

"THE FREE CHURCH IN CANADA, 1844-1861"

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study of the Canadian Free Church, an institution which played a considerable role in the social, political and religious life of mid-nineteenth-century Canada.

The Free Church was characterized by its missionary zeal, theological orthodoxy, unity, financial solvency, and involvement in politics when it touched moral issues such as slavery, temperance, and sabbath breaking. Some important political and commercial leaders were attracted to it, including George Brown, Malcolm Cameron, Isaac Buchanan, and John Redpath. This church maintained a separate existence from 1844 when it was formed as a result of a secession from the Church of Scotland Synod, until 1861 when it joined with the United Presbyterian Church to form the Canada Presbyterian Church.

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RESUME

Cette thèse est une étude de l'Eglise Libre d'Ecosse au Canada, une institution qui a joué un rôle considérable dans la vie sociale, politique et religieuse Canadienne au milieu du dix-neuvième siècle. L'Eglise Libre était caractérisée par son zèle missionnaire, son orthodoxie théologique, son unité, sa solvabilité financière, et son implication politique en rapport avec des problèmes moraux tels que l'esclavage, la tempérance, la violation du sabbat. Elle attira quelques chefs de file du monde politique et économique, comme George Brown, Malcolm Cameron, Isaac Buchanan, et John Redpath. Cette Eglise eût une existence distincte de 1844, lorsqu'elle se forma suite à une sécession du Synode de l'Eglise d'Ecosse, à 1861 lorsqu'elle s'unit à l'Eglise Presbytérienne Unie pour former l'Eglise Presbytérienne du Canada.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A&P PCC in Connex CofS - Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland.
- D.C.B. - Dictionary of Canadian Biography
- D.N.B. - Dictionary of National Biography
- F.E.S. - Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae - edited Hew Scott, New Edition, Revised (Edinburgh, 1915-1928).
- Kemp, Digest - Rev. A.F. Kemp, Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, with a Historical Introduction, and an Appendix of Forms and Procedures (Montreal: John Lovell, 1861).
- P.A.C. - Public Archives of Canada.
- P.C.A. - Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.
- Q.U.A. - Queen's University Archives
- U.C.A. - United Church of Canada Archives.

PREFACE

Evangelical Protestantism was a major force in nineteenth-century Canadian society. Its theology informed much of contemporary thinking concerning the relation of God to man, and man to society, and its activities and attitudes were diffused throughout the surrounding culture. Born in the throes of the Scottish evangelical revival and the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, the Canadian Free Church was a major component of this evangelicalism. Though its beginnings were inauspicious, by 1861 it was the fourth largest church in Canada West, comprising slightly more than ten per cent of the population. It was by far the largest, most aggressive, and most active branch of the Presbyterians. A remarkable missionary zeal and vitality, theological orthodoxy, and a concern for the ordering of society according to biblical precepts, were some of its hallmarks. Containing some of the best clerical talent which Canada and Scotland had to offer, this church also attracted some of the more important political and commercial leaders in the province—George Brown, Malcolm Cameron, Isaac Buchanan, and John Redpath.

The years 1844 to 1861 form a convenient period of study. In 1844 a small group of ministers, elders, and members, seceded from the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland to form the Presbyterian Church of Canada, or the Free Church as it was known to contemporaries and later commentators. This new church maintained a separate existence until 1861 when it joined with the United Presby-

terian Church to form the Canada Presbyterian Church.

There are two parts to this study. The first five chapters attempt to describe the Scottish background to the Canadian church controversies; the history of Presbyterianism in Canada before 1839; the events in Canada which led to the formation of a Canadian Free Church; the organization, growth and consolidation of that denomination; and its union with the United Presbyterian Church. The remaining four chapters attempt to analyse in some detail, specific aspects of the life of the church: its financial affairs; its clergy and people; theology, worship and discipline; and its impact on contemporary politics and society.

Financial assistance for this study has been received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and the McGill University Graduate Faculty. The staff of various libraries and archives have been helpful in placing materials at my disposal. These are: the McLennan and Religious Studies Libraries at McGill, the Presbyterian College Library, Montreal, McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, Knox College Library, Toronto, the Queen's University Archives, Kingston, the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, the Public Archives of Ontario, Toronto, the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, Toronto, the United Church Archives, Toronto, the McGill and United Church Archives, Montreal.

The personal and intellectual debts incurred in the course of this study are enormous. Only a few can be mentioned here. Dr. W. Stanford Reid of the University of Guelph introduced

me to Scottish Church history, and (if my memory is correct) first suggested this study. My supervisor at McGill— Dr. Hereward Senior has, over the past five years, provided constant encouragement, valuable suggestions, and, with his wife, the warm hospitality of their home. Mrs. Margaret Blevins, in her meticulous way, typed the final version. Above all, I wish to thank my wife Wendy for her unfailing love and support.

CHAPTER ONE

"THE ROAD TO CANONMILLS"

The Church and her laws often claim my applause:
But some things I cannot agree to;
And most I detest, as a national pest,
This newfangled freak of a veto.
O this detestable veto,
'Tis a thing you will never bring me to!
It is certainly rude
In a man to intrude
But you'll never do good by the veto!¹

The Disruption which occurred at Edinburgh May 18, 1843, not only split the Church of Scotland, but also engendered significant reactions in both British North America and the United States. Peter Brown, then editor of New York's British Chronicle, described the Scottish events as "one of the most sublime scenes of Christian self-denial and devotion to the cause of truth that the world has ever seen."² Brown's response was not unique among North American Scots and Presbyterians. Within less than eighteen months, Presbyterian divisions in British North America were multiplied once again as churchmen left Canadian and Maritime synods to form new alignments, repudiating any connection with the Church of Scotland and forming attachments, if only informal, with the Free Protestant Church of Scotland. However, this colonial response must be viewed against the backdrop of the events which had beleaguered the Church of Scotland from the start of the church establishment controversy in 1829 until the singular events of May 1843.

Scotland's ecclesiastical landscape, on the eve of the voluntary controversy, was one chequered with the remnants of past divisions and reunions. Many, if not all of these divisions, had occurred during the eighteenth century and were, in large part, the direct result of the restoration of the rights of patronage by an Act of Queen Anne in 1712. This Act regulated the procedures under which a vacant charge in the Church of Scotland was filled. Under its provisions, the patron of a particular parish could insist on the induction of his candidate (assuming that he possessed the necessary educational and theological qualifications) oftentimes contrary to the wishes of the local congregation. It was thus questions of patronage and the right of a congregation to participate in the choice of their minister which led to the first major secession of the eighteenth century. A protest against the Act anent Calls of the General Assembly of 1732 led to the suspension and ultimate deposition of Ebenezer Erskine and three others, and the formation of the Associate Presbytery. The exercise of patronage was also the cause of Thomas Gillespie's expulsion from the Church of Scotland and the emergence of the Relief Presbytery. These initial divisions multiplied during the course of the eighteenth century, as further issues arose to divide the secessionist bodies, and as movements towards reunion were brought to fruition in some quarters. By 1829 then, substantial bodies of dissent existed outside of the Church of Scotland: consisting principally of the United Secession Church, the Auld Licht Burghers

(who joined the Church of Scotland in 1839), the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the Relief Church, and the Auld Licht Anti-Burghers (who joined the Free Church in 1852).³

Not only was there a considerable body of presbyterianism outside of the Church of Scotland, but the situation within the established church resembled that of a house divided against itself. In essence there were two distinct parties in the church: the Evangelicals and the Moderates. Each of these groups had antecedents in the eighteenth century when they were divided, not only because of their respective attitudes towards patronage and congregational rights, but also by their theologies. As one commentator described the situation: "Evangelicals were the men who held and preached the mysteries of the Faith; the tendency among the Moderates was to give a minimum of the characteristic truths of the Gospel."⁴

The Moderates had dominated the Church of Scotland's church courts from the middle of the eighteenth century. A group of young ministers, led by William Robertson (later known as an historian and as Principal of the University of Edinburgh) emerged at the time of the Inverkeithing Case in 1752 and assumed positions of strength for at least the next fifty years, until the Leslie Case of 1805 dealt them a stunning blow.⁵ Though wounded, the Moderates were not defeated, as they continued to maintain majorities in the General Assembly until 1834. While Moderatism was perhaps slowly declining during the first three decades of the nineteenth century, Evangelicalism was gaining strength. Led

by such men as Thomas Brown and Thomas Chalmers, a Moderate-turned-Evangelical, the Evangelical Party gradually strengthened their position within the Church of Scotland, such that in 1834 they emerged with a majority in the General Assembly.

The differences between the two parties in the Church of Scotland were not confined to matters of theology. A major point of disagreement was their respective attitudes to the exercise of patronage and the rights of congregations to have a meaningful voice in the selection of their future minister. Indeed, the Evangelicals (or the Popular Party as they had been known) were regarded as safeguarding congregational rights and as resisting the practice of 'intruding' ministers upon congregations where they were not welcome. It is not surprising then, that when the evangelicals emerged as the stronger of the two parties, that an attempt was made to rectify this situation. Overtures protesting against the abuse of the rights of patronage (though not against patronage itself) and calling for a strengthening of the procedures of the call were brought before, but failed to pass, the Assemblies of 1832 and 1833.

However, in order to understand the Ten Years' Conflict, it is necessary to take a brief glance at the course of the voluntary or Church Establishment controversy. Prompted, at least in part, by fears that the granting of Catholic Emancipation in 1829 would lead to the establishment of Roman Catholicism in Ireland, Scottish voluntaries attacked "a compulsory support of religious institutions . . . [as] inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the gospel, the express

appointment of Jesus Christ, and the civil rights of man."⁶ Against such attacks, both Evangelical and Moderate churchmen rallied to defend the establishment principle in general and the establishment of the Church of Scotland in particular. In this dispute, the Evangelicals were led by men such as William Cunningham and Robert Smith Candlish, and perhaps to a lesser extent by Chalmers,⁷ all of whom were later Principals of New College, Edinburgh. The Evangelicals thus asserted that an ecclesiastical establishment was both proper and expedient—that it was the responsibility of civil authorities, in the words of Robert Buchanan of Glasgow's Tron Church, that when they:

. . . have been called to the knowledge and belief of that word which was given for the light and life of men . . . [to] . . . publicly . . . profess their allegiance to the great God and Saviour whom it reveals; and it is their duty officially to use their power and influence to bring their people also to know, and to acknowledge, and to obey, the same Divine Redeemer.⁸

Moreover, the Evangelicals argued that such a connection between the church and the state did not, of necessity, involve a sacrifice of the church's spiritual independence.

Though the Church Establishment controversy and the Ten Years' Conflict were in one sense distinct disputes, they did intersect and influence each other at various points. As we have noted, the Evangelicals insisted that a formal connection between church and state was not necessarily an Erastian connection. Indeed, they declared to the Voluntaries that the Church of Scotland was "that very institution which you

describe as an impossibility—a church supported by the state, and yet in all matters spiritual, free from state control."⁹ Yet Evangelicals were concerned by the fact that such an argument about the Church of Scotland was marred by the existence of unbridled lay patronage. As the Free Church historian Buchanan put it, "if a patron could compel the church courts to thrust his obnoxious presentee upon a reclaiming congregation, it would not be easy to show wherein this differed from the erastian subjection of the church to the civil power."¹⁰ Accordingly, until such a situation was rectified, the insistence that the Established Church of Scotland was spiritually independent, was stripped of much of its force. Undoubtedly, such considerations prompted the Evangelical party to increase its plans for reform in anticipation of the General Assembly in 1834.¹¹ Indeed, one commentator has argued that "the non-intrusion began . . . as an attempt to defend the Church of Scotland against the menace of voluntarism."¹²

The General Assembly of 1834 passed two significant pieces of legislation which sparked the Ten Years' Conflict. The first, entitled the Act anent Calls, but commonly known as the Veto Act, was presented to the Assembly by Lord Moncrieff, one of the justices of the Court of Session. It asserted that "it is a fundamental law of this Church, that no pastor shall be intruded on any congregation contrary to the will of the people."¹³ In order to carry this into effect, provision was made for the rejection of any presentee

by a vote of the majority of the male heads of families in a particular congregation. Besides the Veto Act, the Assembly also passed a Chapels Act which gave to Scotland's Chapels of Ease full status as parishes and to their ministers a regular place in the church courts.

Perhaps, in themselves, these two pieces of legislation were not sufficiently radical to auger as heated a controversy as the Ten Years' Conflict. However, a number of test cases, brought before the civil court of Scotland, the Court of Session, challenged the legality of these two acts and brought into focus a much larger question of church-state relations. What began as a non-intrusion controversy ended as a conflict over the church's spiritual independence.¹⁴ This transformation occurred because the decisions brought down by, for example, the majority of the judges in the Auchterarder Case, placed a construction on the terms of the church's establishment which Evangelical churchmen rejected.¹⁵ Moreover, the decisions in this and other cases demanded that churchmen and church courts perform functions which the Evangelicals regarded as spiritual ones and thus outside the purview of the civil authorities.

The first and most important of these test cases originated in the parish of Auchterarder in the Synod of Perth and Stirling, and involved the rejection of one Robert Young, by the Presbytery of Auchterarder because of the opposition to his presentation of some 287 of 300 male communicant heads of families. Young's appeal of this rejection to the superior ecclesiastical courts was to no avail; whereupon, on the

advice of Dean of Faculty, John Hope, he began an action in the Court of Session, charging that the Presbytery of Auchterarder had acted illegally in not taking him on trials for ordination and inducting him if found qualified.¹⁶ When the final judgement was brought down in early March 1838, its result was an eight to five decision in favour of Young and against the Church. Though he had won his case, Young's insistence that the Presbytery of Auchterarder take him on trials was not complied with, and when the matter reached the General Assembly of 1838, a decision was made to appeal the matter to the House of Lords. That Assembly also passed a "Resolution anent the Independent Jurisdiction of the Church of Scotland," outlining the stance which the Non-Intrusionists were assuming in the conflict. While admitting that the civil authorities had every right to judge such matters as fell within their sphere, they nonetheless insisted that a distinct ecclesiastical and spiritual authority existed, derived from Christ and encompassing all questions of church doctrine, discipline, and government.¹⁷ Moreover, as indicative of the depth of feeling with which they regarded such matters, they declared that:

. . . this spiritual jurisdiction, and the supremacy and sole Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that Great God, Who, in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony, even to the death, for Christ's kingdom and crown. . . .¹⁸

The House of Lords brought down its decision in this case in early May 1839 and in so doing upheld the Court of Session's

earlier judgement. The decision thus facing the Church of Scotland was that of which path to follow. The Moderate leader, Dr. Cook, argued that since the civil courts had found the Veto Law to be illegal, it ought to be rejected and the church revert to its former practice.¹⁹ Chalmers, on the other hand, was convinced that the civil authorities had overstepped the boundary separating civil from ecclesiastical matters. "We refrain from aught that touches their department"; he pleaded, "and all we ask is that they shall refrain from what touches upon ours."²⁰ Chalmers' position was upheld by almost a fifty-vote majority and a decision was thus made to appoint a committee to negotiate with the British Government.²¹

The decision in the Auchterarder Case was the first blow against the views which non-intrusionists had held concerning the spiritual independence of the Church of Scotland. Subsequent court cases merely exacerbated the situation and made an amicable settlement between church and state nearly impossible. Although cases such as those of Lethendy, Culsamond, and Stewarton further convinced the non-intrusionists that their spiritual independence was under attack from the civil authorities, it was the case which began in the Banffshire parish of Marnoch, and which took its name from the Presbytery of Strathbogie, that drove the non-intrusionists to the precipice of Disruption and closed the door on any negotiated settlement with the British Government.²²

The Strathbogie Case, like that of Auchterarder, involved a disputed presentation to a vacant charge. The minister at Marnoch, William Stronach, had been ill and unable to serve to his full capacity for a number of years, and had received the help of an assistant, one John Edwards, a licentiate of the church. When Stronach died, Edwards received the presentation. A call was also to be given by the parishioners, but when an opportunity was given them to sign the document, only one person and three heritors did so.²³ Yet when the parishioners were given an opportunity to record their dissent, they did so overwhelmingly—261 of 330 objecting to Edwards' presentation.²⁴

Under the provisions of the Veto Act, such overwhelming dissent from a congregation would have been sufficient to ensure Edwards' rejection. However, the Veto Act, though a statute of the Church, was above all, an act of the Evangelical Party (and its lawfulness was still an open matter—there being as yet no decision in the Auchterarder Case) and their supporters in the Strathbogie Presbytery constituted a minority of four from a total of eleven ministers. For this reason, the Veto Law was not immediately invoked. Yet when the matter came before the Assembly of 1838, the Presbytery was ordered to apply the provisions of the Veto Act. Edwards was thus rejected and a second candidate, a Mr. Henry, was presented by the patron.²⁵

Edwards did not acquiesce in this decision but applied to the Court of Session: first of all, for an injunction to pre-

vent the Presbytery from processing Mr. Henry's presentation; and secondly, for a decision declaring him to be the legitimate presentee and calling on the Presbytery to try his qualifications and if he were found qualified to induct him into the parish of Marnoch.²⁶ In response to these legal actions, the Presbytery decided to wait for a decision from the Court of Session before proceeding with Mr. Henry's presentation. It was thus the view of the Moderates in this Presbytery that the jurisdiction of the Court of Session encompassed matters concerning the induction of ministers and that its ruling must be obeyed. The Evangelical minority in the Presbytery did not concur with this view and protested against the actions of the majority. When the matter finally reached the June 1839 meeting of the Commission of Assembly it was decided that the Presbytery should discontinue its proceedings. Meanwhile, the Court of Session was insistent that Edwards be taken on trials.²⁷

No clear outcome seemed evident at this point, as the matter was debated at all levels of ecclesiastical authority. The most significant step in the case was taken by the Presbytery of Strathbogie, late in the fall of 1839, when a decision was made to comply with the Court of Session's injunction, and accordingly, to take Edwards on trials. However, the Commission of Assembly met one week later and voted overwhelmingly (121-14) to suspend, until the next General Assembly, the seven ministers who constituted the majority in the Presbytery. In this way, the Presbytery was to be

prevented from taking further steps which would harm the church.²⁸

Further civil injunctions were sought and obtained from the Court of Session, prohibiting, in the first place, the use of the church, church-yard or schoolhouses in the parishes of any of the suspended ministers, in carrying out the sentence of the Commission. Another interdict made it illegal for any Church of Scotland minister to conduct services in the parishes of any of the suspended ministers. To the first injunction, the Church was willing to submit, regarding it as a property matter and thus within the purview of the civil courts. The second was not viewed in the same light and the services continued.²⁹

The Assembly of 1840, despite protests from the Moderate leader Dr. Cook, decided to censure the Strathbogie seven. The seven then reacted by appealing to the Court of Session, which ruled the sentence of the Assembly invalid and interdicted it from carrying out the suspensions. The seven ministers then returned to their parishes.³⁰ Although Edwards demanded that the Strathbogie seven proceed with his ordination and induction, they refused. He then insisted that the Presbytery of Strathbogie either induct him into the charge at Marnoch or pay him £10,000 in damages and reparations.³¹ Finally, on 21 January 1841, Edwards was ordained at Marnoch: an action which was soundly condemned by the Evangelicals and their sympathizers. As Chalmers' biographer and son-in-law described it in a classic passage:

It was an ordination altogether unparalleled in the history of the Church, performed by a Presbytery of suspended clergymen, on a call by a single communicant, against the desire of the Patron, in face of the strenuous opposition of a united Christian congregation, in opposition to the express injunction of the General Assembly, at the sole bidding, and under the sole authority, of the Court of Session.³²

The culmination of the Strathbogie case came at the General Assembly of 1841. It was Chalmers himself who moved the deposition of the Strathbogie ministers, and his motion was passed without a vote. Dr. Cook objected to such a course of action, arguing that the seven had merely fulfilled their duties, as members of an established church, by submitting to the civil authorities in matters concerning secular affairs.³³ Despite Cook's protest, Dr. Gordon as Moderator pronounced the sentence of deposition on the seven. As well, Edwards was stripped of his status as a licentiate, and Henry was settled as minister at Marnoch. The Evangelicals had cause to claim further interference on the part of the Court of Session, when two days after the deposition that court passed an injunction barring the Moderator or anyone else from carrying out the sentence of the General Assembly.³⁴

Until the final decision in the Auchterarder Case was brought down in the House of Lords on May 2, 1839, the Ten Years' Conflict had been confined to an internal dispute over the practice and procedure of church courts relative to the settlement of ministers in vacant charges. Following the Auchterarder decision, it was clear that for peace to be restored to the Church of Scotland, a negotiated settle-

ment with the British government would have to be achieved. With this in mind, the Assembly of 1839 appointed a Non-Intrusion Committee and gave it the mandate of "considering in what way the privileges of the National Establishment, and the harmony between Church and State, might remain unimpaired."³⁵ Thus, as far as a legislative settlement was concerned, the Non-Intrusion Committee was seeking to have the patronage law changed in such a way that the Church could act on the non-intrusion principle "without being exposed to the risk of being forced, either to execute the decrees of the civil courts, or to forfeit, in such cases, her civil privileges as an Establishment."³⁶

After an unsuccessful meeting with Lord Melbourne,³⁷ the first attempts at negotiation centered on the person of Lord Aberdeen. A meeting of the Non-Intrusion Committee with Aberdeen, Sir George Clark, Sir George Sinclair, and Sir William Rae in Edinburgh in early January 1840, led to correspondence among the Committee, Lord Aberdeen and Thomas Chalmers. Initial exchanges of views saw the issue revolving around the question of whether express reasons should accompany the dissent of a congregation to a presentee and whether the church courts should base any rejection on the nature of the reasons or on the number of dissentients. The Chalmers-Aberdeen correspondence continued throughout the Spring of 1840. Meanwhile, deputies from the Non-Intrusion Committee met with Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell—a meeting which provided little encouragement for the non-intrusionists.³⁸

With the prospect of Governmental interference doubtful, Lord Aberdeen took it upon himself to bring into the British Parliament a bill "for the purpose of attempting to heal the present distractions of the Church,"³⁹ which he intended to introduce directly after Easter. Before he introduced the bill, Aberdeen was informed by the Non-Intrusion Committee that they had 'strong objections' to his proposal for settlement. Such objections notwithstanding, Aberdeen introduced the bill on May 5, 1840. That same evening Aberdeen wrote to Chalmers:

I am well aware that the success of this measure will mainly depend on the reception with which it may meet from yourself. I believe that the peace of the Church is at this moment in your hands; for although, from the accident of birth and social position, I have had the means of proposing this measure to the Legislature, it will depend on you whether it is to receive life and efficacy.⁴⁰

Unfortunately for Aberdeen, Chalmers was not pleased with the bill, and although the two continued to correspond throughout most of May 1840, it seems that they failed to reach an understanding on the terms which the bill should take if it were to give effect to the principles of non-intrusion and spiritual independence.⁴¹ When the matter came before the General Assembly on May 27, Chalmers again expressed his dissatisfaction. The following day the Assembly rejected the bill in its present form, as having made:

. . . no adequate provision, either for securing the exclusive jurisdiction of the Church in matters spiritual, or for enabling the Church to carry into effect the principle of Non-Intrusion, according to any specific law,

the Bill does not even leave the Church courts at liberty in the exercise of her judicial functions, and on their own responsibility, to give effect to their own solemn convictions of duty, in refusing to intrude presentees on reclaiming congregations; nor does it protect them from civil coercion and control, when, in any particular case, they shall do so. . . .⁴²

Although Aberdeen let his bill go to a second reading, influenced partly, no doubt, by the insistence of John Hope, when it passed by a vote of seventy-four to twenty-seven, he withdrew it on July 10.⁴³

The next attempt at a legislative settlement was the Duke of Argyll's bill, which received first reading in the House of Lords in early May 1841.⁴⁴ This measure was much more in line with Non-Intrusionist views than Lord Aberdeen's had been, providing for, as it did, a veto by all male communicants, twenty-one years of age or older.⁴⁵ Although the Assembly of 1841 approved it, it ceased to be a workable settlement in that Parliamentary session when Melbourne's Whigs fell to Peel's Tories before its second reading.⁴⁶

Perhaps the most promising attempt at negotiation was that initiated by Sir George Sinclair, son of the compiler of Scotland's Statistical Account, and sometime M.P. for the Scottish seat of Caithness. Sinclair succeeded in arranging an August 1842 meeting between Dean of Faculty Hope and Dr. Robert Smith Candlish, one of the Evangelical leaders; but his more important contribution was his proposed amendment to Lord Aberdeen's bill. For a brief period, in the fall of 1841, it appeared as though the Sinclair-amended Aberdeen bill might prove to be a workable solution, but this prospect

appeared illusory.

The discussions concerning Sinclair's clause, not only failed to resolve the Scottish church conflict, but precipitated a split within the Non-Intrusion Committee and led as well to the formation of the so-called Middle Party in the Spring of 1842. Besides the failure of the entire Non-Intrusion Committee to agree on what constituted an adequate settlement to the church question, there existed another obstacle which lay in the path to any resolution: namely, the attitude of several people to the now-deposed Strathbogie ministers.⁴⁷ One of the reasons why this posed a problem was the fact that Sir Robert Peel made a legislative settlement to the Ten Years' Conflict conditional on the reinstating of the deposed ministers.⁴⁸ Indeed, in a letter to Sir James Graham of 3 January 1842, Peel wrote that "we should decline any further communication with the Non-Intrusion Committee" if the church did not reverse its position on the seven.⁴⁹ It is equally clear that Chalmers would not relinquish his position. As he put it in a letter to Sinclair, the church could never "without a surrender of the very principle for which she is contending, consent . . . to recall the sentences already passed on the former delinquents."⁵⁰ Although both Hope and Sinclair attempted to persuade the Strathbogie ministers to admit their guilt and be reinstated, they refused.⁵¹ What further complicated the negotiations was the emergence of the Middle Party in 1842. Their somewhat equivocal declaration of acceptance of Sinclair's basis for settle-

ment reached the Government at a time when it was considering the Duke of Argyll's bill as resurrected by Campbell of Monzie, M.P. for Argyllshire. Though it is doubtful that Government support for Campbell's measure would have been forthcoming, the emergence of the Middle Party ensured its rejection.⁵² Thus the Government probably overestimated the size of this third force, and believed a settlement was again possible on the basis of Sinclair's clause.⁵³

The Ten Years' Conflict was beginning to reach a climax by the time of the General Assembly of 1842. Several decisive steps were then taken. Two groups of commissioners had arrived from the Presbytery of Strathbogie—one representing the deposed ministers; the other, the legitimate presbytery. A decision was made to reject as spurious the commissioners from the deposed presbytery. Moreover, it settled as commissioners a group of men who had been interdicted by the Court of Session from participating in the Assembly, passed a resolution calling for the abolition of patronage and suspended a number of ministers who had 'fraternized' with the deposed Strathbogie ministers.⁵⁴ Significant though these various acts may have been, probably the most momentous action was the passage of the "Claim, Declaration, and Protest, anent the encroachment of the Court of Session," a document which has been aptly described as "the modern 'solemn league and covenant' of the Church of Scotland."⁵⁵ The "Claim of Right" was an attempt to summarize and describe in cogent terms the situation of the Scottish church: the encroachments of the

civil authorities on its spiritual jurisdiction in contravention of the State's own acts and statutes; its refusal to practice intrusion; and its willingness to relinquish its position as an establishment rather than forsake its duty to Christ.⁵⁶

Another decision in the civil courts further eroded the position which the Non-Intrusionists were attempting to maintain. This was a second Auchterarder case in which Lord Kinnoul and Mr. Young were seeking a ruling to the effect that the Presbytery of Auchterarder was obliged to take Young on trials, and if they refused, to award him damages. An August 9, 1842 decision in the House of Lords found for Young.⁵⁷ To the Non-Intrusionists this was a disturbing outcome. In their view the church was now:

. . . required as by a civil obligation, to proceed in the matter of the ordination and admission of her ministers, at the bidding of the civil court, and under civil pains and penalties, without regard to her own sacred principles, and particularly, without regard to the principle, which she has always held, that the consent of the flock is necessary to the constituting of the pastoral relation.⁵⁸

This judgement, moreover, gave to the conflict an entirely different complexion. In the first Auchterarder Case, the courts ruled that the Veto Act contravened in Act of Anne, 1712. The church interpreted this, however, as applying only to civil matters. In short, if the church continued to enact the Veto, in those specific instances they were liable to relinquish the benefice. For this reason, negotiations were carried out with the British Government in an attempt to

obtain "an adequate legislative recognition of the principle of non-intrusion. Accordingly, while the first Auchterarder decision had grave effects on the loss of the kirk's 'temporalities,' it did not, in their view, necessarily trench on her spiritual freedom." This the second Auchterarder decision did.⁵⁹

Consideration of these matters was taken up at the meetings of the non-intrusionists in Edinburgh, known as the Convocation. These meetings opened 17 November 1842 in St. George's Church and closed November 24 with a session in Lady Glenorchy's Chapel. During the intervening week, private meetings were held in the Roxburgh Church.⁶⁰ The Convocation's discussions centered on two matters: the repercussions of the latest civil actions—particularly that in the second Auchterarder Case, how this church/state conflict might be resolved; and the future action to be taken if no solution to the problem could be found.⁶¹ What emerged from the meetings were two sets of resolutions; the first concerned the type of action needed to solve the conflict; the second with the results of a failure to find a solution.⁶² Candlish drafted the first set of resolutions⁶³ and these were passed on November 19 and signed by 427 ministers. The fourth article of that first series asserted:

That as the principle involved in these decisions, and particularly in the recent Auchterarder judgment, is that of the supremacy of the Civil Courts over those of the Established Church, in the exercise of their spiritual functions; so the members of the Convocation declare that no measure can in conscience be

submitted to by them, which does not effectually protect the Church against the exercise of such jurisdiction by the Civil Courts in time to come, and, in particular, fully prevent all future encroachments of the nature specified in the preceding resolutions.⁶⁴

The second set of resolutions, moved by Dr. MacFarlan,⁶⁵ was passed on November 30. The fifth and final resolution of that series concluded with the ultimatum that:

. . . it is the determination of the brethren now assembled, . . . if no measure such as they have declared to be indispensable, be granted, —to tender the resignation of those civil advantages which they can no longer hold in consistency with the free and full exercise of their spiritual functions, and to cast themselves on such provision as God in his providence may afford; maintaining still uncompromised the principle of a right scriptural connection between the Church and the State, and solemnly entering their protest against the judgments of which they complain, as in their decided opinion altogether contrary to what had ever hitherto been understood to be the law and Constitution of this country.⁶⁶

The significance of the Convocation cannot be underestimated. Not only did a threat of separation emanate from its proceedings, but it also "gave the party cohesion, confirmed weaker brethren, and strengthened the confidence of the leaders in their plans."⁶⁷

The Convocation resolutions were transmitted to Peel's government and were replied to in a letter from Sir James Graham to Dr. Welsh dated January 4, 1843. Unfortunately, Graham's letter held out no hope of a resolution on terms acceptable to the Evangelicals. The last real attempt to obtain legislation came on March 7, 1843 when Fox Maule sought to bring before the Commons a petition from the Com-

mission of Assembly and calling for a "committee of the whole house" to deal with it. Despite substantial support from Scottish M.P.'s, Maule's motion was defeated and the church of Scotland had received what has been termed "her final answer from the state."⁶⁸ Now all that was left for the church to do was to 'set her house in order' and prepare to separate from the state.⁶⁹

On May 18, 1843 the Church of Scotland's General Assembly met for worship in St. Giles Church where they heard the Moderator Dr. David Welsh preach from the text "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Following this service, the Assembly reconvened in St. Andrew's Church for its regular proceedings. Welsh opened the Assembly with prayer but did not officially constitute it. Instead he protested against any further proceedings and read the following:⁷⁰

And, finally . . . We PROTEST, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us, and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to His Holy word; and we do now, for the purpose foresaid, withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have

come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction that we are not responsible for any consequences which may follow from this our enforced separation from an Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's crown, and the rejection of His sole and supreme authority as King in His Church.⁷¹

When he had finished he laid the Protest on the table, bowed to the Queen's Representative, and walked out.⁷² Accompanied by both the Assembly Commissioners who had signed the Protest and by the noncommissioned signatories, Dr. Welsh, Dr. Chalmers, and Dr. Gordon led a procession through the streets of Edinburgh to the Tanfield Hall in Canonmills (which had been rented for the occasion) where they constituted themselves as the Free Protesting Church of Scotland.⁷³ A contemporary observer, Lord Cockburn, proffered this description of that scene:

As soon as Welsh, who wore his Moderator's dress, appeared in the street, and people saw that principle had really triumphed over interest, he and his followers were received with the loudest acclamations. They walked in procession down Hanover Street to Canonmills . . . through an unbroken mass of cheering people and beneath innumerable handkerchiefs waving from the windows. But amidst this exultation there was much sadness and many a tear, many a grave face and fearful thought, for no-one could doubt that it was with sore hearts that these ministers left the Church, and no thinking man could look on the unexampled scene and behold that the temple was rent without pain and forebodings.⁷⁴

Less than thirteen months after the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, a similar division occurred in the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the

Church of Scotland. Had the parent church not experienced such a secession, there would have been none in the colonial body. However, out of sympathy for their Scottish brethren, and out of a conviction that in failing to separate from the Scottish Establishment the Canadian Kirk Synod had participated in her sin, a number of ministers and elders left the Kirk Synod to form the Presbyterian Church of Canada. In order to understand both the split itself, and the subsequent history of the Free Church in Canada, it is necessary to outline briefly, the history of Presbyterianism in the Canadas since the British Conquest.

References - Chapter One

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⁴John MacLeod, Scottish Theology (Edinburgh, 1974, 1943), p. 119.

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⁷Burleigh, Church History of Scotland, p. 326.

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¹⁴G.D. Henderson, Heritage: A Study of the Disruption, 2nd ed. rev. (Edinburgh and London, 1943), p. 70; Machin, "Disruption and British Politics," p. 24.

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¹⁶Ibid., p. 341; William Hanna, Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers (Edinburgh and London, 1851), Vol. IV, p. 93; Charles Robertson, Report of the Auchterarder Case, The Earl of Kinnoul, and the Rev. R. Young Against the Presbytery of Auchterarder (Edinburgh and London, 1838), Vol. I, p. 14.

¹⁷Acts of the General Assembly 1638-1842, p. 1085; Hanna, Memoirs of Chalmers, IV, pp. 95-6.

¹⁸Acts of the General Assembly 1638-1842, p. 1085.

¹⁹Henderson, Heritage, p. 72.

²⁰Quoted in Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption (Edinburgh, etc., 1943), p. 180.

²¹Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, pp. 181-2.

²²Both Watt and Henderson regard the Strathbogie Case as having made the Disruption virtually inevitable.

²³Buchanan, Ten Years' Conflict, II, p. 18; Hanna, Memoirs of Chalmers, IV, p. 140.

²⁴Hanna, Memoirs of Chalmers, IV, p. 140.

²⁵Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, p. 207.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 208.

²⁸Ibid., p. 210.

²⁹Buchanan, Ten Years' Conflict, II, pp. 45-6; Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, pp. 211-212.

³⁰Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, pp. 212-214.

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³⁶The State of the Case for the Church of Scotland, in Her Negotiation with the Government and the Legislature, on the subject of the Law Against the Intrusion of Ministers (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 6.

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⁴⁰Ibid., p. 52.

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⁴²Proceedings of the Non-Intrusion Committees, p. 4.

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⁴⁴Ibid., p. 33.

⁴⁵Ibid.; cf. Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption, p. 228.

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⁵⁴They were suspended from their "judicial functions, as members of church courts," Buchanan, Ten Years' Conflict, II, pp. 378-9.

⁵⁵Buchanan, Ten Years' Conflict, II, p. 357.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 471-85, passim for the text of the Claim, Deal and Protest.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 383.

⁵⁸Memorial Submitted to The Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel . . . adopted by A Meeting of Ministers of the Church of Scotland, Assembled at Edinburgh, on the 17th-24th November, 1842 (Edinburgh and London, n.d.), pp. 10-11.

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⁶¹Hanna, Memoirs of Chalmers, IV, p. 312.

⁶²Memorial to Peel, November 1842, pp. 17-18.

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⁶⁴Mémoial to Peel, November 1842, p. 19.

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CHAPTER TWO

"PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE CANADAS 1760-1839"

The Protestants who arrived in Canada following the Conquest of 1759-60 reflected the religious plurality of the British Isles: the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, various Secessionist Presbyterians, and Methodists. These settlers not only represented different national and ecclesiastical traditions, they had theological differences as well. Within the Anglican communion one would have discovered ministers and people reflecting each of the Evangelical, Latitudinarian and High-Church streams. Among the Church of Scotland Presbyterians there would have been theological divisions between Moderates and Evangelicals. Secessionist Presbyterians would have been divided on issues such as patronage and church-state relations.

Each of these groups would have encountered similar difficulties. Distances between settlements and difficult communications would have ensured that those ministering to their flocks would have felt the pains of isolation. A shortage of ordained clergy and the indifference of many settlers to the claims of the gospel would have exacerbated the frustrations of those responsible for dispensing religious ordinances on the frontier. Despite these problems, Church of Scotland Presbyterians soon organized congregations in Quebec City, Montreal and the Eastern Section of Upper Canada, while the Secessionists of all varieties were strongest in

the Western regions of the Province.

Of all the towns existing in the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in the half-century following the close of the North American phase of the Seven Years' War, none were more important than Quebec City and Montreal. With populations of approximately 25,000 in 1825, their nearest Upper Canadian rivals—York and Kingston (both with populations under 3,000) were mere hamlets by comparison.¹ Population dominance was accompanied by commercial ascendancy, with Montreal outstripping Quebec City on both counts as the century progressed.² Montreal at the time had the more diversified economy—being a centre for banking, small-scale manufacturing and with a thriving port. Quebec City's economy, by contrast, was dominated by the shipbuilding industry; about 1,500 men worked in some nine shipyards.³

Presbyterianism in Lower Canada was centred in these two towns in the period prior to 1817.⁴ In Quebec City Presbyterian worship services may have been held as early as 1759. The 78th Fraser Highlanders had a chaplain, one Rev. Robert MacPherson, though it is not certain that he was a Presbyterian. MacPherson died in 1765 and was succeeded by a former chaplain, Rev. George Henry, who organized a congregation. Henry was assisted and eventually replaced by Rev. Alexander Spark, a native of Marykirk, Scotland, who had been educated at Aberdeen University and who had served in Quebec City as a tutor to the family of Sir John Caldwell. Having met for some time in a room in the Jesuits' College,

steps were taken during Spark's ministry to obtain a suitable building. A petition to George III in 1802 for land on which to build, signed by some 148 persons, including the wife of Solicitor-General Sewell and the daughter of Chief-Justice Smith, was granted. A site was selected in 1808 and the building completed by November 30, 1810. Henceforth the congregation was known as St. Andrew's.⁵ Spark died March 7, 1819, having preached that very morning from the text "See that ye fall not out by the way," and was replaced by Rev. James Harkness the following year. Harkness' ministry lasted for some fifteen years during which time St. Andrew's School, a co-educational establishment was founded. He, in turn, was succeeded by Rev. John Cook, a native of Sanquhar, Scotland. Cook had been educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, having studied at the latter under Dr. Thomas Chalmers, and was ordained December 29, 1835 by the Presbytery of Dumbarton and appointed by the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland to St. Andrew's, Quebec.⁶

The Presbyterians of Montreal had to wait until the Loyalist migrations before they had their own congregation. The first Presbyterian minister in Montreal was Rev. John Bethune, a native of Scotland who had served as a chaplain in North Carolina during the American War of Independence. Arriving in Montreal in 1786 he soon organized a congregation, but left the following year for Glengarry County where he ministered for some twenty-eight years, establishing congregations in Williamstown, Martintown, Lancaster, and Cornwall. Bethune's successor in Montreal was Rev. John Young, a licentiate of the Church of

Scotland, who in 1786 had emigrated to the United States. The following year Young was ordained by the Presbytery of New York and ministered for a brief time in the region surrounding Schenectady. A visit to Montreal in 1790-91 led to Young's settlement in that city. The Montreal congregation was at first attached to the Presbytery of Albany, but soon cut that affiliation to join the Presbytery of Montreal which was formed by Bethune, Spark, and Young. The Congregation worshiped in the Recollets' Church until their own building was opened on October 7, 1792. Financed by voluntary givings raised in both Montreal and London, England, this congregation was variously known as the Scotch Church, the Protestant Presbyterian Church, the Presbyterian Church of Montreal and eventually as the St. Gabriel Street Church.⁷

The St. Gabriel Street congregation was certainly a bastion of wealth and respectability,⁸ though not always of spiritual fervour. Until Henry Esson's change of heart in the late 1830s, its ministers were probably not fervent evangelicals, and had they been in the Church of Scotland at the time, they would, in all likelihood, have been aligned to the Moderate Party. Under its constitution, decisions were made by pew holders whose only qualification would seem to have been wealth. Indeed one need not have been Presbyterian to hold a pew. As Henry Esson had pointed out from the vantage point of 1845, the Constitution was "absurd—it is not only Erastian, but it is almost un-Christian, for a Heathen might be a proprietor."⁹ Ethnically the congregation was a potpourri of Scots, English, Germans, New England Loyalists, Irish and

French. Socially, it contained many of Montreal's prominent merchants and fur-barons, though its subscribers were often attached to the Anglican church as well.¹⁰ Much of the history of Presbyterianism in Montreal in the subsequent half-century is a reflection of the rumblings of discontent within this congregation.

The first problems occurred subsequent to Mr. Young leaving the congregation in August 1802. His two potential successors were both Scots and Secessionist Presbyterian.¹¹ James Somerville, a native of Tollcross, Lanarkshire, had studied Arts in the University of Glasgow, had been a licentiate of the Relief Church since 1799. He had emigrated to Canada in 1802 at the age of twenty-seven, taught school in Quebec City, and attended Spark's congregation. When St. Gabriel Street became vacant Somerville was recommended for the position by Mr. Spark, and an invitation from the congregation was forthcoming. However, Somerville was desirous of finishing the school year in Quebec City and so delayed going to Montreal.

In the interval another potential candidate arrived in Montreal, one Robert Forrest, an ordinand of Scotland's Associate Synod, who had served in New York with the Associate Reformed Church. Forrest preached in St. Gabriel Street and attracted a number of members. When the majority of the congregation finally decided in Somerville's favour, the minority left and organized a congregation which eventually moved into a new building in St. Peter Street in 1807.¹² Forrest did not remain with the St. Peter Street congregation for very long and was

replaced by Robert Easton, a former minister of the Associate Burgher Synod of Scotland at Morpeth, Roxboroughshire. Easton was a man firmly attached to the Westminster Confession of Faith and one who desired to see his new congregation aligned with one of Scotland's evangelical denominations.¹³ The St. Peter Street church had a strong American contingent in addition to the usual Scottish secessionist denominations.¹⁴ There seems to have been a social as well as a theological cleavage between the St. Peter Street and St. Gabriel Street congregations: the former in general attended by "tradesmen and mechanics," the latter by "the higher classes of the Presbyterian community," though this was certainly not an air-tight division.¹⁵

Peace was relatively short-lived at the St. Peter Street Church. Less than two decades after moving into their new building the congregation divided on the issue of who would replace Easton (who was ill and ready to resign). A resolution was passed by the congregation stating that they would accept only a minister of the Church of Scotland, and this fomented a secession by many of the Americans in the congregation. The seceders were not all native Americans but they took the name of the American Presbyterian Church and aligned themselves to the Presbytery of New York. Their first pastor was Rev. Joseph Stills Christmas, a graduate of Washington College, Princeton Seminary,¹⁶ and a leader in the Temperance movement in Montreal.¹⁷ The winds of revival blew through this congregation under Christmas's ministry, and one of the

later fruits of his labour was Henry Wilkes who established Zion Congregational Church.¹⁸

The majority who remained in the St. Peter Street congregation retained the property, subsequently sought closer ties with the Church of Scotland and renamed themselves St. Andrew's.¹⁹ In their desire to procure a new minister they communicated in the first instance with Thomas Chalmers, Dr. Dickson, and Andrew Thompson, investing in them the authority to elect and send an ordained successor to Mr. Easton. Receiving no answer to this letter they wrote again in December 1827 and subsequently received John Burns, whom the Presbytery of Edinburgh had chosen and ordained. Burns arrived in Montreal July 4, 1824 but stayed for only two years before returning to Scotland. He, in turn, was to elect and send out a successor, and as a consequence, Alexander Mathieson, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Dunbarton was obtained.²⁰

Mathieson was minister at St. Andrew's, Montreal, throughout the time of the division at St. Gabriel Street between the supporters of Henry Esson and Edward Black and during the time of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland Synod in 1844 and the consequent formation of the Free Church. Throughout the latter controversy Mathieson was a determined opponent of any attempt to weaken the connection between the Church of Scotland and the Canadian Synod. St. Andrew's was thus kept firmly ensconced within the pale of the Church of Scotland. Born 1795, the son of an apprentice copper-plate printer and the grandson of a Stirlingshire farmer, Mathieson was educated

at the schools of Renton, Lennoxton and Campsie before entering Glasgow College at age 14. His studies were continued over a period of some ten years as he worked tutoring in various places and households, including that of Mary and Isabella Campbell who were part of Edward Irving's circle.

