Lot Easterly about Twenty two Perches thence Southerly Eleven Perches, thence Westerly parallel to the first line about Twenty two Perches to the Concession line

on the Street, thence Northerly to the place of beginning
Containing One Acre and half being a Section from the North
West Corner of Lot Number Ten, And the freehold and inherit-
ance of the said Lot or piece and parcel of land and of all
the appurtenances thereunto belonging hath and by these Our
Letters Patent doth give grant and Vest to and in the said
Charles Caleb Cotton Rector of the said Parsonage or Rectory
and Parish Church of Dunham and his Successors Rectors of
the said Parsonage or Rectory and Parish Church for ever. --

IN Testimony Whereof We have caused these Our
Letters to be made Patent and the Great Seal of Our said
Province of Lower Canada to be hereunto affixed. --

WITNESS Our Trusty and Well Beloved George Earl of
Dalhousie, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Military
Order of the Bath Our Captain General and Governor in Chief
in and over Our said Province of Lower Canada Vice Admiral
of the same, &c, &c, &c., at Our Castle of Saint Lewis in
Our City of Quebec in Our said Province the Fifth day of
November in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand eight hundred
and Twenty One and in the second Year of Our Reign.

T. Ready
Act'g Provinl Secty.

(Montreal Diocesan Archives)

APPENDIX "I"

LETTERS PATENT ESTABLISHING ARCHDEACONRIES

Patent Roll

1 Geo.IV.Part XI.N^o 10. Grant for) GEORGE the fourth by
 establishing) the Grace of God of
 two Arch-) the United Kingdom of
 deaconries) Great Britain and
 in Canada) Ireland King Defender

of the faith To all to whom these Presents shall
 come Greeting.

Whereas the doctrine and discipline of the United
 Church of England and Ireland are professed and
 observed by a considerable part of our loving
 Subjects resident within our provinces of Upper
 Canada and Lower Canada respectively

And whereas no provision has hitherto been made for
 the Appointment of duly ordained Ministers of the
 United Church of England and Ireland to officiate
 as Archdeacons within our said Provinces We having
 taken into our Royal consideration a representa-
 tion made unto us by our right trusty and well-
 beloved The Right Reverend ffather in God Jacob
 Bishop of Quebec setting forth the necessity of
 these Appointments and the Advantage which would
 result to our loving Subjects aforesaid by our
 compliance with his recommendation do hereby erect
 found and constitute one Archdeaconry in and over
 our province of Lower Canada to be stiled the

Archdeaconry of Quebec and one other Archdeaconry in and over our Province of Upper Canada to be stiled the Archdeaconry of York the said Archdeaconries to be subject and subordinate during our pleasure to the Bishop's See of Quebec. And to the end that this our intention may be carried into due effect We having great confidence in the learning morals probity and prudence of our wellbeloved George Jehoshaphat Mountain Master of Arts and George O'kill⁽¹⁾ Stewart Master of Arts do name and appoint him the said George Jehoshaphat Mountain to be Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of Quebec and him the said George O'kill Stewart to be Archdeacon of the Archdeaconry of York so that they the said George Jehoshaphat Mountain and George O'kill Stewart shall be and be taken to be Archdeacons of the said Archdeaconries respectively and may by Virtue of this our nomination and appointment severally enter into and possess the said offices of Archdeacon within the said Archdeaconries respectively subject nevertheless to the power of resignation hereinafter particularly expressed. And we do hereby signify to the said Jacob Bishop of Quebec

(1) The correct spelling is Okill.

that we have nominated the said George Jehoshaphat Mountain and George O'kill Stewart to be Archdeacons of Quebec and York respectively requiring him the said Jacob Bishop of Quebec to institute the said George Jehoshaphat Mountain and George O'kill Stewart respectively, to the said Archdeaconries to which we have appointed them and to do all things appertaining to his office in this behalf with effect. And for a declaration of our royal will in regard to the duties and functions to be exercised by the said Archdeacons and their Successors we do hereby declare that each of the said Archdeacons shall within his Archdeaconry be assisting to the Bishop of Quebec in the exercise of his Episcopal Jurisdictions and functions and in all matters of Jurisdiction to be subject and obedient to the said Bishop and Bishops of Quebec and shall exercise only such and so much Jurisdiction within their respective Archdeaconries as shall be committed to them or either of them by the said Bishop of Quebec and his Successors for the time being according to the functions and authorities exercised by the said Bishop or Bishops and according to the Ecclesiastical laws of that part of the United

Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England. And it is Our further will and we do hereby give and grant to the said Jacob Bishop of Quebec and his Successors the right of collating to the said Offices of Archdeacon in all times to come (after the death or other avoidance of the said George Jehoshaphat Mountain and George Okill Stewart whom we have by these presents appointed to be the first Archdeacons of Quebec and York) any priest being duly ordained of the United Church of England and Ireland.

And we do hereby declare that if we Our heirs or successors shall think fit to revoke or recall the Appointment of the said Archdeacon of Quebec or Archdeacon of York for the time being or either of them and shall declare such our or their pleasure by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom then every such Archdeacon shall from and after the notification thereof in such manner as in the said Letters Patent shall from time to time be directed to all intents and purposes cease to be Archdeacon of Quebec or Archdeacon of York as the case may be. And for removing doubts with respect to the validity of resignation of the said Offices of Archdeacon

It is our further will that if either of the said

Archdeacons or any of their Successors shall by Instrument under his hand delivered to the Bishop of Quebec for the time being and by him accepted and registered resign the office of Archdeacon such Archdeacon shall forthwith cease to be Archdeacon to all intents and purposes but without prejudice to any responsibility to which he may be liable in law or equity in respect to his conduct in the said office.