Mathieson was licensed in 1823 at age 28.²¹ An attempt to get an appointment to the parish of Methuen in the Presbytery of Perth was unsuccessful, not least because Thomas Chalmers refused to recommend him for the position, a slight which Mathieson only much later in his career seems to have forgiven.²² Instead Mathieson was so upset at not receiving the appointment to Methuen that he considered leaving the pastoral ministry altogether and entering the medical profession.²³ While at St. Andrew's Mathieson seems to have been looking for a pastorate in Scotland. He even resigned in 1838, but was unable to get a charge in Scotland. Other avenues being all but closed to him, he returned to Montreal where he remained until his death in 1870.²⁴

Placing Mathieson firmly in either the Evangelical or Moderate camp theologically is a difficult task. Certainly some of his sermon titles and the texts on which they were based are suggestive of a tinge of moderatism, as for example his series of three sermons in 1849 on "The Moral and Religious Influences of Autumn" based on Isaiah 64:6, "We do all fade as a leaf" or his last sermon preached January 23, 1870 on the text, "It was winter."²⁵ On the other hand, a description of his preaching as "able, earnest, practical, and scriptural"

and as "a faithful reflection of the doctrines of the Westminster Confession"²⁶ does not seem characteristic of Moderatism.

In the meantime, while Mathieson was enjoying a long and peaceful ministry at St. Andrew's, the St. Gabriel Street congregation was experiencing further turmoil and upheaval. On September 18, 1803 James Somerville was ordained by what was probably the first presbytery ever organized in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, but which was, at this early date, merely an ad hoc body convened for the purpose of the ordination, and which may not have met subsequently.²⁷ In any event, Somerville ministered at St. Gabriel Street by himself for upwards of twelve years, indulging his interests in Natural History and literature, joining the Freemasons and the Montreal Curling Club, and taking a part in the establishment of the Montreal General Hospital. In 1817 he acquired as his assistant Henry Esson and they worked together until 1822 at which time Somerville retired.²⁸

Esson's ministry at St. Gabriel Street was marked by two phases: the first in which he displayed the characteristics of a 'Moderate'; the second after his conversion to evangelicalism and his subsequent espousal of the Free Church cause in Montreal. Esson was born in 1793 at Deaside, the son of an Aberdeenshire farmer and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen. Having been chosen by Professor Stuart for St. Gabriel Street, he was licensed and ordained by the Presbytery of Aberdeen in 1817 before setting sail for British North America.²⁹ Something of a socialite, and though reportedly quite eloquent, his preaching left much to be desired on the part of his more

evangelical listeners. As one commentator put it: Esson's preaching "did not stir the blood by calling sinners to repentance, nor did he insist strongly upon the necessity of the new birth. He called attention rather to the meekness and purity of Jesus than to His great work as the sin-bearer."³⁰ His message was aptly described as the "Gospel of culture."³¹ Some of his more discerning listeners left St. Gabriel Street for the more evangelical preaching of Mr. Perkins at the American Presbyterian Church or for the Methodist Church. Others called for a new assistant to replace Esson. Indeed, so unsound was Esson's Christology and soteriology that some of his congregation took his views to their logical conclusion and organized the Unitarian Association and Congregation in Montreal.³²

About this time St. Gabriel Street acquired another assistant, Edward Black. Black was born in December 1793, a son of the manse at Penningham, Wigtownshire. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Wigtown and was for five years assistant to his father. In 1823 he arrived in Montreal to take up his position at St. Gabriel Street. It seems that he was much sounder than Esson theologically, and could probably be classed as an evangelical.³³ Not long after his arrival in Montreal, however, problems began and the church soon divided into two camps, one supporting Esson, the other, Black. Esson's supporters included a majority of the temporal committee as well as men such as James Court and John Dougall, while Black's group included a majority of

the elders, as well as John Redpath and Peter McGill.³⁴ The troubles appear to have begun with the circulation of certain rumours concerning Esson's character. The Kirk-Session asserted the right to investigate the rumours, Esson insisted that only a Presbytery could do so. Throughout 1830 and the first part of 1831 the two pastors vied with one another for position and financial control of the congregation. Session meetings were suspended as five of the elders wouldn't work with Esson and communion had not been celebrated since 1829. Matters deteriorated further when in 1831 Esson tried to nominate a new slate of elders. The case was eventually submitted to the first meeting of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland, which met at Kingston in June 1831. An arbitration board was set up which rendered a decision on May 23, 1832, finding that: Esson was innocent of the charges brought against his character; that the actions of Black's were often wrong; that Black was innocent of trying to thrust Esson out of the church; and that Esson should have acted to remove the suspicions concerning his character. Their final decision was that the congregation should be divided in two: Esson to retain St. Gabriel Street and Black and his supporters to form a new congregation. Not until 1833 was the matter finally settled. Black and his supporters worshipped in the Baptist Church in St. Helen Street before their new building was opened in August 1834.³⁵

Apart from the churches originating in St. Gabriel Street, only one other English-speaking Presbyterian church existed in Montreal prior to the Free Church division. This was the

Scottish Secession Church (probably Old Light Burgher) which was formed in 1833 and located in Lagauchetiere Street. It was later renamed Erskine Church after the original 1733 seceders from the Church of Scotland and enjoyed the evangelical ministry of Dr. Taylor.³⁶

Other than the two centres of Montreal and Quebec City there were few Presbyterian ministers or congregations in Lower Canada before 1818. Between that time and 1844, however, congregations were organized to the West of Montreal—to the South along the Chateauguay Valley and to the North in villages like St. Therese, St. Eustache and Lachute. In the Eastern Townships, Presbyterians in 1844 were confined to the more northern counties with congregations being located in Leeds, Melbourne and St. Charles. There were no Presbyterian congregations in the Sherbrooke region, nor to the south along the Vermont border.³⁷

Demographically, the Presbyterians of Lower Canada comprised only an extremely small fraction of the total population (see Table 3). According to the census of 1831 adherents of the Church of Scotland numbered only 15,069 or 2.7% of the total population. Those classed as "Other Presbyterians" had 7,018 adherents or 1.2% of the total population. By 1844 the Church of Scotland's totals had jumped to 26,702 or 3.8%, this rise being probably jointly attributable to Scots immigration and the Union of 1840 with the United Synod of Upper Canada. Other Presbyterians had declined in both absolute numbers and as a percentage of the total population. However,

by 1851-2 they had shown a dramatic increase and outnumbered the Church of Scotland in Lower Canada by approximately 6 to 1. These figures undoubtedly included many who adhered to the Free Church but who were classified as "Other Presbyterians," as the official name of the Free Church was the Presbyterian Church of Canada.³⁸ Certainly the Free Church adherents would have numbered more than the figure of 267 that was given. The county distribution of Presbyterians confirms the pattern already suggested. More than 75% of the Church of Scotland adherents in 1831 were located in the five counties of Montreal, Beauharnois, Quebec, Deux-Montagnes and Bonaventure, while almost 68% of the "other presbyterians" were in the counties of Beauharnois, Ottawa, Montreal and Deux-Montagnes. In 1844 some 86% of the Presbyterians attached to the Church of Scotland were located in Beauharnois, Montreal, Deux-Montagnes, Quebec, Bonaventure, Ottawa, Sherbrooke, and Megantic. As for the "Other Presbyterians" some 74% of them lived in Montreal, Deux-Montagnes, Beauharnois, Vaudreuil, Ottawa and Huntingdon. Needless to say, the presence of Presbyterians did not always indicate the presence of a settled minister or an organized congregations.³⁹

A different picture emerges in Upper Canada. Virtually uninhabited before the Loyalist migrations, and increasingly populated by successive waves of British and American immigrants, either escaping hardship or seeking a new life and lured by the promise of cheap land, the Upper Province had by the 1830s considerable ecclesiastical organization—reflective of both its Scottish and American inhabitants.

The first Presbyterian organization in the Canadas prior to 1831 was the Presbytery of the Canadas, organized in 1818 by Easton of St. Peter Street, Montreal, Smart of Brockville, and Taylor of Osnabruck. This body consisted of members of Scotland's Associate Synod, though they recognized the Church of Scotland's doctrine, discipline, and principles and invited all Church of Scotland ministers in the province to join their ranks. Geographically this presbytery was confined to Montreal and Eastern Ontario.⁴⁰ In 1819 this Presbytery was reconstituted as a Synod, consisting of three presbyteries—two in the eastern regions and one in the Niagara area. The synod disintegrated in 1825 and was replaced by two presbyteries—the United Presbytery of Upper Canada and the United Presbytery of Lower Canada. The United Synod of Upper Canada replaced the United Presbytery in 1831.⁴¹ It consisted of two presbyteries—Brockville and York—and some fifteen ministers. By the time it united with the Church of Scotland in 1840 two more ministers had been added. What had made this union possible was the fact that the United Synod, though secessionist in background, was not voluntaryist.⁴²

There was also in the upper province two small presbyteries: Stamford—organized in 1836 by missionaries of the Associate Church of North America; and Niagara, an independent presbytery, formed in 1833. The Niagara Presbytery showed some growth in the next few years, but suffered because of its American traditions and connections. Some of its ministers and congregations joined the Free Church and by 1849 or 1850 it had ceased to exist.⁴³ Another secessionist presbyterian body which took

root in the 1830s, was attached to the United Secession Church of Scotland. The parent church had been formed in Scotland in 1820 out of a union of two branches of seceders—the New Licht Burghers and the New Licht Anti-Burghers.⁴⁴ Theologically they were Calvinistic evangelicals, in church-state relations voluntaryist. With William Proudfoot as their leader they had in 1834 organized themselves as the Missionary Presbytery. By 1839 this consisted of 15 ministers, 34 congregations or preaching points and about 650 members.⁴⁵ In 1847 this presbytery was renamed the United Presbyterian Church and in 1861 it joined with the Free Church to form the Canada Presbyterian Church.⁴⁶

The presbyterian situation in Upper Canada showed a marked difference from the pattern of the lower province, not only in absolute numbers but also in relative strength. According to the Census of 1842, out of a total population of 487,053 the Church of Scotland could claim 77,929 adherents or 16%, second only to the Church of England with its 107,791 adherents. There were only 18,220 'Other Presbyterians,' a smaller body than the Roman Catholics; the Canadian Methodists; British Wesleyan Methodists and Episcopal Methodists.⁴⁷ As for regional distribution, the Church of Scotland was strongest in the Home, Eastern, Bathurst, and Gore Districts—these four comprising some 52% of the total for the province. The 'Other Presbyterians' had some 72% of their adherents in the Gore, Home, Newcastle, London, and Niagara districts.⁴⁸ In Toronto itself, according to the first religious census of 1841, of a total population

of 14,248 there were 2,217 presbyterians of all varieties, compared with 2,401 Roman Catholics and 6,754 Anglicans.⁴⁹ Interestingly enough, the situation was markedly different ten years later. The total population of the province had almost doubled to 952,004. The Church of England was still the most numerous, more than doubling its number of adherents but only moving up slightly in terms of percentage of the total population—from 22% in 1842 to 23.4% in 1851-2. The Church of Rome was now in second place with 17.6% of the population, but the Church of Scotland had dropped to seventh position. The Wesleyan Methodists occupied third place, 'Other Presbyterians' fourth and the Free Church fifth with 68,807 adherents. Yet as with Lower Canada, many of the 'Other Presbyterians' were probably members of the Free Church.⁵⁰

As for the Church of Scotland before 1831, while lacking in formal presbyterial structures, individual ministers were working in various localities in the province. Their presence in the Canadas and particularly in the Upper Province was greatly strengthened by the work of the Glasgow Colonial Society. Organized in 1825, with the Earl of Dalhousie as its patron,⁵¹ its driving force was its secretary, Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley—a man who was referred to in the Scottish Free Church Assembly of 1857 as "the father of the whole Colonial Missionary enterprise."⁵² Its first missionary to the Canadas was Rev. Alexander Ross who in 1829 was sent to Dundas County. By 1844 some 28 missionaries had been sent to Canada, most to the Upper Province. Twenty-one of these were

still in Canada at the time of the Disruption of 1844⁵³ though only about half of them went into the Free Church in the Colonies, as Burns had done in Scotland. With Burns as its leader, the society was in many ways an arm of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland,⁵⁴ though both it and the Scottish Missionary Society were not officially under the jurisdiction of the General Assembly.⁵⁵ According to a contemporary, both societies were "the results of private Christian faith and zeal; and if they did not knock for admission, year after year, did not do so because they had often been neglected or refused, and had been shown no sign of willingness to open to them."⁵⁶

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland did have its own Colonial Committee, though it may well have been controlled by the Moderate Party. Dr. Macintosh McKay wrote to Dr. Robert Burns in February 1836 arguing that Burns himself "ought to get charge as convener of that committee of the Assembly on Colonial Churches, at the head of which the venerable Principal has slept for some years back."⁵⁷ In 1840 the Glasgow Colonial Society and the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee were merged.⁵⁸

Although there was some measure of ecclesiastical organization among Presbyterians in the decades before 1831, it was not until that year that a comprehensive presbyterial structure was developed for the Canadas. Prompted, partly by Sir George Murray's letter to Sir John Colborne which urged a union of presbyterians in order to facilitate the division of the Clergy

Reserves money, and partly by the troubles in the St. Gabriel Street congregation, Church of Scotland ministers from Montreal to Dundas and Ancaster gathered in Kingston, the second week of June, 1831 and organized themselves as the "Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland." Though professing such an attachment it was to be left to the Scottish body "to determine the particular nature of that connection which shall subsist between this Synod and the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland."⁵⁹ The Synod was then divided into four presbyteries: Quebec, Glengarry, Bathurst and York. Various committees were organized to draft memorials to the Church of Scotland's General Assembly and to the King concerning the Clergy Reserves; and discussions took place regarding the organization of a Missionary Society and a Synod fund.⁶⁰

The following year, when the Synod again met at Kingston the most important topic of discussion, apart from matters of general supervision over the presbyteries, the dispute in the St. Gabriel Street church, questions about the Clergy Reserves and a Seminary, was that of a possible union with the United Synod of Upper Canada, then consisting of fifteen ministers and three licentiates. Such a union had to be on the basis of the doctrine, discipline and government of the Church of Scotland, though this should not have been an insurmountable obstacle. The geographical limits of the four presbyteries were also set at this meeting of Synod: Quebec Presbytery would have responsibility over all of Lower Canada; the Presbytery of Glengarry over the Eastern and Ottawa regions;

Bathurst Presbytery over the districts of Bathurst, Newcastle, Midland and Johnstown, and the Presbytery of York over the Home, Gore, Niagara, London and Western districts.⁶¹

In 1833 the Synod met at York, under the Moderatorship of Kingston's John Machar. By this time the Synod's roll of ministers and congregations had grown to twenty-five each. Sufficient growth had occurred to warrant the division of the Bathurst Presbytery—Kingston being formed as a result. The usual matters of routine business were dealt with: the examination of presbytery records; various addresses and memorials to the King and to Lt. Gov. Colborne were drafted; and discussions took place concerning the Clergy Reserves. Most importantly the Synod received a copy of the "Declaratory Enactment and Recommendation as to Colonial Churches" passed by the General Assembly on May 24, 1833.⁶² This Act established various guidelines for the conduct of the Canadian Synod. In the first place it approved of the formation of presbyteries and synods in the colonies by ministers ordained by the Church of Scotland and subscribing to its standards, worship and government. Care was to be taken to ensure that ministers joining such bodies be ordinands of the Church of Scotland, that they have the commendation of the presbyteries which ordained them and that probationers produce their licenses. Colonial presbyteries, however, because of the "present state of education in the Colonies" were not to license probationers. Moreover, licentiates of the Church of Scotland who were ordained by Colonial presbyteries as well as members of their congregations were to enjoy the full privileges of the Church of Scotland.

Finally, the General Assembly set up a Standing Committee which would correspond with the Colonial Churches "for the purpose of giving advice on any question with regard to which they may choose to consult the Church of Scotland, and affording them such aid, as it may be in the power of the Committee to give in all matters affecting their rights and interests."⁶³ For their part the Canadian Synod accepted this Act as part of its constitution, and further discussions concerning the proposed union with the United Synod of Upper Canada were held in light of it. At the end of these discussions a motion was passed by a margin of nine to seven: that whereas the Canadian Synod could not make a new proposal for union without first consulting the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee, the ministers of the United Synod would be accepted upon subscription of the formula of the Church of Scotland's Act 10th 1711 and upon fulfilling the conditions set down the previous year. An amendment merely to consult the Colonial Committee without offering to receive the United Synod ministers was defeated nine to seven.⁶⁴

The 1834 meeting of the Synod was held in two parts—the first in the St. Gabriel Street Congregation—August 8th to 11th and the second in St. Andrew's, Montreal, October 3rd to 9th. The August meeting was very poorly attended and the discussion was confined mainly to questions concerning the Ministers' Widows' Fund and pertaining to the legal recognition of the Church.⁶⁵

At the adjoined meeting in October discussion seems to have concerned less routine matters. Notification was served of two former Church of Scotland ministers now residing in Canada, both of whom had been deposed in Scotland, one for sexual misconduct, the other on the grounds of criminal actions. Neither was to be allowed to preach, nor to pose as a minister of the Church of Scotland. Questions were also raised about the Presbytery of Toronto having admitted to their roll four ministers—Peter Ferguson, Andrew Bell, James George and Duncan McMillan. At least three of these had been ministers of the United Synod in 1832, and because they were not ministers of the Church of Scotland, they were declared not to be members of the Synod by a small majority. Yet later in the session an Overture was approved which called for the admission of United Synod ministers according to the 1833 resolutions. The Presbytery of Toronto also forwarded an Overture concerning the appointment of a superintendent of missions. William Rintoul was suggested as an appropriate individual to fill the position of Missionary and Corresponding Secretary. Alexander Mathieson of St. Andrew's, Montreal, overtured the Synod calling for elementary schools to be attached to each congregation, under presbyterial supervision, and a committee was struck to which presbyteries were to report their views.

There were problems in the Synod almost immediately following its constitution at Williamstown on September 16, 1835. The Roll of Synod included the same United Synod ministers about whom questions had been raised the previous year. Alexander Mathieson of Montreal protested against their names being

included on the Roll and against the presence of some elders not representing congregations of the Synod. Protests against the roll of the Presbytery of Toronto were upheld by the Synod. Against this Robert McGill, A. Gale, George Cheyne, T.C. Wilson, William McAlister and H. Gordon dissented. As usual, a good deal of the Synod's deliberations concerned such matters as congregational disputes, finances, Synodical records, and missions. It also received William Bell of Perth and Robert McDowell of Fredericksburg as ministers. The Synod also received a petition from William Morris concerning an Act of Incorporation for the Church in Upper Canada, which was referred to the Committee on Calls and Constitutions of Churches. Moreover, in the first notice of the troubles plaguing the Scottish Church, the Synod received an Overture from William Rintoul which referred to the "peculiarly interesting circumstances of the parent Church of Scotland, assailed by her enemies, while she is labouring to advance her internal reformation, and to diffuse more widely, at home and abroad, the light of saving truth."⁶⁶ This was probably a reference to the Voluntary Controversy as it was too early in the decade to be a reference to the controversy over the Church's Spiritual independence, which only began in 1838-9 after the decision of the Court of Session and the House of Lords in the first Auchterarder Case.

In 1836 the Synod met in St. Andrew's Church, Kingston. William Rintoul was elected Moderator and on the Roll of Elders the names of two prominent individuals appeared for the first

time—John Redpath from St. Paul's Church, Montreal and John Mowat from Kingston. Matters of routine business—finances, letters to the Church of Scotland, the examination of presbytery records—were discussed and dealt with. Their 'state of the Synod' address to the Scottish General Assembly outlined their problems and prospects. They commended the Church of Scotland for its zeal in "the high enterprise of Christian benevolence for a wider diffusion and enlargement of Christian education and Divine ordinances," both in Scotland and in the colonies, and this amidst many "unprovoked assaults"—most likely another reference to the voluntaries. At the same time they complained of a shortage of ministers—estimating that there existed some eighty destitute congregations and settlements in the Canadas—fifty in the Upper Province, thirty in the Lower; of the great distances between ministers; the increasing burden of debt in building churches, and of ministers' stipends being in arrears. Yet the Synod did have plans for a theological college and implored the Scottish church to send out more probationers and money, and to help finance the endowment of the proposed seminary.

The Committee to deal with government grants reported that of the thirty-six ministers in Upper Canada twenty-four received £57. 10 shillings per annum from the money allotted for ministers of the Church of Scotland, another two received money from that designated for the United Synod, William Bell received £100 from a special grant and nine ministers received nothing. In addition to this Robert McGill complained of the endowment

of a Church of England rectory in the Niagara Township, arguing that "the temporal interests of his Church, and his own status as a Minister of the Church of Scotland, are injuriously affected."⁶⁷ This matter was referred to a Special Committee of which Quebec City's John Cook was the Convener. Claiming equality of rights and privileges with the Church of England, and suggesting that the government had as much as recognized this, the Synod argued that the Rectories violated this and that:

. . . the said Act gives the established Rectors an ecclesiastical jurisdiction which this Church can never recognize, and manifestly has the effect of placing the Ministers and members of this Church in the same relation to the Episcopal body as dissenters in England are to the Church established there, except in so far as limited by Provincial statute.⁶⁸

The Synod pledged itself to seek redress by legal and constitutional means, and in their address to the King charged the Rectories Act with violating the Act of Union, 1707 between England and Scotland, the Royal Message to the Provincial Legislature of 1832 and the Bill of Upper Canada, 1835.

Robert McGill was the Convener of the Committee to deal with theological education. Its report, which the Synod approved, called for more ministers, expressed its concern over the loss of members due to ministerial shortages, approved of the idea of a seminary and declared its intention of corresponding with the Scottish Colonial Committee with a view to a change in its declaratory Act and with a plea for greater assistance. As for those young men currently interested in pursuing the pastoral ministry, they were to be dealt with

by individual Presbyteries, the suggestion being made to consider sending them to Scotland for further education.

The Presbytery of Toronto overtured the Synod concerning Sabbath observance and the admission of ministers and probationers of the Synod of Ulster. Henry Esson of Montreal forwarded an Overture calling for mission work among the "aboriginal inhabitants," which upon receiving a sympathetic hearing, was referred to the Presbytery of Quebec with instructions to correspond with the Scottish General Assembly and the Hudson's Bay Company.

Henry Esson's name was raised once again during this meeting of Synod, in connection with a pamphlet he had written. The complaint was brought against Esson's pamphlet by a Montreal elder, James Fleming, who charged that it contained views "inconsistent with the standards of the Church of Scotland, and subversive of all religious establishments." The pamphlet in question was entitled: "Prospectus of the Plan and Principles of a Society which is proposed to be formed in Montreal for the attainment and security of Universal Religious Liberty and Equality, and for the immediate and entire abolition of all insidious distinctions in favour of one sect to the exclusion or disparagement of another." Alexander Gale's motion to dismiss the complaint was lost by a vote of twenty to eight and the matter was referred to a committee which, in their report, declared the pamphlet to be indeed 'subversive of the principles of the Church of Scotland.' One of their concerns was that the expression of such views might lessen the Church's chances of receiving government money.

Voluntaryism was discussed further in the context of an Overture from Alexander Mathieson of St. Andrew's, Montreal. The Synod was called upon to discuss various resolutions published by Messrs. McGill, Stark, Ferguson, Bell, Gale and Rintoul of the Presbytery of Toronto. Mathieson charged that the said resolutions were inconsistent with the standards of the Church of Scotland and in his mind they advocated equal privileges to all churches regardless of the correctness of their views. While the Synod did reject these assertions, it did vote 19-8 to receive the Overture. Mathieson moved, seconded by Dr. John Cook, that while the views set forth in the resolutions in question might not be such as was originally suggested, yet its language did suggest movement in that direction and was regarded as contrary to the standards of the Scottish church. Yet Mathieson and Cook went even further in attempting to define the Synod's position on church-state relations. They argued that the state had a responsibility to support the church, and while they admitted that all who taught pure doctrine should receive such support, they asserted the clearly Erastian view that all who wanted such state support should:

. . . give to the Government a declaration of their Religious tenets, and that these tenets be deliberately judged by the Government deserving of such support, because according to the mind of God as revealed in his Word.⁶⁹

An amendment moved by Mr. Roger, condemning the ambiguous language of the Toronto Presbytery resolutions but approving of the feeling behind the language was finally carried over

against Mathieson's and another by Mr. Gordon which disapproved of the resolutions being published so close to the meeting of Synod.⁷⁰

Besides the usual addresses to the Queen and the Lieutenant-Governor, the discussion of finances and government funding and the general oversight given to Presbyteries, the Synod of 1837 did little that was extraordinary. Steps were taken, however, to consider the admission of non-Church of Scotland ministers to the Synod; Duncan McAulay was deposed; the rectories question was discussed; the Synod refused to recommend to their congregations Mr. Smart of Brockville in his capacity as an agent of the British and Foreign Bible society; the Presbytery of Kingston was given the mandate of drafting a Constitution; Toronto was to draft an act to incorporate legally the Synod; and Hamilton was to guide the education of candidates for the ministry.⁷¹

In 1838 the Synod met at Montreal in the St. Gabriel Street Church, John Cook of St. Andrew's, Quebec City, being elected Moderator. The usual questions of the Rectories, theological education, worship, finances, and Sabbath observance, were raised. There was discussion concerning a program of Presbyterial Visitation which the Presbytery of Toronto initiated. After some initial opposition it was agreed that all presbyteries would consider the matter. An Overture from the Presbytery of Toronto concerning the reception of ministers and licentiates of the Synod of Ulster gained the approval of the Synod. It was thus agreed that Ulster men would be admitted upon the following conditions: they must subscribe to

the formula for ministers and probationers of the Church of Scotland; produce extracts of their licences of ordination; produce a certificate of having signed the Confession of Faith, and present a certificate showing them to have been in good standing with one of the presbyteries of the Ulster Synod no more than twelve months prior to application for admission to the Canadian church. The Synod also received the report of its Committee on Relations with the Civil Government. This report contained assertions that the Canadian Synod regarded itself as a branch of the Established Church of Scotland and complained of unjust treatment in the colonies. They wanted equality with the Church of England and objected to members of the Episcopal Church calling themselves the clergy of the Established Church. Loyalty and obedience were commended to the congregations and, adding an ethnic touch to a religious dispute, they asserted the rights of Scots to participate equally with Englishmen "in all civil and ecclesiastical privileges and advantages."⁷²

In July 1839 the Synod met in St. Andrew's, Kingston. The usual matters of superintendence and general functioning of the church were dealt with. A committee was struck to deal with the question of union with the United Synod consisting in the first instance of John Cook, Alexander Gale and John Mowat, with M.Y. Stark added subsequently. To further these negotiations, Messrs. Boyd and Smart as representatives of the United Synod were invited to Kingston.

The ever-active Presbytery of Toronto overturned the Synod concerning "the necessity of adopting more energetic measures

for exposing the errors and repressing the influence of Popery." The report of the Committee which was set up as a consequence of this Overture resolved that, a) ministers should educate their people as to the errors of popery; b) Roman Catholics should not share in the Clergy Reserves, as it was inconsistent for a Protestant Government to support Roman Catholicism; c) any system of National Education "where the use of the entire word of God is not made an essential part of the education of the children of Protestants during the ordinary school hours" would be opposed. John Cook and William Rintoul were appointed to correspond with the General Assembly's committee on Popery, and the Presbytery of Quebec was to consider the matter of French Protestant missionaries. Part of this report was immediately sanctioned; the remainder was referred to the Committee on Relations with the Civil Government.

Before the close of the meeting of Synod a report was brought in concerning the proposed union with the United Synod. Discussions with Boyd, Smart, and two elders, had taken place but there were still obstacles in the way of Union. The United Synod apparently wanted to join only as an independent body. Two motions were moved in response to this report. Dr. Cook moved, seconded by Alexander Gale, that while a union was desirable, it was not possible at this time, and that the Commission should hold additional conferences with the United Synod and should correspond with the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee. In the meantime the Synod would receive all ministers of the United Synod who presented the necessary

papers and who with their congregations, adhered to the formulas of the Church of Scotland. A second motion by T.C. Wilson and William Bell to unite as soon as the United Synod produced an attested roll of its ministers was defeated 14-8.

Steps were also taken at this meeting of Synod towards the ultimate establishment of Queen's College. Approval was thus given to an "Act of Incorporation, to enable Trustees to hold lands and other funds, for the establishment of an Academical Institution for the Education of Youth, and particularly for the Education of Candidates for the Holy Ministry." This bill was to be introduced into the Upper Canadian legislature. While not allowing for material changes in the bill the Commission of Synod was given the "power to withdraw the clause requiring the Trustees to receive and subscribe ex animo its formulas of the Church of Scotland, in the event of the clause proving an insuperable barrier to the passage of the Bill by the Legislature."⁷³ Kingston was chosen as the site of this "Scottish Presbyterian College."

The Church of Scotland Synod, then, about to enter the most crucial and decisive phase of its short history, had experienced substantial growth, both in the number of ministers and congregations. In 1831 there were 19 ministers; in 1839—fifty-five. There were 25 congregations in 1832 and six years later there were 58. Yet the Synod still suffered from an inadequate supply of ministers and money; from the enormous distances between congregations; and perhaps from too much concern with gaining its share of the Clergy Reserve spoils,

and vindicating its rights and privileges over and against those of the Church of England. Moreover it seems to have been lacking in evangelical zeal—especially in the Eastern Presbyteries of Kingston, Bathurst, Glengarry and Montreal. Some of the ministers there may have been tinged with Moderatism.⁷⁴ The Synod also appears to have been dominated by its clerical members. While attendance of clergy at meetings of Synod was low, that of its lay members was deplorable. Apart from a few passing references to the Voluntary Controversy, not much notice had been taken of the dispute in the Scottish Church. This, however, would change soon enough and the years 1840-1844 would be perhaps the most significant in the Kirk Synod's history.

References - Chapter Two

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⁷Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 153-59.

⁸Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 63.

⁹Quoted in Robert Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal (Montreal, 1887), p. 225.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 69-112.

¹¹Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 157-59.

¹²Ibid., pp. 157-63; Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 150-60.

¹³Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 175-78.

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 175-81.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 181-82.

¹⁶ Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 162-63; James Croil, Life of the Rev. Alex. Mathieson, D.D. (Montreal, 1870), p. 113; W.H. Atherton, Montreal Under British Rule 1760-1914 (Montreal, 1914), Vol. 2, p. 278; G.R. Lighthall, A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal (Montreal, 1923), pp. 3, 7-8.

¹⁷ J.I. Cooper has argued that the American Presbyterian Church "represented . . . a very interesting revolt against the old oligarchy of the Scots fur merchants, and against the older orthodoxy of Calvinism." "The Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society," Canadian Historical Review, XXVI, No. 1 (March 1945), p. 42.

¹⁸ Lighthall, American Presbyterian Church, pp. 8, 11.

¹⁹ Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, p. 181; Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 162-63.

²⁰ Croil, Life of Mathieson, pp. 113-17.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 15-40.

²² Ibid., pp. 40-45.

²³ Ibid., p. 47.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 68-77.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 85, 165.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 163.

²⁷ Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 169-174.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 157-66.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 277-283; Ian Rennie, citing Record of June 1853 gives the date of Esson's conversion as 1839. "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State in Canada 1844-1854," unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1954, p. 45.

³⁰ Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, p. 284.

³¹ Ibid., p. 183.

³²Ibid., pp. 285-86.

³³Ibid., pp. 340-43; 362, 364, 286.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 344-46; 383-84; 449.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 344-62.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 523-24.

³⁷Cf. Françoise Noël Smith, "The Establishment of Religious Communities in the Eastern Townships of Lower Canada, 1799-1851," unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1976. See Appendix I, Table A, p. 224.

³⁸John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto, 1959), p. 185.

³⁹Census of 1831 (Lower Canada), pp. 108-09; Census of 1844 (Lower Canada), pp. 146-47.

⁴⁰Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 191, 205-08.

⁴¹Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 70-71; Gregg, History of the Presbyterian Church, p. 370.

⁴²N.G. Smith, A.L. Farris, H.K. Markell, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, n.d.), pp. 19-21.

⁴³Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 83-84; A.F. Kemp, Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, with a Historical Introduction, and an Appendix of Forms and Procedures (Montreal, 1861), p. 275; John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto, 1972), p. 167; William Gregg, Short History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada: From Earliest to the Present Time (Toronto, 1892), p. 7.

⁴⁴J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, 1960), p. 457.

⁴⁵Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 84-85.

⁴⁶Smith, Farris, Markell, Short History, p. 40.

⁴⁷Census of 1842.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Firth, Town of York 1815-1834, pp. xvii, xxvi, liii.

⁵⁰Census of the Canadas, 1851-2.

⁵¹R.F. Burns, The Life and Times of the Rev. Robert Burns, D.D. (Toronto, 1872), pp. 153-54.

⁵²Ibid., p. 154.

⁵³Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 81-82.

⁵⁴Ian S. Rennie, "The Presbyterian Church in Canada," in The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed., J.D. Douglas (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1974), p. 799; W.S. Reid, "John Cook and the Kirk in Canada," in N.G. Smith, ed., Enkindled by the Word (Toronto, 1966), p. 20; Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 82.

⁵⁵R.F. Burns, Life of Robert Burns, p. 172.

⁵⁶Dr. Henderson to R.F. Burns, Glasgow, September 28, 1871, quoted in Life of Robert Burns, p. 172.

⁵⁷Quoted in Life of Robert Burns, p. 165.

⁵⁸H.J. Bridgman, "Robert Burns," Dictionary of Canadian Biography, IX, p. 105.

⁵⁹Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland, 1831.

⁶⁰A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1831.

⁶¹A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1832.

⁶²Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842 (Edinburgh, 1843), pp. 1023-24.

⁶³A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1833.

⁶⁴A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1833.

⁶⁵ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1834.

⁶⁶ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1835.

⁶⁷ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1836.

⁶⁸ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1836.

⁶⁹ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1836.

⁷⁰ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1836.

⁷¹ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1837.

⁷² A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1838.

⁷³ A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, 1839.

⁷⁴ Brown referred in 1845 to Glengarry as "long steeped in the frigid lethargy of a formal Moderatism." Banner, Nov. 21, 1845.

CHAPTER THREE

"A COLONIAL DISRUPTION"

"The battle must be fought by the people of Canada"

-Toronto Banner, March 8, 1844

"Coelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt"

Seneca - quoted in Life of Alexander Mathieson, p. 126

Had there been no Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, there would have been no secession from the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland in 1844.¹ This, however, is not to suggest that the only irritants in the Canadian Synod had been foisted on it by circumstances external to British North America. As we have seen, there was no unanimity within the Synod on such matters as church-state relations or union with the United Synod. Though not as formalized as in Scotland there would also seem to have been a Moderate-Evangelical split among the clergy of the Synod, the Presbyteries of Toronto and Hamilton containing a preponderance of the Evangelicals. Moreover, in the period 1840-1844 other issues arose which further divided the Synod. Despite all this, no occasion arose which would have, by itself, initiated a major secession. Yet the division within the Scottish church demanded a response on the part of the Church of Scotland clergy throughout the Empire, not only in the Canadas, but in the Maritime provinces, and in locations as distant as Australia. This should come as no surprise. Most of the ministers had been

born, educated and ordained in the Church of Scotland and probably considered themselves attached to one of the two great parties which dominated that body. In addition to these more formal links, were those of family, kinship and emotion. Scotland's disputes were the disputes of Scots whether they still resided in Scotland or not. As well, the example of courage and self-sacrifice by those who formed the Free Protestant Church of Scotland, evoked emotional and sympathetic responses from many. Lord Cockburn had called it "the most honourable feat for Scotland that its whole history supplies" and Lord Francis Jeffrey, another of the Justices of the Court of Session had remarked that, "I'm proud of my country; there is not another country upon earth where such a deed could have been done."² Indeed, for Presbyterians in the Colonies not to have taken this secession seriously would have been more surprising, than the course of action many of them did eventually follow.

As we have already seen, the first reference in the Canadian Synod to the problems in the Church of Scotland was an oblique allusion to the Voluntary Controversy made in 1835 by William Rintoul. Yet the Canadian Synod remained virtually silent on the whole issue until 1840 and even then, the matter was mentioned only in passing. The Synod of 1840 met in the City of Toronto from July 2 to July 7.

The most significant single action made by the Synod in 1840 was to finally consummate the union with the United Synod—an action foreshadowed by actions in the colonial legis-

lature to have the United Synod and the Church of Scotland considered as one body for census purposes concerning the distribution of Clergy Reserve money. Seventeen ministers, most of them Irish, one probationer, and sixteen congregations were added to the roll of the Church of Scotland Synod, raising its numbers to eighty-three congregations and seventy-seven ministers. The only attempt to block this union was made by that ultra-traditionalist, Montreal's Alexander Mathieson. He ostensibly wanted further proof of the character and soundness of the United Synod ministers, as well as further advice from the General Assembly's Committee on Colonial Churches, but his attempts to block the union were soundly defeated by a vote of thirty-five to three. Union with the United Synod may have added evangelicals to the Church of Scotland Synod, but it did not add many potential Free Churchmen. Of the seventeen ministers and one probationer who joined in 1840, only five eventually joined the Free Church. The remaining thirteen included two who died before the secession of 1844, ten who stayed in the Church of Scotland Synod and one who remains unaccounted for.³ Ethnically, the United Synod was composed of one minister whose country of origin was the United States; two from England; three Scots; and ten Irish. The American, two of the Irishmen, and one of the Scots joined the Free Church. The two Englishmen, seven of the Irish and one Scot, remained with the Church of Scotland Synod.

There was no debate in the Synod of 1840 concerning the Church of Scotland. The only references are contained in two letters sent by the Canadian synod: one to the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, drafted by Robert McGill, which referred to "our deep sympathy for your beloved Zion in her present state of perplexity and trial"; the other to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This letter, drafted by John Bayne of Galt, contained a stronger reference to the Kirk's problems. Bayne wrote that:

We sympathize with you, at the present moment, in the happy results of that noble stand for the cause of evangelical religion, which, in the face of many difficulties, you have been enabled to make, the more deeply, that the Church of Scotland, which as one delighted to recognize as "our common mother," and which is bound to us by ties of peculiar tenderness and strength, is now involved in difficulties not dissimilar in some respects to those with which you have had to contend, and which at least have called her to stand forth, as the assertor of the same spiritual independence of the church of Christ, which you have been honoured to maintain, and that in consequence she now awakens not a little of the same interest and sympathy which of late we extended to you.⁴

Despite these passing references to the Ten Year's Conflict, it was not until the meeting of Synod in Kingston, July 1 to 6, 1841, that the problems in the Church of Scotland received serious attention from the Canadian Church.⁵ Upon a motion by Robert McGill, seconded by Mark Young Stark, the Synod agreed to "give expression to their sympathy with the Parent Church, in her present trying circumstances." Accordingly a committee, chaired by McGill, was formed to

draft a more detailed statement on the matter. Four resolutions were thus written and unanimously adopted by the Synod. These resolutions reflected in their language and sentiment, the position adopted by the Evangelical Party in the Scottish Conflict. The first resolution spoke of the Synod's "earnest prayer" for the Church of Scotland's success "in her struggle against every encroachment of the civil power on her spiritual independence and jurisdiction, and that she may be a faithful witness to all Christian notions of the true principles according to which the civil magistrate should support the visible kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ." The second resolution stressed the necessity for civil and ecclesiastical authorities to work together, lamented the collision of the two in Scotland, and expressed a hope for the remedying of the situation. The next resolution noticed the increased purity and zeal in the Church of Scotland and expressed a hope that the Scottish Church might manifest "such a spectacle of unity in the faith and such an example of scriptural connexion, with the state, as shall give assurance that the Lord Jesus Christ, for whose Crown and sovereignty she is contending, will make the land an heritage that the Lord has blessed." The final resolution embodied the Canadian Synod's pledge to petition both Queen Victoria and the British Parliament "in support of all the just rights and claims of the Church of Scotland, and in particular that the wishes of the people be duly regarded in the settlement of their Ministers, and that the secular courts be prevented from all

interference with the spiritual concerns of the Church." A copy of these resolutions was to be transmitted to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and in Canada East and West ministers were to inform their congregations of this matter so they too could petition the British Parliament.⁶

The Synod of 1842 which met in St. Paul's Church, Montreal, did not address the problems of the Church of Scotland in a fresh or novel way. They simply resolved that they were

. . . continuing to cherish the sentiments recorded by them during last session respecting the struggle which the Parent Church is at present maintaining against the encroachments of the Civil power, and cordially concurring in the great principles asserted in the resolutions passed by the Commission of the General Assembly, at their meeting held on the 25th of August, 1841, and communicated to this Synod. . . .'⁷

Accordingly, the Synod's Committee on Correspondence was to embody these feelings in its annual letter to the Colonial Committee of the Scottish Church. The Synod not only sent letters to its sister churches in Scotland and the United States, but received them as well. An interesting comment on the situation in the Canadian Synod was contained in the letter from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, dated Philadelphia, June 3, 1842. It asserted that "the man of sin has a firm hold upon your country, and its institutions; and your close connection with the agitated, persecuted Church of Scotland, causes you to be afflicted with her afflictions."⁸

Less than a year after the 1842 meeting of the Canadian Synod, more than four hundred and fifty ministers left the established Church of Scotland, in what was the largest single secession in Scottish church history, to form the Free Protestant Church of Scotland. Thus when some forty-two ministers and seventeen elders met in Synod in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, July 6-12, 1843, they did so in the knowledge that one-third of their ministerial brethren had seen fit to leave the church of their fathers rather than submit to an Erastian civil authority. Surely Henry Esson, as retiring Moderator, must have been thinking of recent events in Scotland when he chose as the text for his opening address: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." The situation in the Church of Scotland was certainly not the only matter before the Synod, but undoubtedly it cast a long shadow over its proceedings.

The matter first came before the Synod in the form of an Overture and Resolution from the Presbytery of Hamilton. A committee representative of the whole spectrum of feeling within the Synod was formed to deal with the question, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. McGill, Machar, George, Cook, Mathieson, Stark, Gale, and two elders, Judge McLean and a Mr. Davidson. This Committee failed to bring in a unanimous report and the question was debated on the floor of the Synod. Five separate motions were moved and seconded; at least two of them reflected the principles of the Free Church; none of

them called for concerted action nor was radical in tone, most lamented the division, and hoped for a reunion. Some attempted to side-step the issue altogether. For example, Alexander Mathieson moved, seconded by Queen's Professor P.C. Campbell, to defer dealing with the question because the Synod had not received any official information from Scotland, nor had enough time elapsed for mature consideration. This was defeated 25-13. Another Queen's Professor, Thomas Liddell, put forward a motion, seconded by Cornwall's Hugh Urquhart, which lamented the split and desired healing, but also wanted the Synod to review its attachment to the principles of the Church of Scotland. The final motion for maintaining the status quo was moved by Professor P.C. Campbell, seconded by Mr. Reid. While acknowledging Christ's headship and the spiritual independence of the church, it suggested that the matter, as far as Canada was concerned, was a question of theory. It called for 'patience and forbearance' and peace within the Churches in Canada and Scotland.⁹

The first of the two motions in support of the Free Church was presented by Mark Young Stark, seconded by Mr. George. It was in the form of a series of propositions: that the Presbyterian Church in Canada was independent of the Church of Scotland, yet it was to many of them the "Church of their Fathers" and had rendered considerable assistance to the Canadian Church; that while no official information had yet been received yet enough was known to state that their sym-

pathies lay with the seceders; that they were thankful not to have been exposed to the evils against which the Free Church had contended yet they still supported the principles of the seceders. A hope was also expressed that good might come of the division and that its example, coupled with the liberties enjoyed in Canada, might spur the Canadians to greater "zeal and fidelity in their labour" and act as a stimulus to the further union of Presbyterians in the Colonies. Moreover, these sentiments were to be conveyed to the Scottish Church Courts. The final motion, put forward by Dr. Cook of Quebec City and seconded by Mr. McGill was to adopt the resolutions drafted by Alexander Gale. In essence, they espoused the principles of the Free Church: the headship of Christ, the independence of the church's office-holders, the right of the people to choose their own ministers; the embodiment of these principles in the constitution of the Church of Scotland as ratified by the state. Sympathy for the seceders was expressed though it was asserted that the Canadian Synod did not have to debate "the practical bearings of these principles" concerning either its spiritual independence or its connection to the Church of Scotland. The Canadian church, it maintained, was not responsible for the actions of the Church of Scotland. The Synod adopted Gale's resolutions but did not do so unanimously. Seven ministers and one elder entered formal dissents: Professor Campbell, Dr. Mathieson, Rev. Messrs. Mann, Reid, McNaughton, McMurphy and Lambie.¹⁰

Although the Scottish church question did not monopolize the meeting of the Synod, its impact emerged in what were perhaps unlikely places. Even before the Synod had formally debated the Scottish question, its impact was noticeable in the case of one Mr. Colquhoun, a minister who had been suspended by the Presbytery of Kingston. Complaints had also been brought against him by some members of his congregation and a complaint filed with the Presbytery. A civil suit had ensued from these proceedings and the Court of Queen's Bench had requested from the Kingston Presbytery certain official papers to be used as evidence. The Presbytery had apparently sought the advice of the Synod and the Synod set up a committee to examine the matter. The report of that committee, tabled by Alexander Gale, indicated an awareness of the Scottish church question. It urged presbyteries to be cautious in cases where charges were to be laid against ministers or members of the church, suggesting that if this were done "the Courts of the Church are not liable to be interfered with by the Civil Courts of the country." At the same time, however, the church courts were admonished to maintain the purity of the church "and in no degree to compromise the integrity and independence of their spiritual jurisdiction in any measure, whatever trouble may arise to them in the maintenance of the same."¹¹

Following the debate on the Disruption in Scotland and the acceptance of Alexander Gale's resolutions the Synod received and read a letter from Dr. David Welsh, Convener of

the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, dated Edinburgh June 14, 1843. This letter contained an explanation of why the Disruption had occurred, called upon Scots in the colonies to proclaim and uphold the principles of the Free Church and urged Canadians to follow "the path of duty." Concern for these colonial Scots was expressed and an offer of help held out, so far as the Free Church was able, if in following their consciences, those in Canada suffered any losses. The Free Church's Colonial Committee also intimated what they were "already prepared to continue operations in sending out Ministers to destitute localities, and they are ready to receive applications upon the subject." Despite Welsh's letter the Synod agreed to go no further than Gale's resolutions and to transmit a copy of these to the Free Church.¹² The Free Church was thus faster off the mark in communicating with the Canadian Synod than was the Established Church of Scotland. It was not until after the close of Synod that the latter body drafted an address to the Colonial ministers. This came in the form of a letter from D. Macfarlan and James Grant of the "Committee of the General Assembly for promoting the religious interests of Scottish Presbyterians in the British Colonies," dated Edinburgh August 10, 1843. The purpose of this letter was "to state to you the present position and prospects of the Established Church, and to request of you such information as may guide the Committee in their future operations on behalf of their colonial Brethren." Moreover, it was their expressed hope that the Colonial

ministers would "adhere steadfastly to the Church of our Fathers."¹³ Much to the chagrin of the Banner and others in the Canadian Synod, this letter was sent not to the Synod but directly to individual ministers and presbyteries and received a favourable reply from the Presbytery of Bathurst which declared its support for the Established Church.¹⁴

One critic, the Rev. Henry Gordon of Gananoque, argued that the answer of the Presbytery of Bathurst to the letter from the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee "can by no stretch of ingenuity be construed in any other way, than as standing opposed to the testimony in favour of the Free Church contained in the Synod's Resolutions."¹⁵

The position adopted by the Synod of 1843, though obviously sympathetic to the Free Church of Scotland, was relatively mild, and did not pledge the Canadian Synod to any direct course of action. Yet within the year, the Synod had experienced its own division and a Free Church had been established in the Canadas. Two factors go a long way towards explaining this development: the appearance of the Toronto Banner and the visit to North America of deputies from Scottish Free Church.¹⁶

From its opening issue of August 18, 1843, the Toronto Banner was a vocal and articulate ally of the Free Church supporters in the Canadian Synod.¹⁷ Its editor was Peter Brown, an expatriate Scot who had been living in New York City, where he had successfully established his own paper, the British Chronicle.¹⁸ In that first issue he set the tone for much of his later writing on this question, describing the recent Disruption of the Church of Scotland as "an event

unparalleled in the world."¹⁹ The Banner was a journal of opinion and as such undoubtedly helped mould the ideas of many in the Presbyterian community on this and other issues. It was also one of the main sources of information concerning the relative prospects of the Free and Established Churches of Scotland, and the actions of the Canadian Synod. In fact, thanks to Isaac Buchanan, who silenced Hugh Scobie and the British Colonist, the Banner had the field virtually to itself, and settlers in remote areas of the province received only Free Church news.²⁰ Indeed, one of the Free Church deputies, visiting Toronto in 1844, commented that the Banner:

. . . has devotedly espoused the cause of the Free Church; and if the spirited conductors could infuse some cooling drops into their political zeal, involve the cause of the Free Church less with the politics of the provinces, and use a little more of the 'suaviter in modo' in writing of opponents who may be as honest as themselves, The Banner will deserve to become 'The Witness' of Upper Canada, and be entitled to the support of all true Presbyterians.²¹

The Banner provided a forum for debating the merits of the Free Church question. Between the meetings of the Synods of 1843 and 1844, such a debate took place. As well, a groundswell of support for the Free Church at the congregational level was revealed. The members of Thomas Alexander's congregation in Coburg, for example, asked their minister to preach on the Free Church question and to take up a collection for the Scottish seceders. Alexander preached August 20, 1843 from the text 1 Chronicles 19:17: "And now I have seen with joy thy people, which are present here, to offer will-

ingly up to thee," and £20 was collected for the Free Church.

Not all of the Banner's correspondents, however, were willing to take as decisive a step towards the Free Church. Robert McGill, though perhaps an evangelical, urged a cautious approach. In a letter dated Niagara, September 11, 1843, he stressed the independence of the Canadian presbyterian church, claimed that the Established Church of Scotland was no worse now than it had been when the Canadian Synod was formed, and while sympathetic to the Free Church, wanted to maintain fellowship with both Free and Established Churches and wanted to avoid bringing the dispute to Canada.²² Yet one correspondent, identifying himself only as "a Minister of the Church of Scotland" took issue with McGill. He insisted that the question dividing the two churches in Scotland was an extremely important one: "it is one which involves that which is essential to the glorious Gospel—whether Jesus Christ is lord over his own house or not . . . whether Jesus Christ, speaking by his word, or the Erastian tribunals of man, were to be obeyed." Hence to maintain fellowship with the Church of Scotland was an act in which:

. . . we distinctly homologate and approve of all its Erastian and unevangelical principles—we declare as plainly as an act is capable of declaring a doctrinal principle, that we consider it no sin to tamper with Christ's institutions, and no treason to set his glorious crown upon the head of a sinful man—we declare, in short, our readiness to give to the civil courts, the things that are God's.

It was asserted, moreover, that to maintain fellowship with both Free and Established churches would have adverse effects

in Canada; among other things it would make the people indifferent to "evangelical religion."²³ Similar sentiments in support of the Free Church were expressed by ministers such as William Rintoul of Toronto and Robert Boyd of Prescott, a former United Synod minister. In Boyd's view those who left the Church of Scotland to join the Free Church "threw all overboard for the principles of the New Testament! I rejoice that the Established Church of Scotland possessed the men who have given such a disinterested example of pure fidelity on behalf of the Headship of Christ."²⁴

As the year drew to a close, support for the Free Church grew. The Presbytery of Hamilton, acting on an Overture from John Bayne of Galt, took a stand on the side of the Free Church of Scotland and her principles.²⁵ The Smith's Falls Congregation met October 10, 1843 and by a vote of twenty-six to four decided to make known their views on the recent Disruption. Accordingly, they passed the following resolution:

That in the opinion of this meeting the rights and privileges guaranteed to the Church of Scotland at the treaty of union have been invaded by the civil powers, and that the principles for which the Free Presbyterian Church has contended are the great and true principles laid down in the word of God for the regulation and government of the Church of Christ.

They also took issue with the recent actions of their own Presbytery of Bathurst as tantamount to supporting the principles of the Established Church of Scotland; and with the ministers of that Presbytery for presuming to represent congregational views without having first consulted them. Tribute to the sacrifice made by those who left the Church of Scotland

were forthcoming and copies of these resolutions were to be transmitted to the Free Church's Colonial Committee, and published in various Upper Canadian newspapers.²⁶ The Banner praised these resolutions:

We hail their appearance as an indication that the hearts of the Presbyterian people here beat in unison with the Free Church of Scotland; that no consideration of worldly interest will prevent that free expression of attachment to the genuine principles of the Gospel for which their countrymen have been so long distinguished, and for which they readily laid down their lives in former times, when duty called on them to do so. We hope this lesson given by the people of Smith's Falls will not be lost, but that many will profit by it.²⁷

Others like Mark Y. Stark of Dundas, were insistent that the Canadian Synod was independent of the Church of Scotland and that its position in Canada re endowment was on the same basis as that of the United Synod. Moreover, he supported the principles of the Free Church and argued that "they are the principles on which I was inducted into my pastoral charge here, and the principles I have ever since maintained; they are the principles which have been constantly recognized by our Synod, and which never have been, and I believe never will be demurred to by the Government of this country; as involving any contradiction to the relation in which we stand to them."²⁸

Another member of the Synod, T.C. Wilson of Perth, adopted a curious position. Although professing agreement with the Free Church, he questioned the necessity of their secession, arguing that they should have stayed in the Church of Scotland, repealed the Veto Act when it was declared to be illegal and

worked towards the reform of that church. Such sentiments would suggest that he little understood the principles of the Free Church. Above all he wanted to maintain the ties between the Canadian Synod and the Established Church of Scotland.²⁹

Obviously not all presbyteries sided with the Free Church sympathizers. The Presbytery of Montreal, for example, after receiving Dr. Grant's letter pledging the assistance of the Church of Scotland, voted 9-6 to thank the Colonial Committee and passed by a vote of 11-3 Alexander Mathieson's motion to overture the Synod to

. . . declare that the connection with the Established Church of Scotland as it has hitherto existed, and as set forth in the Declaratory Enactment of Assembly, 1833, shall continue; and inasmuch as said connection involves no spiritual jurisdiction over the churches so in connection, that the Synod shall disapprove of all agitation of questions that tend to divide and distract our churches, and shall enjoin her ministers and member to follow no divisive course.³⁰

In addition to the discussion among members of the Canadian Synod over the merits of the Free Church question, ministers of the Synod found themselves engaged in a debate with those outside their denomination. John Jennings, a minister of the United Secession Church in Toronto challenged Mark Young Stark's assertion that the Canadian Synod was independent of the Church of Scotland. He argued that the Canadian Synod had been endowed on the basis of its attachment to the Church of Scotland and that to break the ties with the Scottish church would mean relinquishing those endowments (though

the Voluntaryist Jennings questioned the necessity of endowments). He also challenged the Synod to declare openly their attachment to Free Church principles. Though this might precipitate a division in the Synod, it was suggested that this might further a union with the United Secessionists.³¹ In reply, Stark was insistent on the independence of the Canadian Synod and gave expression to his church-establishment principles. Though he later served as the first Moderator of the Free Church in Canada, at this point Stark was reluctant to break completely with the Church of Scotland. In his view, while in error on various matters, it still contained "many evangelical and faithful Christians, and many sincere and humble Christians."³²

Some ministers of the Canadian Synod were not content merely to debate the issue nor to wait for their brethren to act, but took decisive action on their own. Thus Robert Boyd of Prescott and William Smart of Brockville, along with the seven congregations under their care, left the Canadian Synod before the end of October 1843. As far as Boyd was concerned, his actions were informed by two fundamental considerations: his abhorrence with the Temporalities Bill and his opposition to the Canadian Synod's close connection with the Established Church of Scotland. He candidly described the latter body as having "compromised the fundamental principles of Presbyterianism, in reference to the spiritual government of the Church; and that, in her present position, she is utterly incapable of governing the Church by the constitution of the

New Testament." In his eyes, staying would involve disowning Christ and violating his conscience.³³ One might have expected Peter Brown to have supported such actions. However, it had been Brown's insistence that the Canadian Church was in fact independent of the Church of Scotland, its connection involving no more than ties of "common belief and adherence to the Westminster Standards such as exists between all Presbyterian bodies, whether in Scotland, England, Ireland or in the United States."³⁴ On this occasion he argued that had the Temporalities Bill been passed, the secession of Boyd and Smart would have been warranted. However, he doubted if the bill would be passed and was critical of the two seceders for not having raised their objections to the bill in Synod. He did agree with Boyd's objection to the title of the Bill with its reference to the Canadian Synod's connection to the Church of Scotland, but asked: "how is that phrase to be got rid of, if those who are most zealous against it retire from the Church." Brown went on to argue that Boyd and Smart were not in the same position as the Scottish Free Church ministers who could not remain in the Established Church without obeying the civil courts and going against conscience. Those men, he argued, "were all exposed to ruin from civil judgements continually issuing against them, the penalties of which they were unable to pay." The Canadian situation was different—patronage did not exist and there were no civil encroachments. What he wanted, then, was for the Canadian Synod to drop from its name the phrase "in connexion with the Church

of Scotland" and declare its independence as the "Presbyterian Church of Canada."³⁵ In subsequent editorials he urged the union of all Canadian Presbyterians.³⁶

Yet Boyd did not let Brown have the final word. In a letter of November 29 he defended his actions. He explained that he thought the Temporalities Bill would become law and consequently decided to leave with his congregation before that happened rather than afterwards when they would have lost their church property. And in a strong voluntaryist statement he declared himself to be now "done, and for ever, with all connection with Ecclesiastical Establishments, and with all those who advocate them."³⁷

As can be readily seen, one of the principal sources of irritation in the Canadian Synod was the so-called Temporalities Bill. Probably owing much to Peter Brown's discussion of the bill in the pages of the Banner, it became something of a cause célèbre among Presbyterians and contributed in no small measure to the split which ultimately occurred in July 1844. It has been suggested by many writers, contemporary and present-day, that there was no reason for the Disruption in Canada, that it was a prime example of the transfer of a foreign dispute to Canada. While true in most respects, such a position fails to appreciate the furore raised by the Temporalities Bill.³⁸ Though not in itself sufficient to precipitate a split, the Temporalities Bill seemed to give the Scottish dispute a Canadian relevance that facilitated the secession.

The Temporalities plan had been drafted by a Committee of Synod consisting of Machar, Liddell, Campbell, Gale, Mathieson, and three laymen. It had been presented to the Synod of 1842, and had received the unanimous approval of the Synod of 1843. It provided for the temporalities to be managed by a seven-man committee consisting of three elected by the pew-holders and three appointed from among the elders, and the minister. This plan was embodied in a bill which Hon. John Neilson introduced into the Assembly. Peter Brown learned of the bill in October-November 1843, regarding it as a plot concocted by those in the Synod who were attached to the Church of Scotland. Brown got copies of the bill from James Morris and John Sandfield Macdonald. However, because of a printer's error the title had read "An Act to Provide for the Management of the Presbyterian Church of Canada" instead of "An Act to Provide for the Management of the Temporalities of the Presbyterian Church of Canada."³⁹

Peter Brown was one who perceived the bill as ominous. In an editorial of November 3, 1843 he argued that "the reiteration of the phrase 'in connection with the Church of Scotland,' fixes the Canadian Church, so far as the words will warrant, in an alliance with the Residuary Church for ever, for it alone retains the name of 'the church of Scotland.'" He further characterized the bill "as of a most decidedly Erastian character" and went on to argue that although the bill professes to deal only with the matter of temporalities, yet "many of its details are in striking con-

tradition to any idea of spiritual independence, and open a door for the civil courts in every respect controuling and over-ruling the Church."⁴⁰

Not only did the Banner rail against the bill, but congregations held meetings to discuss the question and passed resolutions against it. A meeting was held in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, Nov. 6, 1843 at which criticisms were raised against attempts to pass the bill without the consent of congregations and against ministers and elders controlling church property. The seventh resolution of this meeting was aimed at perceived Erastianism in the bill. It declared:

That this congregation repudiates the right of the Legislature, to prescribe rules for the appointment of the necessary officers, or for the management of the internal affairs of the Church, or for the regulation of public worship or discipline; and that this power seems to be assumed in the bill entitled 'An Act, dc.'⁴¹

The Ramsay congregation in the Presbytery of Bathurst, already agitated by a dispute between the majority of the congregation and the elders and trustees over a ministerial appointment⁴² met November 23, 1843. This meeting expressed sympathy for the Free Church principles and commended its actions "for the cause of pure and evangelical religion." They then denounced the Temporalities Bill title as "Erastian in principle, in so far as it professes to regulate the management of the Church; by legislative enactment—a course of procedure which is at variance with every principle of Presbyterianism." Objections to various provisions in the bill were raised and a warning issued that the bill would be bad for congregations, the Church

of Scotland in Canada as a Church of Christ and "deeply injurious to the cause of evangelical religion in general."⁴³

Similar sentiments were expressed at meetings held in Galt, Cobourg, Perth, Caven, South Gower and Mountain, Oxford and Nelson. Significantly, some of these congregations while voicing their opposition to the Temporalities Bill also expressed their support for the Free Church of Scotland.⁴⁴

Perhaps one of the strongest denunciations of this bill came from Rev. Robert Boyd, who felt compelled to leave the Synod on account of it. In a letter to the Banner of November 7, 1843 he wrote that "The Synod of Canada has snatched at power, which did not belong to it, and thereby, contrary to the word of God, invited the Parliament to legislate for it, and thus, in my humble opinion, lays at the very foundation of the evil." In his view this bill was an attack on Christ's headship over the church. Boyd continued in his condemnation:

As the 'proposed Act' purports to bind 'all the churches that are now built, or that may hereafter be built, 'in connection with the Synod of Canada, to remain in connection with the Established Church of Scotland, by the strong arm of the law—to change the title deeds of churches, and thereby subvert the invested rights of the Christian people—to exclude ministers and people from holding any office in the Church, unless they be British subjects—to impose unnecessary oaths on the Trustees—to prevent the Children of God, in full communion, from voting for any officer, or holding any office in the Church, because God has not made him twenty-one years of age—to encourage lawsuits—to give power to the clergy, by the mode of appointing the Trustees—to excite animosities by annual elections, and to prevent the Christian people from electing all the Trustees; to save myself and people from the sin, and innumerable pernicious effects of said 'Proposal Act'. . . .⁴⁵

The Committee which the Synod set up to oversee this bill, consisted of many of the older establishment's figures from Kingston and Montreal: namely Rev. John Machar, Kingston (Convener); Rev. Principal Liddell, Kingston; Rev. Professor Campbell, Kingston; Rev. Dr. Mathieson, Montreal; Rev. Alexander Gale, Hamilton; Hon. John Macdonald, Gananoque; Hon. Thomas McKay, Bytown and Edward W. Thomson, St. Catharines.

John Machar defended the bill in a November 8, 1843 letter to the British Colonist which was reprinted by the Banner. Machar charged that the bill was not Erastian and even suggested that the bill was to correct a situation which came close to being Erastian.⁴⁶ He attacked the Banner as "ignorantly and recklessly misrepresent[ing]" the view of the Synod. Brown, in turn, responded to Machar, insisting that various clauses were Erastian; others merely "unwise" and arguing that the bill "is more Erastian in its principles, and does more to secularize the Church than any act of the civil courts in Scotland, which the majority [of the Synod] condemned in July." He vigorously objected to the Canadian church being tied to the Established Church of Scotland by this bill, the more so because a new link was being forged with a church which had abandoned the headship of Christ. He thus wrote that:

A name assumed as one merely of distinction before the disruption of the Church, becomes a serious matter when the Church of Canada goes to Parliament, and asks the head of the English Church to incorporate then under that title, while they had so lately borne so strong a testimony that the Headship of Christ had been in effect disowned by the Established branch of the Church.⁴⁷

William Rintoul of Streetsville also defended the bill and pointed out that the title had in fact been altered by the Legislature.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Brown reiterated his position that the bill was unnecessary.⁴⁹ The Presbytery of Hamilton, meeting in January, 1844, passed a motion which began by pointing to various considerations which had led to dissatisfaction with the bill—ignorance, accidental delays and printer's errors. Yet they noted that the bill had been shelved and pledged that any future temporalities bills "shall be brought before their congregations in sufficient time to have it satisfactorily considered before it shall be introduced into the Legislature."⁵⁰

The New Year brought with it a continuation of the debate which had marked the previous Autumn. The Temporalities Bill had been withdrawn from the Provincial Legislature, though the feelings it had excited undoubtedly persisted just beneath the surface. Yet the debate on the relations of the Canadian Synod to the Established Church of Scotland continued and intensified. A vigorous champion of that connection emerged, in the person of Professor Peter Colin Campbell of Queen's College, Kingston. Campbell had come to Canada in 1835 under the auspices of the Glasgow Colonial Society and had served a pastorate in Brockville. Following a short teaching career at Queen's, in 1845 he returned to Scotland and was later Principal of King's College, Aberdeen.⁵¹

Campbell wrote to the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, January 12, 1844, in an effort to elucidate the connection

which existed between the Canadian Synod and the Church of Scotland. He was critical of the position enunciated by many in the Synod that this connection only implied that the Canadian church had originated with the Church of Scotland: that its ministers were former Church of Scotland men and that both churches embraced a common doctrine, discipline, and worship. Rather he set forth a number of propositions, arguing that this connection implied the following:

1. "that so far as the Church of Scotland can possibly exist in Canada, we are that Church."
2. "a recognition by that Church [of Scotland] of our asserted identity with it."
3. "Our 'connection' with the Church of Scotland does not imply subjection to the jurisdiction of the Church Courts of the Mother Country."
4. "The 'connection' does not imply that our Ministers or Members may not, as individuals, disapprove of any acts of the Church of Scotland, or that they are restrained from the expression, as individuals of such disapprovation."
5. "The 'connection' implies that our Church Courts cannot, without impropriety, claim a right to pronounce judgement on the acts of the Church in Scotland."
6. "The 'connection' implies Ministerial and Church Communion, in the very fullest sense."
7. "The 'connection' does not imply that all our Ministers could conscientiously occupy stated changes in the Mother Country."
8. "it implies, at the very least, the treatment by us of that Church, with which we are in connection with affection and respect, and the maintenance with it of unrestrained official and Christian intercourse."

Campbell finally asserted that there was nothing in this connection with the Church of Scotland "to call forth uneasiness

or regret, still less to justify any man speaking or acting as to weaken or dissolve it."⁵²

Campbell's letter was reprinted by the Banner and called forth a vigorous reply from its editor. Brown called Campbell a "learned disciplinarian of the Residuary School" and his letter, both a "moderate manifesto," and "a piece of special pleading . . . in behalf of a bad cause." He criticized and dissected each of Campbell's propositions in turn. Significantly, he regarded Campbell's letter as having thrown down "the gauntlet to the Presbyterian Church of Canada, on behalf of the Residuary part of the Church of Scotland" and its whole tenor implying subjection of the Canadian church to the "Residuary" Church of Scotland. To Brown's mind what was now needed from Canadian presbyterians was a firm declaration of religious freedom. Though he suggested that this would probably not mean giving up her government endowments, yet if necessary, was certainly worth the price. A call was then issued for a separate Presbyterian Church of Canada, asserting that "you must go to that altar, from which your sister Free Church has taken her live coals and you must raise the flame through the length and breadth of the land." He continued, linking the Temporalities Bill and Campbell's letter:

Let every sincere member of the Presbyterian Church occupy his watch-tower, and we shall hear no more of any attempt to bring our branch of the Church of Christ under bondage, either by Parliamentary Act, or by the management of moderate Divines.⁵³

Professor Campbell replied to Peter Brown in a harsh and vicious letter to the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette, dated January 23, 1844. He called into question the Banner as an

organ of the denomination (though the Banner never claimed as much) and accused Brown of ignorance, misrepresentation and false reporting of the situation in the Synod. The Banner, he asserted, practised "a style of journalism suited only to the atmosphere of the country which you have lately left, and to which no friend of religion or of Canada cares how soon, for your own good and ours, you may return." He called Brown "a firebrand amongst us" and charged that he had come to Canada "as the mercenary of religious warfare."⁵⁴

Campbell's original manifesto also evoked a response from an anonymous Montreal layman who can be clearly identified as a Free Church supporter. This writer, in a letter to the Montreal Herald, admitted that the connection between the Canadian and Scottish Churches was "a very intimate one, and, therefore, all the more to be deplored." He wanted a firm ruling on the question of the independence of the Canadian church; if it is independent, any attachment to the Church Scotland can be broken; if it is not independent, it must become so.⁵⁵

The case for maintaining the ties with the Established Church of Scotland was thus stated by Professor Campbell of Queen's. Those on the opposite side of the question did not, however, remain silent. At a meeting of the Presbytery of Hamilton, January 10 and 11, 1844, a revised Overture from John Bayne was adopted. This Overture, while asserting that the Canadian Synod was an independent body and thus not directly involved in the Scottish Church Question, nonetheless

declared that the principles enunciated by the Free Church "have always been held by them as the original and unalterable principles of the Church of Scotland, and that they are still determined to enforce them as principles involved in the doctrine of the headship of Christ, and identified with the purity and liberty of the Christian Church." These principles were identified as: non-intrusion, the non-interference of the State in the making or breaking of a pastoral relationship; the legitimacy of a church - state relationship, but one in which the state must acknowledge the church as independent in matters ecclesiastical, and moreover, that any aid given by the state must not infringe on any Christ-given rights or liberties—any violation of these "involves treason to Christ—the sin of acknowledging not Christ, but Caesar, as the Head of the Church." The Hamilton Presbytery went beyond this to insist that all ministers, probationers and elders, henceforth admitted to the denomination give "a distinct and unequivocal expression of their adherence to the aforesaid principles" and that these be added to the formulas requiring subscription. Copies were to be sent to both the Free and Established Churches of Scotland to inform them of the terms on which office-holders would be accepted in the Canadian church. The letter to the Free Church was to indicate support for their stand and a desire for friendly relations. That destined for the Established Church was to impart "a solemn but affectionate remonstrance against their departure from the principles of the Confession of Faith and of the church of their Fathers."⁵⁶

For the most part Brown was pleased with the actions of the Hamilton Presbytery.⁵⁷ Though critical of what was perceived as an assertion of the right of church courts to control congregational funds and property, he nonetheless asserted that this Overture was "an honourable testimony to the great truth, that Christ alone is Head of His church, and that all who assume that right are usurpers."⁵⁸ Brown's solution to the problem in the Synod was simple enough—drop the words "in connexion with the Church of Scotland" from its name and thus declare the Canadian Church to be "free and independent."⁵⁹ In an editorial of February 23, 1844 Brown developed this line of argument:

. . . it is not possible that the Synod can longer remain in connection with a body which has allowed the Great Head of the Church to be set aside, and the Civil Courts or Acts of Parliament to become their guides and rulers in spiritual matters. Although the civil power has not yet offered to exercise any control in such matters here it would strengthen the hands of the Church at home, and encourage them in their present course to let it appear that the Church of Canada was still in connexion with them. It would indeed be an 'unholy alliance,' and most inconsistent, after the terms which have been employed either directly or indirectly in characterizing the policy adopted by the Established or Residuary branch of the Church.⁶⁰

What Brown thought best for Canada was an independent church in union with all Evangelical Presbyterians based on the standards of the Church and the principles of the Free Church.⁶¹ Interestingly enough, Brown did not envisage a split within the Canadian Synod as a consequence of breaking the ties with the Church of Scotland. However, he asserted

that a split would undoubtedly occur if these ties were not broken.⁶²

The Commission of Synod—that body set up each year to watch over the interests of the Synod in the interval between its regular meetings—met on February 15, 1844. It recommended that a special meeting of the Synod be held in May in lieu of the regular July meeting. In the meantime ministers and people were enjoined to avoid divisive courses and anything which might disturb the peace, unity or spiritual health of the church. This May meeting does not seem to have been held.

Between this February meeting of the Commission and the July meeting of the Synod, neither ministers, their congregations, nor the Free Church of Scotland itself, were inactive. At the February 29 meeting of the Presbytery of Quebec Dr. John Cook put forth a motion calling for adherence to the Resolutions of the Synod of 1843 and the avoidance of a disruption in Canada. Yet at the same time he called for a legislature enactment stipulating that the property of the Canadian Church was held by ministers and congregations "of 'the Presbyterian Church of Canada, adhering to the standards and worship of the Church of Scotland' without regard to its connection with any other ecclesiastical body." It was Cook's assertion that the Canadian Church had a civil but not a spiritual connection with the Established Church of Scotland because its share in the clergy reserves was held on account of that relationship. He suggested, moreover, that a person's attitude to the Solemn League and Covenant

or his view on Church-State relations were not of first importance.⁶³

Not surprisingly, Brown was critical of Cook's motions. As for making inquiries concerning a person's stand on the Headship of Christ, he asked "When men come from a district affected by the plague, is it not natural to examine whether they have the disease or not?"⁶⁴ He had previously asserted that "the battle must be fought by the people of Canada," and asked:

Will the Scotch people of Canada indeed pass over to a Church which has bowed the neck to its Erastian yoke, or will they at once assert their independence? Will they pass over to their children an Act of Parliament Church, or a Church which can conduct its affairs on scriptural principles, and in accordance with its venerated standards? Will the Church of Canada assume the cold and meagre and withered aspect of Moderatism, or will it assume the healthful and missionary character of the Free Church of Scotland, whose praise is abroad over the world?⁶⁵

On the eve of the Disruption in Canada, then, the Synod was divided into three distinguishable camps. There was one group which demonstrated strong support for the Established Church of Scotland and for maintaining the links between its and the Canadian Synod. The leaders of this group were men like P.C. Campbell, Alexander Mathieson, Thomas Liddell,⁶⁶ Edward Black and many of the members of the Presbytery of Bathurst.⁶⁷ It is also evident that they were in communication with the Colonial Committee of the Established Church of Scotland,⁶⁸ and according to Peter Brown they had as their mouth-piece the Kingston Chronicle and Gazette which he described

as "the champion of the moderate party of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, with Professor Campbell at his back."⁶⁹

At the opposite extreme in the Synod were a group of ministers who were either strong supporters of the Free Church of Scotland or wanted the Canadian Synod to be entirely independent. In this group can be placed John Bayne of Galt, William Rintoul, and Henry Esson.⁷⁰ Also in this camp were William Smart and Robert Boyd, though by this time both had left the Synod. At the least, these two were in communication with the Free Church's Colonial Committee.⁷¹ This party had the support of the Toronto Banner and its irascible editor Peter Brown.

There was also in the Synod a group in the middle, composed of ministers who were probably evangelical and who exhibited support and sympathy for the Free Church of Scotland, but who did not want to completely cut the ties with the Auld Kirk. This middle group would probably have contained men like T.C. Wilson, Robert McGill and Mark Young Stark. John Cook might also be placed in this group.⁷² One of the Free Church deputies, George Lewis, described him as "one of the ablest men" in the Synod. "He is also a man of great candour, and very fit to be a leader at this crisis, had he more moral earnestness." Noting also that Cook had a church, manse, schools and a prosperous congregation, he commented that "these things, I fear, will entangle."⁷³

Stark's principles and feelings were on the side of the Free Church of Scotland. In February 1844 he intimated that there would be no split in the Canadian Synod unless the issue

was pressed on them by the Established Church of Scotland and the British Government. "If they force us to a declaration of our principles," he wrote, "to an adherence to the one party or the other as a condition of our retaining these privileges I believe there are few . . . who will not take the part of the Free Church." He believed, however, that the Canadian Synod could retain its independence and receive ministers from the Free and Established churches.⁷⁴ One month later Stark wrote that:

I feel very anxious about our position here and have been doing all in my power to keep down excitement. The conduct both of the Establishment and the Free Church towards us here has been very inconsiderate—they are both manifestly anxious by any means to hook us on to their respective parties and have been tampering with individuals rather than corresponding through official channels with us as a church—apparently unconcerned about us farther than that they may attach us as adherents to their own side of the question.

He still maintained the Canadian Synod's independence and eschewed any unnecessary disputing about Scottish questions which didn't affect them. He was worried, though, that there were "some hot and fiery spirits among us—principally of the Moderate party who may give us some trouble."⁷⁵

Besides the ministers of the Synod who supported the Free Church, there existed a group of prominent laymen who were active on her behalf. The most notable was organized in Montreal. The Montreal Free Church Committee first met January 6, 1844 in James R. Orr's house in St. Paul Street, the assembled group organizing themselves as "a Committee

for the furtherance of the cause of the Free Church in this city and in the Province."⁷⁶ Present at this meeting were twelve men: William Bethune, John Redpath, J.R. Orr, Archibald and David Ferguson, William McIntosh, William Hutchison, James Morrison, Evandor McIvor, Archibald McGoun, and Alexander and Donald Fraser.⁷⁷ Soon afterwards, four others were added: Dr. Macnider, Adam Stevenson, Joseph McKay, and James Court, making a total of sixteen.

Its leader was John Redpath. Born 1796 in Earlston, Scotland, he was orphaned and emigrated to Canada in 1816. He began work as a stone-mason and was later involved in many of Montreal's business enterprises—the best known of which was his sugar refinery. On arriving in Montreal he first worshipped in the St. Gabriel Street congregation, but being evangelical he was not sympathetic to the early Esson, and left with Mr. Black for St. Paul's. There he served as Superintendent of the Sunday School and in 1835 was ordained as an elder. He espoused the principles of the Scottish Non-Intrusionists but wanting to have the liberty to hold such views he resigned as Superintendent at St. Paul's⁷⁸ and returned to the St. Gabriel Street congregation. He was able to do so because "he found that Mr. Esson and the majority of his congregation occupied common ground with him on the questions involved in the Free Church controversy." However, he was not happy with the "spiritual atmosphere" in St. Gabriel Street and left after only a short time there. His Free Church Committee, nevertheless, had in its purview, the formation of a new congregation which would "adequately represent

the revived spiritual life of the Free Church, as well as its merely political views."⁷⁹ That congregation became the Coté Street Free Church.

The social dimensions of the Disruption in Montreal has received recent attention. One commentator has argued that:

. . . the Disruption in Montreal was the result of a movement of artisans, traders, and rising manufacturers in opposition to the established mercantile elite who supported the Church of Scotland.⁸⁰

However attractive this thesis may be, there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that it deserves, at the very least, the Scottish verdict of 'not proven.' The situation in Montreal was complex, and ultimately resulted in two separate Free Church congregations being established. Indeed, a detailed analysis of Free and Kirk supporters suggests that social origin and occupation are not reliable guides to behaviour in a religious conflict.⁸¹

Redpath and his committee not only organized their own congregation but they helped diffuse Free Church ideas throughout the wider community. This was done in part by encouraging the Free Church deputies who were visiting the United States in the Spring of 1844 to come to Canada.⁸² This was precisely what the supporters of the Auld Kirk feared. Alexander Mathieson of Montreal, in a letter of November 10, 1843, probably to the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee, expressed the fear of "the appearance of an emissary among us to excite the discussion of this question."⁸³ The Free Church was aware of the necessity of sending representatives

to Canada and communicated with their American deputies accordingly.⁸⁴

In the Winter and Spring of 1843-44 the Free Church of Scotland sent a contingent of four ministers and one layman to North America in an effort to gain financial and sympathetic support. The most prominent of these deputies, and the first to leave Scotland⁸⁵ was William Cunningham, a man who had already proven himself to be an able debater in the church courts and an accomplished pamphleteer during the Ten Year's Conflict. Following the Disruption of 1843 he taught Church history and was later Principal of New College, Edinburgh. He was a man of great scholarship, though most of his work was published posthumously, including his two-volume magnum opus—Historical Theology. "As a theologian," one observer of the Scottish scene has noted, Cunningham was "the most eminent of the group of Evangelical divines of his age."⁸⁶ Indeed, Thomas Chalmers, who more than any other man epitomized the Free Church of Scotland, commented to the Presbytery of Edinburgh soon after Cunningham's appointment to a Chair in New College that the new professor "has a mighty and overwhelming power of argument, combined with a rich and varied theological erudition; indeed, I know no man so versed in the lore of ecclesiastical antiquity and of all ecclesiastical literature."⁸⁷ The rest of the deputation consisted of Henry Ferguson, a merchant and Free Church elder from Dundee who had been hand-picked by Chalmers himself;⁸⁸ Rev. William Chalmers, Rev. George Lewis of Ormiston, and the most important as far as Canada was concerned, Dr. Robert Burns of

Paisley,⁸⁹ long time secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society and later minister of Knox Church, Toronto and Professor of Divinity in Knox College, Toronto.

The deputation went first to the United States though they divided the work in two: Lewis of Ormiston concentrating on the Southern states; Burns and Cunningham on the North. Cunningham had left Scotland in December 1843 and stayed in North America for more than four months. He travelled to New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Richmond and Baltimore and in Washington was to have preached before Congress but illness prevented his doing so.⁹⁰ He also visited Princeton, New Jersey, where he stayed with Dr. Charles Hodge, the eminent Old School Presbyterian theologian.⁹¹ Hodge and Cunningham had never met before, but a contemporary observed that it was as if Hodge "had met an old friend from whom he had long been separated. And so it was with Cunningham too. The two greatest theologians of the age were at once friends and brothers. They seemed at once to read and know each the other's great and noble minds."⁹² Looking back on this meeting with Cunningham, Hodge wrote that "I do not recollect of ever having met anyone to whom I was so much drawn, and for whom I entertained so high a respect and so warm a regard as I did for him, on such a short acquaintance."⁹³

Various sums of money in aid of the Free Church were collected in both the North and the South. A minister in New Brunswick, New Jersey, reportedly gave \$500, and two congregations in New York contributed upwards of £1000.⁹⁴ The Rev.

George Lewis was in attendance at the 1844 Old School General Assembly in Louisville, Kentucky⁹⁵ where the suggestion was made that collections for the Free Church be raised in locations where the deputies would be unable to visit. Some Old School Presbyterians were suspicious of the Free Church, suspecting some members of being hostile on the matter of fellowship with slaveholders. Ironically, the acceptance of money from Southern contributors prompted charges throughout 1844-1846 from American and British Abolitionists that the Free Church had accepted 'blood-stained' money.⁹⁶ In all, the Free Church deputies raised about \$9,000 in the Southern States and about \$3,500 in the North. The amounts might well have been larger had more deputies been able to canvass larger areas.⁹⁷

Cunningham had been invited to visit Canada⁹⁸ and had even made plans to visit such locations as Quebec, the Glen-garry region, Bytown, Montreal, Cornwall and Perth⁹⁹ but this failed to materialize. However, Dr. Robert Burns spent considerable time travelling throughout Upper and Lower Canada, defending the position of the Free Church and soliciting money for its support.

Burns had left Liverpool on Monday, January 8, 1844 and arrived at New York February 7. Soon afterwards he joined up with Cunningham and the two of them travelled together for about two months. Burns travelled up and down the Eastern Seaboard throughout February and March, going as far south as Richmond, Virginia, and stopping in Washington

where he attended Congress and met President John Tyler. He visited (among other places) Baltimore, Philadelphia, Princeton, New York and New Haven before arriving in Boston. He was in Boston on April 4, where he heard Daniel Webster speak and then he proceeded west through New York state, finally arriving at Niagara on April 10. There he was met by Robert McGill and Alexander Gale, two ministers of the Canadian Synod, beginning a nearly two-month tour of Upper and Lower Canada and the Maritime provinces. Along the way he stopped in places like Toronto, Hamilton, Dundas, and Cobourg (where he collected nearly £200). He arrived in Kingston on April 19 and was met by an "active committee." While there, he visited the Governor and met Principal Liddell and Rev. John Machar. Machar had written to his sister the previous month in reference to the proposal visit of Cunningham and Burns that: "Receive them kindly we shall some of us assuredly do, but as we are yet in a Church in connection with the Established Church of Scotland,—to be honest, we must be determined to act consistently with that title in our intercourse with them."¹⁰⁰ From Kingston Burns travelled east to Brockville and Prescott where, according to Mr. Smart, "Delegates from the greater part of the churches in these parts met Dr. Burns . . . to confer with him as to the future proceedings of the Church in Canada."¹⁰¹ Burns then went to Cornwall, Lachine and Montreal before proceeding to Quebec City. In Montreal he visited John Redpath, met various people at Henry Esson's and spoke to a full house in the American

Presbyterian Church on April 30. This meeting passed motions in support of the Free Church and received a collection for the Free Church building fund. Burns spoke and was thanked by John Redpath and J.R. Orr. The following day he met privately with individuals and on Thursday May 2 spoke to about seventy people at a public breakfast at Rosco's Hotel. According to a report in the Banner he "expressed his regret to find the friends of evangelical principles among the Presbyterian Clergy of Canada so disunited among themselves, and exposed the gross inconsistency" of those who claimed to uphold the principles of the Free Church, but for fear of losing their endowments remained connected to a Church which had given up those very principles.¹⁰² After visiting Quebec City Burns travelled to Halifax via Boston and from there to Dartmouth, Pictou, Truro, New Glasgow and Charlottetown. On May 31 he was back in Halifax and on June 3 set sail for Britain aboard the Britannia.

While in Canada, Dr. Burns composed a pamphlet consisting of a letter which Dr. William Cunningham had written to Henry Esson—dated Boston April 9, 1844; a section written by Burns himself; and a letter from Dr. David Welsh as Convener of the Free Church's Colonial Committee to the Moderator of the Synod of Canada. This pamphlet was published in Montreal by J.C. Beckett, and expressed in strong language the necessity of the Canadian Synod declaring its allegiance to either the Established or the Free Church of Scotland. Dr. Cunningham argued that:

I think the Colonial Churches have such a connection with the Mother Church, in virtue of their Ministers being licensed and ordained by her, that it would be morally dishonourable in them to abstain from substantially taking a side in the great contest for principle, which is now waging again, as in days of old, in Scotland, the selected battle field for maintaining the Crown rights of the Redeemer.¹⁰³

Burns, for his part, asserted that "it appears to me that you are bound in honour and conscience to declare that the Free Church, as adhering to these principles, is the genuine representative of that venerable church to whose standard you adhere; and that with us, therefore, you desire to maintain the closest brotherhood."¹⁰⁴ Moreover, the Canadian Synod, he declared, cannot maintain this connection to the Church of Scotland "without serious injury to your spiritual interests as a church."¹⁰⁵ Welsh's letter was even harsher. He declared the present position of the Canadian Synod as "in the eyes of all, equivocal, unsatisfactory, and liable to grave misconstruction, and as, in the judgment of many, betraying a marked and serious inconsistency."¹⁰⁶ The Canadian Synod's attachment to the Church of Scotland, he asked, was "it not such a connection, as may render the Synod to some extent partaker of her sins?"¹⁰⁷ The Canadians must declare their allegiance to the Free Church of Scotland; to continue its connection with the Established Church will be perceived as either approval or as "a sacrifice of divine truth to interest and expediency."¹⁰⁸ The Church of Scotland had a "violated constitution" which "they can no longer respect, and whose sinful subserviency to the secular power

they must deplore and condemn."¹⁰⁹

Rev. Henry Esson of St. Gabriel Street, Montreal, also wrote a pamphlet dated June 21, 1844. With less than three weeks to go before the meeting of Synod in Kingston, Esson argued for a wholehearted identification with the Free Church of Scotland. The Canadian Synod, he argued, must take the high road of principle, and eschew all connection with the Church of Scotland. It was, he maintained, in part a question of consistency, of the Canadian Synod remaining faithful to its resolution of previous years:

For have we not given the kiss—the embrace of a disciple to the Free Church, and shall we, Judas-like turn the next moment to betray her and her cause? God forbid.¹¹⁰

As for those in the Synod who had already pledged their adherence to the Establishment, "they will take their place in history by the side of the Presbytery of Strathbogie, or the patron and presentee of the Presbytery of Auchterarder."¹¹¹ He ended with a warning that "if we separate our cause from that of the Free Church, we take away our vital influence and commit a suicidal act. The day that we conclude our union with the establishment, will sound our death knell."¹¹²

Such writing no doubt influenced many in the Synod to take a stronger stand for the Free Church of Scotland. Welsh's letter in particular, strengthened the Free Church party, by assuring them of support. John Bayne of Galt, concerned over the possible loss of Clergy Reserve money, was buoyed up by this letter.¹¹³

The visit of Burns to Canada undoubtedly encouraged the Free Church's supporters already in existence, though whether he won any converts to the cause is difficult to ascertain. Certainly he upset those who desired peace for the Synod. Thus John Machar wrote on June 11, 1844 that:

The Deputation has been here, and the consequences are just what was anticipated. It is easy to excite strife among brethren;—far easier than to unite them in the bonds of love. A storm has been raised which may not soon be laid. Wounds have been inflicted upon a Church ill able to bear them, and which half a century may not heal.¹¹⁴

Between the arrival of Dr. Burns in April, and the opening of the Synod on July 8 Canadian Presbyterians were active on many fronts. The Toronto Banner continued to argue the case for cutting all ties with the Established Church of Scotland. In an editorial of May 17 Peter Brown asserted that if this connection were not severed "a door will be opened for interference of the Civil Courts as in Scotland." He thus argued that ministers from such churches as the Free Church, the Associate Synod or the Irish Presbyterian Church might be prevented by the civil courts from taking up charges in the Canadian Synod. A call was issued for the mobilization of congregational opinion, for resolutions to be forwarded to both Presbyteries and the Synod, and for sound elders to attend the meeting of Synod. Brown also suggested that help would be forthcoming from the Free Church of Scotland in the post-Synod period.¹¹⁵ The Montreal Free Church Committee also remained active. John Redpath wrote to Dr. Burns on May 28, 1844 informing him that a memorial was being sent to

the Free Church's Colonial Committee requesting both a minister and an evangelist.¹¹⁶

In addition to the activities of men like Brown and Redpath, congregational meetings were held in various Upper and Lower Canadian centres. Some congregations were, of course, content to insist on a change in the Synod's title, assert that the Canadian Synod was independent, or to attempt to avoid letting the issue divide the Canadian church.¹¹⁷ Others were more vocal in their support of the Scottish Free Church. A meeting in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, which was chaired by Isaac Buchanan and attended by George and Peter Brown, took a passing swipe at the Temporalities Bill and passed a resolution insisting that if the Synod did not terminate its relationship with the Established Church of Scotland then they would regard the congregation's connection with the Synod to be at an end.¹¹⁸ Another congregational meeting, this time in St. Andrew's Church, Cobourg, declared its "particular affection for the Free Church of Scotland, recognizing in her, their Parent Church—and a true Church of the Reformation—inasmuch as she has come so boldly forth in defense of great principles, and renounced her temporal advantages, that she might, under the guidance of her King and Head, be better able to maintain them in their purity and integrity."¹¹⁹ Indeed, on the eve of the Disruption in Canada the Banner listed seventeen congregations which had "declared for entire independence."¹²⁰

It was not always so at the Presbytery level. The Montreal Presbytery voted 11-3 to stay with the Established Church of Scotland until both parties agreed to cut the ties¹²¹ and a meeting of the Toronto Presbytery on June 25 adopted a series of resolutions declaring that the Canadian Synod was in fact independent, and that while it respected the Free Church and would have fellowship with it, it did not feel compelled to go beyond this.¹²²

While undoubtedly some ministers and laymen looked forward with keen anticipation to the July meeting of Synod, this was not a unanimous sentiment. Writing to his sister in March, 1844, John Machar, minister of St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, intimated that:

The Synod meets here in July, and here, we are told by the newspapers, the battle must be fought. The meaning of which is just this:- the poor Presbyterian Church of Canada, her ministers and people, who have not a single reason for separation, but every reason to preserve union, must, for some days, oppose each other, and then separate, to hinder each other's work, instead of unitedly advancing the Kingdom of their common Lord.¹²³

On the eve of the meeting of Synod, Stark wrote to his mother that, "I feel very anxious in regard to the result of that meeting—opposing parties are beginning to run very high so much so that I fear it may be difficult if not impossible to find any medium ground on which they will both meet." His concern at this point was for unity in the Synod as "necessary . . . to the support of an effective Presbyterian Church order in this country" to "oppose the growth of irreligion and immorality around us."¹²⁴

The Synod of 1844 met in St. Andrew's Church, Kingston, between July 3 and July 10. As retiring Moderator it was John Clugston's responsibility to preach at the opening session, and he chose an appropriate text: "We are troubled on every side" (2 Corinthians 4:8). No sooner had the time come for making up the Roll but the troubles began. Oddly enough, Messrs. Smart and Boyd were in attendance and their names on the roll, despite their having already seceded from the Synod. Dr. Mathieson protested against these two ministers being included on the roll and there was further difficulties concerning the commissions of two elders from the Presbytery of Kingston. Later in the Synod the committee which had been established to confer with Boyd and Smart reported that Boyd was retracting a letter he had written to the Bathurst Presbytery and both he and Smart agreed not to participate in the proceedings of the Synod until they had met with their Presbytery. As for the two commissioners from Kingston Presbytery it was finally decided that one could remain, but Alexander Gale's motion in support of the other commissioner lost by a vote of 25 to 45.¹²⁵

Soon after the opening of the Synod the great questions which had been debated for the past three years came to the forefront. It was agreed that part of the second day would be spent in prayer for the church's troubles and that in the afternoon a "friendly conference on the same subject would be held." The Synod had received various petitions, memorials, resolutions, and overtures concerning its present

troubles and much of the discussion in Synod concerned the relations of the Canadian church to the Established Church of Scotland.