In witness &c witness &c the ninth day of January

By Writ of Privy Seal.(1)

(1) A copy of this document in P. A. C., Series Q, Vol.156-1, pp. 97-105, has a further clause creating the Archdeacons Corporations, but this clause was apparently omitted from the final draft. (See P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 156-1, pp. 97-105, Dealty to (?), July 19, 1820). An original of the Letters Patent is in Q. D. A., Series A, Folder 2.

APPENDIX "J"

FAMILY OF JACOB MOUNTAIN, Sr.

Jacob Mountain of Thwaite Hall. Born 1710. Died 1740. Married (1) Elizabeth Rye; (2) Ann Postle. Children of the second marriage are:

Jehoshaphat

Rector of Peldon, Essex; Incumbent of Three Rivers; Rector of Montreal. Died 1817.

Mary

Died unmarried, after a long illness, May 1808, at Quebec. (Quebec Gazette, May 19, 1808)

Sarah

Died unmarried, at Quebec, Sept. 1, 1821. (Quebec Gazette, Sept, 6, 1821)

Jacob

First Bishop of Quebec. Died at Quebec, June 16, 1825.

APPENDIX "K"

THE FAMILY OF JEHOSEPHAT MOUNTAIN

Jehoshaphat Mountain, brother of the first Bishop of Quebec, son of Jacob and Ann Mountain. Born at Thwaite Hall, Norfolk, Dec. 4, 1745. Married Mary Leech. He died at Montreal, April 1817. She died Jan. 24, 1833, and was buried in St. Matthews's Cemetery, Quebec.

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| <p>1. <u>Salter Jehoshaphat</u>, born at Felmington, Norfolk, October 16, 1770; died at Cornwall, U.C., Sept, 27, 1830. First Anglican Priest ordained at Quebec. Rector of Quebec, subsequently of Cornwall. Married Anna Maria Scott, second daughter of Matthew Scott, Esq., of Carrick on Suir, Ireland.</p> | <p>(a) Jacob S., Rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Cornwall; m. Annie Gilpin, Sister of Dean Gilpin of Halifax. His son, Jacob, became Vicar of Deddington, Oxford.</p> |
| <p>2. <u>Mary</u>, born 1773; unmarried. Died at Montreal, Nov. 21, 1845. Buried in St. Matthew's Cemetery, Quebec.</p> | <p>(b) Mary, m. Dr. John James Dickinson.</p> |
| <p>3. <u>Sarah</u>, born 1778; unmarried. Died Dec. 5, 1795. Buried in St. Matthew's Cemetery, Quebec.</p> | <p>(c) Harriet, m. the Rev. J. G. B. Lindsay.</p> |
| | <p>(d) Ann, m. George Stephen Jarvis, Judge of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry.</p> |

APPENDIX "L"

THE FAMILY OF JACOB MOUNTAIN

Jacob Mountain, born Dec. 30, 1749; m. Elizabeth Mildred Wale Kentish. He died June 16, 1825. She died April 13, 1836.

1. Jacob Henry Brooke, born Jan. 3, 1788, died Sept. 8, 1872. Rector of Blunham, Preb. of Lincoln, m. Francis Brooks.
 - 1.- Theophilus, Midshipman. Drowned in Africa.
 - 2.- Henrietta, m. Rev. H. Howarth, Rector of St. Georges, Hanover Square, London.
 - 3.- William Henry, Vicar of Hemel Hemstead, Herts.
 - 4.- Francis E., m. J. O. Dakeyne.
 - 5.- Jacob George, Archdeacon of Newfoundland. (1)
 - 6.- Robert Frederick, General.
 - 7.- Eliza S. M., unmarried.
 - 8.- Charlotte, A.W., unmarried.
 - 9.- Mary J., m. E. Thornton.
 2. George Jehoshaphat, born July 27, 1789, died January 5, 1863. m. Mary Hume Thompson, daughter of Dep. Com. Gen. Thompson.
 - 1.- Elizabeth, unmarried.
 - 2.- Harriet, m. J. H. Nicolls, 1st Principal of Bishop's College.
 - 3.- Armine Wale, Vicar of Stoney Stratford, Eng., m. Kate, daughter of Judge Cochran. (2)
 - 4.- Jacob George, Lieut. 26th Cameronians.
 - 5.- Catherine, unmarried.
 3. George Robert, served with the 75th Reg't in the Peninsular War. Entered the ministry in 1819. Vicar of North Kelsey, Lincolnshire, and later Rector of Havant Hants. m. Katherine Hinchliffe; died 1846.
 4. Eliza, m. Frederick Arabin, later Commandant at Halifax.
 5. Benjamin Kentish Simcoe, born Sept. 15, 1795; died Aug. 4, 1796.
 6. Armine Simcoe Henry, C.B., A.D.C. to the Queen, and Adj. General to H.M. Forces in India. m. (a) Jane O'Beirne; (b) Charlotte Anna Dundas; (3) born Feb. 4, 1797. Died in India, Feb. 8, 1854.
 7. Charlotte Mary Milnes, lived at Havant, Hants. Unmarried.
-
- (1) A biographical sketch of the Rev. J. G. Mountain is printed in Lives of Missionaries: North America, S. L. C. K.
 - (2) Author of his father's biography.
 - (3) Authoress of her husband's biography.

APPENDIX "M"

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES
ON THE BISHOP'S CHILDREN

All four children of Jacob Mountain of Thwaite Hall, Norfolk, died and were buried in Canada. Mary died unmarried after a long illness in May 1808. Jehoshaphat, Rector of Montreal, died in April 1817. Sarah, also unmarried, died at Quebec, Sept. 1, 1821. Jacob Mountain died June 16, 1825.

Seven children were born to Jacob and Elizabeth Mountain, six of whom survived their parents.