In what seems to have been a peacekeeping action, Dr. John Cook of Quebec City moved that the Synod try to determine the points on which its members were agreed. Accordingly he set forth the following eight propositions, four of which were agreed to unanimously; four which were dissented to, though admittedly by small numbers.

1. "The Church of Scotland does exercise no jurisdiction over the Synod of Canada" (6 dissents)
2. "The Church of Scotland does not claim jurisdiction over the Synod of Canada" (7 dissents)
3. "The Church of Scotland is not entitled to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Synod of Canada." (3 dissents)
4. "The adherents in this Province have ample liberty in the election of their ministers" (all agreed)
5. "There has been no interference whatever, on the part of the Civil Powers, with any of our Ecclesiastical Courts" (all agreed)
6. "There is not, at present, so far as can be reasonably judged, any prospect of such interference with the Ecclesiastical Courts" (1 dissent)
7. "There is no external or legal let or hindrance to the extension of the Church in this Province" (all agreed)
8. "There the alleged causes of disruption at home do not exist here." (all agreed)¹²⁶

A Committee, consisting of most of the leading ministers and elders and representing most shades of opinion, was set up to "consider and report on" the Synod's relations to the Church of Scotland.

It was quite apparent that this Committee was unable to reach unanimity on this issue. Following its meeting five separate series of resolutions were put before the Synod, three of which occupied the middle ground and two the extremes. The first of the mediating ones was moved by Dr. John Cook and seconded by Mr. George. It declared that the Synod's "spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction" "has always been, now is, and ought to be free, final and uncontrolled"; that it and all future ministers and probationers in it, must maintain this "supreme jurisdiction." However, all sound, qualified ministers and probationers would be accepted in the Synod without regard to their denomination of origin. Yet to avoid exacerbating the Canadian situation, correspondence with the Church of Scotland would cease for the time being.

John Bayne and Alexander Gale, two of the most vociferous supporters of the Free Church of Scotland, moved the second series. They agreed that the Canadian Synod, notwithstanding its title and receipt of Clergy Reserve money, was independent, and not responsible for the actions of the Church of Scotland. Yet it was admitted that the relations between the two churches have been close and therefore to avoid being seen as sanctioning the actions of the Kirk which caused the Disruption, this "peculiar connexion" with the Church of Scotland must be dissolved and the phrase "in connexion with the Church of Scotland" dropped from the Synod's title. Moreover, if it was necessary to receive the sanction of the civil

authorities for this name change in order to retain the property this would be sought. If, however, the loss of property was necessary, they would forego it. Finally, they upheld the Synod's resolutions of July 1841 and argued that the Disruption in Scotland was "vital and fundamental" and "inseparable" to the "purity and efficiency of any church of Christ."

The resolutions of Robert McGill and John Clugston attempted to occupy a middle position, but in doing so appear confused and inconsistent. They stated that in the past the Canadian Synod had "a respectful and filial regard to the Church of Scotland" but was not answerable to its General Assembly. Moreover, because it was open to misinterpretation the designation "in connexion to the Church of Scotland" would be dropped from the Synod's title. Whether or not this meant anything, is, however, questionable, for it was asserted that such a change in its name was not to mean that the Canadian Synod was not the "proper representative of the Church of Scotland" nor was it to prohibit "fraternal intercourse" with the Church of Scotland or other presbyterian bodies so long as this did not infringe on the Synod's independence. Henceforth the church would be designated as the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada "adhering to the standards of the Church of Scotland and maintaining her form of worship and government." A motion by Professor Campbell of Queen's and Dr. Mathieson of Montreal suggested that any attempt by the Synod to change its name would be ultra vires,

endanger some of the property, should not be done without consulting the entire church and therefore the matter should not be discussed. Shortly afterwards they withdrew their resolution. Another motion, this time by Urquhart of Cornwall and Cruickshank, suggested that it was not necessary for the Synod to discuss "the practical bearings of those principles which have so unhappily divided the Church of Scotland." This was the state of affairs as they stood on the Saturday.

On Monday, July 8, Cook and George withdrew their fourth resolution concerning correspondence with the Church of Scotland and on Tuesday McGill and Clugston withdrew their resolutions. Dr. Mathieson and some others protested that their participation and voting was done notwithstanding their conviction that the entire debate was "objectionable, or unconstitutional, or incompetent, or ultra vires" and should not affect their status nor their right to "remain and continue to be" the Synod in connexion with the Church of Scotland. The motions of Dr. Cook and Mr. Bayne were then put before the Synod. Cook's carried by a majority of 56-40 and Urquhart's motion was added to Cook's first three resolutions and was agreed to without a vote. Bayne and some thirty-seven ministers and elders dissented from this action (including one who added his dissent the following day).

Mark Young Stark wrote to his wife at 8:00 A.M. Wednesday, July 10, referring to the "deplorable step which we were constrained to take in bringing resolutions to the vote which must lead to a disruption." He also intimated that a meeting of

Bayne's supporters was scheduled for 9:00 A.M., with the Synod beginning at 10:00 A.M. Stark also remarked, interestingly enough, in reference to the Kirk supporters that, "I understand there is war in their camp already" and anticipated seeing Clugston, McGill and possibly Cook coming over to their side.¹²⁷ As it was, only Clugston eventually ended up in the Free Church camp. In December 1844 Stark condemned the inconsistency of those who had sided with the Free Church supporters before the Disruption and yet who remained in the Kirk Synod and became opponents of the Free Church. "Many of them went much farther in condemning the conduct of the Church of Scotland than I did," he argued, but when "our church property and our endowments were endangered now their tone is completely altered."¹²⁸

Some two weeks after the Disruption, Stark remarked that "I was prepared to make great concessions but after the necessity for disruption was evident I felt it to be a relief to my conscience that I was no longer called upon to do so but could give full expression not only in words but practically to the principles I maintain."¹²⁹

On July 10, 1844 Stark demitted the office of Moderator and was replaced by Dr. Cook. John Bayne then presented his reasons for dissent from the previous day's decision and protested that he could no longer remain as a minister of the Synod.¹³⁰ Thus he argued that the Synod had failed to "testify against the defections and corruptions" of the Established Church of Scotland and had refused to sever the "peculiarly close and untenable connexion" with that denomi-

nation. He presented seven reasons for dissent. These, in essence, amounted to an assertion that the Synod has failed to give its support to the Free Church of Scotland in the way that they ought to have, and have continued in their connexion to a church which is in error on a number of serious points. He concluded by asserting that:

. . . by continuing the peculiar connexion which has hitherto subsisted between them and the Established Church of Scotland, we solemnly protest to this venerable court, before God, the Church of Christ, and the world, that it is our conscientious belief, that in respect of the premises, sin, in matters fundamental, has been done by this court; and that . . . we can yet no longer with a clear conscience, hold office in the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connexion with the Church of Scotland.¹³¹

It seems clear that the Disruption in Canada occurred for a number of reasons. Some commentators have pointed to the geographical basis of the split: the older sections of the province—Montreal, Quebec, Glengarry—remaining with the Church of Scotland; the newer areas—Toronto, Hamilton, and London—going with the Free Church.¹³² Yet as we have seen, there were strong pockets of Free Church supporters in these older, settled, regions—particularly in Montreal, Kingston, and Belleville—while some in the Hamilton area remained with the Kirk. For many people, the availability of a Free or Kirk minister would tip the scales towards that church.¹³³ Some were undoubtedly concerned about the loss of property and endowments; others refused to split their congregation over what was regarded by many as points of questionable relevance to Canada. Nonetheless, a number of factors appear

to have been crucial in precipitating the secession. There was a theological cleavage within the Synod and most of the younger, evangelical ministers went into the Free Church. At the same time, the pressures which were brought to bear upon the Canadian Synod by both the Established and Free Churches of Scotland, forced the Canadians to take sides in the Scottish dispute. Indigenous factors, such as the Temporalities Bill debate, fuelled the situation. Given such a choice between remaining attached to what was perceived as a dead, Erastian Establishment, or aligning oneself to a spiritually-alive and active Free Church, it is not surprising that many chose the latter.

References - Chapter Three

¹Some of the main works in which the Disruption of 1844 are discussed are: John A. Johnston, "Presbyterian Disruption in British North America," unpublished B.D. Thesis, Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1953; John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto, 1972); John S. Moir, Enduring Witness (Toronto, n.d.); N.G. Smith, "By Schism Rent Asunder: A Study of the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1844," Canadian Journal of Theology (October 1955), Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 175-183; N.G. Smith, A. Farris and H.K. Markell, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, n.d.); W.S. Reid, "John Cook and the Kirk in Canada," in N.G. Smith, Enkindled By the Word (Toronto, 1966); H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1956).

²Quoted in J.H.S. Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland (London, 1960), pp. 351-52.

³See Appendix III.

⁴A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1840, p. 41.

⁵Although the church courts had not taken any decisive action, individual ministers were in touch with Scottish events. Mark Young Stark, for example, was in regular communications with family and friends in Scotland. By September 1840 he had read Hamilton's pamphlet, noting that "it completely expresses the views I have taken in the matter." U.C.A. Stark Papers, Mark Young Stark to Dugald B. Stark, September 30, 1840. Box 1, Envelope 8.

⁶A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1841.

⁷A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1842.

⁸A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1842.

⁹A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1843.

¹⁰A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1843. Rennie characterized these resolutions as "temporizing" because of financial considerations in the face of the possible loss of church property, clergy reserve funds, and Queen's. "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State," pp. 40-42.

¹¹A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1843.

¹²A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1843. There is a copy of Welsh's letter in the Queen's University Archives, Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Box 4, Folio 35.

¹³Quoted in Banner, September 29, 1843.

¹⁴Banner, September 22, 1843; October 27, 1843. The Presbytery of Toronto denounced this as "having a tendency to subvert Presbyterial order and produce dissension in this church . . .," Banner, November 24, 1843. Individual congregations, like that of Beckwith also reacted unfavourably to the actions of the Presbytery of Bathurst. Banner, December 8, 1843.

¹⁵Banner, December 22, 1843.

¹⁶Bridgman argues that "Even if Burns had not toured British North America the disruptions would have taken place, and resulting votes would probably have been very similar." "Three Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada," pp. 255-6. Ian Rennie, on the other hand, sees Burns' tour as pushing members of the middle party more towards the Church of Scotland party. "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 72. John Moir tends to see Burns' tour as strengthening the Free Church cause. Enduring Witness, pp. 103-4.

¹⁷The Synod of 1842 approved an overture concerning the establishment of a religious newspaper, but declined to form one themselves. They did, however, recommend that their Montreal and Quebec members form an organization for this purpose and call an editor. A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, 1842. Nothing more seems to have come of this. It is unlikely that the ministers of Montreal and Quebec would have called Peter Brown. According to Ian Rennie, the invitation to Peter and George Brown came from Rev. William Rintoul on behalf of 45 clergy and laymen, including McGill, Rintoul, George, Gale, Bell, Barclay. Most of the clergy, he suggests, were Free Church sympathizers. "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State," p. 51. Cf. Globe, December 16, 1861. As well, in a letter of August 20, 1844, Rev. Henry Esson wrote to Rev. Thomas Henry, referring to immediately starting a Record in Hamilton "Which might do till a regular paper could be established at Montreal." P.C.A. Henry Esson Papers.

¹⁸On Brown and the Banner see Vaudry, "Peter Brown, the Toronto Banner and the Evangelical Mind in Victorian Canada"; J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe, I, The Voice of Upper Canada 1818-1859 (Toronto, 1959), pp. 1-65.

¹⁹Banner, August 18, 1843.

²⁰Bridgman, "Isaac Buchanan and Religion," pp. 28-31;
Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State,"
pp. 65-66.

²¹George Lewis, Impressions of America and the American Church: from the Journal of the Rev. George Lewis, one of the deputation of the Free Church of Scotland to the United States (Edinburgh, 1845), pp. 347-8.

²²Banner, September 22, 1843.

²³Banner, October 13, 1843.

²⁴Banner, October 20, 1843.

²⁵Banner, October 27, 1843.

²⁶Banner, October 27, 1843.

²⁷Banner, October 27, 1843.

²⁸Banner, October 27, 1843.

²⁹Banner, November 3, 1843; November 24, 1843.

³⁰R. Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church,
pp. 458-9.

³¹Banner, November 10, 1843.

³²Banner, November 24, 1843.

³³Banner, November 17, 1843.

³⁴Banner, October 27, 1843.

³⁵Banner, November 24, 1843.

³⁶Banner, December 8, 1843.

³⁷Banner, December 8, 1843.

³⁸Moir recognizes the importance of the Temporalities Bill. Cf. Enduring Witness, p. 103.

³⁹Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 52-56.

⁴⁰Banner, November 3, 1843; cf. November 10, 1843. On November 21 at a meeting of the Banner's supporters, the clergy tried unsuccessfully to censure the paper for its editorial policy. Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 56.

⁴¹Banner, November 10, 1843.
Oliver Mowat, though suggesting that no one had examined the bill closely, wrote to his brother John that "The objections were that the Synod were interfering by the course they had adopted with what they had no right to interfere—that the people's property was going to be taken from the hands of those to whom they had entrusted it, without the consent of the people being obtained or even asked—that the power in temporal matters which the Bill proposed to give the Ministers and their sessions was much to be deprecated—that the Bill was imposing on Ministers an intolerable indignity in requiring from them an oath as to the accuracy of their accounts &c &c," Oliver to John Mowat, November 7, 1843, in Peter Neary, ed., "Neither Radical nor Tory nor Whig: Letters by Oliver Mowat to John Mowat 1843-1846," Ontario History, LXXI (June 1979), p. 98.

⁴²Cf. Banner, September 1, 15, 22, 29, 1843.

⁴³Banner, December 15, 1843.

⁴⁴Banner, November 17, 24, December 8, 18, 1843.

⁴⁵Banner, November 17, 1843.

⁴⁶Banner, November 17, 1843.

⁴⁷Banner, November 17, 1843.

⁴⁸Banner, November 13, 1843.

⁴⁹Banner, November 17, 1843.

⁵⁰Banner, January 26, 1844; Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 103.

⁵¹F.E.S., Vol. 2, p. 215; Vol. 7, pp. 378-379, 629.

⁵²Banner, January 19, 1844.

⁵³Banner, January 19, 1844.

⁵⁴Quoted in Banner, February 2, 1844.

⁵⁵Quoted in Banner, February 9, 1844.

⁵⁶Banner, January 26, 1844.

⁵⁷The Presbytery of Hamilton had a committee which was to investigate the legal consequences of altering the Synod's name, and had been in touch with legal counsel on this question. Alexander Gale to Mark Young Stark, May 14, 1844. P.C.A. McCollum Papers, Box 4.

⁵⁸Banner, January 26, 1844.

⁵⁹Banner, January 26, 1844.

⁶⁰Banner, February 23, 1844.

⁶¹Banner, February 23, 1844.

⁶²Banner, February 23, 1844.

⁶³Banner, March 15, 1844.

⁶⁴Banner, November 15, 1844.

⁶⁵Banner, March 8, 1844.

⁶⁶Liddell, interestingly enough, was an 'old friend' of Rev. George Lewis, one of the Free Church deputies, and was an advocate of the total abolition of patronage in Scotland. Lewis, Impressions . . . of American Churches, p. 350; Banner, September 26, 1845.

⁶⁷Banner, March 1, 1844.

⁶⁸Banner, March 8, 1844; March 29, 1844.

⁶⁹Banner, February 2, 1844.

⁷⁰Banner, March 1, 8, 15, 1844.

⁷¹Banner, March 9, 1844.

⁷²Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 64-5.

⁷³Lewis, Impressions . . . of American Churches, p. 363.

⁷⁴U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9. Stark to his Mother, February 11, 1844.

⁷⁵U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9. Stark to Mrs. Young, March 11, 1844.

⁷⁶Rev. D. Fraser, A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Cote Street, Montreal; Read to the Congregation at their Annual Meeting on the 25th April 1855 (Montreal, 1855), p. 2. Atherton, Montreal Under British Rule, Vol. 2, p. 277, gives the date as January 10, as does Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, p. 512.

⁷⁷Fraser, Rise and Progress of Cote Street, p. 2.

⁷⁸The date of his resignation was apparently January 30, 1844. Campbell, St. Gabriel Street, p. 390. On John Redpath see G. Tulchinsky in D.C.B. IX, 654-655, and Rev. D.H. MacVicar, A Sermon, Preached in the Canada Presbyterian Church, Cote Street, Montreal, On Sabbath, March 14, 1869, on the occasion of the death of John Redpath, Esq. (Montreal, 1869).

⁷⁹Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 388-391.

⁸⁰Lynda Price, Introduction to the Social History of Scots in Quebec (1780-1840) (Ottawa, 1981), p. 31.

⁸¹See Appendices IV-VI; the details of the disputes in St. Gebriel Street are recounted in Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 461-69; 479-80; 508-09.

⁸²J.A. Johnston, "Presbyterian Disruption in B.N.A.," p. 64.

⁸³Banner, March 29, 1844.

⁸⁴Banner, March 9, 1844.

⁸⁵R.F. Burns, Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, D.D., p. 175.

⁸⁶John MacLeod, Scottish Theology, pp. 269-70.

⁸⁷Robert Rainy and James Mackenzie, Life of William Cunningham D.D. Principal and Professor of Theology and Church History, New College, Edinburgh (London, 1871), p. 202.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 203.

⁸⁹George Shepperson, ed., "Thomas Chalmers, The Free Church of Scotland, and the South," Journal of Southern History, Notes and Documents, XVII (1951), p. 518.

⁹⁰Rainy and Mackenzie, Life of Cunningham, pp. 204, 209-210.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 205; on Charles Hodge see R.H. Nichols in D.A.B., V, pp. 98-99; A.A. Hodge, The Life of Charles Hodge (New York, 1880).

⁹²Rainy and Mackenzie, Life of Cunningham, p. 206.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 205-06.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 208.

⁹⁵Shepperson, "Chalmers, Free Church and South," p. 519.

⁹⁶Cf. Shepperson, "Chalmers, Free Church and South," and his "The Free Church and American Slavery," Scottish Historical Review, XXX, No. 110 (October 1951).

⁹⁷Shepperson, "Chalmers, Free Church and South," p. 519; cf. George Lewis, Impressions of American Churches, passim.

⁹⁸Banner, January 26, 1844.

⁹⁹Banner, April 5, 1844.

¹⁰⁰Memoir of John Machar, p. 83. On April 15, 1844 Dr. Burns wrote to William Morris requesting help in organizing a meeting at which Burns would speak concerning the Free Church of Scotland. Burns intimated that £400 and £300 had been collected at Hamilton and Toronto respectively and that in both locations "the general feeling . . . is in favour of an independent Presbyterian Church in Canada, holding Free Prin-

ciples and recognizing the Free Church of Scotland as the real Church of Scotland with which they may be in communion." Q.U.A. William Morris Papers, Burns to Morris, April 15, 1844.

¹⁰¹Quoted in Life of Burns, p. 186.

¹⁰²Banner, May 10, 1844.

¹⁰²A Letter Addressed to the Ministers and Elders of the Synod of Canada, on the present duty of the Presbyterian Church, by the Rev. Robert Burns, D.D., With a Letter on the Same Subject by the Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D., and the Reply of the Convener of the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, to the Moderator of the Synod of Canada (Montreal, 1844), p. 3.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 12.

¹¹⁰Henry Esson, An Appeal to the Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Church, Under the Jurisdiction of the Synod of Canada, On the Question of Adherence to the Church of Scotland As By Law Established (Montreal, 1844), pp. 20-21.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 26.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 35.

¹¹³Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 75. John Bayne wrote a lengthy pamphlet in defense of the Disruption of 1844, but this was not published until 1846, Was the Recent Disruption . . . Called For etc. (Galt, 1846).

¹¹⁴Memorial of John Machar, p. 84.

¹¹⁵Banner, May 17, 1844.

¹¹⁶Life of Robert Burns, p. 202.

- 117 Banner, July 5, 1844.
- 118 Banner, May 17, 1844.
- 119 Banner, May 17, 1844.
- 120 Banner, June 28, 1844.
- 121 Banner, May 17, 1844.
- 122 Banner, June 28, 1844.
- 123 Memorial of John Machar, p. 83.
- 124 U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9, Stark to his Mother, May 21, 1844.
- 125 A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, July 1844.
- 126 A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, July 1844; N.G. Smith, "Disruption of the Presbyterian Church of Canada," pp. 178-79.
- 127 U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9, Stark to his wife, July 10, 1844.
- 128 U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9, Stark to his Mother, December 11, 1844.
- 129 U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9, Stark to his Mother, July 23, 1844.
- 130 A&P PCC in Connex.CofS, July 1844.
- 131 Quoted in the Banner, July 12, 1844. This protest had apparently been drafted at a meeting of the Free Church party held the day after the vote. J.A. Johnston, "Presbyterian Disruption in B.N.A.", p. 106.
- 132 J.A. Johnston, "Presbyterian Disruption in B.N.A.," p. 95; Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 105-06.

¹³³C. Glenn Lucas, "Presbyterianism in Carleton County to 1867," unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1973; N.G. Smith, "Disruption of the Presbyterian Church of Canada," p. 171; Banner, January 9, 1846. One Montrealer intimated to Rev. George Lewis that "you have in times past sent us the dregs of your Scottish clergy, and if we cling now to the Establishment, we shall get nothing but the dregs of the dregs." Impressions . . . of American Churches, p. 361.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ORGANIZATION, GROWTH AND CONSOLIDATION OF A DENOMINATION, 1844-1861

The problems which confronted the new Presbyterian Church of Canada in July 1844 were not unlike those faced by any other group of seceders attempting to organize a denomination. There was a need for unity—to prevent that splintering which is so often common among such newly-formed groups; for financial resources—to construct new buildings and pay stipends; and for additional ministers, if the immediate pastoral needs of Free Church sympathizers were to be met, and if the church was to grow. Yet, however daunting these obstacles may have seemed to some, they were counterbalanced by several encouragements.

In the first place, the ministers, elders, and congregations who left the Church of Scotland Synod were conscious that they were part of a great transatlantic movement for the defence of evangelical theology, congregational rights, and the Headship of Christ over His Church. Their's was not an isolated struggle in an obscure corner of the British Empire, but one in which they were identified with some of Scotland's greatest Divines, and with a movement which consciously traced its lineage to Knox, Melville, Henderson, the Covenanters, and the Evangelicals of the eighteenth century.¹ Indeed by some their struggle was seen as a worldwide battle of light and darkness—between Erastianism, Puseyism, Popery and Infidelity and the "pure

Churches of Christ." It was in these terms that Mark Young Stark, the newly elected Moderator of the Canadian Free Church, appealed to the people of Canada East and West in his Pastoral Address of 1844. "The pure Churches of Christ are contending," he asserted, "for the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus, struggling to assert their freedom against the encroachments of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, and witnessing before principalities and powers for the Crown rights of the Redeemer."² Such a lofty appeal to their hearts and consciences could not but help to stir his readers into action. Thus there was for the twenty-four ministers and elders who gathered in Kingston's Wellington Street Wesleyan Methodist Church, a theological and historical bond uniting them. Moreover, the bonds uniting them to their Scottish brethren would clearly extend beyond mere sentiment to embrace financial and ministerial assistance.

There were nineteen ministers and five elders present at that first Free Church Synod. Mark Young Stark, the minister at Dundas and Ancaster was chosen Moderator³ and William Rintoul acted as Clerk. Two separate "Protests" were tabled: the first by John Bayne of Galt, and signed by twenty ministers and nineteen elders, and a second by J.M. Roger and William Reid.⁴ Together those in attendance constituted themselves the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, doing so as "Office-bearers in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ in Canada." Robert Boyd, a minister who had seceded before the Synod of 1844, arrived and expressed his "regret at having precipitately and without a due regard to

Presbyterial order" for having resigned before the meeting of Synod. He then adhered to the Protest and was admitted as a minister of the Synod.

Having constituted themselves as a separate, independent church in Canada, the seceders organized the necessary structures. The Synod was accordingly divided into four Presbyteries: Hamilton and Toronto with fourteen ministers and congregations; Cobourg with four; Kingston with three and Montreal with two.⁵ Within the year a dozen more ministers and half a dozen students had left the Church of Scotland Synod to join the Free Church.⁶ Committees were formed to examine the Office of Deacon (which had fallen into disuse in the Church of Scotland but which was being revived in the Free Church of Scotland), and to study the feasibility of a Sustentation Fund. In both of these matters the Canadians were, consciously or not, following the example of their parent church—the Free Church of Scotland. It was also decided that the Synod would publish its own periodical—The Record of the Presbyterian Church of Canada which became The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record and which, under the successive editorships of Alexander Gale, William Rintoul, John Burns, and William Reid, fulfilled its function as the official mouthpiece of the denomination. Many Free Church members would undoubtedly continue to read Peter Brown's Toronto Banner for information, opinion, and criticism until it was abandoned in 1848. The Record continued throughout the Free Church period to give extensive coverage to Canadian,

American, and European religious news. Readers of the Record would indeed feel themselves part of a world-wide evangelical and Free Church movement as they read of the advances of the Free Church in their native Scotland and of its missionary endeavours in places like India. In January 1857 another Free Church magazine appeared. The Canadian Presbyterian, published in Montreal, was edited by Rev. Donald Fraser of Coté Street Church, and Rev. A.F. Kemp of St. Gabriel Street Church. Designed as a quarterly review and literary magazine, it attempted to act as an apologist for Calvinistic theology and presbyterian polity.⁸

In addition to this, the Synod organized a committee on Correspondence which was to communicate with the Colonial Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, informing them of the establishment of the Synod and making known their need for missionaries. They also kept the door open to any ministers in good standing on the roll of the Church of Scotland Synod who, within two months, communicated in writing to either the Moderator, the Clerk or any Presbytery, his adherence to either of the Protests. A Commission was also formed "for attending to the general interests of the Church, and for conducting and determining such business and causes as may be devolved on it by this Synod."⁹ Moreover, the Synod, conscious of the need to increase its number of ministers, advised Presbyteries to be on the look out for "young men of pious character and suitable gifts who may be aiming at the ministry, and to use all competent means for directing and forwarding their education."

Those students who had declared their adherence to the new Synod would be written to and asked to report to their local presbyteries.¹⁰

The initial foundation stones had thus been laid at the July 1844 meeting of the Free Church Synod. More work was done by the Commission of Synod when it met in Hamilton August 7 and 8. Three matters in particular seem to have dominated its discussions: Home Missions, Student Education and the Financial Support of the Ministry.¹¹ Presbyteries were to organize Home Missions Committees, seek young men for the ministry, visit within their bounds and explain the reasons for the secession, receive new adherents, and organize new congregations. Considerable discussion revolved around the Sustentation Fund—a scheme for giving equitable financial support to ministers throughout the Synod. The Scheme underwent various modifications throughout the next five years, and was adopted sporadically. However, the idea, though certainly meritorious in many ways, never captured the enthusiasm of the church at large and was ultimately abandoned.¹² This meeting of Commission also passed a series of interim regulations concerning congregations and government in the wake of the Disruption. Congregations which seceded with their ministers were to remain virtually unchanged: elders would remain as Session members in the new Free Church congregations, and the arrangements for paying the minister's stipend would remain as before unless specifically changed. Presbyteries were to deal with cases in which only a minority of a congregation seceded.¹³ Although there was some novelty in the

early arrangements of the Free Church, a basic continuity with the old structures and organization was retained.

The Synod met again in October 1844, this time in Toronto in the United Secession Church. It was quite apparent that the new church was going to last and was attractive to other Presbyterians in the colonies. A deputation from the small Presbytery of Niagara, seeking union, was received and a committee set up to confer with them. There were no theological obstacles in the way of union and it was recommended that there be immediate cooperation on common interests and evangelism, and that the union talks continue. There were also in attendance at this Synod, three deputies from the Free Church of Scotland—Andrew King of St. Stephen's, Glasgow, John Macnaughton of the High Church, Paisley, and Mr. McMillan of Cardross. They were the first of many to cross the Atlantic since the formation of the Canadian Synod, and their presence signified the close attachment of the Canadian and Scottish Free Churches and helped strengthen the cause in the Canadas—particularly in the area of theological education, as King was to become the first Professor of Theology in the Canadian Church. The third group to send a deputation was the Missionary Presbytery of the United Associate Synod of Scotland. The Free Church Synod regarded this as "an earnest of greater union amongst sound Presbyterian Churches in this Province."¹⁴ It was this group with which long and serious negotiations were carried out during the next seventeen years, and with which a union was consummated in 1861, forming the Canada Presbyterian Church.

The Free Church Synod also received a communication from the Church of Scotland Synod suggesting that two committees be established—one to deal with disputed property and one to negotiate a re-union. The first committee might have done some useful work in helping to avoid litigation, but it accomplished next to nothing. Property disputes were accordingly settled in either of two ways—by the seceders voluntarily relinquishing any claim to the building, even though they might have been in the majority, or by litigation. Congregations in the first category included Alexander Gale's which gave up St. Andrew's Hamilton rather than let a minority attached to the Church of Scotland Synod disrupt their proceedings. "This congregation," they declared, "will not consent to occupy the Church for public worship at the hazard of unseemly litigation, or subject to the caprice or arbitrary pleasure of any individual or party, or to any interruption of the ordinary diets of worship, under their minister."¹⁵ This congregation was willing to abide by the decision of the Joint Committees on church property. Other congregations contested the title to the church property, and some were successful, like Rev. John Scott's in London which won St. Andrew's from the Church of Scotland Synod in a Chancery Court decision.¹⁶ Others, like Stark's church in Dundas, contested the property title and lost. In this case the Court of Queen's Bench found against them, in a decision based on the fact that the title deed contained the phrase "In Connexion with the Church of Scotland."¹⁷ Obviously, in some cases

the seceders retained their church property, while in others they had to take steps towards the construction of new buildings. In the interim, accommodation was often found in other churches—Methodist, Baptist, or United Secessionist Presbyterian.

The prospects for negotiating a reunion between the Free and Church of Scotland Synods were dim, though some like John Cook of Quebec City believed the secession would be only temporary. Accordingly he counselled a Mr. Ironside of Amherstburg to remain in Peden's congregation, at least until the Kirk Synod met in September. Cook argued that "I am most unwilling that any thing should be done in congregations or church courts, which by stirring of party feeling or personal unkindness, might lessen the reasonable hope of a speedy reunion."¹⁸ Although the Free Church Synod did agree to form a committee on re-union, the Church of Scotland Synod made negotiation contingent on the Free Church ceasing "operations which cannot be regarded in any other light than that of hostility";¹⁹ a provision which the Free Churchmen termed "unseemly and absurd."²⁰ The conditions thus set by the Kirk Synod, the act of that Synod in declaring the seceders to no longer be ministers of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connexion with the Church of Scotland, or of the Church of Scotland in Canada²¹ and the 'Remonstrance' which they sent to the Free Protestant Church of Scotland, surely made negotiations very difficult. A Committee of the Free Church, consisting of Gale, Esson, Rintoul, Stark and J.F. Westland, an elder, did

meet with Justice McLean and Robert McGill in Toronto on November 26, 1844, but they made it clear that there could be no re-union unless the Kirk Synod broke all ties "real or nominal" with the Church of Scotland.²² As one commentator put it: "tempers were too hot. The 'separated brethren' felt that those remaining had denied the Lordship of Christ over the Church, while a good many of the Kirk ministers felt that the others had been unnecessarily demanding."²³ The Free Church, for its part, insisted that the Church of Scotland Synod dissolve its connection with the Established Church of Scotland and alter its title accordingly. When the latter refused to do so, the re-union talks were broken off. As for the disputed property, the terms drafted by the Free Church committee for Canada West were refused by their counterparts in the Kirk Synod.²⁴ Re-union with the Kirk Synod on the basis of anything less than Free Church principles was unattainable, and undesirable. More pressing needs than an elusive re-union faced the new church.

A concern for the education of theological students was plainly evident at the early Synods. Although it was too soon to make definitive plans for a seminary, the Synod of October 1844 did appoint Rev. Andrew King of St. Stephen's, Glasgow, one of the deputies from the Free Church of Scotland, and acting Pastor of Knox's Church, Toronto, to be Interim Professor of Divinity, and attempted to coax Henry Esson away from the pastorate of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal, into accepting a position as Professor of Literature and Science.²⁵ Moreover, Dr. Robert Burns of Paisley, a former editor of the

Edinburgh Christian Instructor, and the father of the Glasgow Colonial Society, had been approached by prominent members of the Free Church in Montreal and Toronto—the latter holding out an offer of the pastorate of Knox's Church, Toronto.²⁶ Along with the call to Knox's Church, the Synod held out the carrot of a Professorship in the new Seminary. In the meantime, Burns offered to collect books and raise money for the new college before setting sail for Canada.²⁷ A College Committee was established and given the mandate to oversee the new undertaking.

The new seminary had inauspicious beginnings. Apart from Esson, the lecturers in the early years were all interim appointments: either deputies from the Free Church of Scotland like King, McCorkle, and Willis or men from within the Canadian Synod like Rintoul, Gale, and Bayne. The most important addition to the college faculty in the early years was Dr. Michael Willis. Described as "a scholar of some eminence" by D.C. Masters,²⁸ Willis was a man of vast theological knowledge, pastoral experience, and of decidedly evangelical convictions. He had been raised in the Original Burgher Synod, one of the secessionist churches of Scotland, had taught theology at their Divinity Hall and with most of them had joined the Church of Scotland in 1839. In 1843 he joined the Free Church of Scotland, though he seems to have had reservations about some of the more extreme claims put forth by its apologists.²⁹ In 1845-46 he served as interim Professor of Divinity in Knox College, Toronto. Though he returned to

Glasgow in the Spring of 1846 by Christmas 1847 he was back in Canada and was inducted into the Chair of Divinity on December 16, 1847.³⁰ Willis, for all intents and purposes, acted as Principal from this point on, though his official designation was Primarius Professor of Divinity. His official appointment as Principal came in 1857 on the eve of the Incorporation of Knox College.³¹ Besides Willis and Esson, Dr. Robert Burns of Knox's Church, Toronto, was prominent in the early years of the college, and in 1856 he was appointed Professor of Church History and Christian Evidences. When Esson died in 1853 John Bayne of Galt was offered his position, but he declined³² and George Paxton Young was appointed, leaving the pastorate of Knox Church, Hamilton, to teach Mental and Moral Philosophy. Young later abandoned the teaching of theology because of certain theological difficulties with the Westminster Confession of Faith and had an intermittent relationship with Knox College. His great prominence as a philosopher was gained as Professor of Logic, Metaphysics and Ethics in University College, Toronto.³³

The number of students attending Knox College grew steadily in the early years, but seemed to fluctuate during the later years. In 1844 it began with fourteen students; in 1847 there were forty-four; in 1853, there were fifty-two;³⁴ in 1860 there were about forty; and in 1861 about forty-five.³⁵ By 1859 there were fifty ministers on the Roll of Synod who had attended Knox for at least part of their theological training.³⁶

Besides their academic work, the students were involved in mission work in the City of Toronto—distributing tracts and conducting bible studies and prayer meetings. During the summer months a number of them were employed as catechists. Their responsibilities included: visitation, Sabbath Schools, Bible Classes and prayer meetings.³⁷ The College also had a flourishing Student Missionary Society which played an important role in home missions—operating a mission at Metis, Canada East, which ministered mainly in English, though some French work was carried out.³⁸ In addition to this, correspondence was exchanged with the students of New College, Edinburgh; the Free Church College, Halifax; and the Presbyterian College, Belfast.³⁹ In one such letter to the students of New College the Canadians intimated, with proper colonial deference that:

. . . altho' we can never expect that it [Knox College] will attain to that established eminence, which yours has so deservedly reached, still we trust that under the blessing of God it may be the means of rearing up many who shall become honoured and useful labourers in their Master's vineyard and instruments of advancing the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom throughout this extensive land.⁴⁰

The financial affairs of the College caused much concern during these early years. Fortunately, the expenses were not very great; the capital expenditure minimal. Dr. Burns had brought a substantial number of books with him from Scotland⁴¹ and this formed the nucleus of the college library, to which further donations were added. The main expense was that of professors' salaries. In the early years those pastors from

Canada or Scotland who lectured were not paid salaries by the college—they had to live off their stipends as pastors or were paid by the Colonial Committee. Only Esson as a permanent appointment would have received a salary.⁴² Still, the college did have periods of financial crisis when there was not enough money in the treasury to meet immediate expenses,⁴³ but appeals to the people of the church seems to have met the immediate need. Indeed, by 1854 the Synod resolved to dispense with the £300 which the Free Church of Scotland had contributed to the college each year since its opening.⁴⁴ As the editor of the Record triumphantly announced in December 1854:

We have, through the goodness and favour of the Great Head of the Church, reached the position of manhood and independence so far as resources are concerned. Hitherto we have been fostered and aided by the Church in Scotland. But we have now by our own act assumed the responsibility of sustaining our Theological Institute, as we have been sustaining our other schemes. . . .⁴⁵

Thus, despite what D.C. Masters refers to as "a chequered career in its early period,"⁴⁶ Knox College had by 1854 seemingly achieved a position of stability and independence. Yet, even in 1858 there were complaints that the finances were not on a secure footing.⁴⁷ At the same time, however, Elmsley Villa was purchased and renovated as the new location for the college. Its staff and curriculum were almost settled and it had been able to graduate over twenty students who had subsequently been ordained and were now serving pastorates in the Canadian Free Church.⁴⁸

With the addition of Canadian-trained men to the ranks of those from Scotland and Ireland, the number of ministers and

congregations grew substantially during this period. In October 1844 there were 32 ministers and 53 congregations on the roll of Synod. Ten years later these figures were 92 and 107 respectively—a tripling of ministers and a doubling of congregations in a decade. The initial four presbyteries of 1844 had expanded to eight by 1854: Brockville, Perth, Montreal, London, Hamilton, Toronto, Cobourg and Kingston. The largest was London with 20 ministers; the smallest Brockville with only four. On the eve of the Union with the United Presbyterian Church the eight presbyteries contained 158 ministers and congregations. It must, however, be noted that this growth was not confined to the western parts of the province. The eastern sections near Kingston and Perth were also fruitful pockets of Free Church growth. Yet to explain this growth in precise terms is not an easy task.

Part of the explanation undoubtedly lies in the inactivity of both the Church of Scotland and the Canadian Kirk Synod. The Church of Scotland was relatively slow to respond to the Canadian situation.⁴⁹ Thomas Clark, as Vice-Convener of the Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee did write a "Letter of Sympathy" to the Moderator of the Canadian Kirk Synod, which was received on September 20, 1844.⁵⁰ However, it was not until June 1845, more than one year after the arrival of the Free Church Deputies, that the Church of Scotland sent three deputies—Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, Dr. John MacLeod of Morven and Rev. Norman MacLeod of Dalkeith—to North America. They left Liverpool in June 1845, proceeded first to Nova

Scotia, then to Prince Edward Island, Boston, Canada East, and finally to Canada West, visiting Perth, Markham, Kingston, Belleville, and Toronto.⁵¹

The Canadian Kirk Synod itself responded almost immediately to the Disruption of 1844, with an Answer to the Protest of John Bayne and his followers,⁵² but was still not satisfying all of its constituents. Writing to his brother John, from Toronto on March 3, 1845, Oliver Mowat confessed that:

I verily hope, John, that the ministers who may be sent out from 'Queen's' will exhibit more zeal and judgment, in their office, than most of them who have preceded them in it in Canada. With our Mr. B. here I am becoming more and more dissatisfied every day. The Free Church is increasing in numbers, and in usefulness every day. Ours increases neither in one nor the other: indeed I fear it is retrograding in both. Every now and then I am learning some new fact in favour of the former; and quite as often some new fact in derogation of the latter.⁵³

Earlier, Mowat had confided to his brother that "the friends of the old Synod have certainly a strange way in general of showing their attachment to it—that of looking on while it is attacked on every side, and without raising a finger in its defense."⁵⁴

In the same period that the Free Church Synod was experiencing such dramatic growth, the Kirk Synod showed signs of substantial decline. According to the census figures for 1842 the Church of Scotland had 77,929 adherents in Canada West, constituting 16% of the population. In 1851 it had dropped to 59,102 or 6.2% of the population—a decline of almost 25%. By 1851 the Free Church had at least 70,000

adherents or about 7.5% of the population. By 1861 it had approximately 150,000 adherents or 10% of the population, while the Kirk Synod had 108,963 or 7.8% of the population. The only other denomination in Canada West to experience such growth was the Wesleyan Methodist.⁵⁵

From the Disruption of 1844 until the Union of 1875 the Kirk Synod had failed to keep pace with either the growth of the country at large or the other churches. "Thus in relative terms it was losing, for not only did its total membership and impact decrease proportionately to the other churches, but a good many of its best and most energetic people tended to attach themselves to the other more active ecclesiastical bodies."⁵⁶ The Kirk Synod has been described as "although by no means dead, it manifested the symptoms of almost a comatose state."⁵⁷ Dr. Robert McGill of St. Paul's Church, Montreal, one of the Kirk Synod's more prominent ministers, asserted in 1852 that:

It requires no gift of prophecy and only a little skill in the statistics of life in men and churches, to predict that, unless we shall be more successful than we have been in increasing our power from healthful and legitimate sources, twenty years will not pass before the Church of Scotland in Canada is a shapeless shadow, a heterogeneous thing which its parent will refuse to own.⁵⁸

Undoubtedly, the Free Church, with a natural clientele among Scots and Ulster Protestants, succeeded in attracting some members away from the Kirk Synod, even in the years following the Disruption of 1844. Moreover, being more evangelical theologically, and thus more missionary-minded, the Free Kirk

was prepared to move into new areas of the province and organize congregations. Such activity was given the designation of Home Missions.

Although Dr. Robert Burns, after a missionary tour to Owen Sound complained that "the modest timidity of the Free Church in Canada has kept us back in instances not a few"⁵⁹ the Free Church was relatively successful in the field of Home Missions. This is perhaps partly attributable to their having a missions' strategy, though even here Burns argued that "the distribution of our mission supplies has been regulated by local considerations more than by an enlightened and comprehensive survey of fields already 'whitening to the harvest.'"⁶⁰

The responsibility for Home Missions was divided between the Presbyteries and a central committee of the Synod. The task of the central committee was restricted to distributing, in an equitable manner, those missionaries which were available at any given time. The specific conduct of Home Missions was the responsibility of each presbytery. Each presbytery was to establish its own home missions committee, ensure that the necessary funds were procured, divide the Presbytery into missionary districts, and make annual reports to the Synod. Each of the missionary districts was to be under the supervision of one of the ministers of the Presbytery whose responsibilities would include visitation, congregational organization, and making provision for Sabbath worship—which was in turn carried out by Missionaries, Catechists or Elders under the superintendence of the minister.⁶¹

Though this basic plan was retained, the Synod of 1847 formulated a more elaborate scheme for Home Missions. That year an overture had come before the Synod, calling for a restructuring of the Home Missions scheme "with a view to the prosecution of missionary operations throughout the land with greater vigour, unity, and efficiency."⁶² The main features of this scheme were as follows: The Presbytery would select particular locations and designate them as "Preaching Stations." The stations chosen, along with the vacant congregations in a particular region would be grouped together as a Missionary District. Each District was to be supervised by a minister and would have a missionary if possible. The Presbyteries were enjoined to visit each district, giving explanations of the plan, organizing and setting up committees in each district, and impressing upon the people there, the need for them to support this ministry. These local committees were, in turn, to make up a roll of adherents, visit families, collect offerings and conduct worship. Reports and statistics were to be kept by all concerned. Moreover, under these new provisions, the Synod determined that any minister, licentiate, or probationer who was admitted to the Free Church, who did not come to the church with a specific call from a congregation, would normally be expected to devote his first year to home missions. However, there were many exceptions made to this rule and it was ultimately abandoned—which some perceived as an abandonment of the home mission field.⁶³ It is not clear whether this scheme was carried out in all its detail by each Presbytery, yet by July 1850 it was reported that there were approxi-

mately 150 mission stations in the Synod.⁶⁴

In any event, one practice which seems to have been most successful was that of missionary tours throughout the provinces by ministers of settled congregations. These tours would have been particularly crucial in the years immediately following the Disruption of 1844, when it was necessary to rally and organize those Presbyterians who desired to be identified with the Free Church. Ministers would thus tour the province, explain the position of the Free Church and the reasons for the secession, and help organize a congregation in a particular locality.⁶⁵ Undoubtedly, in many cases, the prospect of regular worship services and pastoral care would have been sufficient to attract people to the Free Church. One indefatigable traveller was Dr. Robert Burns, who was absent for weeks on end, visiting the various regions of the provinces, preaching and dispensing the Lord's Supper. Describing one of these visits Burns wrote:

Whenever I have been called to address a congregation on these visits, I have made it a rule first to preach the Gospel of the grace of God to sinful and dying men; and thereafter, if it is deemed proper in the circumstances, to address the hearers on their duties as a congregation connected with the Presbyterian Church.⁶⁶

Such evangelical preaching had apparently particular results in Glengarry County. There, ministers from the Free Church of Scotland, who were able to speak Gaelic, like Rev. Mr. MacLeod of Logie-Easter, saw encouraging results from their ministry. According to one report, "the District of Glengarry, long steeped in the frigid lethargy of a formal moderatism,⁶⁷ has

sensibly felt the influence of gospel truth, when proclaimed with the soul-stirring energy of a minister of Christ, so devoted and so much in earnest as Mr. MacLeod."⁶⁸ Glengarry seems to have been a classic example of the failure of the Kirk Synod, and the aggressive and evangelical thrust of the Free Church. At the time of the Disruption of 1844 only one of nine ministers joined the Free Church. Subsequently, two Kirk Synod ministers returned to Scotland. The Free Church, through the work of its deputies was able to make inroads into the area. By 1847 they had reportedly five large congregations in the region, and five or six more in the embryonic stage. In a letter dated Cornwall, October 13, 1847, Rev. J. Fraser, one of the Scottish Free Church deputies, declared, "Give us labourers, and we will spread on every side. Our principles have gained a firm footing in the district: our stations are impregnable. The Free Church has sprung into full development in Glengarry, like a gourd in a tropical clime. The Lord pour out his blessing on our newly-cultivated soil!"⁶⁹ This seems to have been the start of a revival in the years 1847-1848 in Glengarry⁷⁰ and perhaps prepared the ground for the Glengarry revival of 1862.⁷¹

Besides its aggressiveness and evangelical spirit and theology, there were perhaps three other reasons why the Home Missions of the Free Church were successful: they eschewed Scottish exclusiveness; they were cognizant of their own spiritual shortcomings and this prevented them from becoming smug and complacent; and they realized that missions was a

concern for the whole church, and not just a clerical pursuit. In the first place, there is some evidence that Free Church ministers were aware of the dangers of assuming too Scottish a tone. Andrew Ferrier thus remarked that "there is a disposition among Presbyterians who are not from Scotland, to feel themselves overlooked when Ministers, or other office-bearers, perhaps altogether through inadvertency, make notices or remarks which seem to give a mere Scottish aspect to the Free Church in Canada." Noting that the Kirk Synod had a very Scottish tone to it, he urged the Free Church to be "a Church for the Province at large."⁷² Mark Young Stark, in his pastoral address of 1844 charged the Kirk Synod with being too narrowly Scottish and not broad enough to include Presbyterians from other countries. "She has been little better than a Church for the Scotch," he declared, "or rather . . . the Scotch of the Establishment."⁷³ Moreover, in an editorial of January 1851 the Record, while conceding that the Free Church had a primary obligation to Presbyterians, nonetheless argued that:

. . . we are fully persuaded, that it will not be well with our Church, unless she identify herself out-and-out with the evangelisation of the whole land—and do her utmost endeavour, in an enlarged and truly Catholic spirit—to supply the faithful ministration of Gospel ordinances to every portion of our population, willing to receive them at her hand—without reference to language, or previous religious connexion.⁷⁴

The Free Church seems to have done this, as is evidenced by its missions to blacks in Canada West; to the settlers at Red River; their support of the French Canadian Missionary

Society and other interdenominational societies (such as the Toronto City Mission, the Upper Canada Religious Tract and Book Society, the Upper Canada Bible Society and the Toronto Sabbath School Union), their serious contemplation of a mission to Germans, North American Indians, Vancouver Island, and their support of the Jewish and Foreign Missions of the Free Church of Scotland. Indeed, they even sponsored their own missionary in India for a brief time.⁷⁵

In particular, support for Foreign Missions was greatly stimulated by the tour of Dr. Alexander Duff to Canada in the Spring of 1854. Dr. Duff, who was probably, at the time, the Free Church of Scotland's most famous missionary, was best known for his work among the Hindus of India. A former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, and a serious candidate for the Principalship of New College, Edinburgh, Duff pressed home the cause of foreign missions in the principal towns of Canada West and East. The results of Duff's tour have been described as "startling":⁷⁶ givings to missions increased dramatically, and within two years the Canadian Synod was sponsoring its own missionary in Bancoorah, though this was short-lived and was abandoned because of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.⁷⁷

In the second place, the Free Church consciousness of its own spiritual failings kept them from becoming complacent. The Synod of 1845 adopted various resolutions concerning the state of religion within the Church and the need for Presbyterial visitation. One of these resolutions pointed to the

deplorably "low state of spiritual religion among themselves, and the people generally, the formality, worldliness, coldness and indifference which abound."⁷⁸ In an editorial of November 1854 the Record asserted that there were too few candidates for the ministry coming forward, and ascribed this to "the low state of religion among us, and the great influence which secular and material things are allowed, at the present day, to exert upon the mind."⁷⁹

An August 1858 editorial in the Record argued that most of the new congregations in the Free Church are "healthy, vigorous, self-sustaining . . . which may truly be regarded as an accession to the moral and spiritual strength of the Church."⁸⁰ At the same time, the Report on the State of Religion for 1858-1859 asserted that "there is reason to fear that the spiritual life of the church in general is low, and such as call for humility, and earnest prayer to God for a time of refreshing from His presence." This realization was particularly acute and troublesome in light of recent evangelical awakenings in Britain and the United States.⁸¹ "A serious concern for the future welfare of our Canadian Church ought to be awakened," the report asserted, "should we be altogether past by at such a time."⁸² By 1860, though no general revival had been seen, some improvement was perceived, though "much worldliness and immorality in various forms abound in the country, and much indifference and apathy among the professed followers of the Saviour."⁸³

Thirdly, there is evidence that the fulfilment of the Free Church's mission was not the responsibility of the clergy alone,

but was to be an integral part of the life of all its members.

As it was described in the Record:

. . . the work of spreading the Gospel of Christ, is not the duty merely of ministers and missionaries, or of such as hold official stations in the church, but the work of the whole church, and of every individual member of it. Every one on assuming a profession of Christianity, gives up himself and all that he has to the service of the Lord, thereby pledging himself to put forth all his power for the glory of the Saviour, and the advancement of his kingdom in the world.⁸⁴

At least one presbytery, that of London, had a Committee on Lay Agency, under the supervision of the presbytery's home mission committee. In conjunction with this, one Mr. W. Clarke had been appointed lay agent, at a salary of £100 p.a., with responsibility for visitation, congregational organization, Sabbath Schools, and the distribution of religious literature.⁸⁵

Despite its relative success, the Canadian Free Church was not without its own internal problems. Dr. Robert Burns was frequently in the middle of such quarrels. The irascible pastor of Knox's Church, Toronto, had problems in his own congregation over the composition of its Kirk Session⁸⁶ and in 1853 clashed with Dr. Michael Willis over evidence which they had both given in a Toronto police court in the case of one George Isaac Lublin who had attempted to raise money for Jewish Missions in Toronto.⁸⁷

The Free Church in Canada, then, grew substantially between 1844 and 1861. It succeeded in establishing a theological college, and ambitiously pursued both Home and Foreign Missions. Though it had retained many of the basic structures which were

in place before the Disruption of 1844, it brought to them a missionary zeal and a vision for the evangelization of the Canadian people.

References - Chapter Four

¹Cf. R. Buchanan, The Ten Years' Conflict (Glasgow, 1852), I, pp. 23-117.

²Record, August 1844. Stark as Moderator signed the Pastoral Address but John Bayne of Galt wrote it. Stark Papers, U.C.A., Box 1, Envelope 9, Stark to his Mother, Dec. 11, 1844.

³On Stark see William Reid, Memoir of Stark (Toronto 1871); Allan L. Farris, "Mark Young Stark: Pioneer Missionary Statesman," in John S. Moir, ed., The Tide of Time: Historical Essays by the late Allan L. Farris (Toronto: Knox College, 1978); A.L. Farris, "Mark Young Stark," D.C.B., Vol. IX, pp. 741-42.

⁴See Appendix II for text.

⁵Cf. J.C. Moir, Enduring Witness (Toronto 1974), p. 106.

⁶Record, September 1844.

⁷Record, October 1861, p. 179.

⁸Canadian Presbyterian I (January 1857), p. 2.

⁹Minutes of Synod, July 1844; Record, September 1844.

¹⁰Minutes of Synod, July 1844.

¹¹Record, September 1844.

¹²See Chapter Six: Finances, for further details.

¹³Record, August 1844.

¹⁴Minutes of Synod, October 1844.

¹⁵Record, November 1844.

¹⁶Record. December 1843, p. 25.

¹⁷Banner, October 23, 1846. According to Stark the case was tried in Queen's Bench, Hamilton, before a judge who was an elder in the Kirk Synod—"a most bitter party man." Stark questioned the Judge's objectivity, and noted that his conduct in lecturing the jury before they rendered their verdict even disgusted neutral observers. U.C.A. Stark Papers, Stark to his Mother, October 10, 1846. In Montreal, a dispute over the St. Gabriel Street Church property lasted from 1846 to 1865 and involved a number of court cases. Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 577-600.

An 1857 decision in the Cobourg Case by Vice-Chancellor Esten would seem to have had ominous implications for the Free Church. According to Robert Campbell, Esten's judgement "was so sweepingly in favour of the Church of Scotland, even where the facts went to constitute apparently a poor claim." The Court ruled that only those in communion with the Church of Scotland could use the church. The original Kirk congregation had ceased to exist but any new Kirk congregation "'which might be afterwards organized were proper objects of the gift; and to such, it was not necessary that the present should be a continuation of any previously existing congregation.'" Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 589-590, quoting Ontario Chancery Reports, Vol. 10, p. 273.

¹⁸Q.U.A. Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Box 4, Cook to Ironside ca. August 1844.

¹⁹A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, September 1844.

²⁰Record, October 1844.

²¹A&P PCC in Connex. CofS, September 1844.

²²Record, January 1845.

²³W.S. Reid, "John Cook and the Kirk in Canada," in N.G. Smith, ed., Enkindled by the Word, p. 28.

²⁴Minutes of Synod, January 1845.

²⁵Record, October 1844; Minutes of Synod, October 1844.

²⁶John Redpath, James Court, James Orr in Montreal; Isaac Buchanan, Peter and George Brown in Toronto. H.J. Bridgman, "Robert Burns," D.C.B., Vol. 9, pp. 104-108.

²⁷Record, October 1844; Minutes of Synod, October 1844.

²⁸D.C. Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada (Toronto, 1966), p. 45.

²⁹On the issue of church/state relations. Cf. Alexander Turner, The Scottish Secession of 1843 (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1859), pp. 316-17, 328-29. Cf. D.R. Nicholson, "Dr. Michael Willis," Presbyterian History, Vol. 17, No. 1 (June 1973), p. 2 and David R. Nicholson, "Michael Willis; Missionary Statesman, Social Activist, Christian Educator, and Reformed Theologian," unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Knox College, University of Toronto, n.d.

³⁰Record, January 1848; Nicholson, "Willis," Presbyterian History, p. 2.

³¹Nicholson, "Willis," Presbyterian History, p. 3.

³²G. Smellie, Memoir of the Rev. John Bayne D.D. (Toronto, 1871), p. 29. As early as 1847 when Bayne was in Scotland looking for a Professor of Theology, Stark intimated that had he been at the Synod meeting he would have opposed Bayne's going and insisted that Bayne himself be appointed to the chair, "as I doubt if the whole Free Church could supply a man better if so well qualified for the office in every respect. Much better qualified indeed for that than to be the minister of a congregation." Stark Papers, U.C.A., Box 1, Envelope 10, Stark to his Mother, Nov. 2, 1847.

³³On Young see Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott, The Faces of Reason: An Essay on Philosophy and Culture in English Canada 1850-1950 (Waterloo, 1981); A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal, 1979); Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada; John A. Irving, "The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada from 1850 to 1900," Canadian Historical Review XXXI, No. 3 (Sept. 1950), pp. 252-287.

³⁴Record, May 1848; Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 116. Moir's figure for 1844 is 13.

³⁵Minutes of Synod, 1860, p. 54, and 1861, p. 22.

³⁶Record, May 1859, p. 100.

³⁷Record, December 1853.

³⁸Record, June 1851, December 1852.

³⁹Record, April 1851, June 1853, March 1853.

⁴⁰Record, May 1846.

⁴¹Record, April 1845.

⁴²Record, November 1847, pp. 2-3.

⁴³Record, November 1847, pp. 2-3.

⁴⁴Record, September 1854, p. 165, December 1845, p. 25.

⁴⁵Record, December 1854, p. 23.

⁴⁶Masters, Protestant Church Colleges, p. 44.

⁴⁷Record, January 1858, p. 25, Dec. 1858, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁸There were 17 by 1851. Record, February 1851, p. 58.

⁴⁹Cf. J.A. Johnston, "Presbyterian Disruption in British North America," pp. 127-28.

⁵⁰Q.U.A. Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Box 4. Letter of Sympathy &c. To the Moderator and other Members of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Established Church of Scotland by Thomas Clark (1844).

⁵¹Donald MacLeod, Memoir of Norman MacLeod, D.D. (London, 1877), pp. 155-68.

⁵²Q.U.A. Church of Scotland Synod Papers, Box. 4. Draft of an Answer to the Dissent and Protest of Certain Ministers and Elders who have Seceded from the Synod of Canada in Connexion With the Church of Scotland. By the Committee Appointed by the Synod for That Purpose. (Kingston, 1844).

⁵³Peter Neary, ed., "'Neither Radical nor Tory nor Whig: Letters by Oliver Mowat to John Mowat 1843-1846,'" Ontario History, LXXI (June 1979), p. 116.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 110.

⁵⁵The figures are from J.S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto, 1959), p. 185.

⁵⁶W.S. Reid, "John Cook and the Kirk in Canada," in N.G. Smith, ed., Enkindled by the Word, p. 27.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁸Presbyterian, 1852, p. 99. Quoted in J.A. Johnston, "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1955, p. 126. For a comparison of the Free and Kirk Synods, see the same pp. 69-72.

⁵⁹Record, April 1855, p. 84.

⁶⁰Record, April 1855, p. 84.

⁶¹Record, October 1844.

⁶²Kemp, Digest, p. 144.

⁶³Record, July 1850, pp. 129-30.

⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 129-30.

⁶⁵Record, December 1844, p. 40; January 1845, p. 47.

⁶⁶Record, September 1845.

⁶⁷On Moderatism see below Chapter One.

⁶⁸Record, December 1845.

⁶⁹Record, November 1847, pp. 3-4.

⁷⁰Record, January 1848.

⁷¹Cf. John Johnston on D.H. MacVicar in W.S. Reid, ed., Called to Witness (Toronto, 1980), Vol. 2.

⁷²Record, November 1845.

⁷³Record, August 1844, p. 6.

⁷⁴Record, January 1851, p. 46. Cf. Canadian Presbyterian, (July 1858), p. 208.

⁷⁵Record, December 1853, pp. 21-22; Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 149; Canada Directory for 1857-58; Banner, May 15, 1846, May 8, 1846, Feb. 19, 1842; Record, Jan. 1859, p. 35, Sept. 1858, p. 125.

⁷⁶Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 150.

⁷⁷Record, May 1854, pp. 103-04; Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 149-50. On Duff see J.D. Douglas, "Alexander Duff," in The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1974), p. 315. On India Mission cf. Record, Nov. 1856, p. 9, June 1857, p. 121, Aug. 1857, pp. 154-55, Nov. 1857, pp. 7-8, Dec. 1857, pp. 14-25.

⁷⁸Record, June 1845.

⁷⁹Record, November 1854, p. 7.

⁸⁰Record, August 1858, p. 109.

⁸¹On these 'awakenings' see J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening, popular abridged edition (London and Edinburgh, 1964); Timothy L. Smith, Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War (Gloucester, Mass., 1976, 1957).

⁸²Minutes of Synod, 1859, p. 48.

⁸³Minutes of Synod, 1860, pp. 47-49.

⁸⁴Record, August 1849, p. 145.

⁸⁵Record, November 1854, p. 3.

⁸⁶Record, October 1854, p. 178; Minutes of Synod, 1856, pp. 11-13; H.J. Bridgman, "Three Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada: A Study in Emigration, Nationalism and Religion," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1978, pp. 298-302; cf. Peter Neary, ed., "Letters by Oliver Mowat to John Mowat 1843-1846," Oliver to John Mowat, November 20, 1845, p. 122; P.A.C., Isaac Buchanan Papers, Vol. 63, #49985, George Paxton Young to Buchanan, December 7, 1855.

⁸⁷Bridgman, "Three Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada," p. 292; Record, December 1853, p. 21; Nicholson, "Michael Willis," pp. 95-103. P.C.A. McCollum Papers, Box 4, Envelope 5, Thomas Wightman to Mark Young Stark, May 28, 1856.

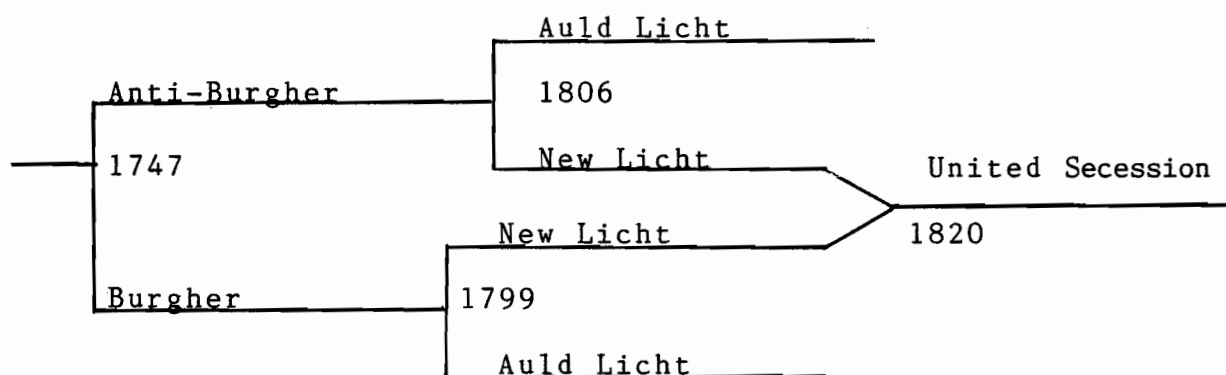
CHAPTER FIVE

UNION WITH THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Union among like-minded Christians is often a desirable, if sometimes unattainable, goal. To the casual observer, the failure of the Free Kirk and the United Presbyterians to agree on a basis of union for upwards of fifteen years seems incomprehensible. There was, however, a wide gulf of ideology, tradition and history which separated the two churches and which made union an arduous task. It was only as these obstacles began to break down under the influence of changed Canadian circumstances, compromises of ideology, and the removal by death of some of its most vigorous opponents, that the union was finally consummated. Yet, in order to understand the differences between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians, it is necessary to glance briefly at the Scottish origins of the United Presbyterians and to reiterate some of the Free Church distinctives.

The United Presbyterian Church had roots which went deep into the Scottish soil. Its ultimate origins were in the 1733 secession of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine from the Church of Scotland over the vexatious issue of lay patronage. This original secession church fragmented further into Burghers and Anti-Burghers in 1747 over the issue of "whether it was lawful or sinful for a Seceder to take the oath required by burgesses of certain cities whereby they acknowledged the true religion publicly preached within the realm and authorized by the laws."¹ The Erskines argued that swearing the oath was lawful and were

forced out by their opponents.² There was further fragmentation of the secession churches under the influence of "New Light."³ Thus both the Burghers and Anti-Burghers divided into New Light and Old Light sections, the result being four churches in 1806 where there was only one in 1733. Schematically the situation looked like this:



The Auld Licht branches were in many ways similar to the Evangelicals in the Church of Scotland, and the Free Church. The Auld Licht Burghers joined the Church of Scotland in 1839 and the majority of the Auld Licht Anti-Burghers joined the Free Church in 1852. The two New Light branches—Burgher and Anti-Burgher—united in 1820 to form the United Secession Church, composed of some 280 congregations.⁴ In 1847 they were joined by the Relief Church—a small group which had been formed subsequent to Thomas Gillespie's deposition in 1752—thus forming the United Presbyterian Church.⁵

The origins of the United Presbyterian Church in Canada date to 1832 when three ministers—William Proudfoot, William Robertson and Thomas Christie arrived in Canada as missionaries of the United Associate Secession Church of Scotland. Robertson died of cholera soon afterwards, but Proudfoot and Christie did

missionary duty in the Western section of the Province. In 1834 they organized themselves into the Missionary Presbytery of Canada in connection with the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church of Scotland. In 1847, following their parent church in Scotland, their name was changed to the United Presbyterian Church.⁶ This Missionary Presbytery established a Theological College at London, Canada West, in 1844 with William Proudfoot as its Principal.⁷ In size the United Presbyterian Church was considerably smaller than the Free Church. Though establishing precise figures from the census returns of the day is problematic, the Census of 1842 listed 18,220 'Other Presbyterians' of which the largest group would undoubtedly be the United Presbyterians. The Census of 1851 gave the totals for 'Other Presbyterians' and the Free Church as 75,308 and 69,738 respectively, but these figures are inaccurate.⁸ According to one estimate the Free Church had about 90,000 adherents in 1851⁹ which would leave the United Presbyterians with about 70,000 but even this latter figure seems high. On the eve of the Union of 1861 there were 9 presbyteries in the United Presbyterian Church: London, Flamboro, Toronto, Canada East, Durham, Wellington, Brant, Grey and Huron; and 70 ministers.¹⁰ By contrast, the Free Church had 8 presbyteries and 158 ministers.

The United Presbyterians did not differ substantially from the Free Church in most matters of doctrine, discipline or church government. They were presbyterian, evangelical, and Calvinistic. Where they differed was on the lively issue of

the right relationship of church to state. Essentially they were voluntarist—denying the propriety of receiving state endowments but also denying the Free Church's conception of national responsibility and the Headship of Christ.

In contrast to the United Presbyterians, the Free Church, both in Scotland and Canada, held as their ideal a church established, and supported by the state, yet free from all civil interference in her internal ecclesiastical affairs. As one commentator has described the situation, the Scots,

. . . were particularly interested in establishing and maintaining the position that Christ is the only lawful Head of the visible Church, and is therefore the only supreme Lawgiver and King of the Church.

Or again,

They meant that Christ is the real King and Head of the Church, as a visible organization, ruling by His statutes, and ordinances, and officers, and forces, as truly and literally as David or Solomon ruled the covenant people of old.¹²

Thus the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland—most of whom seceded to form the Free Church of Scotland—had asserted in the midst of the 'Ten Years' Conflict that:

. . . this spiritual jurisdiction, and the supremacy and sole Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ, on which it depends, they will assert and at all hazards defend, by the help and blessing of that Great God, who in the days of old, enabled their fathers, amid manifold persecutions, to maintain a testimony, even to the death, for Christ's kingdom and crown. . . .¹³

The Free Church espoused the idea of a covenanted state—in which the whole nation was under subjection to a Sovereign

God and to His revealed Word. The Evangelicals, then, held to the ideal of a church established by law, and yet free from all civil encroachment. This position they had defended against the voluntaries on the one side and the Erastian Moderates on the other. During the so-called Voluntary Controversy, which began in Scotland in 1829 and ended with the Disruption of 1843, the Church of Scotland had joined forces with the Original Burgher Synod and the Cameronians against the United Associate Synod (United Secession Church), the Relief Church and the Independent Churches.¹⁴ The most prominent of the Auld Licht Burghers were the Willis family of Greenock—William the father and his son Michael, who was later Principal of Knox College, Toronto.¹⁵ The Auld Licht Burghers joined the Church of Scotland in 1839 and Willis joined the Free Church at the Disruption. Thus many of the Free Church leaders who came to Canada post-1844 had already crossed swords with the United Sessionists in Scotland. Michael Willis, for example, had participated in a lecture series in Glasgow, designed to answer the voluntaries, and organized by "The Glasgow Association for Promoting the Interests of the Church of Scotland." His lecture was entitled "Specific application of the Scripture argument to the doctrine of National Responsibility—the Qualifications necessary in Christian Rulers—the duty of National Covenanting."¹⁶ To reject this and join with them in Canada would not be an easy task.

Immediately following the secession of 1844 the Free Church Synod received union overtures from both the Niagara Presbytery and the Missionary Presbytery. Both groups sent deputies to

the October 1844 Synod. The Committee formed to confer with the Niagara Presbytery brought in a favourable report—noting a common commitment to the Westminster standards and a common practice and discipline. Moreover, "they do not question the obligation of civil government as such to honour Christ as the King of Kings, and the Governor amongst the nations; although on the propriety of the Church's accepting endowments from the State, in the present divided state of the Church and its relationship to the world they have great difficulties. . . ." ¹⁷ Accordingly, the committee recommended "that measures should be adopted for immediate co-operation with the Presbytery in all matters of common interest relative to the conversion of souls. . . ." ¹⁸ Another committee, set up to carry out these recommendations, reported to the Synod of 1845 that some obstacles stood in the way of formal union with the Niagara Presbytery and so the Synod expressed its desire for "a brotherly intercourse" to be maintained between the ministers of the two churches and especially charged the Hamilton Presbytery with this task. A formal union with the Niagara Presbytery was never brought about but some of its ministers and congregations did join the Free Church. ¹⁹

The failure of the Free Church and the Kirk Synod to find a suitable basis for re-union has already been mentioned, ²⁰ although as Union with the United Presbyterians neared in 1860-61 a general union of all Presbyterians in the Province was contemplated. ²¹ It was not until 1875 that the Free Church (in the form of the Canada Presbyterian Church) and the Kirk Synod were re-united.

The Synod of October 1844 also received a deputation from the Missionary Presbytery consisting of Professor Proudfoot, Robert Thornton and John Jennings. Their appearance was regarded as "an earnest of greater union amongst sound Presbyterian Churches in this Province."²² Thereafter the Free Church Synod appointed a Committee to meet with a corresponding committee from the United Presbyterians to discuss a possible union. The two committees agreed to formulate and exchange position papers on certain questions concerning "the practical bearings of the doctrine of the Headship of Christ."²³ The following questions indicate the scope and nature of the points under discussion:

1. Definition of Christ's Headship over the Nations, as distinguished from His Headship over the Church.
2. Province of the civil magistrate.
3. Is national recognition of Christ's Headship over the nations a duty; and if so, in what form is it to be made?
4. Duties of the civil magistrate: 1. As to the recognition of the authority of Revelation, and its application to his peculiar duties. 2. As to the suppression [*sic*] of sins against the first table of the moral law, as especially against the law of the Sabbath. 3. As to the education of the young. 4. As to the promotion of religion, and especially as to the application of any portion of the public funds for the advancement of religion or in the endowment of the Church.
5. Sense in which certain statements in chap. XX sec. 4, chap. XXIII sec.3 and Chap. XXI sec.2 of the Westminster Confession are understood.
6. Views respecting existing establishments.
7. Relations²⁴ of the Synods severally to other Churches.

These preliminary negotiations were carried out in the years 1845-1848. The Synod of 1848, however, after considering the

report of their union committee, while still desiring union on "sound and Scriptural grounds" and noting the amount of common ground between the two churches, nonetheless recorded their opinion that "there are very important differences between the views of this Church and the views declared by the Committee of the United Presbyterian Church. . . ." ²⁵ A dissenting voice was raised by Dr. Ferrier and Mr. Peden who wanted the present committee dissolved, and another appointed:

. . . with instructions to them to propose that all points regarding the power of the Civil Magistrate should be matters of mutual forbearance, and to form a Basis of Union to be submitted to the different Synods on the great points of Christian doctrine and duty on which they are agreed: and that this Synod pledge themselves that whatever views they may entertain as individuals, on the subject of the Magistrate's power, they shall not divide the Church by reducing them to practice, and, in particular, that they shall act on the principle that it is inexpedient in the present state of the Church and the World for Ministers to accept of any aid from Civil Governments. ²⁶

This motion was rejected by a vote of 26 to 5. The Synod of 1848, then, revealed not only a fundamental difference of principle between the Free and United Presbyterians, but also exposed differences within the Free Church itself on this issue of church-state relations. However, there were other irritants which emerged in these early years of negotiation.

Although the Toronto Banner was in favour of union on 'scriptural grounds' some of its reasons for advocating union would not have commended themselves to the bulk of the Free Church ministers. In September, 1845 the Banner argued that "the Secession would bring to the Free Church an accession of good and zealous ministers, with minds clear from any bias towards

Establishments, or State endowments."²⁷ The following year Brown was again promoting union: "Such a union cannot fail to promote the cause of the Gospel in the Province," and asserting that the two churches were "already one in all matters of Faith and Doctrine."²⁸ And, in 1847, while commenting on the union of the Relief and Secession churches in Scotland to form the United Presbyterian Church, Brown asserted that the only barrier to union in Canada was the question of church-state relations. Moreover, that whatever its theoretical position, the Free Church was practically speaking voluntaryist—"the practical renunciation of all State support, such as the Free Church now follows, would at once unite all Presbyterians in the Province who hold the essential doctrines of the Gospel, including the spiritual independence of the Church from State control."²⁹

The pages of the Banner were also used by some United Presbyterian ministers to voice their opposition to the Free Church's stand on the civil magistrate and to complain of certain Free Church practices. The Voluntary Controversy may have ceased in Scotland with the Disruption of 1843, but not so in Canada. From May 1846 to May 1848 the pages of the Toronto Banner contained considerable discussion of church-state relations and national responsibility to God. The two main antagonists were Dr. Robert Burns of the Free Church and Rev. William Barrie of the United Presbyterians—with the occasional letter or comment by Dr. Andrew Ferrier, Rev. R.H. Thornton, R.A. Fyfe of the Baptists or Peter and George Brown. What irritated the United Presbyterians in particular were various comments which Dr.

Burns had made, both in the Synod of 1846 and at the laying of the corner stone of Knox's Church, Toronto. Barrie thus criticized Burns of voicing:

. . . sentiments which voluntary Churchmen hold to be essentially opposed to civil and religious liberty; and the view which he gave of Christ's Headship, in His divine mediatorial character as such . . . was, in my judgment, far from being correct, and if generally embraced, the Presbyterian Eldership would become the civil rulers of the nations in virtue of their office.³⁰

More disconcerting and aggravating than his sermon in Synod was Dr. Burns' address at the laying of the Knox's Church cornerstone. Burns' speech was perceived as insulting to the United Presbyterians, and even Rev. William Rintoul argued that the comments "appeared to me to be sadly out of place, and as I understood them, equally unfounded, and I grieve to say, uncharitable."³¹ Barrie denied that his church admitted 'infidels' into fellowship, adding that "we are probably not very far behind the Free Church in the exercise of discipline." As for Burns' reference to the United Presbyterians as separated from the Free Church "'by the mare magnum of social infidelity,'" Barrie characterized it as "a personal shaft . . . directly aimed . . . at our existence as a professed christian church" and as a "wicked slander against us, which we should not, and will not practically bear." The idea of union between the two churches, Barrie argued, was now "perfectly preposterous," and "entirely extinguished."³² After reading a full report of Burns' speech, Mr. Barrie cooled down somewhat³³ but then he noticed Burns' second letter to the Banner which prompted him to assert that "Judging from the tenor of [that letter] [Burns']

he entertains a very bad opinion of the United Presbyterian Church, and has no desire of union with us."³⁴ This sentiment was echoed by Rev. R.H. Thornton, who argued that "the Dr., although he can meet as a member of the Committee on Union, desires no Union. . . . Nay, before ever he attended any conference of the joint Committee he had schemed to thwart its progress."³⁵

Dr. Burns, for his part, attempted to put forth what he regarded as the Free Church position on the role of the civil government concerning religion and the issue of national responsibility. In doing so he was criticized of misrepresenting and misunderstanding the United Presbyterian position, and was accused by Dr. Ferrier of not knowing "what Voluntaryism is, and that he is fighting against some ideal theory, of his own creation."³⁶ Burns argued that a Voluntary was:

. . . one who in theory or practice releases all men in their associated or national capacities, from allegiance to God, and I look on this theory as practically dangerous; for if we exclude from the range of revelation, as its guide and director, the most extensively influential of all the agencies hitherto known among men, we put into the hands of the Infidel an instrument of mighty potency.³⁷

Moreover, Burns maintained that nations were responsible to God for their actions, that national sins existed, and that God punished nations for such sins. "Inasmuch as nations as such have no place in the future world," he argued, "they are punished in the present. We hold also that nations, like individuals, are capable of moral action, in and through the ordinary organs of national expression."³⁸ Burns also distinguished between an

"established church" and an "endowed church." Accordingly, he asserted to Peter Brown that "Do not think, Mr. Editor, that when we of the Free Church lost our livings, we lost our principles too."³⁹ In his sixth letter, Burns wrote the following succinct statement of the differences between the establishment and voluntary principles:

The Establishment principle then is just this: that men in their social or national capacity as well as in their relations to each other as individuals are bound to honour God and to promote his cause. In carrying this principle into practice, nations who enjoy revelation are bound to take the word of God as their supreme standard of duty and to regulate their public transactions accordingly; but the precise way in which the principle shall be carried out into action must depend very much on the state of a people as to religious differences and political rights. As an example of the application of the principle we give the Sabbath—not as if the nation as such ought to enforce positively religious duties—this it cannot do as to any one of the commands of the decalogue:—but it may and ought to legislate and secure by authority one day in seven to be kept free from the business and amusements of ordinary days. This is what we contend for.⁴⁰

On the other side of the question, Mr. Barrie attempted to outline his view of the differences between the voluntary and establishment principles. He thus argued that:

Christianity does not invest Christians who are civil rulers with greater or different powers, abstractly considered, than heathens who are Magistrates. The whole of their duty, whether they be christians or heathens, lies within the compass of natural principles, and, therefore, as civil rulers, they are not the divinely appointed guardians and administrators of the ordinances and laws of revealed religion.⁴¹

He went on to assert that:

But after all, I am persuaded that the main point of difference between the views of the Presbyterian and United Presbyterian Churches of Canada, is not so much about the Sovereign Dominion of Christ as Mediator over the nations, or the origin and foundation of civil government or magistracy, as about the Scriptural warrant for civil rulers to add legal sanctions to the institutions of revealed religion. It is obvious that Dr. Burns, from his accordance with the views of the old Covenanters or Reformed Presbyterians and the Original Seceders, on this subject, holds that civil rulers are bound by the word of God to promote true religion, and the observance of its ordinances and laws, in their respective nations, in the way of civil enactments, or legal sanctions. I contend, however, that the whole of revealed religion is in the hand of Christ as the enthroned Mediator; that the guardianship of revealed religion, as well as the administration of its ordinances and laws, is committed by the Divine Mediator—not to civil rulers, but to the Church; that, as civil rulers do not derive their authority, as such, from Christ as Mediator, they have no right from him to enforce the adoption of Christianity by their subjects, or the observance of its ordinances and precepts, by civil enactments. Civil rulers, from their high station in society, have great advantages for promoting the interests of the Church, and they are bound to improve them; but they are not bound to further religion by legal sanctions.⁴²

The jousting which was done in the Banner in 1846-1848 probably resulted in antagonizing some members of the two churches; clarifying the issue for some and muddying it for others. However, the actions of the Free Church Synod in deposing Dr. Andrew Ferrier on account of his voluntarism would surely have presented a major obstacle to union.

Dr. Ferrier had applied for admission to the Free Church through the Presbytery of Hamilton in 1845. He possessed a

Presbyterial certificate from the Presbytery of Redstone in Ohio. In October 1845 the Presbytery of Hamilton met to consider his admission and reported "that there is nothing in his views in any respect, to hinder his admission as a minister of this church."⁴³ He was accordingly admitted and ministered for about six years to the Free Church congregation at Caledonia. He participated in the exchange in the Banner in 1846-48 and was severely critical of Dr. Burns. He characterized Burns' remarks on the occasion of the laying of the corner stone of Knox's Church, Toronto, as a "groundless and unprovoked attack" on the United Presbyterian Church and asserted that "I would now be ashamed of my ecclesiastical connection were I not persuaded that there is not a minister in it who will support Dr. Burns in his preposterous and cruelly slanderous sentiments."⁴⁴ Later that same month Dr. Ferrier again crossed swords with Dr. Burns in the pages of the Banner, defending voluntaryism against the latter's attacks. Interestingly enough, Ferrier asserted that he had been received into the Free Church as a known voluntary:

In acceding to the Presbyterian Church I openly declared myself a Voluntary,—an opponent to civil establishments of religion in every form, and in every conceivable position of the Christian Church—saying that if they could not receive me as I was, and had been for nearly thirty years, I must remain without: and it stands recorded in the Minutes of Presbytery that though I differed somewhat from them in this particular, yet, agreeing on the great doctrines of grace, they did not regard the views I held as an objection to my admission. On my induction also, true to my ordination vows, I took the same exceptions to the confession of faith which I did originally.⁴⁵

Perhaps if Ferrier had maintained a lower profile on this question he would have been left alone. However, his dissenting position in the Synod of 1848, as we have already seen, placed him on record as at variance with the bulk of the Free Church. At that time Ferrier dissented from Mr. Reid's motion "because he conscientiously believed several of the principles contained in the statement of the Synod's Committee to be contrary to the Word of God. . . ." ⁴⁶ Consequently, the Synod set up a committee—consisting of Bayne, Robb, Esson, Rogers, Roger, and Elder—to consider Dr. Ferrier's dissent and report back to the Synod. After hearing the report of this committee, the Synod instructed the Presbytery of Hamilton "to confer further with Dr. Ferrier on the views which he has avowed in his conference with the Synod's Committee, and to ascertain how far they coincide with the Standards of the Church." Moreover, in response to an Overture from the Presbytery of Montreal, the Synod resolved that all Presbyteries were to ensure that all candidates for licensure, ordination, or admission were sound on "the subject of Christ's Headship over the nations" particularly with reference to the Westminster Confession and the statements of this year's Synod. ⁴⁷

The Presbytery of Hamilton met with Dr. Ferrier in the ensuing year and reported to the Synod of 1849 "that there appears to them to be much vagueness in the views of Dr. Ferrier, in regard to many points on which the Presbytery have conferred with him, and that in some things they appear to them to be opposed to the standards of this Church." Three written statements by Dr. Ferrier were also brought before this Synod: "a

statement of Declaration of January 8, 1849"; a memorial and petition of June 18 and a pamphlet entitled The Tower of Babel; or Confusion in Language, on points connected with the question of Civil Establishments of Religion, a fertile source of strife and division in the Christian Church. The Synod devoted a considerable amount of time to discussing the case. Twice during the debate Dr. Willis left the Moderator's chair to address the Synod. On the morning of June 27 Dr. Willis presented a motion, seconded by Dr. Burns, to approve of the Presbytery of Hamilton's report and find that Ferrier's position is:

. . . in various particulars inconsistent with the doctrines of Christ's supremacy over nations and civil governments, as held by this Church—and that any exception taken by him to the usual formula at his induction, and which, it appears, so far as conceded by the Presbytery, was understood by them to respect only the legal or compulsory maintenance of a gospel ministry, cannot be allowed to cover the latitude he claims, in impugning the great principle of national duty and responsibility, in its other momentous bearings.⁴⁸

Yet, because Ferrier did not want to cause trouble, a Committee was to be set up which would report to the October Commission, which in turn, would finalize the matter "having respect to the harmony of the Church, and the testimony to which the Synod adheres for the principles of Divine Revelation, and of the Christian law, as of authority to men in their collective and national, as well as private relations and actings."⁴⁹ This committee was to consist of Willis, Burns, Gale, Bayne, Robb, Harris, Rintoul, and two elders—Burns and McLellan.⁵⁰ The Toronto Globe defended Ferrier and commented that "the Old and New Light battle of the old world has been transferred to the

new, to be fought in the person of Dr. Ferrier of Canada."⁵¹

The October 17-18 meeting of the Commission of Synod in Toronto heard a report from the committee assigned to meet with Dr. Ferrier. Although this committee had been unable to reach an agreement with Dr. Ferrier, the Commission decided, in light of a letter from him in which he expressed "his desire to respect the unity of the body, by avoiding an offensive obtrusion of his peculiar views, in opposition to the principles of the Church with which he desires to walk in fellowship" not to proceed further with the case so long as Ferrier kept his pledge. Robb dissented from this resolution. The Commission met again the next day at which time a move to take a harder line with Ferrier was defeated 4-3. Some had wanted to get Ferrier's approval of the commission's decision, and if he refused to give it "to proceed with him by libel in reference to the whole case, as if this interim decision had never been passed." One such hardliner was Mr. Robb, who argued that Dr. Ferrier had already refused to make such a pledge and that his recent letter did not go beyond his past position. Moreover, in Robb's view, Christ's headship over nations was of "vital importance" and that this decision would weaken, if not neutralize this testimony and would encourage others to follow Ferrier's example, thus leading to increased disunity within the church.⁵²

The case came up again at the Synod of 1850, in the context of a report from the committee to examine the records of the Commission. This report raised certain questions about the manner in which the Commission proceeded, and while not wanting to overturn the Commission's decision, wanted the Synod to

... consider how far Dr. Ferrier can be bound by an interpretation put upon his letter in his absence, which he might possibly plead was at variance with the tenor of that letter, and an interpretation to the correctness of which he had never been asked to assent, or whether something ought yet to be done to ascertain how far Dr. Ferrier assents to said interpretation.⁵³

By a vote of 23-12 the report of the Commission was sustained. Defeated was a motion to sustain all but the section concerning Ferrier. However, this Synod was not finished with the Ferrier case.

There were apparently problems in Dr. Ferrier's congregation at Caledonia, and this came before the Synod by way of a reference from the Presbytery of Hamilton. After discussion it was decided to appoint a special Commission of Synod, acting as a Synodical Court of Review to examine the situation "and if they fail in their endeavours to establish harmony in consistency with the findings of the recent Commission, as authenticated by this Synod, power is hereby granted to proceed to final judgment according to the laws of the Church, notwithstanding any appeals that may be attempted to be taken from their finding." If there was a need for a libel, this was to be done by the Presbytery of Hamilton and at least three members of the judicial Commission "staying, nevertheless, a final sentence in the case of appeals."⁵⁴

The Commission appointed to deal with the Caledonia case met in Caledonia on July 9, 1850, and in Hamilton on August 13, 1850. Ferrier was present at the first meeting, but not at

the second. He sent a letter to the Hamilton meeting which evoked from the Commission the opinion that "while it gives no good reason for his absence, it confirms the Commissioners in the opinion, that Dr. Ferrier's views remained unchanged, and convinces them that his spirit, as indicated in the letter is that of defiance of all Presbyterian order and control.

Accordingly the Commission resolved:

Secondly. That the sentiments in question are, in the opinion of the Commissioners, directly contrary to the word of God, and to the standards of this Church; and highly pernicious in their character and tendency.

Thirdly. That Dr. Ferrier, in avowedly holding these sentiments, cannot be considered as adhering to the standards of that Church to which he has sworn allegiance.

Wherefore, the Commission did, and hereby do declare, that Dr. Ferrier is no longer a minister in communion with the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and they, by this minute, exclude him from the rights and privileges connected with relationship to that Church, and appoint a notice of this finding to be sent to the Presbytery of Hamilton, that they may adopt the steps usual in such cases as the present.⁵⁵

Soon after the close of these proceedings, Dr. Andrew Ferrier published a bitter and oftentimes self-righteous attack on the Free Church in Canada—particularly that of the special Commission of Synod to enquire into the Caledonia case. This pamphlet had the provocative and polemical title of Christ Wounded in the House of His Friends: A Brief Review of Some Proceedings in Different Courts, of The Presbyterian Church of Canada.

Throughout this pamphlet, Ferrier insisted upon his own consistency of action. He argued that the views which he held

upon the Voluntary Question in 1848-1850 were the same as those he held in 1845 when he joined the Free Church, and which were known to the Presbytery of Hamilton at the time of his acceptance. Moreover, he accused the Free Church of misrepresentation and ignorance of the views of the United Presbyterian Church; of being sectarian; and of denying to himself the freedom of speech to defend the United Presbyterians and their views. He also accused the Synod of having condemned his pamphlet—The Tower of Babel without having read it.