Jacob Henry Brooke Mountain, born Jan. 3, 1788, received his early education under Mr. Feilde at Quebec, and was put in charge of the Rev. T. Monroe (a pupil of Dr. Parr of Norwich) at Little Easton, Essex, in 1805. In 1808 he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating in 1811. He was ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Tomline early in 1812 and was collated immediately to the Prebend of North Kelsey (a parish adjoining Caister) which Tomline kept open for him five months. The estate in connection with the Prebend yielded £1100 a year. At the time of J. H. B. Mountain's collation two older men preceded him in the enjoyment of this benefit, but he lived to be Prebendary himself in later life. He was for a time at Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire, but afterwards became Rector of Blunham, Bedfordshire. At the time of his death, Sept. 8, 1872, he was Rural Dean and Commissary of the Archdeacon of Bedford. Of the nine children resulting from

his marriage with Frances Brooke, two became clergymen, one of them Archdeacon of Newfoundland.

The second son of Jacob Mountain, George Jehoshaphat, was born at Norwich July 27, 1789. Like his brother he was tutored by Mr. Feilde and Mr. Monroe, and he graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1810. He returned to Canada in 1811, studied for Holy Orders under his father's direction, and was ordained deacon Aug. 2, 1812. During his diaconate he assisted his cousin, the Rector of Quebec. On Jan. 16, 1814, he was priested, and became for a short time Evening Lecturer at the Cathedral. On May 2, 1814, he married Mary Hume Thompson. After two years spent at Fredericton, N. B., he became Rector of Quebec and Bishop's Official, afterwards Archdeacon of Quebec. These posts he held until he was consecrated in 1836, under the title of Bishop of Montreal, to assist Bishop Stewart. For a short time he administered the whole old Diocese of Quebec, and then the parts remaining after the setting up, successively, of the Dioceses of Toronto and Montreal. He died Jan. 5, 1863.

The Bishop's third son, George Robert, received his junior education with Mr. Feilde and Mr. Monroe, entered the army and served with the 75th Regiment in the Peninsular War. In 1819 he resigned his commission and became a clergyman. He was for a time Vicar of North Kelsey, Lincolnshire, and later Rector of Havant, Hants. He was married by his brother to Katherine Hinchcliffe, Feb. 22, 1821.

He died in the summer of 1846.

Eliza, the Bishop's eldest daughter, married Captain Frederick Arabin, R. A., of Co. Meath, Ireland, in Quebec Cathedral, 1823. Descendants still live in England.

Benjamin Kentish Simcoe Mountain was born Sept. 15, 1795. John Graves Simcoe was his godfather. The infant died Aug. 4, 1796, and was buried at Quebec.

Armine Simcoe Henry Mountain was born at Kent House Feb. 4, 1797. He too was tutored by Mr. Feilde and Mr. Monroe, and returned to Canada in 1810. In 1815 he received his commission as Ensign in the 96th Regiment, and left Canada that year. Several years residence in Europe rendered him fluent in continental languages. In 1823 he returned to Halifax with the 52nd light infantry regiment, spent some time later in Charlottetown and Fredericton, and was the only son in Canada at the time of his father's death. After returning to England with his mother and sister he sailed for India where he remained for seven years. He saw three years' service in China and became Adjutant General to the Forces in India in 1849. He died in India, Feb. 8, 1854. He was married twice: - first, to Jane O'Beirne, a granddaughter of a Bishop of Meath. After the death of wife and child he married Charlotte Dundas. He is said to have resembled his father, in appearance and character, more than other members of the family.

Charlotte Mary Milnes, the Bishop's second daughter and youngest child died unmarried. She lived for a time at Havant, Hants.

APPENDIX "N"

EPISCOPAL RESIDENCES IN QUEBEC

1793 - 1825

From the summer of 1794 until early in 1796 the Bishop and his family occupied Powell Place, so named from its owner, General Henry Watson Powell, who had seen service in the American Revolution. Powell Place is the present day Spencerwood, the residence of the provincial Lieutenant Governor.

But for a few months after their arrival, late in 1793, and again in the summers from 1796 to 1802 the Mountains lived in the adjoining estate of Woodfield or Samos, the fine country house of the late Judge Adam Mabane. During the winters, 1796-1802, they resided at another Mabane property on St. Louis Street in the City. In recent years this building has been known as Kent House, because the Duke of Kent lived in it when stationed at Quebec, 1791-1794.(1)

Concerning both these houses the Bishop wrote to Tomline, in a letter dated at Woodfield, July 15, 1802, "You know that I have for six years past lived during the winter months at Quebec, & in the summer at this place, about three miles from it. My Landlady is an old Maiden Lady of very singular character, the sister of a late Judge in this Province. They lived hospitably and extravagantly, & he died insolvent. He was a man of ability and the leader of a party

(1) For the story of Kent House see Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. XIX, Jan. 1913.

and made and left many friends - by whose management & the great indulgence of his Creditors the two houses which I inhabit were reserved to Miss Mabane, my landlady." The Bishop went on to say that they were in bad repair and that he was going to give them up. He added that he would perhaps build a house, but "we shall quit this, (Woodfield), which is the most charming situation in the world, with great regret." (1) The Bishop's young son, George, felt equal regret and marked the occasion with a poem beginning, in Miltonic strain, "O, must I leave thee, Woodfield?" (2)

During the summer of 1803 the Bishop's letters were addressed at Sans Bruit, and in 1804 at Belmont probably other nearby country houses. He may have continued to reside in "Kent House" in the winters for the remainder of his stay in the diocese before his first return to England in 1805.

During the three years' absence in England, 1805-1808, the Bishop continued to pay rent in Quebec so that he might be assured of a house on his return. (3) One of the few favourable results of this prolonged furlough was the

(1) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. II, p. 42, Mountain to Tomline, July 15, 1802.

(2) Mountain, A. W., Memoir of G. J. Mountain, pp. 10-14.