Perhaps his most scathing remarks, however, were reserved for the Presbytery of Hamilton and the special commission of the Synod set up to investigate the Caledonia case. Thus he argued in the strongest terms that:

We have been cut off from connection with the Presbyterian Church of Canada in a manner the most arbitrary and tyrannical, merely, it would seem in one view, to gratify the pride and spleen of a faction of our Congregation, deserving of the scorn and reprobation of the Church Courts, which our Session, in the conscientious and faithful discharge of duty, had treated with the greatest tenderness when they incurred the censures of the Church; and this has been done, as will appear, under a false pretence and on grounds entirely beyond the powers with which the Commission that brought about the crisis was entrusted by the Synod, by which it will appear, in another view, to have been a purpose, if not a plot, of the Church judicatories.⁵⁶

He insisted that it was not his views on voluntaryism which had split the congregation, but rather, the actions of a small faction bent on agitation. Indeed, he argued that this faction had been encouraged by some members of the Presbytery of Hamilton, and that when the case came before that Presbytery in May, 1850,

"the Presbytery never looked at the case at all, but on the contrary seemed to be perfectly prepared not only to vindicate the cunning and guilty protesters, and to bear down the honest Session, but to take the opportunity, from false and irrelevant matter, of again contending with the Minister."⁵⁷ As for the special Commission, Ferrier was critical of both its composition and conduct. In particular, he denounced the actions of the senior minister on the commission, Dr. Robert Burns of Knox's Church, Toronto. According to Ferrier, Burns

. . . had taken for granted, like the Presbytery, that these disturbers had a good cause, and must be vindicated, and his great aim seemed to be to divide the ranks of the people, and to draw them over to the side of the Faction. Instead of trying to investigate the causes of strife and division alleged to exist, Dr. Burns' object seemed to be to stir up strife and division where there were none.⁵⁸

Again,

When any of the faction spoke, he was all attention; but when any rose on the Congregation's side, he began to shuffle among his papers, and to seem to take no notice. It was well remarked that he acted in the whole scene as judge, jury, and witness. He both put and answered the questions.⁵⁹

Ferrier also charged that the Commission had no authority to meet in Hamilton in August, 1850, that the minutes which they printed and circulated contained a number of "false statements" and that by taking steps to open a new church in Caledonia "the Commission became guilty of an act of deliberate and shameful ecclesiastical robbery, of which, when in far less glaring form, their Church have often been heard loudly accusing others."⁶⁰

Whether or not Ferrier's account is accurate in all its details is not certain. What does seem clear, however, is that Dr. Burns should never have been appointed to the Commission. Having been one of the most vigorous and cantankerous opponents of voluntaryism, and having already crossed swords with Ferrier on the issue, it could hardly have been expected that Burns would review the evidence calmly and disinterestedly.

This Commission eventually proceeded by libel—ruling that Dr. Ferrier's views were not consistent with the Church's standards and that accordingly, Ferrier was declared to be no longer a minister of the Presbyterian Church of Canada. This Commission had consisted of Dr. Burns, Revs. McLeod and McMurray and two elders—McLellan and Osborne. The Synod of 1851 agreed to this without a vote, but dissent was recorded by Esson, Rintoul, Gordon, Quin, Wardrope, Duncan, Scott, and one elder.⁶¹

In the year following the deposition of Dr. Ferrier, Dr. Burns wrote to the Record adding further information on the case. He insisted that he had warned Ferrier in the fall of 1845:

. . . as to the very questionable character of the course he was then pursuing. I had known thoroughly the character of his voluntaryism in the old country; that it went far beyond the mere question of compulsory payments to ministers out of the 'common good' of the land; that it embraced reckless denial of a nation's moral character and responsibility to God; and that it could by no possibility be made to coalesce with a confession of faith, and an ecclesiastical constitution of which, ever since the days of the Westminster Assembly, nationality had formed a prominent part.⁶²

Burns then quoted lengthy passages from a letter of Mark Young Stark on the Ferrier case. There Stark attempted to explain the differences between Ferrier's position and that of the Free Church:

. . . they affirm that the duties of such are the same whether in a christian, infidel or heathen community; they deny the obligation of the Civil Rulers, as such, to take the word of God as the rule and guide of their legislation; they deny the authority of rulers to legislate for the outward observance of the Sabbath, on the ground of its being an institution of God, and that, so far as they may interfere, it must be solely in maintaining it as a civil right or privilege; they, in general, deny the duty or the right of Civil Rulers to provide for Bible instruction in the public schools of the land; and they deny also, the obligation of rulers in their civil assemblies and proceedings, unitedly to seek God in prayer for a blessing and direction through Jesus Christ, the only Mediator, and object to this as an invasion of the rights of conscience and religious liberty. Now, in all these matters, our Church maintains the affirmative, and says, that if men are bound to honour Christ, and submit themselves to His word in their individual capacity, they are, a fortiori, the more bound to this on holding the more responsible station of Civil Rulers.⁶³

Stark argued that the question of accepting endowments was an open question among the members of the Free Church while on "those which refer to the supremacy of Christ" there could be no compromise. Moreover, he argued that Ferrier had been thoroughly examined on his opinions concerning Christ's headship over the nations, and that in Stark's opinion Ferrier's views, at the time of his admission, were "in all essential points . . . at one with those of the Presbyterian Church of Canada." "The question has been more than once put to me—

seeing we took in Dr. Ferrier—I don't mean in the figurative sense—why did we not let him stay in?" Yet if Ferrier did think that his position was different, he should have kept quiet, in which case he would have been left alone.

But when a member of Synod, in open court, challenges the all but unanimous decision of the court, as unscriptural and wrong; and builds 'Towers of Babel' just that he may fall a martyr amid their ruins; and testifies his rabid voluntarism by a joyous waggon-ride through the streets of Hamilton, on the thanksgiving-day appointed by the Governor General—what are we to make of such a person? We wish him well—but he is not one of us—and therefore we bid him good day.⁶⁴

Stark also raised a question of Ferrier's relationship to the United Presbyterian Church (which he had joined subsequent to deposition by the Free Church) and of the prospect of union with that church. He asserted that when Ferrier first came to Canada he had visited a number of United Presbyterian congregations and had even sought an appointment with them before finally joining the Free Church. Indeed, "he accepted appointments from us while still a minister in the other body. Of all this I am not complaining; but it occurs to me that now when he goes back to his old friends, a little sifting on their part would have been wholesome. One thing is plain; such sudden transfers on either side, are not favourable to the proposal of 'union.'"⁶⁵

The Ferrier case served to indicate the difficulties surrounding a proposed union. It demonstrated that Ferrier's position was regarded as inconsistent with the stand of the Free Church and that his actions were deserving of censure. It would thus have been virtually unthinkable for the Free

Church to join with a denomination which had just received a minister whom they had deposed.

The position which Burns, Willis and Bayne had espoused concerning the role of the civil magistrate and Christ's headship over nations, though subscribed to by a majority in the Free Church, was not a unanimous position. Certain chapters of the Westminster Confession of Faith (Ch. 20 and Ch. 23:3) were causing problems in the Synod. This issue came before the Synod in 1850. A motion by Mr. Gordon and Dr. Burns was met by a countermotion by Dr. Willis and John Bayne. Essentially, Willis and Bayne took a harder line on subscription to these sections of the Confession, although they did allow for those with problems to give "a qualified assent" which could be accepted by the Church so as not to be a barrier to licensure or appointment.⁶⁶

One student, John Scott, had been refused licensure by the Presbytery of Hamilton because of his problems with the sections of the Confession of Faith concerning the civil magistrate.⁶⁷ Such incidents prompted a re-examination of these sections. The issue was studied at both the Synod and Presbytery levels throughout 1850-1854. The final outcome was a declaratory act:

The Synod, in declaring their adherence, as they now again do to the Confession of Faith, as approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in the year 1647, hereby declare that they do not understand the passages relating to the duty of the civil magistrate, as teaching or sanctioning an Erastian control of the Church by the civil magistrate, or the persecution of individuals for conscience sake; principles which the Synod heartily disclaim as inconsistent with the liberty wherewith Christ hath made his

people free—opposed to the spirit and terms of the said Confession, and repudiated by the Church in her purest and best times.⁶⁸

Although the Free Church was clarifying its position during these years, no direct negotiations with the United Presbyterians were carried on during 1850-1853. However, the Synod of 1854 received a memorial from Knox's Church, Hamilton, calling for union, as well as various resolutions from the United Presbyterians concerning such a union. The Synod accordingly expressed their desire for a union on scriptural principles and set forth, in an important statement, the groundwork for such a union. Thus the Synod declared:

. . . their willingness to consider opinions on the question of the lawfulness of State endowments, without Erastian submission to the State, a matter of forbearance, but continue to consider the views which they always held, and formerly expressed by their Committee on the duty of the Civil Magistrate, and the responsibilities of nations to God, to be of such vital importance as to demand that they be made a matter of ecclesiastical incorporation, and believe the practical effects resulting from the principles referred to, to be of such a character as to render the maintaining of these principles in all their integrity necessary to the best interests of the Church of Christ.⁶⁹

This resolution was regarded by the United Presbyterians as precluding any union of the two churches and no meeting was held in 1854.

While the Union Committees and other interested parties were debating the fine points of Christ's Headship, there was a growing movement in favour of union at the congregational level. For example, a joint meeting of the Free and United Presbyterian churches in the English settlement, London,

March 26, 1855, argued that continued separation was dishonouring to God and tainted the church's testimony. Union, moreover, "would involve no dereliction of Scriptural Principle, on either side" and would bring many blessings to the church.⁷⁰ Similar meetings were held throughout the province. One asserted that the differences between the two churches were slight and unimportant, and argued that union would present "a strong barrier to the progress of Popery, Infidelity, and Irreligion."⁷¹

Another maintained that union would strengthen greatly the Presbyterian cause in the province "by uniting small congregations of each body into larger, thereby lessening, in many instances, the difficulty of ministerial support, and affording to pastors much wider fields of usefulness." It was asserted, moreover, that in fact, many congregations were already made up of various brands of Presbyterians "who act harmoniously, and illustrate satisfactorily that the whole Presbyterian family not only may, but should dwell together in unity."⁷² Another meeting chided the two Synods for "seeming backwardness . . . to lay down a basis of Union," pointing to "the increasingly pressing necessities of the country, and the boldness and arrogance of our common enemy, urgently calling for a united and determined stand being made on behalf of our common faith."⁷³ It was also asserted by some that "in all probability, as much difference of opinion now exists in each of the Churches separately, as there would be collectively, were they united."⁷⁴

Similar views were expressed in Rev. John Jennings United Presbyterian congregation in Toronto. In January 1859 the Session recorded its view "that were the Union of these two

Churches consummated, it is firmly believed that the differences which now pertain to each church, as a whole, will in no wise disturb the general harmony and efficiency."⁷⁵ Not all congregations were so optimistic about union. The Kirk Session of Knox Church, Hamilton, for example, declared that the 4th article of the Basis of Union "is not only ambiguous in its phraseology, but makes no provision for the practical recognition of Christ's supremacy as King of Nations." Accordingly, union on this basis "would not tend to promote the harmonious action of the two Synods in great questions which may hereafter occur in this land, bearing on the jurisdiction of the Civil Magistrate."⁷⁶

Such congregational meetings tended to emphasize the points of similarity between the two churches, the common foe of Popery and unbelief, and the pragmatic argument of strengthening the Presbyterian cause. Detractors tended to stress the difference of principle and usually tried to cast their opponents in the worst possible light. One such writer asserted that:

The real difficulty in the way of Union, is, that we affirm that, all nations enjoying the light of revelation are bound, in all their national actings, to recognize the supreme authority of the Word of God, and follow its teachings, whenever it affords them direction, and our U.P. brethren deny that the nations have anything more to do with the Bible than they have with the Koran, unless a majority of the people, or, at least of the rulers, are converted men.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, the Synod and the Union Committees continued to discuss the question. The Synod of 1855 passed a mediating motion to the effect that the Free Church considered the only difference between the two churches to be that they "consider

it the imperative duty of officers and magistrates in their public and representative capacity, to legislate and rule in subjection to the authority, and in accordance with the dictates of revelation, where they are known."⁷⁸ Accordingly, they rejected Dr. Burns' motion which expressed alarm over errors with the United Presbyterian Church concerning Christ's headship over the nations and related subjects, and calling for a Committee to publish a summary of the Free Church's principles in opposition to those of the United Presbyterians, and to confer with those in agreement with the Free Church.⁷⁹

The Union Committees met during the ensuing year in the McNab St. Free Church, Hamilton, June 4 and 5. The meeting was well attended and considerable time was spent in devotions and prayer. The following encouraging motion was passed:

. . . apart from the question pertaining to the power, obligation and duties of the Civil Magistrate, they are perfectly at one, on all the great doctrines laid down in the Westminster Confession of Faith. And further, that on the special question referred to, and the points involved in, or connected with it, such as the exclusive Headship of Christ over his Church, individual liberty of conscience in religious matters, and the obligation of all men, in all relations of life, to be governed by the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, there was such a measure of harmony of sentiment manifested as to warrant the hope of its being found practicable to frame some declaration on these points, which might be regarded as mutually satisfactory, and calculated to prepare the way for a union of the two bodies. . . .⁸⁰

It was then proposed that each of the Synods draw up a statement which might form the basis of a union "in which the exclusive Headship of Christ over his Church, together with the freedom of conscience on the one hand, and the duty of all men to be

governed in all their private and public relations, by the authority of Christ in his word, on the other, may be fully maintained."⁸¹ The Union Committee reported to the Synod of 1857 a number of articles as a basis of union which had been agreed to by the joint committees:

I. OF THE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST

We maintain that the Lord Jesus Christ is the only King and Head of his Church; that the laws by which it is to be governed are contained only in the inspired Scriptures; that Christ hath made her free from all external or secular authority in the administration of her own affairs; and that she is bound to assert and defend this liberty to the utmost, and ought not to enter into any such engagements with any party whatsoever, as would be prejudicial to it.

II. LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

We maintain that 'God is the only Lord of the conscience,' that therefore every person ought to be at full liberty to 'search the Scriptures' for himself, and to follow out what he conscientiously believes to be the teaching of Scripture, without let or hindrance. But if any person, under the plea of liberty of conscience, presumes to disturb the peace of society, or to set aside the lawful authority of the magistrate, or to blaspheme the name of God openly and wantonly, or to disturb the public religious worship of his neighbor, we declare that these are abuses, which the magistrate ought to repress, both for the glory of God and the public weal.

III. OF THE DUTIES OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE

We maintain that while the Civil Magistrate, as such, is not an officer of the Church of Christ, and may not therefore assume any ecclesiastical functions, or claim the power to act as an interpreter of the Word of God, or as an administrator in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, he has yet an important part to act in his official capacity in relation to the Kingdom of Christ; that it is his duty in his public as well as in his private capacity, to acknowledge the authority of Christ as the Supreme Governor among the

nations; and that in this view, without taking cognizance of offences against morality considered as sins against God, he ought to see that, in aiming to promote the social well-being in subordination to the divine glory, the laws of the land in their enactment and administration are avowedly in accordance with the principles of justice and morality inculcated in the Scriptures. At the present time we think it necessary especially to declare that he is bound to acknowledge the divine authority of the Christian Sabbath, and to secure to all his subjects their right to enjoy the sacred rest of that day.⁸²

In response to these articles Dr. John Bayne of Galt, one of the foremost defenders of the distinctive principles of the Free Church in these matters, put forward a motion which the Synod adopted:

That the Synod find with great satisfaction, that the views of the Committee of the United Presbyterian Church on the great principle that it is the duty of the civil Magistrate in his official as well as his private capacity, to acknowledge the authority of Christ as the Supreme Governor among the nations, and that in aiming to promote the social well-being, he ought to see that the laws of the land are avowedly in accordance with the principles inculcated in the Word of God, are the same with those of his Church; rejoice in the prospect thus opened up that a union of the respective Synods may soon be realized; re-appoint the committee, with instructions to confer farther with the committee of the United Presbyterian Church, as to the agreement of their views in respect to the practical application of the principle referred to, and the prospect there would be of united action in carrying out this principle in the event of a union of the Churches, and report to the next meeting of Synod.⁸³

To work out some of the practical implications of these principles, the Union Committee met in Knox's Church, Toronto, October 20, 21, 1857. Under discussion were: state endowments of religion; the use of the Bible in the common schools, and

the appointment of days of public humiliation and thanksgiving by the civil magistrate. A spirit of compromise seems to have been evident in this meeting and the following resolutions were passed:

1. That the brethren of the P.C.C. hold that there are circumstances in which the State may lawfully offer endowments, and the Church may lawfully accept of them. And that the brethren of the U.P.C. maintain that the acceptance of endowments is in all cases inconsistent with the spiritual independence of the Church, and the allegiance which she owes to Christ her Head.
2. That no specific declaration of opinion on the above question, or its bearings, is demanded as a term of communion in either of these Churches.
3. They, therefore recommend that in the event of the Churches being united, the same practice, in reference to this question, should still be followed in the united body that is now followed in the two branches in their separate state, and that the same forbearance should, therefore, continue to be exercised.

Concerning the use of the Bible in the Common Schools, it was agreed that this was a desirable end, and that it was the duty of the civil government "to afford every facility for the use of the Bible in the Common Schools, and while abstaining from the enforcement of the use of it upon any who may be opposed thereto, to provide that no obstacle shall be thrown in the way of those who may desire to use it." Finally, the two committees were agreed that days of National Humiliation and Thanksgiving were proper and that the civil authorities "may with propriety nominate the day, and recommend the observance of it by all under his rule; at the same time he has no right to prescribe the religious exercises to be observed."⁸⁴

Although the editor of the Record could assert, after looking at the resolutions of the 1857 Synod and the resolutions of the joint-committees, that "we are of opinion that the most difficult part of the course has been traversed, and that if no unexpected difficulty is introduced, a favourable result may be before long anticipated,"⁸⁵ there was considerable dissent expressed at the Synod of 1858. In the meantime, the joint-committees had met April 14 and 15, at which time they discussed the Sabbath as it pertained to the civil magistrate. It was thus agreed:

That while it is the duty of the civil magistrate to protect the sacred character and obligation of the Sabbath, it is also the duty of the Church to bear her testimony in favour of God's holy day; which they may do by approaching the Legislature or otherwise as the majority may determine. And that a minority while permitted all equitable liberty, would be understood in this, as in other departments of Ecclesiastical government as bound, in action or dissent, to respect constitutional order and the received principles of the united body.⁸⁶

In this matter it would seem that the Free Church, having a numerical majority, would be able to give expression to its distinctive principles. Moreover, the committees decided not to discuss further the practical implications of those principles agreed to on June 5, 1857 since any differences concerning the civil magistrate "are not, as seems to this committee, so great, nor of such a nature, as to prevent cordial co-operation, and may be made, and should be made matters of mutual christian forbearance."⁸⁷

However, at the Synod of 1858 John Bayne was outspoken in his defence of Free Church distinctives. In his opinion, the

resolutions of the joint-committees were not clear enough on the role of the civil magistrate. Therefore, he put forward four propositions which enunciated a clear Free Church position on the role of the civil magistrate—stressing his responsibility to be guided by the Word of God in his actions—particularly in reference to education and the Sabbath. However, Bayne's motion was rejected in favour of one by D. Fraser which approved of the articles of the joint-committee, called for toleration on minor points concerning the civil magistrate, yet which still asserted that a basis of union "distinctly assert the Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ over the nations of the earth, and the duty of the Civil Magistrate to acknowledge and obey the revelation of God's authority in His inspired word." Upon passage of this motion, Dr. Bayne asked to be removed from the Union Committee.⁸⁸

The Synod of 1859 once again witnessed the clash of those who wanted to give full force to Free Church distinctives and those who were prepared to compromise on the matter. A motion by Topp and Wardrope to regard the Basis of Union as "on the whole . . . satisfactory" and thus to consider it article by article was met by an amendment by John Bayne and Michael Willis calling for greater clarification of the clauses concerning the civil magistrate. Because the basis of union left matters in many ways undefined, Willis and Bayne seems to have been on their guard to concede too much.⁸⁹ The Synod passed Topp's motion by a 99-20 vote over Bayne's amendment, and proceeded to discuss each of the articles individually. Consideration of the fourth article—"Of the Headship of Christ over the Nations,

and the Duty of the Civil Magistrate" engendered considerable debate. Eventually the Synod agreed to accept this article. Problems, however, arose over the question of two notes which the United Presbyterians had wanted appended to this article—explaining how they understood it. Thus the first note argued against the idea that "Christ as King of Nations delegates His power to earthly kings that they are in any sense his vice-gerents, or that magisterial interference in matters purely of a religious nature is a medium through which Christ exercises the authority with which as King of Nations He is invested."⁹⁰ The second note concerning the civil magistrate was regarded as merely outlining the usual United Presbyterian view "for no declaration of sentiment regarding it has been required by her as a term of communion, and their instructions forbid their acknowledging it now in that character."⁹¹

The Free Church Synod regarded these notes as "liable to misconception, and cannot be accepted by this Synod" and called upon the United Presbyterians to withdraw them.⁹² Although some members of Synod wanted to debate further these issues concerning the civil magistrate, the Synod passed a motion by Rev. R.F. Burns, that while the Free Church was committed to a union on the basis of "national responsibility to Christ" they did not want to "at this advanced stage of the negotiation, to burden the Basis with an enumeration of the varied practical applications of that principle" which had already been fully discussed in committee and on which the two churches are said to be in general agreement.⁹³ The Synod, accordingly, approved

the Basis of Union and sent it down to presbyteries and sessions for discussion.

Not surprisingly, Dr. Bayne was not happy with those sections of the Basis which pertained to the civil magistrate. He prepared a long statement outlining his reasons for dissent. It was clear that he lacked confidence in the manner in which the United Presbyterians understood Christ's Headship, wanted the whole question clarified, and regarded "union upon the aforesaid basis as necessarily involving a dangerous compromise of principle." Adhering to Bayne's dissent was a small, but not undistinguished group—Principal Michael Willis, A.C. Geikie, Duncan McRuar, Robert Irvine, Daniel Gordon, Andrew Wilson, James Middlemiss, and M.C. Lutz. A committee of Synod was appointed to answer this dissent; an indication of the stature and seriousness of the dissentients. Bayne later characterized the answers to his dissent as "weak, evasive, sophistical, and altogether inconclusive."⁹⁴

The Basis of Union was sent down to Presbyteries under the Barrier Act. Although all Presbyteries and 88 of 95 sessions approved of it⁹⁵ a substantial minority in some presbyteries disapproved. In Hamilton, for example, 9 of 32 disapproved.⁹⁶

The Synod of 1860 approved by a vote of 121-37 the report of its union committee and resolved to report this to the United Presbyterian Synod which was also meeting in Hamilton. The amendment which lost had been moved by Dr. Willis and Mr. G. Smellie and called for another conference in order to clarify

certain matters.⁹⁷ The United Presbyterians agreed to drop the notes to article four but wanted to insert a clause into that article which would read—"it being understood that, in the application of the doctrine of this article, mutual forbearance shall be exercised."⁹⁸ A lengthy discussion ensued during which various motions were put forward and then withdrawn. Finally, the Synod approved a motion by William Reid to the effect that while still desirous of union, the Free Church could not accept this new clause "which might seem to recognize unlimited forbearance as to the application of the said doctrine." Hence, another committee was formed—consisting of Ure (Convener), Willis, Laing, Inglis, T. Wardrope, Scott, Gregg, Ross, Kemp, McRuar, Topp, McLaren, G.P. Young, D. McKenzie, McMurrich, McLellan, Ferrier and Sherwood, to meet with the United Presbyterians to see if the problem might be overcome.⁹⁹

By late summer 1860 the Union negotiations were almost complete. The union committee had already met after the Synod of June 1860 and had given final approval to the basis of union. Accordingly, the Moderator called a special meeting of Synod for October 2-4 in Toronto to consider finally the basis of union and to make "any necessary arrangement with a view to the consummation of the Union." This time the basis appeared with a preamble stating that as far as the practical outworkings of the fourth article were concerned, "unanimity is not required in the united body" and any cases that arose because of it would be settled by the courts of the church.¹⁰⁰ Some of those present at this meeting had difficulty understanding the preamble and wanted the committees to rephrase it. A motion

was carried to appoint a deputation to the United Presbyterian Church (then in session in Toronto) to discuss the preamble. The United Presbyterians sent a delegation to the Free Church and a conference, held outside of the Synod, altered the wording of the preamble. A further conference between representatives of the two churches recommended that the new church be called the Canada Presbyterian church and that the union be formalized in Knox's Church, Toronto, on December 20, 1860. Neither of these proposals commended themselves to the Free Church. The name Presbyterian Church in Canada was preferred, though the other name would be adopted if insisted upon. As well, the Free Church wanted the union to be consummated at the regular meeting of Synod which was scheduled for Montreal in June 1861.

Even at this stage, there were notable dissents from some Free Church ministers. Dr. Willis did not want to be committed to a union at the next Synod meeting and Mr. Smellie, the protégé of Dr. John Bayne (now deceased) questioned the whole matter of union—particularly in light of significant opposition to it from within the Free Church.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, in the opinion of Revs. L. McPherson and D. Fraser, the Free Church had relinquished its principles and "has seriously endangered the doctrinal purity of the church, as well as compromised its own consistency in the eyes of the world." Moreover, in their view, the Synod has agreed to union without consulting the members and adherents of the church and in doing so "the Synod has virtually assumed the right and power of legislating within the domain of conscience, and has set aside, without the know-

ledge or consent of those whose interest it is, one of the most precious and sacred rights with which Christ has invested each and all of the members of His Church."¹⁰²

With the union agreed to, the Free Church established various committees to deal with the logistics of the union: the arrangement of presbyteries, Home-Missions, theological education, and property. Interestingly enough, the Presbytery of Montreal ordained one Daniel Paterson, a licentiate of the United Presbyterian Church on October 24, 1860. Paterson, recently arrived from Scotland, in light of the forthcoming union, applied to the Presbytery of Montreal for admission. Dr. Taylor and Rev. Mr. McKie of the United Presbyterian Church participated. The editor of the Record commented that "this act may be regarded as of historical importance, being the first fruits of the union of the two churches."¹⁰³

The final meeting of the Free Church Synod opened June 4, 1861 in the Côté St. Free Church, Montreal. The retiring moderator, W.B. Clark of Chalmers' Church, Quebec City, preached the opening sermon and the Synod was constituted. The attendance was large—128 ministers of 158 and 74 of 113 elders. William Gregg of Cooke's Church, Toronto, was elected Moderator. The forthcoming union eclipsed all discussion of regular business. An act concerning congregational property was discussed as was the possibility of a general union of all Presbyterians in the Province.

Even at this late date some members of Synod wanted to reconsider the Preamble to the Basis of Union. Although objections were raised that this was out of order and incompetent,

the Moderator ruled that it was in order. However, S.C. Fraser, and A. McLean challenged the Moderator's ruling and by a vote of 77-56 the Moderator's ruling was struck down. There was to be no more discussion at this point in time. Yet clearly, not all in the Free Church were happy. Five ministers from the Presbytery of London sent a letter to the Moderator, dissenting from the basis of union and charging that the preamble was open to an interpretation "that would operate to the practical abnegation of Christ's headship over the nations, and the duty of the civil magistrate, as laid down in the fourth article."¹⁰⁴ As well, five other ministers dissented from the union and gave in detailed reasons for doing so—all of which were, in turn, answered by committees of Synod.¹⁰⁵

While the Free Church Synod was meeting in Coté St. Church, the United Presbyterians convened in Dr. Taylor's Lagauchetière St. Church. There it was decided that the various United Presbyterian congregations could retain their names and "shall not be held, though coming in consequence of this union under the inspection of the united Church, as in any way changing its ecclesiastical connexion, or impairing any civil rights which it now possesses and enjoys."¹⁰⁶

The Free Church Record, for the past several years, had been a warm proponent of union, though always insisting that it be on sound principles. It could point to unions in Australia and Nova Scotia as examples of what was desired in Canada. As the day of the union approached, the editor wrote joyfully that "the consummation of the Union will be the most important event that has yet taken place in the history of our common

Presbyterianism in Canada; it will form an epoch in the annals of our church."¹⁰⁷ Certainly not all would have agreed with the editor that "we had advanced to our present position, without giving up or compromising any of the great principles which it has been the glory of the Church hitherto to maintain," though they would have agreed with his call for increased zeal, spirituality, and devotedness "that we may find ourselves, through the influence of the Spirit of God, raised to a higher measure of spiritual life and power."¹⁰⁸

The first Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church opened June 6, 1861 in the Wesleyan Church, Great St. James St., Montreal. Dr. Thornton and Rev. William Gregg as Moderators of the United Presbyterian and Free Churches, respectively, presided and signed the articles of union. Dr. W. Taylor of Montreal was elected Moderator of the new church and W. Reid and W. Fraser, the clerks of the former Synods, were elected clerks of the new Synod. After the formalities were over, the new church met in the Coté St. Church June 7-13 to conduct its regular business.¹⁰⁹

It was a long and difficult road which led to the Union of 1861. In the eyes of some it was a union born of compromise;¹¹⁰ to others, it represented the triumph of essential principles over and against those of a secondary nature. Whereas some in the Free Church regarded the basis of union as compromising their cherished principles, others insisted that the Union had left those very principles intact. Clearly, the basis of union could be read from either a Free Church or a

United Presbyterian perspective. It remained to be seen whether a Free Church or a United Presbyterian emphasis would be worked out in the day to day life of the church. Nonetheless, it was equally clear that the new church was strong, committed to evangelicalism and historic Calvinism and would be a force to be reckoned with in Canadian society.

References - Chapter Five

- ¹Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, p. 323.
- ²Ibid.
- ³See John Macleod, Scottish Theology, Chapter Eight, "New Light and What It Has Done" for more on this point.
- ⁴Burleigh, Church History, p. 324.
- ⁵Cf. Burleigh's chart of the unions and divisions in the Scottish church, p. 457.
- ⁶Smith, Farris and Markell, A Short History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, p. 40.
- ⁷Ibid., p. 47.
- ⁸Moir, Church and State in Canada West, p. 185.
- ⁹Record, Nov. 1860, p. 11.
- ¹⁰Minutes of the United Presbyterian Church, 1861, pp. 449-52.
- ¹¹L. Berkhof, Systematic Theology (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1939), p. 582.
- ¹²J. Walker, The Theology and Theologians of Scotland Chiefly of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1888), p. 130, quoted in Berkhof, Systematic Theology, p. 582.
- ¹³Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland 1638-1842, p. 1085.
- ¹⁴Montgomery, "Voluntary Controversy," p. 2.
- ¹⁵Macleod, Scottish Theology, p. 238.
- ¹⁶Lectures on the Church Establishment Controversy, and Subjects Related To It (Glasgow, 1835). The Canadian Presbyterian argued that "many old warriors are still alive who fought with might and main in their respective ranks" and who apparently wish to continue fighting (October 1857), p. 257.

¹⁷Alex F. Kemp, Digest of the Minutes of the Presbyterian Church of Canada with a Historical Introduction and an Appendix of Forms and Procedures (Montreal, 1861), p. 274.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 275; Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 106-07.

²⁰See Chapter Four above.

²¹Minutes of Synod, June 1861, p. 15.

²²Kemp, Digest, p. 280. According to Ian Rennie, the United Presbyterian Church was negotiating with the Free Church as a means of self-defence lest their people join the latter. "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 207.

²³Kemp, Digest, pp. 280-81.

²⁴Record, April 1846; Banner, November 27, 1846.

²⁵Minutes of Synod 1848, p. 21.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 21-22; Kemp, Digest, pp. 282-83.

²⁷Banner, Sept. 19, 1845.

²⁸Banner, May 29, 1846.

²⁹Banner, June 11, 1847.

³⁰Banner, June 19, 1846.

³¹Banner, Sept. 24, 1847.

³²Banner, October 8, 1847.

³³Banner, November 17, 1847.

³⁴Banner, November 26, 1847.

³⁵Banner, November 12, 1847.

³⁶Banner, October 29, 1847.

- ³⁷ Banner, November 5, 1847.
- ³⁸ Banner, November 19, 1847.
- ³⁹ Banner, November 26, 1847.
- ⁴⁰ Banner, January 21, 1848.
- ⁴¹ Banner, February 11, 1848.
- ⁴² Banner, February 11, 1848.
- ⁴³ Record, October 1845.
- ⁴⁴ Banner, October 5, 1847.
- ⁴⁵ Banner, October 29, 1847.
- ⁴⁶ Minutes of Synod 1848, p. 22.
- ⁴⁷ Minutes of Synod 1848, pp. 22, 32.
- ⁴⁸ Minutes of Synod 1848, p. 20.
- ⁴⁹ Minutes of Synod 1849, p. 20.
- ⁵⁰ Minutes of Synod 1849, p. 20.
- ⁵¹ Globe, June 30, 1849.
- ⁵² Record, November 1849, pp. 2-3..
- ⁵³ Minutes of Synod 1850, p. 18.
- ⁵⁴ Kemp, Digest. p. 54.
- ⁵⁵ Record, September 1850, p. 162.
- ⁵⁶ Andrew Ferrier, Christ Wounded in the House of His Friends: A Brief Review of Some Proceedings in Different Courts of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Hamilton, 1850), p. 12.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 14.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 17.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 21.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 22, 23, 28.

⁶¹Kemp, Digest, pp. 54-55. Cf. Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 163-65.

⁶²Record, March 1851, p. 68.

⁶³Record, March 1851.

⁶⁴Record, March 1851.

⁶⁵Record, March 1851, p. 69. Ferrier was not enthusiastic about the Union. He wrote against it, dissented from the Basis of Union, and only entered the new church after having satisfied his conscience by his dissent. J.A. Johnston, "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875," pp. 52-53.

⁶⁶Minutes of Synod 1850, pp. 23-24. The Canadian Presbyterian suggested that Chapter 23 of the Confession had caused most of the problems in the Church of Scotland, even the 10 Years' Conflict, was not essential doctrine, and argued for allowing "simple exception to be taken . . . to certain specified clauses" (e.g., Ch. 23:3 and Ch. 31:2) (December 1857), pp. 326-32.

⁶⁷Kemp, Digest, p. 55.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 17.

⁶⁹Minutes of Synod 1854, pp. 11-12.

⁷⁰Record, May 1855, p. 98.

⁷¹Record, June 1855, p. 117.

⁷²Record, August 1855, p. 146.

⁷³Record, March 1856, p. 65.

⁷⁴Record, March 1856, p. 76.

⁷⁵P.C.A. Jennings Papers, "Session Minute Book of the United Secession Congregation of the City of Toronto, 1838-1875" (Manuscript), Entry for January 31, 1859.

⁷⁶P.C.A. Knox Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, "Facts 1-9" (Manuscript notes from session minutes), Entry for November 14, 1859. Cf. P.C.A. Minutes of Kirk Session of Prescott, Canada West, Entry for October 10, 1860.

⁷⁷Record, June 1855, pp. 118-19.

⁷⁸Minutes of Synod 1855.

⁷⁹Minutes of Synod 1855.

⁸⁰Minutes of Synod 1856, p. 43.

⁸¹Minutes of Synod 1856, p. 43.

⁸²Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 26-27.

⁸³Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 27.

⁸⁴Record, November 1857, p. 5.

⁸⁵Record, December 1857, p. 14.

⁸⁶Record, May 1858, p. 83.

⁸⁷Record, May 1858, p. 83.

⁸⁸Minutes of Synod, 1858, pp. 15-16. Dr. Willis was in Scotland at the time and thus could not participate in the debate. Nicholson, "Michael Willis," pp. 118-24.

⁸⁹Minutes of Synod 1859, pp. 19-20. Cf. G. Smellie, Life of Bayne (Toronto, 1871), pp. 27-28.

⁹⁰Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 47. According to the Canadian Presbyterian the 4th article was written by the United Presbyterians and adopted simpliciter by the Free Church (September 1858), pp. 259-63.

⁹¹Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 47.

⁹²Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 24.

⁹³Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 25.

⁹⁴Record, November 1859. The Canadian Presbyterian, a warm supporter of Union, suggested that ministers born and educated in Canada had fewer problems with the questions surrounding the Union than did those from Britain (May 1858), p. 144. Dr. Bayne and his supporters were characterized as those "who have ever taken the position of high conservatives in the Church." Canadian Presbyterian (July 1858), p. 201.

⁹⁵Minutes of Synod 1869, p. 8.

⁹⁶Record, 1859, p. 14.

⁹⁷Minutes of Synod 1860, p. 8.

⁹⁸Minutes of Synod 1860, p. 16.

⁹⁹Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 19-20.

¹⁰⁰Minutes of Synod October 1860, p. 6. According to Johnston the Union Basis of 1859 of Victoria, Australia, was used in the Canadian discussions. "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875," p. 149.

¹⁰¹Minutes of Synod October 1860, p. 10.

¹⁰²Minutes of Synod October 1860, p. 13. Apparently Lachlon Macpherson refused to enter the Canada Presbyterian Church. Johnston, "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875," p. 57.

¹⁰³Record, Nov. 1860, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁴Minutes of Synod 1861.

¹⁰⁵Minutes of Synod 1861.

¹⁰⁶Record, July 1861, p. 135.

¹⁰⁷Record, May 1861, pp. 99-100.

¹⁰⁸Record, June 1861, p. 115.

¹⁰⁹Record, July 1861.

¹¹⁰Ian Rennie sees it this way. "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 226-27.

CHAPTER SIX

FINANCES

". . . the Lord commanded that those who proclaim the gospel should get their living by the gospel"

1 Corinthians 9:14

"Let him who is taught the word share all good things with him who teaches"

Galatians 6:6

"The silver and gold do not constitute the strength of any Church — its efficiency and permanency depend on the purity and spirituality of its members"

Report on Statistics, 1856

Those who for conscience sake leave one Church for another are usually prepared to support such a decision with their money. This was true in the case of the Canadian Free Church. Yet, unlike many other churches, they had significant financial resources to draw upon. Its community of members and adherents included a number of wealthy businessmen like Isaac Buchanan and John Redpath, to say nothing of hundreds of men and women who were prepared to give in order to launch and sustain the new church. As well, the financial support of friends in Scotland and Ireland could be counted on, particularly that of the Colonial Committees of the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.¹

The financial requirements of the Free Church were not unlike those of many denominations: salaries and stipends for its ministers, professors, church officers, and missionaries;

and the construction and maintenance of church and college buildings. Unlike Anglicans, Church of Scotland Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and Wesleyan Methodists, the Free Church could not count on state support and, for the most part, refused to take a share of the Clergy Reserves patrimony.² Although formally committed to the principle of an established church, funds had to be raised, for the most part, within the denomination—either through voluntary collections, subscriptions, or pew rents. If the source of its money remained substantially unchanged during its seventeen-year history, the organization of its finances underwent various changes and modifications, as some programs were discarded, others added and the system streamlined.

In order to understand the organization of the Free Church's financial affairs it is necessary to glance briefly at the structure of its committees and courts. Consistent with other denominations organized according to a presbyterian form of church government, there were three levels of authority: the local congregation, Presbytery and Synod. At the congregational level a Kirk Session, consisting of the minister and the ruling elders, were responsible for spiritual oversight. Presbyteries, as the next level of authority, were to watch over the affairs of a number of congregations within a stated geographic area. The Synod, as the highest in this series of church courts, was to oversee the entire denomination. Each of these three levels of authority had some financial concerns, though the majority of the financial activity took place at either the

C congregational or Synod levels.

Within the local congregation, the financial affairs were the responsibility of Deacons, Managers, and Trustees, though in extraordinary circumstances, elders could take charge of such matters.³ They were to construct and maintain the church buildings, the minister's manse and glebe, and pay the minister's stipend. Congregations were also expected to contribute to the various funds and stated collections of the denomination as a whole, and to the presbytery's home mission fund. Needless to say, not all congregations contributed to all the funds.

The major projects of the Synod for which funds were collected at the congregational level can be divided into two categories: those administered by the Synod itself; and those for which the Synod merely acted as a channel for the funds to be sent elsewhere. In the first category were the Synod Fund, the Home Missions Fund, the Ordinary, Bursary and Building Funds of Knox College, the Buxton Mission, the Ministers' Widows and Orphans Fund, and the Colportage and Publications Plan. Those in the second category were the Foreign and Jewish Missions of the Free Church of Scotland and the French Canadian Missionary Society.

Collections for most of these projects would be taken up on specific Sundays at quarterly intervals during the year. In 1848, for example, the collections were for: 1. The French Canadian Missionary Society (on 1st Sunday in September, 1848); 2. Synod Home Mission Fund (1st Sunday in December, 1848); 3. Synod Fund (1st Sunday in March, 1849) and 4. Foreign Missions (1st Sunday in June, 1849). Additional collections and

subscriptions for the support of the College were to be sent to the Treasurer or the Agent before May 1, 1849.⁴ Contributions from individuals, Women's and Sunday School groups, and external bodies such as the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, were also received.

Each of these schemes was superintended by a standing committee of the Synod. It would be composed of ministers and elders, and would probably have a Convener, Secretary, and Treasurer, and would be responsible for general oversight. Annual reports were made to the Synod, which in turn were closely scrutinized by another committee and often resulted in specific actions or recommendations. Finances were one of the concerns of such committees. The financial statements of all of the Synod's schemes would be examined by a Committee on Finance.⁵

During the first years of the Free Church there was no one financial officer. In 1844 James Shaw was appointed Treasurer of the Synod Fund. He held that position until 1847 when he was replaced by John Laidlaw of the House of Messrs. Henderson and Laidlaw of Toronto. By 1847 each of the Free Church's funds had their own treasurers: Synod Fund (John Laidlaw); Bursary Fund (Samuel Spreull); College Fund (John McMurrich); Home Mission Fund (Daniel McNab); Foreign and Jewish Missions of the Free Church of Scotland (John Redpath) and the Sustentation Board (W.P. McLaren).

However, by 1849 it would seem that the Agent had become the chief financial officer of the denomination. In 1848 the Committee on Public Accounts recommended that the Agent for

the Sustentation Fund (John Burns) also be the "Agent for the General Scheme of the Church." It was the Agent's responsibility to correspond with Presbyteries and Congregations, ensure that regular collections were taken up, submit annual reports concerning these collections, "and generally to do his best endeavours to bring out the liberality of the people to the schemes of the Synod." Moreover, he was "to be paid a portion of his salary by each of the schemes in proportion to the portion of his time devoted to each."⁶ In 1849 John McMurrich and John Laidlaw resigned as the treasurers of Knox College and the Synod Fund. John Burns as General Agent and Treasurer of the Church was given the responsibility of publishing the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record and was, in general, to supervise the "schemes of the Church" under the oversight of one of the church's standing committees—the Agency Committee.

Although each of these projects had some common feature, each had its own peculiarities and enjoyed more financial success. For these reasons, it is necessary to examine each in some detail.

One of the earliest needs of the Free Church was for church buildings. As we have already noticed, at the time of the Disruption of 1844, there were a number of legal battles over the title to church buildings. Accordingly, some Free Church congregations worshipped temporarily in Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, or United Presbyterian buildings, until their own could be constructed. A number of such building projects

were aided by donations from Isaac Buchanan. Besides contributing substantial amounts of money to Knox College, Buchanan, in the early years of the Free Church had made an offer of a grant of £50 to ten new churches in Canada West. He did, however, attach certain conditions to this grant. These apparently included provisos that the managers of the property be elected annually by the congregation, that the local congregation raise £50 for building materials and that the church be named Knox's Church.⁷ The property must be held by and for members in full communion with the Presbyterian church of Canada. By this, he was attempting "to protect congregations against the interference of the church courts in our congregational temporalities."⁸ One such congregation, the Free Temple Church in Chinguacousy, submitted their title deed to Rev. William Rintoul, to see if it met Buchanan's conditions. Apparently it did not, but they were prepared to amend it. They would include a clause to the effect that the church was held by and for members in full communion with the Presbyterian Church of Canada. As Rintoul intimated to Buchanan, "entre nous, they are pretty well imbued with an Ecclesiastic-phobia."⁹ Buchanan's insistence on congregational control of property was probably a reflection of his suspicion of clerical power and control. Buchanan's offer of money probably came too late to induce any congregations to leave the Kirk Synod. However, it did strengthen those congregations which had already left.¹⁰

Financial support for the ministry was one of the first concerns of the newly-formed Synod. At its initial meeting of

July 1844 a committee was formed to consider the matter of a Sustentation Fund for the whole church and Deacon's Courts for each congregation.¹¹ The matter was taken up again at the meeting of the Commission of Synod in Hamilton, August 7 and 8, 1844. There it was resolved to establish a Board of Trustees to oversee the Sustentation Fund. The Trustee Board was to consist of a President, Vice-President, and seven others, elected by the Synod. The first trustee board was to consist of Isaac Buchanan as President, along with five laymen, three ministers, and the local board chairmen who would sit ex officio. The trustees were to give general oversight and encouragement, would set up local associations to raise the money, and would in turn distribute it.¹² The whole purpose of this scheme was to supplement, equalize or raise ministers' stipends to "a respectable minimum."

The foregoing plan was rejected by the Synod of October 1844, on the grounds that it was only a "supplementary fund; and that a common sustentation fund, sustained by the exertions of all the congregations, and one on which all the ministers shall depend, is to be preferred."¹³ The deputies from the Free Church of Scotland, King and Macnaughtan, spoke in favour of a sustentation fund, and this undoubtedly influenced the Synod.¹⁴ Although the matter was discussed by a committee of this Synod, it was given to the Commission of Synod to finalize a plan.

Subsequent trustee boards included various men who were prominent in the Canadian business and financial community. In 1845 the President was Isaac Buchanan; the Vice-Presidents were

John Redpath and Andrew Jeffrey; the Treasurer, James McIntyre and the Secretary, James Walker. For the years 1846-1848 John Redpath served as President, Andrew Jeffrey of Cobourg and James Gibb of Quebec City as Vice-Presidents, and William P. McLaren and James Walker as Treasurer and Secretary respectively.

The new plan, as developed by the Commission of October 29, was intended to raise the salaries of ministers in poorer congregations by drawing upon the resources of the wealthier ones. A common fund would supersede local stipendiary arrangements. Congregational giving might be raised by pew rents, Sunday collections or periodic contributions. Each congregation would have an association with a group of collectors. The local affairs would be under the superintendence of the Deacons or Managers. An elaborate method of calculating salaries was developed. The minimum salary was set at £100 per annum. For the purposes of calculation this was represented by the number 10. For every £20 over £100 given by a congregation, its number was raised by 1. For example, the proportional number of a congregation contributing £120 was 11; if it contributed £140 its proportional number was 12. The total contributions to the fund would be added together and divided by £100 to give the number of the multiplier. To calculate the total stipend for each congregation one had to multiply the proportional number by the multiplier. The system worked as follows.