(3) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 108, pp. 224-226, Mountain to Castlereagh, Sept. 5, 1808.

addition of £400 to his stipend, in lieu of a See House until such a house should be built. On his return to Quebec he selected a suitable property belonging to the late Chief Justice Elmsley,⁽¹⁾ but later in 1808 he informed Lord Castlereagh's secretary that he would prefer the allowance of £400 to a See house.⁽²⁾

In 1809 some letters were addressed at a place called Rosemount, but he seems to have lived on St. Lewis St. for the greater part of the time between 1808 and 1816, when he again took his family to England.

After coming back to Quebec once more in 1819 the Bishop spent some time in making an old house habitable, the only one he could hire. The idea of a See house had not been at any time completely forgotten. When he was away Ryland wrote to him cajoling:- "If you will return, I will remove into Town and give you up my House at Beauport to reside in while your Palace is in building."⁽³⁾ The Bishop informed the Government that a good See house could be bought for £8000 but again remarked that if his stipend were lowered, in the event of such a purchase, it would be

- (1) The Elmsley house was later bought by Government and converted into officers' barracks.
- (2) Q. D. A., Series C, Vol. IV, p. 51, Mountain to Cooke, Oct. 27, 1808.
- (3) Bishopthorpe Papers, Ryland to Mountain, Sept. 17, 1817.

better to leave things as before. The Lords of the Treasury turned down the proposed £8000 property.⁽¹⁾

For the next few years most of the Bishop's letters are addressed from St. Lewis St. although he probably lived in the country during the summer. In 1821 he stayed for a time once again at Belmont.

Writing to Bathurst, June 17, 1824, he informed the Colonial Secretary that Marchmont, the property of Col. Sir John Harvey, was for sale at a price of £7000, and that he had engaged it for a year. He died at Marchmont on the following June 16.

(1) P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 170, pt 3, p. 499, Bathurst to Mountain, March 27, 1820.

APPENDIX "O"

DEACONS AND PRIESTS
ORDAINED BY THE FIRST BISHOP OF QUEBEC.

NAME	DEACON	PRIEST
Salter Jehosaphat Mountain, B.A.		June 28, 1796
John Jackson	June 7, 1800	Aug. 22, 1801
George Okill Stuart	June 7, 1800	Aug. 22, 1801
Matthew Smithers Feilde, B.A.	Aug. 22, 1801	June 2, 1804
Richard Pollard	Mar. 20, 1802	June 2, 1804
John Strachan-	May 21, 1803	June 2, 1804
Charles Caleb Cotton, B.A.		Sept. 8, 1804
George Jehoshaphat Mountain	Aug. 1, 1812	Jan. 15, 1814
John Gunter Weagant	Oct. 17, 1812	Feb. 3, 1814
John Bethune	June 28, 1814	Mar. 9, 1816
James Reid	May 6, 1815	Jan. 20, 1816
Micajah Townsend	May 6, 1815	Jan. 20, 1816
Michael Harris	Aug. 23, 1819	Jan. 13, 1821
Robert Raby Burrage	Aug. 23, 1819	Sept. 9, 1820
William Macaulay		Oct. 9, 1819
John Stoughton	Oct. 9, 1819	Sept. 9, 1820
Romaine Rolph	Oct. 9, 1819	Oct. 20, 1821
George Robert Mountain	Nov. 6, 1819	
Samuel Simpson Wood		Nov. 6, 1819
Thomas Campbell	Sept. 23, 1820	May 12, 1821
George Lister Wiggins (x)	Oct. 14, 1820	
Frederick Myers	Jan. 13, 1821	Jan. 24, 1823
Jonathan Taylor	Jan. 13, 1821	Mar. 9, 1822

NAME	DEACON	PRIEST
Alfred Gilpin (x)	July 28, 1821	
James Shreve, A.B. (x)	Nov. 26, 1821	
George Spratt	Mar. 9, 1822	Jan. 24, 1823
Raper Milner (x)		Sept. 20, 1822
Job Deacon	Oct. 31, 1822	June 12, 1824
Clement Fall Lefevre		Jan. 24, 1823
Horatio Nelson Arnold (x)	Mar. 25, 1823	
George Archbold	May 19, 1823	May 10, 1824
Alexander Neil Bethune	Aug. 23, 1823	Sept. 28, 1824
George Best (x)		Sept. 18, 1823
Edward Willoughby Sewell	May 10, 1824	
William Abbott	June 12, 1824	
John Grier	June 12, 1824	
Archibald Mackintosh	June 12, 1824	
Amos Ansley	June 12, 1824	
James Cuppaidge Cochran (x)	Aug. 14, 1824	Aug. 23, 1824
Robert Short	Jan. 24, 1825	

(x) Ordained for Nova Scotia.

The dates given above signify that at that time the various ordinands subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles, Three Articles of Canon 36, and Conformity to the Liturgy. The actual ordinations usually followed a day or so later.

This list is taken from the Diocese Book, Subscriptions to Oaths and Declarations, preserved at Bishopthorpe. All ordinations took place at the Cathedral as Jacob Mountain did not feel at liberty to ordain elsewhere.

APPENDIX "P"

A TABLE
SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PARISHES, *etc.*, IN THE DIOCESE
IN 1825

Date of Founding	Name of Parish or Mission	Churches and Parsonages	Stipend	Clergy in 1825
1760	Quebec	The Cathedral	£400 plus £90 for house rent. Stipend of Evening Lecturer was £150, and of Assistant was £100.	George Jehoshaphat Mountain(1)
		Trinity Chapel	The Incumbent of Trinity Chapel received £300.	Joseph Langley Mills Robert Short
1766	Montreal	1 Church	Rector £300	Edmund Willoughby Sewell John Bethune
			Evening Lecturer £150	Brooke Bridges Stevens
1768	Three Rivers	1 Church	£200	Robert Quirke Short
1784	William Henry	1 Church	£215	John Jackson
1785	Kingston	1 Church	£200	George Okill Stuart (1)
1787	Ernest Town(Bath)	2 Churches 1 Parsonage	£200	John Stoughton
1791	Niagara	2 Churches	£200	Robert Addlson
1796	York	2 Churches	£275	John Strachan
1799	St. Armand	2 Churches 1 Parsonage	£200	James Reid
1801	Cornwall	2 Churches 1 Parsonage	£200	Salter Jehoshaphat Mountain

(1) Mountain and Stuart received £150 each per Annum as Archdeacons.