Congregation	Contribution	Proportional #	Stipend
A	£100	10 x 13	£130
B	£100	10 x 13	£130
C	£120	11 x 13	£143
D	£140	12 x 13	£156
E	£200	15 x 13	£194
F	£240	17 x 13	£221
G	£400	25 x 13	£325

$$\begin{array}{r} 13 \text{ (multiplier)} \\ 100 \overline{) 1300} \end{array}$$

Source: Record, Oct. 1844, pp. 19-20.

The plan, as finally approved by the Commission of November 14, contained lengthy and detailed regulations for the collection and distribution of money, but the most controversial sections were those dealing with Deacons' Courts. Deacons were to be elected by the members in full communion of each congregation, and were to be ordained "ad vitam aut culpam." Deacons' Courts were to consist of both Elders and Deacons, were to meet at least quarterly, oversee the collections, and according to Article 6 were to "manage the property and all the temporal affairs of the congregation." It was this last provision which, as we shall see, was the downfall of the Sustentation Scheme.

Besides such provisions, the scheme contained some which appear to the modern reader to foster social distinctions and elitism. There were to be no seat rents in congregations participating in the sustentation fund. Instead, members and adherents were to give according to their ability. However, seats were to be allotted according to how much one gave—the more given—the better choice of pew. Accordingly, the regulations set down that:

To prevent unnecessary shifting of seats after the first allocation, the seats of the church shall be divided into two, three, or more classes, according to the order of preference: a corresponding classification shall be made of the

contributors; and those holding seats appropriate to the class to which they belong shall not be required to change them—the change only being made from class to class.¹⁵

Adherents of any congregation were to be allocated seats on the same principles—but only after seats had been allocated to all the members. The Deacon's Courts did, however, have the authority to allocate seats "irrespective of the sums contributed by members or adherents, in cases of poverty, or also in cases of deafness or other infirmity," though if seven members complained, such preference was to be overruled "so that no partiality may be allowed." Every term the names and amounts contributed were to be printed and circulated. Regular Sabbath collections were to pay for local congregational expenses—lighting, heat, repairs, poor relief, etc. A special subscription or a public collection could be taken up for any extraordinary expenses, though permission for this should first be given by a general congregational meeting. The actual method of distribution was not substantially different from that of the Commission's scheme.

The avowed purpose of the sustentation fund was: to raise minister's stipends in poor congregations by drawing upon wealthier congregations; to allot stipends "in some proportion to the importance of their congregations, and the probable expenses of the style of living required of them"; to avoid gross inequalities of stipend between ministers, and to stimulate liberal givings.¹⁶

Considerable opposition was voiced against this sustentation plan. Peter Brown and the Toronto Banner were among the most

vociferous opponents. His opposition was based on a fear that the rights of congregations were going to be superseded by a central board. "The question is," he wrote in April, 1845, "whether a strong, central, irresponsible power, absorbing the control of the property and affairs of the Church is to be erected, which will in due time dry up and wither the energies of that Church, or whether the congregations are to have that control in their own hands."¹⁷ Brown was particularly incensed by the proposal to place the management of congregational finances in the hands of a Deacon's Court which would constitute "a religious oligarchy . . . possessing all the property and all the power."¹⁸ Whether Brown ever fully understood the plan or not, is not certain. In all likelihood, however, he saw it as another Temporalities Bill in which clerical control of finances and property was sought.¹⁹ Admittedly, the plan was complicated, and as one elder put it, "However simple the scheme may have been, in reality it was, we believe, too complicated in appearance, ever to obtain general sanction."²⁰ The congregation of Knox's Church, Toronto, was also opposed to the scheme. They had already made separate arrangements with Dr. Robert Burns for the payment of his stipend, and he would have to be consulted before the congregation could go on the plan.²¹ Moreover, they described the plan "as arbitrary in its details, most dangerous to the rights of the Christian people in its principles, and likely to be ruinous to the best interests of the church in operation."²²

In the early months of 1845, Isaac Buchanan and the editor of the Record attempted to rescue the sustentation plan from

what they considered to be misrepresentations and inaccuracies propagated in the press. Buchanan tried to distinguish the principles of the scheme from its details—the details would not be forced upon congregations, they were merely recommendations. The principle, he insisted, was that congregations "agree to hand over to the public Sustentation fund all the money raised annually, by whatever machinery this is done (whether by Managers or Deacons, whether from seat rents or voluntary subscriptions), after paying the necessary congregational expenses."²³ Buchanan also retreated from the infamous Article 6, referring to its "unfortunately equivocal wording" and arguing that, "It is now apparent to me that the property pointed at the foregoing, is the property of the Sustentation Fund alone but it certainly is a pity that more care had not been taken clearly to explain this originally." The Deacon's Court, he insisted, would not hold title to the congregational property, "their interference can only be in the management of those temporal things which each congregation voluntarily bestows on the whole Church, from time to time."²⁴ The Record insisted that the property was not to be vested in the Deacons, but that it was their responsibility "to take care of the property of the congregation, and to collect and apply the monies required for the various religious objects authorized by the Church, rendering an annual account to the congregation of their proceedings, and being liable to the regular discipline of the Church in case of malversation in office."²⁵

The Record was also insistent that the details of the plan were only recommended to the congregations:

Common sense would teach any honest and truth-telling man, that any more was as absurd as it was impossible. - The Synod have not the power nor the legal compulsators of a Board of Police, either to issue mandates or to enforce them as some miserable terrorists seem or pretend to imagine.²⁶

Those attempting to promote the Sustentation Scheme were thus forced to backpedal on the matter. Indeed, a circular from the Sustentation Board of March 3, 1845 omitted all of the articles concerning the Deacons's Courts and other details of the plan.²⁷

The question continued to be debated for five years, but to no avail. At the Synod of 1849 the Sustentation Board, considering that its mandate had ended, tabled its books. Accordingly, the Synod passed a resolution that because of the inactivity of congregations in this matter "it hence appears that this Church is not prepared as a whole to sustain a general scheme for providing for the support of the ministry." The Presbyteries were then admonished to ensure that the financial needs of its ministers were cared for.²⁸ Similar advice had been given to presbyteries two years earlier when they were told:

. . . to use their utmost endeavours, in all future settlements, to secure that an adequate provision has been made for the maintenance of the ministry, and where congregations are known and acknowledged to be well able to support the ministry, that the provision intended be somewhat proportional to the ability which God has given to such congregations.²⁹

In cases where an adequate stipend was forthcoming, the Presbytery was to proceed with the settlement; where it was not sufficient, the case was to be referred to the Synod.

In 1850, the Synod, conscious of the need to assist weaker congregations, decided by a vote of 31-18 to set up a committee to investigate the reasons for the failure of the Sustentation Fund and to consider either a supplementary plan or one which combined a sustentation with a supplementary plan. In the meantime, it was given to presbyteries "to promote and establish within their own bounds, as they may severally see fit, funds for sustentation of the ministry, or for the aid of weak congregations."³⁰ The following year the Agency Committee reported that there was not enough interest in a plan for the "common support" of ministers. Although the establishment of presbyterial sustentation boards was recommended, very few were set up.³¹

Although the presbyteries were given the responsibility of overseeing the financial support of its ministers, by and large, this matter remained in the hands of the individual congregations. Not all congregations adopted the same method. In 1858, for example, 30 congregations used seat rents alone; 51 used subscriptions; 20 used a combination of rents and subscriptions and 12 used some other combination of rents, subscription, collections or other means. The congregation at Buxton was entirely supported by the Synod. Such congregational control had obvious advantages. It also meant, however, that there was sometimes a great disparity among the stipends, though admittedly, those congregations which were the largest numerically, paid the largest stipends.

A minimum stipend of £100 p.a. was set in 1844 when the Sustentation Fund was under discussion. In 1855, however,

seven ministers were being paid less than the minimum—the congregation at Ste. Thérèse being the lowest at £46. In that year 50 ministers received between £100 and £149; 13 received between £150 and £199; 6 received between £200 and £299; 2 received between £300 and £399; and 2 received £400.³² The average stipend was £120.

In 1856 the minimum stipend was raised to £150 p.a. The statistical returns for 1858 showed that the average stipend in the church was \$504 or £126—less than the minimum. The average contribution per member was estimated at \$3.50 for the stipend, \$8.00 for all purposes; the average for each family was \$1.75 for the stipend and \$4.00 for all purposes.³³ In an interesting observation, made in 1858, the Committee on Statistics noted that "The statistics also clearly show that it is not those congregations which pay the largest stipends and contribute most largely to the funds of the Church that are in reality the most liberal, for some of the smaller struggling congregations contribute more than these on an average per member."³⁴

The returns for 1859 indicate that \$64,857 was promised as stipends to the ministers of the church, whereas \$55,568.57 was actually paid. The total value of church property rose in the years 1855-1859. In 1855 it was estimated at between £60,000 and £70,000, and in 1859 at \$450,000, though of the latter amount there remained as a debt about \$80,000 loaned at 6% interest.³⁵

The establishment of a theological college for the education of "young men of pious character and suitable gifts who may be aiming at the ministry"³⁶ was probably the single most ambitious scheme undertaken by the Canadian Free Church. Before the Disruption of 1844, Presbyterians wishing to study theology in Canada had little choice but to attend Queen's College in Kingston. Yet, to continue sending Free Church students to Queen's after having broken with the Church of Scotland Synod would have been unthinkable. Soon after its formation in 1844, the, the Free Church took steps towards providing a college for its own students.

Its beginnings were quite inauspicious. During its first session in 1844 a total of fourteen students attended the classes,³⁷ six of whom had been former Queen's students.³⁸ Rev. Mr. King began his classes in mid-November, 1844 in "a small upper room" in Mrs. Morrison's house in Richmond Street. Esson began teaching in December. The "first regular College Hall" was located in James Street in a room containing "a long deal table, two wooden benches, a few chairs, and a range of shelves, containing Mr. Esson's library and some books kindly lend by clergymen and other friends, for the use of the students during the session." In 1845-46 the College moved to Adelaide Street.³⁹ Considerable growth and development occurred, however, during the next seventeen years. By 1858, students of Knox College⁴⁰ numbered nineteen in the Arts class, twenty-five in the Theological and some six at the pre-Arts level for a total of about fifty.⁴¹ There was also attached to the College, Toronto Academy, which offered instruc-

tion at the High School level. During this period of time the building situation improved enormously. For a number of years the College was housed in rented premises on Front Street at a cost in 1854 of £170. By 1856 the College had moved to Elmsley House at the head of Spadina Avenue, the former Government House during Lord Elgin's tenure of office, and plans were being made to construct an addition to this edifice.⁴² Though needed, these building projects did strain the College finances.

The superintendence of the College was primarily the responsibility of the College Committee. In 1844 a "committee on the education of students," consisting of five ministers, four elders, and Rev. William Rintoul as Convener, was given a mandate "to provide for the accommodation of the professors and students, to superintend the raising of funds, and generally to watch over the institution." A sub-committee, composed of the ministers on the general committee, was to act as adviser to the Professors.⁴³ Each year a College Committee was appointed as one of the standing committees of the Synod. It would be composed of various ministers and laymen in addition to the Professors and the Treasurer who would sit ex officio.⁴⁴ As well, the Professors constituted a Professor's Court, which in 1848 was to be responsible for the course of study and the "internal discipline of the College."⁴⁵ Each meeting of Synod usually appointed temporary committees which dealt with various aspects of College business. These committees normally sat only during the time that the Synod itself was sitting and would be disbanded before the close of Synod. Sometimes their mandate

would exceed the duration of the Synod. In 1848, for example, a Committee to draft a constitution for the college was set up but did not report its findings until the 1849 meeting.⁴⁶ In 1846 two such temporary committees were formed: one to discuss matters such as incorporation, buildings, funds, a boarding house, and the academy; and one to draft rules pertaining to the admission of students, and to discuss curriculum.⁴⁷ In general, then, the College Committee had both financial and academic responsibilities.

The financial affairs of the College were divided among three different funds: the Ordinary College Fund; the Bursary Fund, and the Building Fund. The Ordinary College Fund paid the salaries of the professors as well as the general operating expenses of the College. Its principal source of money was congregational collections and givings. The Bursary Fund was designed to give financial support to Knox College students on the basis of merit or need. Money in this fund was mainly derived from congregational and individual donations. Isaac Buchanan was a consistent supporter of this fund and in 1860-1 the Prince of Wales visited the College and later donated \$800 to be invested and the money used for prizes. In 1854, when the Synod resolved to build a College it set up a committee to publicize it, collect subscriptions and to select and purchase a site. An examination of the building fund accounts for 1857-58 (see figures) reveals three principal sources of money: congregational givings; individual givings, and collections from England received by Rev. Donald Fraser, and the

largest amount—givings from Scotland and Ireland collected by Dr. Robert Burns.⁴⁸

The College had experienced financial strains before—particularly in 1848-49, but this fairly ambitious building program placed strains on the College as a whole. The Synod of 1857 was informed that congregational contributions to the Ordinary Fund were not meeting its expenses and the suggestion was made that additional money be raised by subscription.⁵⁰ The College Report for that same year noted that "the Treasury proves inadequate for the present staff of Professors, at the same time that the value of their stipends, by the well proven change in the rate of living, has become less, much less than before."⁵¹

By 1858 the Ordinary College Fund was still operating on a deficit, which had grown from £40 in 1856 to £210 in 1858 and in this latter year about £400 was estimated as the "actual deficiency for current expenditure." By the following year, however, the fund seems to have been extricated from this financial difficulty. This was done by some shrewd financial maneuvering. An office for the Agent and Editor of the Record was to be set up in the College buildings and an amount equal to the cost of the office credited to the Ordinary College Fund. A decision was made not to liquidate the mortgage at the present time, a legacy from the estate of James Gibb of Quebec City was applied to the Ordinary Fund on a temporary basis and contributions from congregations were reportedly increased. No deficit was reported from 1858-59 and the cumulative deficit was reduced from £438 to £392. Yet in October 1861 there was still about £2,600 to be paid on the College buildings. This was due in January 1862.⁵³

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS SCHEMES OF THE
CHURCH, FOR THE YEAR 1857-8,
AS EXAMINED AND AUDITED

ABSTRACT of College Account (Ordinary Fund) for Financial Year
1857-8

RECEIPTS

To amount from Presbytery of London	\$ 851.76
" " " Hamilton	1356.97
" " " Toronto.	1052.04
" " " Cobourg.	256.35
" " " Brockville and Ottawa . .	251.33
" " " Kingston	153.18
" " " Montreal	751.57
" " " Ladies' Association, Galt	60.00
" " " Sabbath Schools. . . .	16.22
	\$4749.42
To balance due the Fund	1754.13
	\$6503.55
Amount now against the Fund	1754.13
" " of balances now due the Professors.	230.00

DISBURSEMENTS

By amount paid balance due Professors, previous year . .	\$ 324.75
" " for Stipend, Dr. Willis	1550.00
" " Professor Young	1420.00
" " Dr. Burns	1600.00
" " Mr. Willing for Fuel, Light and Attendance . .	200.00
" " Mr. Thomson, for Tuition	40.00
" " proportion of General Agent's Salary .	250.00
" " expenses for Office Rent, Fuel, Taxes, Postage, Stationery and other incidental charges	66.00
" " sundry accounts, Insurance on Library, Adver- tising, Printing, &c.	82.05
" " interest charged and credited to Widows' Fund	60.00
" " balance due last year.	910.75
	\$6503.55

The following congregations have omitted, this, to remit for the College Fund, up to 1st June, viz.:

In Presbytery of London—Blandford, London, Moore, St. Marys, Saugeen. In Presbytery of Hamilton—Brantford, Niagara, Port Dover and Simcoe, Paris. In Presbytery of Toronto—Barrie, Innisfil and Essa, Caledon West and Erin, King, Oro, (Gaelic),

Whitby, West Gwillimbury & Bradford, York Mills and Fisherville.
 In Presbytery of Cobourg—Baltimore, Cobourg-Percey and Seymour.
 In Presbytery of Kingston—Madoc. In Presbytery of Brockville
 and Ottawa—Beckwith, Dalhousie, McNab and Horton, Wakefield,
 Kemptville, Yonge and Augusta, Spencerville and Port Elgin.
 In Presbytery of Montreal—Cornwall, Kenyon, Lachute, Osnabruck,
 Winchester, St. Eustache and Grand Frenière.

Required for ensuing year, current expenses . . .	\$5400.00
" " Interest on purchase	642.00
" " balance now due the fund	1754.00
	<u>\$7796.00</u>

ABSTRACT of Account College Building Fund, for the year 1857-8

RECEIPTS

To Presbytery of London	\$ 552.27
" " Hamilton	16.50
" " Toronto	44.00
" " Cobourg	396.10
" " Kingston	40.00
" " Brockville & Ottawa	128.60
" " Montreal	119.42
" Amount of Individual Subscriptions	601.83
" " from England, per Rev. Donald Fraser	1227.45
" " " Scotland and Ireland, per Rev. Dr. Burns	4892.26
" Discount on Note of \$1,000 given to Dr. Clark	60.00
" Balance Due the Fund now	261.60
	<u>\$8340.43</u>
To Balance against Fund	261.60

DISBURSEMENTS

By amount paid on account of purchase money	\$6288.00
" " Interest on account of purchase money	831.36
" " for sundry accounts, Painters, Plumbers, and Hardware for College	247.25
" " " Photographic View of College for Dr. Burns and Mr. Fraser	40.00
" " " Expenses connected with supply of Pulpits	12.75
" " " Interest, and Expenses connected with execu- tion of Deed and Mortgage	141.21
" " " Insurance of Building	75.75
" " " Alterations in Basement, and other Car- penter work	169.06
" " " Expenses connected with Act of Incorporation	35.00
" " " Interest Credited to Widows' Fund	48.00
" " " Proportion of Expenses of Office, Postages, Telegraphs, Stationery, and other Inci- dental charges	51.32
Balance account last year	401.48
	<u>\$8340.48</u>

The amount now due on purchase account is £2678—\$10712, the
 Interest on which is \$642.72 per annum. payable in July and January.

STATEMENT of Bursary Fund for Financial Year 1857-8.

RECEIPTS

To amount of balance on hand	\$262.00
" " from Congregation of St. Catharines.	6.00
" " " " Scarboro'	15.20
" " " " Egmondville	3.60
" " " " Saltfleet and Binbrook.	10.00
" " " " Gananoque	8.00
" " " " St. Catharines.	10.00
" " " Isaac Buchanan, Esq., M.P.P.	80.00
" " " Mrs. Esson for Henry Esson	
" " " Bursary	20.00
" " " Ladies Association, Galt	20.00
" " " Knox's Church, Hamilton	40.00
" " Sundry sums re-paid by Students	60.00
" " from Executors of late J. Thompson of Beverly, less charge on Draft.	1014.14
	\$1551.64
To amount balance on hand.	\$ 912.44

DISBURSEMENTS

By amount paid balance due J.A. Smith in connexion with boarding.	\$ 169.00
" " " Bursary to F. McQuaig.	20.00
" " " " N. McKinnon	20.00
" " " " L. Cameron	40.00
" " " " D.H. Fletcher	20.00
" " " " J. Robertson.	40.00
" " " Fees of entrants at University College	88.00
" " " Sums advanced to Students.	109.00
" " " Sum paid to Mr. Willing on account of Students (to be re-paid)	133.20
" " Balance on hand	912.43
	\$1551.64

WILLIAM REID,
General Agent & Treas.

The question of a charter and constitution for Knox's College had been discussed since 1846. In 1849 an interim constitution was agreed to, which, according to A.F. Kemp, "gave general powers of discipline to the Senatus or Professor's court, and committed the general affairs of the College to a large committee appointed annually by the Synod."⁵⁴ This remained in effect until 1860 when the Synod passed detailed "Regulations for the Government and Administration of Knox College."

The further matter of incorporating the College was given careful attention in 1850 and 1851 by both Presbyteries and the Synod, but unanimity was beyond reach. In 1852 a resolution was passed that:

. . . considering the varieties of opinion on the subject of the Charter in question, and considering farther, that one great benefit contemplated by the proposed Charter has been practically gained by the admission of a representative of the Church and College into the Senate of the University of Toronto, delay in the meantime, any application for such charter.⁵⁵

The purchase and construction of college buildings raised new questions concerning deeds and incorporation, which involved considerable debate and discussion. Isaac Buchanan and others seem to have had fears about the College property being deeded to the Synod. Samuel Spreull asked Buchanan in July 1854, "Can we trust all to the Synod . . . I think Church Courts should have little to do with Brick and Mortar."⁵⁶ Buchanan seems to have favoured a system in which congregationally-appointed trustees held the property,⁵⁷ and even asserted that "I see no difficulties in the college trustees and the synod

being two entirely independent bodies" though he foresaw a crisis "if either the Clergy or Laity push their pretensions too far."⁵⁸ Mark Young Stark wanted the property deeded to the Presbyterian Church of Canada "while it maintains the principles of the Protest" of 1844. He asserted that "we do not want to attach our property to a name but to the principles of our Church."⁵⁹ In 1856 the College Property was temporarily conveyed to Messrs. Reid, Jeffrey, Redpath, Ferrier, and McConkey "for such purposes as the Synod shall hereafter determine."⁶⁰ Moreover, it was agreed that any Trust Deed must bind the college property "to the principles of this Church" and that Trustees were to be elected by the Synod from lists of names proposed by congregations.⁶¹ The following year the Synod passed a "Draft of An Act to Incorporate 'Knox College'"⁶² which was amended and passed through the Provincial Legislature and given Royal Assent on July 24, 1858.⁶³ The Act which was finally passed by the Legislature was considerably shorter and less detailed than the Draft of 1857. It omitted the statements of theological principle, and the details of management which the Draft of 1857 contained, but did provide that:

It shall be lawful for the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, at its next ordinary meeting after the passing of this Act, to declare by a resolution or a By-Law to that effect and record in the register of proceedings of the said Synod, the Theological doctrines and principles which shall be taught in the said College, or what are the books and documents in which the said principles and doctrines are contained; and such declaration so made and recorded shall be irrevocable in so far as the said College shall be concerned, and shall be held at all times thereafter to contain the Theological doctrines and principles

to be taught in the said College, and for the propagation of which the property now held for the said College, or hereafter acquired for the same, shall be appropriated, and to no other.⁶⁴

It also provided for the subsequent passage by the Synod, of "rules and by-laws for the government of the said College" and for the constituting of a College Senate and a board of management.⁶⁵ These changes were made to accommodate the objections of several Free Church M.P.P.s, who had objected to the bill containing the principles and doctrines which were to be taught in the college. This was seen as asking Parliament to give "legislative sanction to teach and confirm our principles" which would also give the legislature the power to change those very principles. Moreover, these M.P.s wanted to maintain a consistent stance in opposing "Popish incorporations."⁶⁶ Accordingly, the Synod of 1859 resolved that the "principles and doctrines to be taught in Knox College . . . shall be such and such only as are consistent with and agreeable to . . . 'The Westminster Standards,' and shall comprise all theological learning consistent with the said Standards." The Confession of Faith's chapter on the Civil Magistrate was, of course, interpreted in the non-Erastian sense as agreed to by the Synod of 1854. Moreover, the Westminster Standards were to "be taken and understood with such other, or further directions and rules as to Church government, discipline or worship, as may from time to time be prescribed or ordained by the Synod of the said Presbyterian Church of Canada, with the concurrence of a majority of the Presbyteries of the said Church."⁶⁷ Various "Regulations for the Government and Administration of Knox

College" were also presented to the Synod of 1859 and finally agreed to by the Synod of 1860.

These regulations established both a Board of Management and a College Senate. The Board was to consist of thirty-five Ministers and Elders of the church, appointed annually by the Synod "and its members shall hold office until their successors be appointed." It was to have a Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, and "shall have the whole management of the financial affairs of the said College, shall receive and disburse all its moneys, keep and manage all its property, and transact all its business relating to property and money committed to its care, by the Synod or otherwise, and shall exercise all the powers, in regard to property and money, vested in the Corporation of Knox College, by the Act 22 Vic., cap 69." The Board was also to be responsible for the Boarding facilities and was to "take general cognizance of all matters pertaining to the interest of the College, and co-operate with the Senate in maintaining its discipline."⁶⁸

The Senate was to consist of the Principal, Professors, and seven members of the Synod, appointed annually by the Synod and was to "be entrusted [with] the reception, academical superintendence and discipline of the Students, and of all other persons within the said College." It was also to "take a general inspection of the whole internal arrangements, of the College and of the studies of the Students, and shall place said Students in that year of the curriculum to which they may be certified by Presbyteries. . . ."⁶⁹

There were a number of projects, other than Knox College, for which the Free Church assumed financial responsibility. One of these, the Ministers' Widows and Orphans Fund, functioned as a life insurance plan for the clergy. The idea for such a fund was first brought to the attention of the Synod in 1846 by a group of members from Ancaster.⁷⁰ Approval in principle was readily forthcoming but concrete action was not. A report to the Synod of 1850 disclosed that the committee responsible for the fund "had taken no further action in carrying out a Widows' Fund Scheme, as they despair of being able to do so in any effectual way, so long as there is no general fund for the sustentation of the ministry."⁷¹ This being the case, congregations were to be encouraged to take steps "for providing for the families of ministers through Life Assurance Societies."⁷²

By 1852 a new plan had been drawn up, the fund expanded to include orphans⁷³ and an elaborate set of regulations agreed upon. According to these, each minister would pay an annual rate of £2, payable to the treasurer before November 1. Failure to pay the rate would result in penalties—10s. - 1st yr.; 20s. - 2nd yr.; and 30s. - 3rd yr. After four years of failing to pay the rate a minister would be struck off the fund. Men who ceased to be ministers, professors, or missionaries, for reasons other than old age or infirmity would be struck off the fund and their money returned with interest. Widows and orphans would be paid their annuities twice yearly—on May 1 and November 1, yet annuities would be paid only to those having received a certificate from the Presbytery Clerk, the Minister,

or the Session Clerk of the Home congregation. If a minister from another church joined the Free Church, was between the ages of 45 and 60, and wanted to join the fund, he would be required to pay an annual rate of £6. If such a minister were over 60 years of age, he would not be allowed to join the fund.

A Treasurer would be appointed with the responsibility of collecting and managing the money, making investments, paying the annuities, and reporting to the Synod on an annual basis. A Committee of Management would also be appointed by the Synod, on a yearly basis, "whose duties shall be to take a general superintendency of the Scheme between the meetings of Synod—direct and aid the Treasurer in the investment of moneys, or in any other important business—to examine his books and vouchers at the close of the year, and report thereon to the Synod." It was the responsibility of Presbytery Clerks to provide the Treasurer with Annual statistics concerning the marital status of the ministers in their Presbyteries, the number and ages of children, and any changes, by death or marriage, etc. The Synod was to review the operation of the plan at least every five years, or whenever the need arose. Any disputes between the management committee and the annuitants was to be settled by mutually-acceptable arbitrators.

The rates payable were also settled at this time:

Widows with no children	-	£30	per annum
" "	1 child	-	£35 " "
" "	2 children	-	£37, 10s. "
" "	3 or more	-	£40

Families of 1 Orphan - £10 p.a.

" " 2 Orphans - £15 "

" " 3 Orphans - £20 "

" " 4 or more - £25 "

Children would not be supported beyond the age of 14. Widows would be supported for life or until they remarried. No family was to receive more than £40 p.a.⁷⁴

John Burns was elected Treasurer to the Fund in 1852 but died in 1853. Rev. Alexander Gale, as Agent for the Widows' Fund and Superintendent of Home Missions received an annual salary of £100. In 1854, Rev. William Reid was appointed Superintendent of the Widows' Fund, a post he held concurrently with the Agency of various other schemes of the church, Editor of the Record and Clerk of Synod.

Money for the fund came from three sources: congregational givings and collections, ministers' rates, and interest on the investments of the fund. The financial statement for 1860 will serve to indicate the state of the fund:⁷⁵

MINISTERS', WIDOWS' AND ORPHANS' FUND

Receipts

Balance on hand at beginning of year	\$2236.48
Amount of rates paid by Ministers.	889.50
" Interest	1672.12
" Investments becoming due and paid.	978.35
" Congregational Collections and Donations, as per statement	927.62
Total Receipts	<u>\$6704.07</u>

Expenditures

Annuities paid on account of Widows and Children of Deceased Ministers	\$ 910.00
Amount invested in purchase of Mortgages	3760.00
Rates repaid to Ministers, viz.:	
Rev. A. Steven.	\$20.00
" R. Wallace	81.25
" J.H. McNaughton.	37.00
	<u>138.25</u>
Amount paid for Printing	1.25
" charged as proportion of salary of General Agent	250.00
" charged as proportion of Office expenses, in- cluding Office Rent, Taxes, Postage, Stationery, &c.	80.07
Balance on hand.	<u>2564.50</u>
	<u>\$6704.07</u>

N.B. The above Balance, with a further amount received since 1st May, is now invested.

Rev. R. Wallace has refunded his rates, pending issue of Petition to Synod with reference to his interest in the Fund.

Present State of the Fund

Invested in Debentures, viz.:-

County of Middlesex	\$2400.00
" Wellington.	5964.00
Township of Dereham	5634.40
Invested in Mortgages	12240.00
In hand	<u>1564.57</u>
	<u>\$27803.97</u>

In 1860 a new set of regulations were proposed, sent down to Presbyteries and given final approval in 1861. These increased the rates for ministers and made them proportional to their age upon entering the fund. It also included a detailed clause concerning new ordinands joining the fund, insisted that ministers join within four years of their ordination or they would forfeit the right to join the fund. As well, ministers ceasing to act as pastors, professors, or missionaries would have only one-half of the money that they paid into the fund returned.⁷⁶ It was also decided in 1861 that ministers of the United Presbyterian Church "should be admitted to the privileges of the fund on their congregations raising a sum equitably proportional to the capital now possessed by this Synod."⁷⁷

The Ministers' Widows and Orphans Fund was, on the whole, financially successful. By contrast, the "Colportage and Publication Plan" was an example of a scheme, which though sound in intention, was financially unsuccessful and was for this reason, abandoned. The idea for this project first came before the Synod in 1855 and was approved in principle. Presbyteries were encouraged to begin their own colportage systems, and the Synod set up a committee to "mature a scheme for a general Board of Publication and Colportage."⁷⁸

By 1856 it was reported that Presbyteries had been distributing "sound Theological Literature"; thousands of families had been visited "with most of these the Colporteurs have held

religious conversations"; and thousands of books had been sold—provided mainly by Nelson and Sons, Carter and Brothers and the Presbyterian Board of Publication in Philadelphia. An elaborate plan for the organization of this scheme was also presented and approved. The Synod thus expressed its concern for "the vast importance of encouraging a truly Christian Literature in the rising Provinces of Canada, to counteract influences of a pernicious kind."⁷⁹

According to this approved plan, oversight would be provided by a general board of 24 persons, responsible for the "publication of works pertaining to the History, Discipline, Government, Doctrine and General Religious Literature of our Church" and for the distribution of other works. The Board would have a Convener, elected by the Synod, as well as a Secretary, Treasurer, Agent and an Executive Committee of seven members. The Executive Committee would scrutinize books and manuscripts for publication, help the Presbyteries supervise the colporteurs, and "take particular direction and management of the whole matter of publication and distribution, subject to the control and direction of the board." The Agent would be responsible for the book depository, orders, correspondence, and would recommend colporteurs for election by the Executive Committee. There was also to be a standing committee on publication. All publications to be distributed must be stamped, and none could be stamped unless approved by the general council. Various discounts were available to pastors, students, and Sunday schools.⁸⁰

The report to the Synod of 1857 revealed problems with the scheme. Rev. W. Inglis, a minister without charge in the United Presbyterian Church had been hired as Agent at a salary of £200 plus accommodation. A house in Hamilton had been rented as the book depository. This seems to have been the beginning of the difficulties. According to the report, "the history of our effort is one of progress from bad to worse." Some were unhappy with the Committee and one Presbytery even passed a resolution against the Board. Indeed, the work stopped for a while. The Committee then decided to discard the office of Agent, Mr. Inglis was paid £100 and retired. Following this, Mr. S. Armstrong, a former colporteur from the Presbytery of Hamilton was engaged. He agreed to work part-time at the depository, which was now moved to a small rented room, and would receive £90 p.a. in addition to travelling expenses. Since Armstrong's appointment, matters seem to have improved. He was reported to have worked 138 days as a colporteur. During that time he had visited 900 families, "held religious conversations, or engaged in devotional exercises" with about 400 families and sold about 2168 books.⁸¹ Despite these signs of improvement, the financial picture was not promising. The Synod of 1857 resolved accordingly, that: "considering however that some difference of opinion exists in regard to the propriety of the Church engaging in so extensive a scheme of Colportage, as the Committee contemplated, instruct said Committee to undertake no farther liabilities than may be necessary for the working out of the present plan

pursued by the Committee."⁸² The Synod of 1858, though still supportive of the idea of colportage, decided to "wind up the present scheme, and instruct the Board to dispose of the stock on hand as soon as possible, and to adopt such means as they may think best for the liquidation of the debt now due."⁸³

In 1860-61 it was necessary to take up a special collection to help pay the debts, which, on the eve of the union with the United Presbyterian Church, were still not completely paid off.

In retrospect, it would appear that the plan failed financially because of a combination of factors. Those in charge of the plan overextended themselves in terms of stock on hand, the size of their depository, and failed to collect their outstanding debts quickly enough.

Like many of the other schemes of the Free Church, the Home Missions operations had financial needs and responsibilities. Under the designation of Home Missions can be placed most of the missionary activity of the Synod not directly related to settled congregations. In general, Home Missions was the immediate responsibility of the various presbyteries. Detailed guidelines were provided, however, by the Synod, to help the Presbyteries conduct such missions, and a central committee provided general oversight. Under these guidelines, Presbyteries would designate particular settlements or points as Preaching Stations. A number of Preaching Stations, together with the vacant congregations in a particular region would constitute a Missionary District. Each district would be under

the superintendence of a minister of the Presbytery and under optimum conditions, each would have a missionary. Steps would also be taken to organize the people at each station. A committee with a secretary and treasurer would be organized; elders and deacons ordained if any were qualified; a roll of members and adherents made up; a Sunday school set up; and worship services held every Sunday. The people in the missionary districts would be informed of their "duty of assembling for social worship on the Lord's day, and of contributing to the support of the Gospel."

In turn, each presbytery was expected to set up a home missions committee and a Home-Mission Fund. Money was to be raised by contributions and collections at both Preaching Stations and among the settled congregations of the Presbytery.⁸⁴ Money was also contributed by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland and the Free Church of Scotland. The Synod's Home Mission Committee was to distribute missionaries among the Presbyteries, help set salary rates, and would distribute any money it received.⁸⁵ There was to have been a Synod Home Missions Fund. As early as 1847 plans were made for a central fund, yet it seems that it was never in regular operation. Any money sent to this central fund was probably redistributed among the presbyteries. As Kemp has surmised: "The formation of Presbyterian Home Mission Funds would appear altogether to have superseded and rendered unnecessary any Central Fund. Practically the existence of a central, and at the same time of a local fund was felt to be inexpedient if not impossible."⁸⁶

The salaries of those involved in home missions was slightly less than the minimum that settled ministers were to receive. In 1851 the salaries were to be set at £100 p.a. without board or £80 with board for Ordained Missionaries and Probationers; and at £50 with board for catechists. Travel within presbyteries would be paid by the Preaching Stations; that between Presbyteries would be paid by the Presbytery which received the missionary.⁸⁷ As with minister's stipends, the amount actually paid often did not attain the minimum set by the Synod. The Home Mission Report for 1848-1849 revealed, for example, that missionaries were not well paid. In the Presbytery of Kingston six missionaries received £26/13/4; in Toronto, twelve received £20/17/8 each; and in Hamilton, seven received £42/17/4.⁸⁸ By February 1859 the Home Mission fund of the Presbytery of London had a debt of \$1013.⁸⁹ Knox College students who supplied local pulpits during term were to receive, in 1857, at least \$4.00 in addition to their expenses.⁹⁰

The Free Church was also responsible for the financial health of the Buxton Mission in Western Ontario. It must be remembered, however, that there were two distinct parts to the work being carried out at the Buxton settlement: the Mission, which was related directly to the Free Church, and the Elgin Association which was separate from it. The latter was responsible for providing homes and improving the "social condition" of the black settlers and was under the direction of a Toronto-based board. The first settler had arrived in December 1849,

and since that time homes had been provided for some 200 families.

At that same time, a church was organized, consisting of four members and twenty "hearers." By 1857 it had grown to fifty members and 200 "hearers" ("when the roads are good, and the weather fine"). In addition to providing regular religious instruction and worship services, the Mission also operated a Sabbath School which from 1850 to 1856 had grown from 2 students and 1 teacher to 100 students and 8 teachers.⁹¹ There was also a Day School consisting, in 1857 of 98 students and 2 teachers—one male and one female. Mr. George Thompson, formerly of the Free Church School in Kintore, Aberdeenshire, had recently been appointed as a permanent teacher. Boys and girls were taught separately and were taught different subjects. The boys learned English, Latin, Greek and Mathematics; the girls studied "the common branches of an English education, together with sewing; and such as desire it, the higher branches of an female education."⁹²

The congregation was organized like others in the Free Church. By 1858 it had four elders, four deacons, and was represented at the annual meeting of Synod by its minister William King and by Robert Vanuran, one of its elders, and probably one of the few blacks to sit in any of Canada's church courts. Other day and sabbath schools were established in 1858 in the northern part of the settlement. Between twenty-five and thirty students were taught here by a man who had been educated in the Buxton School. In addition to the Free Church Congregation there were also Methodist and Baptist

congregations in the settlement.

Money for the support of the Buxton Mission was raised mainly through congregational collections. Buxton was frequently one of the quarterly stated collections by the Synod. As well, smaller amounts were often contributed by individuals, other denominations such as the Presbyterian church of Ireland, or by such groups as the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society of Dundee, Scotland. The major portion of its annual disbursements was in the form of salaries. Rev. William King's stipend was paid entirely by the Synod; that of Mr. Thompson, the school teacher, was to be derived from student fees and a government grant as well as from Synod money.⁹³

Besides salaries, a major financial expenditure was anticipated for the construction of new church and school buildings. By the time of the Free Church's union with the United Presbyterian Church in 1861, however, these buildings had not been constructed, though King had raised substantial amounts of money for this purpose in Britain. As with many projects dependent upon voluntary givings, the financial stability varied from year to year. The report for 1856-7 stated that the past year had "been one of great commercial distress, and both the mission and settlement have felt the pecuniary embarrassment."⁹⁴

In general, then, the Free Church, though not wealthy, and always subject to the vicissitudes of individual contributions, enjoyed financial solvency. Over seventeen years it was involved in numerous projects which were dependent upon the support of its community. Only one of these projects failed financially.

The others survived and some, like Knox College, enjoyed substantial growth. As well, many congregations built new places of worship, paid their ministers adequate salaries, and contributed to the Free Church of Scotland's Foreign Mission and to the French Canadian Missionary Society.

The Canadian Free Church was not, however, wholly dependent upon its own community for support. Friends in Scotland, England, and Ireland, more than made up for any loss because of refusing Clergy Reserve money. In short, like the mother church in Scotland, the Canadian Free Church was a good example of the sufficiency of voluntary support in providing the financial necessities involved in operating a church.

References - Chapter Six

¹A report in the Record for May 1848 indicated that a land company at Lingwick in the Eastern Townships had agreed to give a Free Church minister £50 p.a. for five (5) years. Record, May 1848, pp. 101-02. As well, the Governor General, after a request from Isaac Buchanan, donated £10 to help build a Free Church in Hamilton and would possibly make similar donations to other Free Churches. P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 31, Higginson to Buchanan, April 16, 1845, #25640 and Higginson to Buchanan, April 15, 1845, #25643-6.

²John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto, 1972), pp. 180-83. Cf. his Church and State in Canada West, p. 188.

³Minutes of the Synod, Toronto, 1844, p. 16.

⁴Minutes of Synod 1848, p. 32.

⁵Minutes of Synod 1851. The Synod set up such a Committee on Finance "with instructions to report on the state of the Funds of all the schemes of the Church for the past year."

⁶Minutes of Synod 1848.

⁷P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Rev. George Cheyne to Buchanan, March 6, 1845, and July 1, 1845, Vol. 21, #16879-1; John Burns to Rev. Alexander Gale, July 18, 1845, #14894. Douglas McCalla, The Buchanan's Business (Toronto, 1979), p. 53.

⁸P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 54, #43298-43300.

⁹P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Rev. William Rintoul to Buchanan, April 7, 1845, Vol. 52, #41907-41910.

¹⁰P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 39, #32243-32249. Buchanan's donations were not limited to the Free Church. He gave money to the Church of the Ascension in Hamilton, St. Andrew's Church, Montreal, and the Church of England in Eastwood. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 27, #23179-80; Vol. 76, #22331; Vol. 26, #22454.

¹¹Minutes of Synod July 1844.

¹²Record, Sept. 1844. In August 1844 Buchanan wrote to William Morris that the Sustentation Board was to be 1/3 clerical, and 2/3 lay—though "even under this arrangement they may all be

members of the Synod! Vile ecclesiastics!!" He intimated that he would not serve as chairman of the board unless the only clergy present were the Clerks of the Synod. Q.U.A. William Morris Papers, Buchanan to Morris, August 17, 1844.

¹³Minutes of Synod 1844, p. 21.

¹⁴Minutes of Synod, October 1844, pp. 20-21. Buchanan to Banner, January 27, 1845. Reprinted in Record, February 1845, pp. 51-52. M.Y. Stark called the Sustentation Plan "A scheme of our own devising for which we are primarily indebted to Mr. Bayne, and one which seems to unite most of the advantages of endowments while it avoids the evils of an establishment. Dr. Burns was at first most vehemently opposed to it but we were determined to stand or fall by it and we had the rigorous support of Mr. Bonar and Mr. Arnot and the Dr. at last came round to our views and all was ended most harmoniously." U.C.A. Stark Papers, Stark to his Mother, Jan. 17, 1845, Box 1, Envelope 9. Three years later Stark commented that, "It is in my opinion the want of our Sustentation scheme having been enforced and its being therefore only in partial operation that has been and is our great evil." U.C.A. Stark Papers, Stark to his Mother, Jan. 4, 1848, Box 1, Envelope 10.

¹⁵Record, December 1844, pp. 34-35.

¹⁶Record, December 1844, pp. 34-35.

¹⁷Banner, April 18, 1845.

¹⁸Banner, March 21, 1845.

¹⁹Cf. Banner, January 31, 1845, January 7, 1845. On Clergy/Laity tension in the Free Church, see Ian Rennie, "The Free Church and the Relations of Church to State," pp. 130ff.

²⁰Record, April 1850, p. 85.

²¹P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, John McMurrich to Buchanan January 28, 1845, Vol. 46, #36984. Buchanan had apparently sent a letter to Dr. Burns concerning the Sustentation Fund. McMurrich was critical of this, arguing that "in all probability it may be the means of preventing him from coming to Canada. . . ." As for Knox's Church's opposition to the Sustentation Plan, McMurrich pointed out that, "It was not as you seem to think dragged through the mud by Banner Brown," it was a unanimous decision.

²²Banner, February 21, 1845.

²³Buchanan to Banner, January 27, 1845. Reprinted in Record, February 1845, pp. 51-52. It is sometimes difficult to know what Buchanan's own views were. He clearly wanted congregational control of temporalities. He wanted the Deacon's Court "clearly declared to be a congregational court in contradistinction to a church or spiritual court," and argued that "the views of the clergy as to the Deacon's Court would assuredly precipitate another disruption." P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 26, #22692, Vol. 116, #75621. See also Bridgman, "Isaac Buchanan and Religion," pp. 51-55 re: Sustentation Fund.

²⁴Record, February 1845, p. 52.

²⁵Record, April 1845, p. 65.

²⁶Record, July 1845, p. 97.

²⁷Record, September 1845, pp. 114-16.

²⁸Minutes of Synod 1849.

²⁹Minutes of Synod 1847.

³⁰Minutes of Synod 1850.

³¹By 1852 it seems that only the Presbytery of Cobourg had one. Minutes of Synod 1855. The Presbytery of London resolved to adopt the former Sustentation Plan, Record, Feb. 1850, p. 59.

³²Minutes of Synod, 1855.

³³Minutes of Synod 1858, p. 31.

³⁴Minutes of Synod 1857.

³⁵Minutes of Synod 1855, p. 29; 1859, p. 64.

³⁶This was a phrase employed in 1844 with reference to students within the denomination. Minutes of Synod 1844.

³⁷Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 116, gives the figure of 15. According to a report in the Record of May 1851 six former Queen's students began in Nov. 1844, six more arrived in December and two came in March 1845 (pp. 106-07).

³⁸Banner, April 16, 1847.

³⁹Record, May 1851, pp. 106-07.

⁴⁰The College was named Knox's College in 1846 but when it was incorporated it was designated as Knox College. The name The John Knox College was rejected.

⁴¹Minutes of Synod, p. 43. The numbers varied during the years.

⁴²Minutes of Synod, 1856. C. Pelham Mulvany, Toronto Past and Present Until 1882 (Toronto, 1884), p. 94.

⁴³Minutes of Synod Toronto, 1844, pp. 26-27.

⁴⁴Minutes of Synod 1845, pp. 42-43.

⁴⁵Minutes of Synod 1848.

⁴⁶Minutes of Synod, 1848, pp. 29-30; 1849, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁷Minutes of Synod 1846, p. 74.

⁴⁸Minutes of Synod 1858, pp. 52-53.

⁴⁹U.C.A. Minutes of Knox College Committee and Professor's Court, Sept. 12-14, 1849.

⁵⁰Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 13.

⁵¹Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 44.

⁵²Minutes of Synod 1858, pp. 43-44; 1859, pp. 31, 43.

⁵³Record, Oct. 1861, pp. 183-84.

⁵⁴Kemp, Digest, p. 201.