Date of Founding	Name of Parish or Mission	Churches and Parsonages	Stipend	Clergy in 1825
1802	Sandwich	2 Churches	£200	Robert Short
1805	Chatham, L.C.	(United with St. Andrew's in 1818)		Charles Caleb Cotton
1808	Dunham	1 Church		John Gunter Weagant
1812	Williamsburg	2 Churches		John Wenham
1814	Elizabethtown	1 Parsonage		Micaiah Townsend
1815	Caldwell and Christie Manors	2 Churches	£200	
1816	Ancester	1 Church 1 Parsonage	£200 plus £20 for visiting Indians	Ralph Leeming
1817	Grimsby	1 Church	£200	Alexander Neil Bethune
1818	St. Johns	1 Church 1 Parsonage	£200	William Devereux Baldwin
"	St. Andrews	1 Church 1 Parsonage	£200	Joseph Abbott
1819	Chambly	1 Church	£200	Edward Parkin
"	Perth	1 Church	£200	Michael Harris
"	Aubigny (Levis)	1 Church	£100	Robert Raby Burrage

Date of Founding	Name of Parish or Mission	Churches and Parsonages	Stipend	Clergy in 1825
1819	Gaspé Bay	1 Church	£200	-----
"	Hamilton(Cobourg)	2 Churches	£200	William Macaulay
"	Amherstburg	2 Churches	£200	Romaine Rolph
"	Drummondville	1 Church	£200	Samuel Simpson Wood
"	Hatley	1 Church 1 Parsonage	£200	Thomas Johnson
"	Cavan	1 Church	£200	Joseph Thompson
1820	Queenston	1 Church	£50	Robert William Tunney
"	Chippawa	1 Church	£200	William Leeming
1821	Paspebiac	1 Church	£200	-----
"	Shefford	2 Churches	£200	Richard Whitwell
"	Prescott	2 Churches	£200	Robert Blakey
"	Belleville	1 Church	£200	Thomas Campbell
"	Matilda	1 Church	£200	Frederick Myers
"	Eaton	2 Churches	£200	Jonathan Taylor

Date of Founding	Name of Parish or Mission	Churches and Parsonages	Stipend	Clergy in 1825
1821	Terrebonne	1 Church	£200	James Burton
1822	Adolphustown	1 Church	£200	Job Deacon
"	Rivière du Loup and Nicolet	2 Churches	£200	John Campbell Driscoll
"	Sherbrooke	2 Churches	£200	Clement Fall Lefevre
1823	Quinte Mohawks	1 Church	£200	Thomas Morley
"	Yonge	2 Churches	£200	George Spratt
1824	Richmond	-----	£200	John Byrne
"	March	1 Church	£200	Amos Ansley
"	Fort Erie	1 Church	£200	John Leeds
"	Carrying Place	1 Church	£200	John Grier
"	Yamaska Mountain	1 Church	£200	William Abbott
"	St. Thomas	1 Church	£200	Alexander Mackintosh
	Quinte	Visiting Missionary Catechist and School-Master	£300 £20	John Hill and John Green

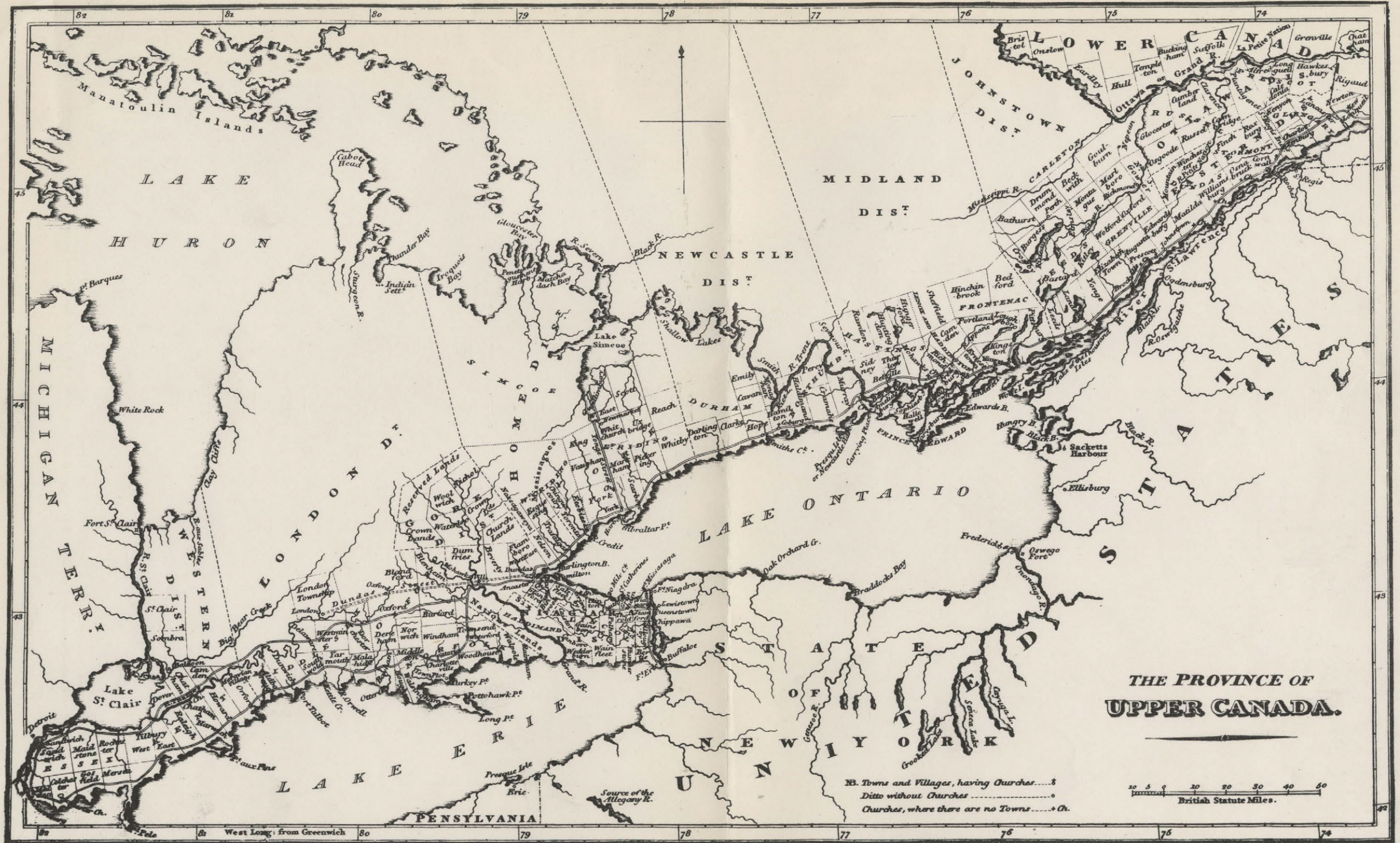
Date of Founding	Name of Parish or Mission	Churches and Parsonages	Stipend	Clergy in 1825
1824	Grand River	School-Master		William Hess

About twelve of the Churches noted above are not marked on the following maps in Appendix "Q" as they were built between 1822 and 1825.

Part of the information contained in the Table is taken from a statement concerning the Diocese made by the S. P. G. to Bathurst, July 21, 1824. Vide P. A. C., Series Q, Vol. 169, pp. 226-237.

APPENDIX "Q"

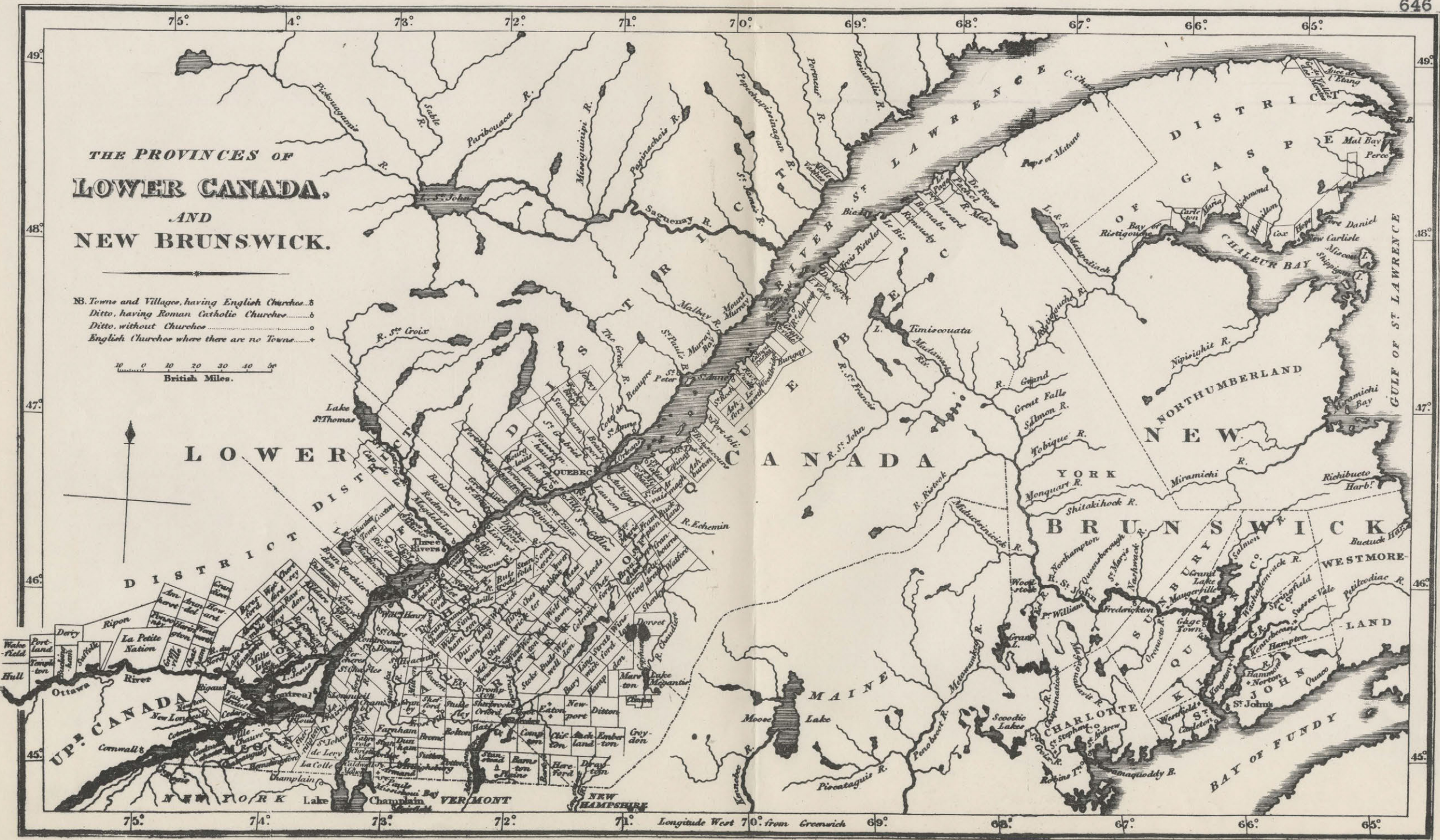
MAPS OF UPPER AND LOWER CANADA
SHOWING THE LOCATION OF ANGLICAN CHURCHES
ABOUT THE YEAR 1820



THE PROVINCE OF
UPPER CANADA.

NB. Towns and Villages, having Churches.....
Ditto without Churches.....
Churches, where there are no Towns.....

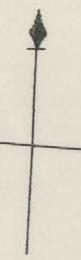
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
British Statute Miles.



THE PROVINCES OF
LOWER CANADA.
AND
NEW BRUNSWICK.

• Towns and Villages, having English Churches. •
• Ditto, having Roman Catholic Churches. •
• Ditto, without Churches. •
• English Churches where there are no Towns. •

0 10 20 30 40 50
British Miles.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

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- Halifax. In the William Inglis Morse Collection in the Library of King's College are six letters written by Jacob Mountain to various correspondents.
- Kingston. The Mountain-Stuart Correspondence is kept in the Synod Office of the Diocese of Ontario. This is a series of over eighty letters covering the years 1793-1824. The correspondence is composed, for the most part, of letters written by Bishop Mountain to his Officials, John Stuart and George Okill Stuart, and of replies received from them.
- Lennoxville. The Nicolls-Mountain Papers preserved in the Library of Bishop's College contain a few items bearing upon events in the early days of the Diocese of Quebec.
- London, Eng. In the Archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts are preserved:-
1. Journals. These volumes contain minutes of Board Meetings of the Society, in which are incorporated many of the semi-annual reports made by the missionaries. Bishop Mountain's official correspondence with the Society is therein transcribed, more or less in full, from his letters.
 2. Original manuscript letters from the missionaries. The Society, strangely enough, does possess any of the Bishop's original letters.
- Montreal. The Montreal Synod Archives contains a mass of correspondence dating from the period 1793-1825, much of it written by Bishop Mountain and his clergy.
- New York. New York Historical Society. In the William Smith Papers contained in this Library are a few documents throwing light on the earliest efforts to establish a Bishop of the Church of England in Quebec.

Ottawa. Public Archives of Canada. The Q Series contains copies of the correspondence of Bishop Jacob Mountain with various secretaries of state and other government officials during his entire episcopate. The S and G Series contain some of his miscellaneous correspondence in manuscript. The Minutes of the Executive Council of Lower Canada have a number of entries showing the Bishop's attendance at the Council, and the part taken by him in its meetings. Chaplaincy Books contain the correspondence in manuscript of chaplains of regiments and garrisons stationed in various parts of the diocese. Most of these men were parochial clergy acting as officiating chaplains.

- Quebec.
1. Diocesan Archives.
 - (a) Series A. This series consists of transcripts, or originals, of Letters Patent, mandamuses, writs, presentations, etc., dealing with Bishop Mountain, the Cathedral, the Diocese of Quebec, and the clergymen of the Diocese.
 - (b) Series B. This series consists of thirty-three bound volumes of original correspondence dealing with individual parishes in the Diocese of Quebec, 1793-1863. It also contains volumes dealing with institutions, e.g., Church Society, Clergy Reserves, etc.
 - (c) Series C. This series consists of eight bound volumes of manuscript letters written and received by Jacob Mountain and his son George Jehoshaphat Mountain.
 - (d) Series D. This series consists of sixteen binders containing typed copies of diocesan correspondence, the originals of which are in the S. P. G. Archives, the Public Record Office, Fulham Palace, and the Public Archives of Canada. Binders 3, 4, 5 and 6 cover the period 1793-1825.
 - (e) Miscellaneous Volumes. The contents of The Volume endorsed Education 1819-1862 deal specifically with the subject of education in the Diocese and contain a number of Jacob Mountain's letters. The S. P. G. and S. P. C. K. volumes contain further correspondence between the Bishop and the Societies.
 - (f) Miscellaneous Correspondence. In this small, unclassified miscellany are a few letters written and received by the Bishop.

(g) The Episcopate of Jacob Mountain, 1793-1825.
By the late H. C. Stuart of Three Rivers.
In manuscript and typescript.

2. Sewell Papers. A large collection of papers now in the possession of Mrs. (Dr.) A.R.F. Hubbard of Quebec City includes about fifty letters which passed between Jacob Mountain and Jonathan Sewell.
3. Bishopthorpe Papers. This collection of one hundred letters is preserved at Bishopthorpe, official residence of Anglican Bishops of Quebec. Among the many persons to whom Bishop Mountain wrote and from whom he received letters which are contained in this collection are Archbishops of Canterbury, Secretaries of State, Colonial Administrators and Members of the Provincial Government. At Bishopthorpe is also preserved the Diocese Book which contains Subscriptions to Oaths and Declarations made by clergy from the earliest days of the Diocese.
4. Library of the Literary and Historical Society. This library contains a mimeographed copy of A Compendium of the History of the Church of England in Quebec, 1759-1791, by the Rev. Canon A. R. Kelley, M.A.

Toronto. Public Archives of Ontario. Bishop Strachan's Letter Book 1812-1834 contains a number of comments from the pen of the Rev. John Strachan, (later Bishop Strachan) on Jacob Mountain. This letter book has been edited with an introduction and notes as a University of Toronto M. A. Thesis by G. W. Spragge. A copy of this thesis is on file in the Library of the University of Toronto. The Ridout Papers have a record in manuscript of the fees paid by Bishop Mountain on account of lands granted to him in Upper Canada. The Strachan Papers consist of letters written by John Strachan to various correspondents.

Public Library. The Henry Scadding Collection, John Strachan Papers, include Strachan's correspondence with Bishop Jacob Mountain and George Jehoshaphat Mountain; and letters to Bishop Mountain from the Rev. William Morice and the Rev. Anthony Hamilton, Secretaries to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

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The Holy Communion. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral of Quebec, in the year 1804. By the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, D. D., Formerly Lord Bishop of Quebec, pp. 23. (Library of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. A manuscript copy is in the Quebec Diocesan Archives).

A Sermon Preached at the Anniversary of the Royal Humane Society in Christ Church, Surrey, on Sunday the 28th of March, 1819. By the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, D.D., Lord Bishop of Quebec. London: Printed for the Society; and sold at the Office, 48 St. Paul's Church-yard. Sold also by F. C. & J. Rivington; Cadell and Davies; J. Hatchard; and Lackington and Co., 1819, pp.32. (Quebec Diocesan Archives).

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Quebec, in the year 1820, By the Right Reverend Jacob, Lord Bishop of that Diocese. Quebec: Printed and Published by John Neilson, No. 3, Mountain Street, 1820, pp. 48. (Library of the Montreal Diocesan Theological College).

C. Newspapers and Periodicals

The Canada Constellation, Niagara, 1799, contains references to the Episcopal Visitation of 1799. (P. A. O.)

The Upper Canada Gazette, Newark and York, 1794 and 1799. Individual copies contain references to the Visitations of these years. (Library of Niagara Historical Society, and P. A. O.)

The Montreal Gazette, Montreal. (McGill University Library and Montreal Diocesan Archives)

The Montreal Herald, Montreal, 1817, contains obituary notices of two of Bishop Mountain's clergy. (McGill University Library)

The Quebec Gazette, Quebec, contains numerous references to diocesan affairs and to the Mountain family throughout the whole course of the Bishop's episcopate. (P. A. C.)

Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Quebec, 1895- has historical notes on the Mountain family, etc.

The Canada Church Magazine and Mission News, Hamilton and Toronto, 1866-1903, has biographical and historical details about early clergy and churches. (Divinity Hall Library, Montreal)

The Canadian Churchman, Toronto, 1871- has many historical articles dealing with early days in the old Diocese of Quebec. (Canadian Churchman Office, Toronto)

The Canadian Magazine, Montreal, 1823-1825, has notices of ordinations and other items of diocesan interest. (McGill University Library)

The Canadian Historical Review, continuing The Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada, Toronto, 1896- This Quarterly has many articles relating to the period covered by the thesis.

The Catholic Historical Review. The issue of January 1933 has an article by James F. Kenney entitled 'Relations between Church and State in Canada since the Cession of 1763.' A Paper on the Legal Status of the Bishop of Quebec, by Hugh J. Somers, delivered at the 13th Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical

Association, Toronto, Dec. 27, 1932, is printed in Vol. 19, pp. 167-189.

The Quebec Diocesan Gazette, Quebec, 1894- contains information about early days in the Diocese. (Q.D.A.)

The Montreal Churchman, St. Johns (Montreal, Granby) 1912- has a number of biographical sketches and parish histories.

The Christian Sentinel, Montreal and Three Rivers, 1827-1830, contains the invaluable outline of the life of Bishop Mountain, (reprinted from the Christian Remembrancer, a London publication) written by his son George J. Mountain. Among other items of value are abstracts of reports of Diocesan Committees of the S. P. C. K. (Q. D. A.)

The Christian Recorder, York and Kingston, 1819-1820, contains outlines on the educational history of the Canadas, references to the episcopal Visitation of 1820, etc. (T. P. L.)

The Church Chronicle of the Diocese of Montreal, Montreal, 1860-1862, has a number of histories of older parishes in the Diocese. (Library of Montreal Diocesan Theological College)

The Church Guardian, Montreal, St. Johns, etc., Aug. 9, 1882, contains a letter written by the Rev. Jehoshaphat Mountain the day after his arrival in Canada. (Library of Montreal Diocesan Theological College)

Le Canada Français. Deuxième Série du Parler Français. Publication de l'Université Laval, Université Laval, Québec. Issues of May, October and November 1940, and of April 1941, contain articles on Bishop Plessis, written by Ivanhoe Caron.

The Queens Quarterly, Kingston, contains articles on John Strachan, and on The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1841, (Winter 1930) by A. H. Young.

Quebec Almanac, Quebec, 1792-1825. These annual publications contain lists of Diocesan Clergy and the designation of their appointments. (P. A. C.)

Canadian Historical Association Report, 1926, contains a paper on 'Lord Dorchester and the Church of England' by A. H. Young.

Report of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, 1933-1934, has an article by Jean-François Pouliot on 'La Liberté des Cultes au Canada'. The Report of 1935-1936 has an article on 'Edward Cannon, 1739-1814,' one of the builders of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, Quebec, by Robert Cannon, K. C.

Reports of District Committees of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (Q. D. A.)

Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts are a valuable source of information regarding the Church and Clergy in the old Diocese of Quebec. The great majority of congregations in the time of Bishop Mountain were S. P. G. missions, and received most of their financial support from that Society. (The most complete set of reports for the period is in the Library of Trinity University, Toronto).

Reports of the Public Archives of Canada and the Provincial Archives of Quebec contain useful historic material.

Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada contain two articles on diocesan clergy:- 'Le Clergé Protestant du Bas-Canada de 1760 à 1800', par F.-J. Audet, (Proceedings and Transactions, Second Series, Vol. VI.); and 'Some Notes on the Clergy of the Church of England in Upper Canada Prior to 1840', (Proceedings and Transactions, Third Series, Section II, Vol. XXXII, 1938.)

Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, Transactions No. 23, 1922-1923, print a series of letters from W. Jarvis and Mrs. Jarvis to the Rev. Samuel Peters, 1792-1813; with a prefatory note by A. H. Young.

The United Empire Loyalists' Association of Ontario, Transactions, Hamilton Branch, March 10, 1903, has a biographical sketch of the Rev. Ralph Leeming.

Kent Historical Society, No. 3, Papers and Addresses, 1917, contains 'Notes on the History of the Church of England in Chatham, Ont., by the Rev. Canon Howard, M. A.

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Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada, 1873-1825, contain references to the attendance of Jacob Mountain at its sessions, and his participation in its work.

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