⁵⁵Minutes of Synod 1852, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁶P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 55, #44222-24, Spreull to Buchanan, July 22, 1854.

⁵⁷P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 118, #76345-6, October 22, 1855.

⁵⁸P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 118, #76347-76350.

⁵⁹P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 55, #44250, Stark to Buchanan, October 30, 1855.

⁶⁰Minutes of Synod 1856, p. 16.

⁶¹Kemp, Digest, p. 218.

⁶²Cf. Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 21-25.

⁶³22 Victoria, Chap. LXIX; J.G. Hodgins, ed., Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Vol. 13 (1856-58), (Toronto, 1897), pp. 247-48; Kemp, Digest, pp. 226-29.

⁶⁴Kemp, Digest, p. 228.

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 228-29.

⁶⁶Canadian Presbyter, Vol. 2 (June 1858), pp. 180-83; ibid. (July 1858), pp. 194-95.

⁶⁷Kemp, Digest, p. 230.

⁶⁸Minutes of Synod 1860, p. 26.

⁶⁹Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁰Minutes of Synod 1846, p. 73.

⁷¹Minutes of Synod 1850, pp. 25-26.

⁷²Minutes of Synod 1851, pp. 25-26.

⁷³Minutes of Synod 1851, p. 12.

⁷⁴Minutes of Synod 1852, pp. 14-16.

⁷⁵Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 55-56.

⁷⁶Minutes of Synod 1860, p. 51.

⁷⁷Minutes of Synod 1861, p. 16; Kemp, Digest, p. 407.

⁷⁸Minutes of Synod 1855, p. 21.

⁷⁹Minutes of Synod 1856, pp. 20-21.

⁸⁰Minutes of Synod 1856, pp. 27-29.

⁸¹Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 37-38.

⁸²Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 14.

⁸³Minutes of Synod 1858, pp. 18-19.

⁸⁴Kemp, Digest, pp. 144-48.

⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 148-50, 156.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 156.

⁸⁷Minutes of Synod 1852, p. 22; Kemp, Digest, p. 157.

⁸⁸Record, August 1849, pp. 146-47.

⁸⁹Record, February 1859, p. 61.

⁹⁰Record, January 1857, p. 34.

⁹¹In 1858 there were reportedly only 86 students in the Sunday School.

⁹²Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 40-42.

⁹³Mr. Thompson was supposed to receive a total salary of \$500 p.a. of which \$300 would be provided by the Synod and the rest derived from student fees and a government grant. The fees and grant, however, proved inadequate so the Synod had to provide \$100, more for the two past years. It was expected that henceforth the fees would increase to the necessary level. Minutes of Synod 1859, pp. 53-54.

⁹⁴Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 40; cf. Record, Nov. 1856, p. 8.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CLERGY AND PEOPLE

"There are four orders of office instituted by our Lord for the government of his Church. First pastors; then doctors; next elders; and fourth deacons. Hence if we will have a Church well ordered and maintained we ought to preserve this form of government."

John Calvin¹

". . . a good theological college is the sheet anchor of every Christian church, the source, humanly speaking, of its internal purity and prosperity, and the main spring of its evangelistic and missionary power."

Record, December 1848.

Any picture of the Free Church in Canada would be incomplete without a consideration of its clergy and people: who they were, and what their responsibilities entailed. Consistent with other churches organized according to presbyterian polity, there were three distinct offices within the church: the minister or teaching elder; the ruling elder; and the deacon. The responsibilities of the first two were 'spiritual,' that is, concerning the worship and discipline of the church, while that of the latter was 'temporal,' concerning the property and finances of the congregation. In addition to the office-holders, there were a number of prominent laymen, who, while not holding office or attending the Synod, nevertheless exerted considerable influence on the church. Finally, there were the 'doctors' of the church, the theological professors who taught at Knox College. Normally, these men did not have charge over a particular congregation, but devoted their full-time to the College.

However, in the strained atmosphere of the early years of the church, a modicum of pluralism was tolerated.

Although each of these offices had particular functions and spheres of responsibility, they shared certain characteristics. Certain theological affirmations were required of all office-holders. Thus the Synod of 1845, held at Cobourg, passed an Act adopting a "Formula to be signed by Ministers, Elders, Deacons, and Probationers" along with a series of questions to be asked of each at their ordination. By signing the formula and giving affirmative answers to the ordination questions, candidates indicated their acceptance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the worship, discipline and government of the Presbyterian Church, and particular Free Church emphases concerning the relation of the church to the state and the rights of the people to choose their own minister.²

The office of minister in the Free Church did not differ substantially from that of other presbyterian churches. Their primary function was the preaching and teaching of the Word of God. Other responsibilities included pastoral care and oversight (along with the other members of the Kirk Session), the administration of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and participation in the courts of the church—Presbytery and Synod.

Most ministers were responsible for a single congregation, though in some cases they might have charge over two. Congregational size varied from place to place. In 1859-60 the

largest congregations were Knox Church, Toronto (560 communicant members), Galt (480 communicants) and Knox Church, Hamilton (477 communicants). The smallest congregations would contain approximately 50-100 members. Worship services would be held on Sundays in the Morning, Afternoon and Evening. Most congregations had two services—one in the morning, and a second in the afternoon or evening. Some congregations had three services each Sunday. The average attendance at these services was often higher than the communicant membership. In 1859-60, for example, the communicant membership in the Cote Street Church, Montreal, was 350, while 750 attended its one Sunday Morning service (the pulpit was vacant at the time). Knox Church, Toronto, had 850 at its morning service and 670 at the evening service.³

When the Canadian Free Church began in 1844 it did so with a contingent of ministers who had been educated and ordained in Scotland. Further additions to its ranks came mainly from two sources: men educated and/or ordained in Scotland by the Free Church of Scotland or in Ulster by the Presbyterian Church of Ireland; and those educated at Knox College, Toronto, and ordained by the presbyteries of the Canadian Free Church.

Caution was manifested in admitting ministers from other churches. At their first meeting in Kingston in July 1844, the newly-formed Synod passed a resolution permitting any member of the Church of Scotland Synod "who shall within two months of this date signify in writing to the Moderator or Clerk of any of the Presbyteries of this Church his adherence to either of

the Protests made by the members of this Synod in withdrawing from the aforesaid Synod."⁴ Following this interval of two months, members of the Church of Scotland were effectively barred from entering the Free Church. The admission of ministers from other churches was regulated by an act, which after being passed as an interim act of the Synod in October 1844 and amended in 1845, 1846 and 1847 was passed by the Synod of 1847 as a standing law of the church. This Act distinguished between "the ministers and licentiates of Churches strictly and intimately in connection with this Church" and "all others making application to any Presbytery for admission into the Church." Although never explicitly defined, the "Churches strictly and intimately in connection with this Church" apparently referred to the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. These were the two British Churches to whom repeated applications were made for additional ministers, and which sent money and ministerial deputies to the Canadian church. Those applying for admission from within these two churches were easily and readily admitted; a presumption of soundness and theological orthodoxy being made in their favour. As for those from other churches, a more rigorous examination was undertaken of a candidate's fitness, and the procedures involved were more elaborate.⁵

Various resolutions concerning Home Missions were passed by the Synod of 1847, including one which provided that

. . . no Minister, Licentiate, or Probationer admitted into the Church, unless coming on the express call or invitation of a congregation, shall be settled in any pastoral charge until he shall have laboured for one year in the

Home Mission field, except by the special sanction of the Synod or Commission.⁶

This stipulation was often overlooked in the cases of ministers or licentiates who had spent considerable time working as a Catechist or in a similar capacity.⁷ There was some question in 1848 as to whether this rule applied only to those coming from outside the Canadian Church or to those licensed with the Canadian church as well. The Synod of 1848 thus resolved "to adopt the interpretation of the aforesaid Resolution as applying to all Ministers and Probationers whether coming from other Churches or licensed by this Church, excepting those who come on the express call or invitation of a congregation."⁸ This question of employing ministers from foreign churches, "before they shall have been formally received into this Church"⁹ was brought before the Synod of 1855 upon an Overture from the Presbytery of Hamilton. This Overture was received and sent to a committee "with a view to consider and report under what restrictions Presbyteries might be permitted to employ, in missionary services, ministers duly certified by other Churches, prior to the period when the laws of the Church permit their formal reception." The Synod accepted the Report and Recommendations of the Committee as follows:

1. That in all cases, when applicants for admission do not come to us, in the way of orderly translation, or express designation as ministers or missionaries, as pointed out in the amended Act of Synod for the admission of ministers of 1847, but with private certificates only, no connection with this Church, shall be recognised but with the express sanction of the Synod.
2. That in the case of ministers provided with testimonials regularly granted by the ecclesi-

astical body with which they are connected, applying for employment in connection with this Church, previous to a meeting of Synod, these testimonials shall be tabled at an ordinary meeting of Presbytery.

3. That these testimonials must lie on the table till the next ordinary meeting of Presbytery, occurring at an interval of not less than two months from the period of their presentation.
4. That unless the Presbytery at this second meeting be unanimous, no such applicant shall be employed in connection with this Church previous to his case being brought before the Synod; but that, in the event of unanimity, it shall be competent for the Presbytery to avail themselves of his services.¹⁰

Another restriction placed on the reception of ministers from other churches came before the Synod in 1856 and concerned the slavery issue in the United States. Almost since its inception the Canadian Free Church had protested against the evils of the institution of slavery and in 1845, 1851 and 1853, had passed strong statements denouncing the institution of slavery and chiding the Old School Presbyterians for their equivocal stance on this issue. In 1856 the Synod received an Overture from the Presbytery of London (within whose bounds the Buxton Mission was located) to the effect that: "Presbyteries be enjoined particularly to examine applicants for admission on the subject of Slavery, and to be satisfied, before receiving them, that their views accord with those of the Synod."¹¹ The Synod approved of this Overture "and in terms of its suggestions instruct Presbyteries, in dealing with applicants for admission into the ministry of our Church from the United States, to satisfy themselves respecting the views of such applicants on the resolutions of 1853 anent Slavery."¹²

While these instructions were probably directed against the Old School Presbyterians (with whom the Free Church had many theological affinities), the New School Presbyterians posed a different problem for the Free Church. In 1858 and 1859 the matter of 'fraternal intercourse' with the New School Presbyterians came before the Synod. A depute from the New School General Assembly addressed the Synod on the principles and work of his denomination and a committee was established to make further enquiries into the New School. Dr. Willis, as Convener of that committee reported that, while appreciating the New School's stand against slavery, and admitting the existence of some common ground, there were, nonetheless, significant differences: "not so much on sovereign electing grace, or faith, or the work of the Spirit, as on the extent of the atonement, and the imputation of guilt and righteousness in the Adamic and Christian covenants."¹³ A formal recognition of the New School Presbyterians was thus declined.

This, then, constituted the Free Church's relationship to other churches and its willingness to accept their ministers. In short, it chose its friends carefully. Members of the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland were readily accepted, while those from other denominations would have had a more difficult time gaining entry.

As already noted, the other major source of ministers for the Canadian Free Church was the graduates of its own seminary, Knox College. Although frequent appeals were made to its sister churches in the United Kingdom for additional supplies of man-

power, those in the Canadian church were cognizant of the need to train their own future ministers. As the editor of the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record commented in October 1845, the seminary "is manifestly under God, the great hope of our Church, and ought to be a chief object of our prayers and efforts—for it is abundantly clear that no adequate supply of labourers for the harvest of this land is likely to be obtained but from among the youth of this country."¹⁴ Peter Brown echoed these sentiments in the pages of his Banner, writing that the College "lies at the very foundation of the prosperity of the Church. It is only necessary to give a glance at the evils which afflict a church, when the fitness and qualifications of those preparing for the ministry are not attended to."¹⁵ Such considerations were clearly before the mind of the church at its opening Synod of July 1844. At that time a motion was passed calling on Presbyteries to watch out for "young men of pious character and suitable gifts who may be aiming at the ministry, and to use all competent means for directing and forwarding their education."¹⁶

Discovering such men of piety and ability was only the beginning of a long and rigorous path towards becoming a minister. This path encompassed three stages: student, licentiate or probationer, and minister. The incorporation of Knox College in 1858 finalized and streamlined the management, government, and curriculum of the seminary. Prior to incorporation, the regulations governing the education of students underwent a number of modifications. In 1844 the Synod established a

"committee on the education of students" which was given responsibility "to provide for the accommodation of the Professors and students, to superintend the raising of funds, and generally to watch over the Institution." The ministers on this committee were to act as an advisory body to the Professors concerning the students' education.¹⁷ Such a college committee was appointed annually by the Synod and had both academic and financial responsibilities. In 1844 it was part of the mandate of the College Committee "to examine all such students as may apply for admission to the Seminary, and assign those whom they admit to their place in the curriculum of study."¹⁸ Moreover, the Committee was "authorized to issue regulations to Presbyteries as to the acquirements which they should seek in students before recommending them for admission to the Seminary."¹⁹ According to William Rintoul, Convener of the College Committee in 1844-45, these student examinations "were not confined to their intellectual acquirement, but extended also to their views and experience of divine truth, and their motives for seeking admission to the ministry."²⁰ As the Record for May 1847 put it, the College Committee "admit at first, and continue in the Institution, only those who, in the judgment of charity, have had some experience of a work of grace in their hearts: while those who are attending the literary and philosophical classes are considered to be more strictly probationary students."²¹

In its first year the college contained 14 students—7 in the first, second, and third years of the theological course and 7 in the preparatory course. They were taught by one of the deputies from the Free Church of Scotland, Rev. Andrew King,

as Interim-Professor of Divinity, and by Rev. Henry Esson, formerly minister of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal, and now Professor of Science and Literature. Mr. King taught Systematic Theology, using the first twenty-one chapters of the Westminster Confession of Faith as his text, and advanced Hebrew. Mr. Esson taught the preparatory class—Latin and Greek, Junior Hebrew, History, Philosophy (including Philosophy of the Mind) and gave a survey of Ecclesiastical History. At the close of the session the students were again examined by the College Committee and three were certified as ready to proceed to trials for licensure. During the summer recess Esson gave additional instruction—dividing his teaching time between reading in the Hebrew Antiquities, studying such books as Butler's Analogy, and language study.²²

The pattern for education which emerged in the early years of the Free Church continued (with some modifications) throughout most of its history. The Free Church's ideal for education was not always attainable in the Canadian context and this necessitated expanding the services offered. Because of the perceived failure of the Provincial Grammar Schools to provide an education with sufficient religious content, the Free Church began its own grammar school. Toronto Academy, as it was called, was established in 1846 with Rev. Alexander Gale acting as both its Principal and as Professor Classical Literature in Knox College. Besides Gale, the Academy also employed Rev. T. Wightman as 1st Assistant Master, and Mr. Thomas Henning, formerly of the High School of Quebec as 2nd Assistant Master.²³ Prior to the

establishment of Toronto Academy, Henry Esson had conducted a school for boys but this was abandoned in 1846. The Report of the College Committee to the Synod of 1846 called for the setting up of a school "which, conducted with the economy and vigour of a Scottish High School or Academy, shall at the same time, like the institution of the Free Church under Dr. Duff of Calcutta, be pervaded throughout with the influence of Bible Truth."²⁴

The Academy was designed in part to provide a good education for those intending to enter Knox College; its teaching included English, Classics and Commercial Subjects.²⁵ According to the Report of the College Committee to the Synod of 1847 the purpose of the Toronto Academy was to provide "the elements of a liberal education in common with a thorough training in Bible truth, and secondly making it an auxiliary to the College, both in the way of preparing Students for it, and of assisting to educate those admitted to the College, whose early education had been defective."²⁶ According to the Prospectus of the Academy, the curriculum was to embrace the following subjects:

1. Elementary Instruction, including English Reading and Spelling, Writing, and Primary Lessons in Arithmetic, Geography, and the Latin Language.
2. Classical and Commercial Departments, including English in all its details, Reading, Recitation, Grammar, Composition; Arithmetic, theoretical and practical; Book-keeping; the Elements of Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Algebra; Geography and History, Ancient and Modern, Latin and Greek Languages and Literature.
3. The higher Mathematical Pursuits, together with the more advanced Classics; French and other Modern Languages; Drawing and other accomplishments.²⁷

By 1850, if not earlier, the Academy was divided into six forms—each corresponding to a year's course. The school year was divided into four terms of eleven weeks—beginning September 1 and ending July 15.²⁸

By 1847 the administration of Toronto Academy had undergone some alterations. A group of Toronto subscribers had raised a guaranty fund of about £700. A Board of Directors had been formed, composed of 7 men appointed by the subscribers, and 7 members of the College Committee. In 1846 the Board of Directors consisted of: Rev. Dr. Burns (Chairman), Rev. Prof. Esson, Rev. William Rintoul, Rev. James Harris, Rev. Alexander Gale, John McMurrich, J.F. Westland, Samuel Spreule, E.D. Gilbert, W.M. Gorrie, John Thompson, Alexander Badenach, Peter Freeland and Alexander McGlashan.²⁹ The 1847 Report of the College Committee could thus comment that the Board of Directors was "separate from the committee, and only in part dependent upon it," but it also noted that, in its opinion, the presence of subscribers on the Board will not "impair its efficiency or introduce any element diverse from that which the Synod desires to be found in it." At the same time it could also refer to "the intimate connection between the Academy and the College." In fact, most of the Board of Directors were members of the Free Church and it was the College Committee which appointed Gale as Principal of the Academy.³⁰

In August 1849 the Management Committee resolved to disassociate the Academy from the Free Church and Knox College—a move partly prompted, no doubt, by financial strains on the college. The new plan was to place it "on such a footing as would embrace

all evangelical denominations and the inhabitants at large . . . retaining nevertheless the religious character of the institution." A proposal was made to raise £1000 by selling £5 shares in a joint-stock company. These subscribers would elect a management committee.³¹

The Academy seems to have been in some financial difficulty in 1850-1852. A meeting of June 25, 1852 discussed applying to the government for a charter and an additional grant of money. There was opposition to such an application and it was, accordingly, not made. By late July, 1852 it appeared that the Academy would close.³² However, on August 6, 1852, another meeting was held. A letter from Rev. Alexander Gale intimated that unless the management committee was prepared to seek a charter and financial aid from the government, he would dissolve his connection with it. Though there was some opposition, the committee as a whole favoured it. Yet, as they had already received £500 in 1852 "no grant could be expected until next year." It was thus decided that "the teachers who have formerly been connected with the Academy should undertake the management of it upon their own responsibility for one year." A general meeting of shareholders was to be held the following week to finalize such arrangements.³³ Little is known about the Academy after this date.

While it was in operation, the Academy seems to have been at least moderately successful. During its first two years 267 students attended its classes.³⁴ Two of William Lyon Mackenzie's sons attended as did Thomas Moss, later Chief Justice of Ontario.³⁵ In January 1848 Mark Young Stark wrote

to his mother that "both the Academy and the College are prospering beyond our most sanguine anticipations."³⁶ While it was in operation the Academy did provide a high-school level education for some of the students entering Knox College. Those who did attend Knox found themselves faced with a demanding curriculum.

Though subject to some modifications, the course of study remained basically the same throughout the seventeen-year history of the Free Church. In content and scope the curriculum reflected the Scottish/Calvinistic tradition of which the Free Church was a part. In 1846-1847 the subjects taught included Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Mathematics, Mental Philosophy, Moral Philosophy, Biblical Criticism, Rhetoric, Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, Systematic Theology, Church History and Pastoral Theology.³⁷

In 1848, however, Burns and Esson clashed over Knox's curriculum. In March of that year Burns issued a printed circular to the members of the College Committee, calling for the tightening of admission requirements and the hiring of an additional professor in "mental training, or philosophical education." He argued that the present system was deficient with regard to English composition, elocution, and philosophy. As far as the latter was concerned, he argued for greater attention being paid to "a plain common-sense view of the power and capacities of the human mind, with rules for their improvement"; "the nature of evidence, and the laws of its regulation"; "the laws of reasoning or logic proper" including "the methods of syllogism and induction, with analysis and

synthesis, and the rules of correct definition"; "the nature and sources of prejudice," "causes of error," "idola of Bacon," etc.; an examination of the "ideal theory" as propounded by Locke, Des Cartes, Thomas Brown, and Bishop Berkeley, and the criticisms of it by Reid, Stewart, Campbell, and Beattie. As well, Burns wanted the curriculum to include a study of modern geology, with courses in Christian ethics and pastoral theology for more advanced students.³⁸ This proposal came before the College Committee on April 8, 1848. Esson dissented from these proposals on the grounds that they gave preference to logic over moral philosophy.³⁹ Esson later published a pamphlet outlining his own proposals.⁴⁰

By 1855 there were 43 students enrolled in the College: 16 in the theological course; 20 in the 'Non-Theological' (Arts) course and 7 in the 'Preliminary Class.' The curriculum submitted to the Synod of 1855 for approval followed this tripartite division. The 'Preliminary Class' was intended for students "who, on examination, are not found qualified to enter upon the course properly so called." This pre-Arts course was taught by one Mr. Smith, and consisted of Arithmetic and Mathematics; English Grammar; Elements of Civil History; and Elements of Latin and Greek. It would appear that this part of the course was a replacement for the now defunct Toronto Academy. The "Non-Theological" or Arts course consisted of a three-year program which, though including a study of Classics also reflected a Scottish emphasis on Physical Science and Philosophy.⁴¹ In the first year students were taught Classics, Mathematics and English Composition; in the second year—

Classics, Junior Philosophy (Logic and Metaphysics), Physical Science (Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, or Natural History), and History and English Literature (Junior Department). The final year embraced Senior Philosophy (Metaphysics and Ethics), Junior Hebrew, Physical Science (Geology) and History and Literature (Senior Department).

The theological course also encompassed three years. In the first year it consisted of a study of: Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion, Senior Hebrew, Church History, and Expositions of Scripture. Systematic Theology, Church History Hermeneutics and Biblical History, and Pastoral Theology were taught in the second year. The final year involved more advanced study in Systematic Theology, Hermeneutics and Biblical Criticism and Pastoral Theology. This curriculum was not substantially different from that which had hitherto been followed. According to the Report of the College Committee "the principal difference . . . is, that students in the first year of their theological course are, according to the scheme proposed, required to attend a class, to be conducted by Professor Young, for the critical exposition of scripture. In this class, selected portions, particularly of the Old Testament Scriptures, are read by the students in the original, and critically expounded by the Professor." Young's course would be preparatory to Dr. Willis' classes in Hermeneutics and Biblical Criticism, taught in the second and third years.⁴² Such a curriculum was not without its detractors. The Canadian Presbyterian complained that "it may form sound theologians, and yet, egregiously fail in preparing accomplished and competent preachers and pastors."

It recommended that closer attention be paid to modern language, literature and sermons (as an aide to better sermons); scriptural exposition; elocution; worship; church law and polity; and the "bearing of modern science upon Theology" and "the modern aspects of philosophical infidelity."⁴³

The number and composition of the faculty also underwent a number of changes. During the first decade of its existence, no less than eight different men taught at the College. Most of these were temporary appointments. Three were deputies of the Free Church of Scotland: Andrew King in 1844-45; Michael Willis in 1845-46; and Robert McCorkle in 1846-47. Several members of the Canadian Free Church taught as well. William Rintoul taught Hebrew and Biblical Criticism in 1846-47 and was Interim Professor of Hebrew in 1848-49. Alexander Gale served as Professor of Classical Literature in 1847-49 and was Principle of Toronto Academy. William Lyall was appointed acting Professor of English and Classical Literature and General Mental Training in 1849.⁴⁴ The first permanent addition to the faculty was Henry Esson's appointment as Professor of Literature and Science in 1844, a position he held until his death in 1853. Robert Burns was appointed Professor of Theology in 1844-45, a post which he held concurrently with the pastorate of Knox's Church until 1847 when the Synod divided the two positions. Burns thus gave up his chair and remained in the pastorate.⁴⁵ In 1848 Dr. Michael Willis was appointed Professor of Theology and later he assumed the Principalship of the College. George Paxton Young was named

as the "Second Professor of Divinity" in 1853 and in 1856 a major reshuffling of chairs occurred. A third theological chair was established and Dr. Robert Burns of Knox's Church, Toronto, was appointed Professor of Church History and Christian Evidences. Professor Young was moved from Evidences to Exegetical Theology, while Willis remained as "Primarius Professor of Theology" and Principal of the College.⁴⁶

In addition to the Professors, a tutor was employed to assist students. In 1855 it was felt that this tutor would have to be retained for the present because "the great majority of the young men who come up to Toronto to study for the ministry are unable to profit by the Latin and Greek classes as at present conducted in University College."⁴⁷ Apparently this problem was solved, because the tutorship was abandoned in 1857.⁴⁸ During the years 1855-1861 a closer relationship was evolving between Knox and University College. Some of the students who intended to enter Knox were taking classes in University College, and in 1856 the College Report contemplated abandoning the first year of the Arts course because of the availability of classes in University College.⁴⁹ In 1857 the dates for the opening and closing of Knox were changed to October 1 and April 1 in order to correspond to those of University College.⁵⁰ Knox students were also being taught Hebrew outside the College in 1855, but this arrangement was not to the satisfaction of the Synod.⁵¹

As is readily apparent, the course of study was a rigorous and demanding one. Yet it did leave time for Knox students to be engaged in other activities. According to a report in the

Banner of April 21, 1848 the Knox students had begun a Missionary Society, which met monthly, and where papers were read on subjects relating to missions. This society was also involved in city mission work. The City of Toronto was divided into eight districts and four students were assigned to each district. Their work involved tract distribution (about 500 reportedly given out every two weeks⁵²), conducting prayer meetings (18 weekly meetings were established), helping with Sabbath Schools, conducting services at the General Hospital and visiting the immigrant sheds. While the students were on their summer vacation the work of tract distribution was continued by a group of ladies from Knox Church, Toronto.⁵³

During the course of their studies students were examined periodically as to their academic accomplishments and their spiritual health. The College Committee examined students before they were admitted to the College each fall. According to the interim rules passed by the Synod of 1859, at the end of each year's session, the student had to apply to his professors "for certificates attesting the regularity of his attendance, his proficiency, diligence and general conduct, which certificates shall be presented to the Presbytery of the Church, by whom said student may be examined for license or for entrance upon the next year of the Curriculum."⁵⁴ Previous to this there was considerable discussion on the subject of student examination. The 1855 College Report pointed to the irregularity in the Church on this matter of student examination. The Committee thus called upon the Synod to "remedy the defects which exist, and to secure the thorough, regular,

and efficient examination of the students of the Church, both prior to their entering upon their studies in Knox's College, and at the different stages of their course."⁵⁵ An Overture presented to the Synod of 1855 by the Presbytery of Toronto had recommended that a Board or Boards of Examination be set up to examine students. The matter was accordingly sent down to the Presbyteries for discussion—whether exams be by Presbytery only, a Board or Boards only, or by a combination of Board and Presbytery.⁵⁶ It was reported to the Synod of 1856 that a majority of Presbyteries disapproved of a Board of Examination and the previous year's Overture was accordingly rejected.⁵⁷ The Synod of 1856 did resolve, however, that the College Committee was responsible for corresponding "with Presbyteries respecting their mode of superintending students, with the view of securing, as far as possible, the uniform observance throughout the Church of the Synod's arrangements on this head; to obtain from Presbyteries an annual report relative to the students under their inspection, and present a digest of these annually to the Synod." Moreover, in cases where the Committee is of the opinion "that it would be unadvisable for a young man to continue to prosecute his studies with a view to the ministry, it shall be the duty of the Committee to recommend such student to give up his Theological studies, and to betake himself to some other vocation."⁵⁸ This matter of student examination was further discussed by the Synods and the Presbyteries in 1859-1861 but further changes were rejected.⁵⁹

After completion of the College course, the next step on the road to ordination was licensure to preach the gospel. This matter of licensure was under discussion by Synod and Presbyteries in the years 1858-1860. In 1860 the following regulations were agreed upon:

- I. That no Student shall apply for license until the last session of his theological course is concluded.
- II. "When a Student applies to any Presbytery to be taken on trial for license he must produce certificates from the Professors and Senate of the College, or from the Professors of any Theological College in connection with churches in communion with this Church: (1) That he has completed the theological curriculum. (2) That he has delivered the five discourses prescribed to him in the course of his studies. (3) That his character and conduct during his attendance at College were suitable to his views of life.
- III. "That the Presbytery shall then examine said Student in Latin, Greek, Philosophy, Theology, and Practical Religion. If the examination be sustained, the Clerk shall be directed to make application to the next Synod for leave to take said Student on trial for License, certifying at the same time that the requisite certificates had been produced, and the examination had been sustained.
- IV. "Leave having been obtained from the Synod, the Student shall then undergo his public probationary trials. These are examinations:
 1. On Biblical Hebrew and Greek. 2. On Theology, Church History, and Government, and on Personal Religion. 3. He shall also read before the Presbytery: (1) A Latin exercise. (2) A Greek critical exercise. (3) A Homily. (4) A popular lecture. (5) A popular sermon.

"The Presbytery may reject any or all of these trials, and may examine the Student on his various discourses if they see cause.
- V. "That the trials being finished, the Presbytery shall take a conjunct view of the whole, and record their opinion. If not satisfied therewith, the licensing shall be

deferred, and the Presbytery shall act in the matter as they shall see for edification; if the trials be sustained, the Court shall proceed to license said Student to preach the Gospel. This shall be done in the following manner:-

- VI. (1) "He shall give his assent to the questions required by the Synod to be put in such case, and shall either sign the formula, or agree to sign it when required. (2) The Moderator shall then give him a suitable address, and after prayer for the Divine blessing, shall in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the authority of the Presbytery, license him to preach the Gospel wherever he may be orderly called. The Clerk shall be instructed to grant an Extract of License when asked."⁶⁰

Following licensure, the licentiate (or Probationer—the terms were used interchangeably) was normally required to spend one year on the Home Mission field. During this time he would be expected to preach, teach and act as a pastor, but would not be permitted to administer the sacraments, nor would he have a seat in the courts of the church. After completion of this year as a missionary, the probationer would then be allowed to receive a "call" from a particular congregation. This was an expression of a congregation's desire to have a particular man as their minister. According to A.F. Kemp, one of the Free Church's principal experts in church law, "no particular form has been prescribed by the Synod for the election of ministers to vacant congregations. . . . All that the Church stipulates for is that full effect shall be given to the voice of the Christian people."⁶¹ After election by the congregation, and acceptance of a call, the Probationer would then be taken on trials for ordination. These were the same as those for licensure. The Presbytery, on being satisfied

by the trials would then set a date for the ordination, and issue an edict to the congregation concerned (at least two Sundays before the day for ordination), announcing the ordination and giving an opportunity "that if any of them have any thing to object to the life or doctrine" of the candidate, that they bring this to the attention of the Presbytery. On the day set for the ordination, another opportunity to state objections is given. One minister of the Presbytery would then preach a sermon, outline the procedures followed hitherto, and put the ordination questions to the newly elected minister:

Satisfactory answers having been given to these questions the Moderator comes down from the pulpit and the Candidate kneeling is by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery set apart to the office of the ministry. After which the Moderator declares that in the name and by authority of the Presbytery he admits and inducts him into the pastoral charge of that Church; and along with the members of the Court, gives him the right hand of fellowship; addresses are then delivered to minister and people by the minister or ministers appointed.⁶²

Because this was the normal procedure followed by the Canadian Free Church, it came into conflict with one of the practices of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. It seems that the Irish Church had a habit of ordaining its Probationers before sending them to Canada. An Overture before the Synod of 1858 drew attention to this and complained that it was "contrary to the principle and usage of Presbyterian Churches, to ordain, except to the cure of souls, unless when sending missionaries where the Gospel is not preached, and its ordinances cannot be otherwise administered according to the practice of the church sending them" and that "the circumstances of this

Province are not such as to call for such procedure."⁶³ The Synod approved of this Overture.

Ordination thus marked the completion of one phase in the life of a minister and the beginning of another. The newly ordained minister would now be expected to give spiritual leadership and oversight to his congregation. Assisting him in this task was the second order of office-bearer in the Free Church—the Ruling Elder.

The eldership was theoretically a spiritual office, to which men were chosen and elected by each individual congregation. At the time of the Disruption of 1844 many of the congregations which entered the Free Church would have done so with their Kirk-Sessions virtually intact. In some cases there was a reconstruction of the board of elders. Such occurred in Glengarry where the elders "who formerly acted resigned their office into the hands of the people, and the best of them were re-elected, along with two others, as elders in connection with the Free Church."⁶⁴ In other situations where either a session did not exist or where more elders were needed, congregations were exhorted to "give itself unto prayer, seeking that the Lord, the searcher of hearts, may direct its choice to men of tried and proven piety, and such as may be expected to devote themselves prudently and zealously to the work of the Lord in their particular sphere."⁶⁵

There was no one system for the election of elders demanded by the Free Church. The method recommended by A.F. Kemp of St. Gabriel Street Church was:

. . . the plan of requesting the members of the Church to write the names of the parties they wish to become elders or deacons on a slip of paper with their own signatures; the several slips to be given in to an elder appointed for the purpose. The Session shall thereafter make an enumeration of the votes and, according to the number of office-bearers required, those who have the most votes shall be regarded as duly elected. By this process it will almost always happen that the votes of a Church will cluster round two or three, as it may be, persons suitable for the office.⁶⁶

If the elders-elect were then regarded as suitable for the office by the existing elders, and if they agreed to hold office, they would be ordained. An edict announcing the date of the proposed ordination would be issued and opportunity for objections to be received would be given. On the day of ordination, after preaching a sermon, and posing the ordination questions to the elders-elect, the minister "shall then by prayer set them apart to the office of Elder (or Deacon) and along with the other members of Session give them the right hand of fellowship declaring them to be Elders (or Deacons) of this Church. The minister shall afterwards give such exhortations to the persons ordained and to the congregation in regard to their reciprocal duties as he may deem meet."⁶⁷ The newly ordained elders would also be expected to sign the Formula.

This was the normal method of ordaining elders. There was, however, some problems in the Synod with at least one congregation where elders were ordained with the laying on of hands. The matter was discussed in Synod and Presbyteries, where it was evident that differences of opinion existed. The

Canadian Presbyter, arguing for an elevation in status of ruling elders, asked, "Why are hands not laid on ruling elders, unless it be to lower their office, and to mark them out as an entirely different grade of the ministry?"⁶⁸ No final pronouncements were made on the question, though it seems that the normal practice of ordaining without laying on hands was followed.⁶⁹

Having been duly elected and ordained, the elders were to perform specific spiritual functions within their own congregations. According to an Overture approved of by the Synod of October 1844, the primary responsibilities of the elders were delineated as follows:

. . . their office is to watch for souls, to rule in the Church, and especially and peculiarly to assist the Minister in the examination of candidates for sealing ordinances, in visiting the sick, instituting and conducting prayer-meetings, inquiring after the fruits of the preaching of the Word, superintending Sabbath-schools, promoting the observance of Family Worship, and in faithfully administering the discipline of the Church.

They were also to minister to mission stations and in their own congregations in the absence of a pastor.⁷⁰ "The church must no longer delegate her teaching functions in each congregation to one person," argued the Canadian Presbyter, "but commit them, as of old, to a body of faithful men 'apt to teach,' and able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers."⁷¹ Moreover, such duties were to be carried out with diligence, faithfulness, judiciousness, impartiality, "with tenderness, affection, real solicitude for the best interests of the flock"; and "with a practical recognition of responsibility to God, and simple dependence

on his grace and blessing."⁷²

In addition to performing the spiritual and pastoral functions required of them in their own congregations, elders were also expected to sit, debate, and vote in Presbytery and Synod. Each congregation was permitted to send one of its elders as a representative to Presbytery and to Synod. As can be seen, however, by a glance at Table 2, less than fifty per cent of the elders designated to attend the Synod did so, and many congregations even failed to designate a representative elder. Because of the expenditure of time involved in attending the annual meeting of Synod, only those elders who could be absent from their place of work for one week in June would be able to attend. In an attempt to ensure full elder participation at Synod meetings, the Synod of 1844 passed as an interim act the provision "that it shall be lawful for any Session legally convened, and after due notice given, to elect and appoint as their representative to the Synod, any Elder in good and regular standing in any other Session of this Church."⁷³ Some congregations did take advantage of this provision.

The office of Deacon was never successful within the Canadian Free Church, principally because of the undercurrent of tension between clergy and laity.⁷⁴ It was envisaged as an office to which men would be appointed and ordained and whose purview would embrace the financial concerns of congregations. The Synod of October 1844 thus asserted that Elders were not to be involved with the Church's secular affairs. Rather, Deacons, after ordination, were to "take a general supervision of all the monetary and secular affairs of the

Church, as in respect to the repairs of the edifices, and the expenses connected with these, the raising of funds for missions, Sabbath-schools, the Sustentation and other Synod funds, the supplementing the ministers' Stipend and so forth." It was suggested that pious, young men, with business ability, might best be suited for the office of Deacon.⁷⁵

Having passed such a resolution, the Synod of October 1844 established a committee to study the matter of Deacon's Courts. In the meantime, "the Synod, confiding in the wisdom and prudence of Sessions and congregations, leave it to them to make such interim arrangements for managing their secular affairs, as they may deem advisable."⁷⁶ The relative duties of deacons and elders must have caused some problems, as is indicated by a reference by the Presbytery of Hamilton to the Synod of 1846. The Synod recommended that the two groups "manifest all forbearance in regard to the performance of their respective duties, and in the meantime, in consideration of there being some difference of opinion respecting the peculiar duties of Elders and Deacons" the question was sent to the Committee on calls and codes of discipline for further study.⁷⁷ The Synod of 1847 received and adopted this report. It argued for the usefulness and scripturalness of this office, and recommended that Presbyteries and Ministers encourage its adoption in congregations, taking care that only pious men be admitted.⁷⁸

No further action seems to have been taken until the Synod of 1856, when an Overture was received from the Presbytery of

Montreal which attempted to delineate the functions and responsibilities of Elders and Deacons. At the same Synod, another Overture from the Presbytery of Hamilton drew attention to the fact that some Free Church congregations:

. . . do commit the management of their congregational affairs to pew-holders, pew-owners, or subscribers, instead of communicants; and whereas the tendency of such practices is to bring the Church into bondage to the world:- Therefore, the Presbytery of Hamilton, do hereby respectfully overture the Rev'd. the Synod of the said Church, to order, that congregations, hereafter organized under the supervision of the Presbyteries of the Synod, shall be organized in consistency with the word of God, and our sub-ordinate standards, giving the right of suffrage and management only to communicants in good and regular standing; and that where the constitutions of existing congregations are at variance with this rule they may be directed to conform to it in such a way as shall be for the edification of the body of Christ; and that special attention be directed to the Synod's former action in regard to the formation of Deacons' Court.⁷⁹

Both of these Overtures were sent down to the Presbyteries for study, were rejected by a majority of Presbyteries and were allowed to lapse.⁸⁰ They do, however, give evidence of a reluctance of Free Church congregations to commit their financial affairs into the hands of ordained office-bearers. Perhaps this was one more manifestation of a clerical/lay tension which had plagued both the Church of Scotland Synod since the Temporalities Bill and the Free Church since the attempts to institute a Sustentation Scheme. As A.F. Kemp described the situation: "A prejudice seems to exist in the minds of many ministers and members of the Church against this office, the result of which is that not one half of our congregations

have entrusted the management of their pecuniary and secular affairs to these scriptural Office-bearers."⁸¹

In fact, an examination of congregational statistics indicates that Kemp is too generous in his estimates. In 1859-1860, for example, only 27 congregations had Deacon's Courts, and of these some 16 had Managers or Trustees as well. The size of these Deacon's courts ranged from 3 to 12. On the other hand, 140 congregations had Managers or Trustees which ranged in size from 2 to 19.⁸²

Although exerting a dominating influence, only a small number of the people of the Free Church would have been office-holders. The remaining members of the Free Church would have been involved in a plethora of church-oriented functions which would have undoubtedly had both a 'spiritual' and a 'social' aspect to them. For the children of members and adherents the most important of these would have been the Sabbath-School.

Most, if not all, congregations would have had a Sabbath-School. In 1859-1860 it was estimated that the church contained: 225 schools; 9,460 pupils with an average attendance of 6,967; 1,196 teachers and some 22,276 volumes in church-school libraries. The lessons taught could have come from a variety of sources: written by the pastor of the congregation himself; written by Rev. William Gregg for the Synod as a whole; or produced by the Edinburgh Sabbath School Union. As well, children might read Nelson's Children's Paper, the Presbyterian Sabbath School Visitor or the Child's Paper.

They might also sing children's hymns from the collection of the Montreal Sabbath School Association of the Kirk Synod, or Hymns for Young Children of the Old School Presbyterian Board of Publications.⁸³ Occasionally, Sabbath-Schools would hold Soirées, which combined some sort of devotional with singing and refreshments.

For the youth and adults of the congregation, various Bible classes were provided. In 1859-1860 it was estimated that there were 160 classes with an average attendance of 2,875, taught principally by the ministers, but occasionally by elders.⁸⁴ Some congregations also contained women's societies. Knox's Church, Toronto, for example, had, in 1846, a Female Association. With Elizabeth Burns as its Treasurer, and Elizabeth Esson as its Secretary, it corresponded with the Female Colonial Committee in Edinburgh. Its main purpose was to raise money for missions and bursaries, through the sale of 'female work'—presumably knitting and sewing.⁸⁵

For many in the Free Church, such prayer meetings, bible classes and associations, would have provided, in addition to their professedly 'spiritual' function, a focus for social contact and interchange.

The social composition of the Free Church is difficult to describe. Within the denomination as a whole there would have been a wide range of occupational, financial, and social differences. Its urban congregations would have included a number of wealthy businessmen like Buchanan and Redpath, but also men and women of less conspicuous financial and social

status. Congregations located in the more rural sections of the province would undoubtedly have included farmers, small shopkeepers, and agricultural labourers.

An analysis of the Representative Elders on the Roll of Synod for 1857 confirms the pattern of a church composed largely of middle-class members, but with a wide range within that class. Of eighty elders on the roll, only eighteen can be identified with any certainty when cross-referenced with Lovell's Canada Directory for 1857-1858. The remaining eighteen include, not only men like Redpath and James Gibb, but a tinsmith, an ironfounder, and various clerks and company agents.⁸⁶

There were, then, three offices in the Free Church: minister, ruling elder, and deacon. Each was held for a life term, demanded the same spiritual qualifications, and required the same theological affirmations. Ministers and elders were responsible for teaching and pastoral care in each congregation and sat in the church courts. Deacons, on the other hand, were theoretically in charge of the financial arrangements. However, few congregations had deacons, and thus financial matters were for the most part entrusted to managers and trustees. Those who were not office-holders had available to them a plethora of church-related activities, including bible studies and prayer-meetings, Sunday schools, and women's societies. Together, they were the focus for both 'spiritual' and social activities and constituted a cultural milieu for the members of the Free Church community.

References - Chapter Seven

¹John Calvin, Draft Ecclesiastical Ordinances - September & October 1541 in J.K.S. Reid, ed., Calvin: Theological Treatises, Vol. XXII of The Library of Christian Classics (London: S.C.M. Press, 1954), p. 58.

²Cf. Appendix VII for text of Formula and Ordination Question.

³Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 62-69.

⁴Kemp, Digest, p. 110.

⁵Ibid., pp. 111-12.

⁶Minutes of Synod 1847, pp. 34-35.

⁷Kemp, Digest, pp. 112-13.

⁸Minutes of Synod 1848, pp. 17-18; Kemp, Digest, p. 112.

⁹Kemp, Digest, p. 113.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 114; Minutes of Synod 1855, p. 19.

¹¹Kemp, Digest, p. 354.

¹²Ibid., pp. 354-55.

¹³Ibid., pp. 348-49.

¹⁴Record, October 1845.

¹⁵Banner, Dec. 12, 1845.

¹⁶Minutes of Synod July 1844, p. 11.

¹⁷Kemp, Digest, p. 187.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Record, June 1845, pp. 41-42.

²¹Record, May 1847.

²²Record, October 1845.

²³Record, October 1846.

²⁴Record, December 1846.

²⁵Record, Sept. 1848.

²⁶Record, July 1847.

²⁷Record, Dec. 1846, p. 240.

²⁸P.C.A. Toronto Academy - Accounts and Subscription Box/
(Minutes of Management Committee, Printed Circular, August 27,
1850).

²⁹Record, Dec. 1846, p. 240.

³⁰Record, July 1847.

³¹U.C.A. Minutes of Knox College Committee and Professor's
Court, September 12-14, 1849.

P.C.A. Toronto Academy - Accounts and Subscriptions Box.
(Manuscript Minutes of Management Committee - August 10, 1849).
Ian Rennie notes that the Academy was undergoing a transformation to "a non-sectarian institution under the management of a number of trustees chosen by the subscribers." He does admit that the subscribers were mainly from the Free Church but argues that "the affiliation with the Synod was clearly severed." "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 187-90. The sub-committee which met on August 6, 1852 consisted of Professor Esson of Knox College, Samuel Shaw, P. Brown, Dr. Burns and John Burns —all members of the Free Church. P.C.A. Toronto Academy - Accounts and Subscriptions Box (Printed Circular and Manuscripts' notes attached to it).

³²Ibid. (Manuscript Minutes of Management Committee),
June 25 and July 22, 1852.

³³Ibid. (Printed Circular and Manuscript Notes attached
to it), August 6, 1852.

³⁴Record, Sept. 1848.

³⁵J.H. MacVicar, Life of Principal MacVicar (Toronto,
1904), pp. 17, 19, 30.

³⁶ According to Stark, there were about 140 boys in the Academy—at a yearly cost of approximately £30 - £35. U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 10. Stark to his Mother, January 4, 1848. According to a printed circular of August 1850 the costs were as follows:

<u>Day Scholars</u> :	Forms 1-2 - £1.	per term
	3-4 - £1.5	" "
	5-6 - £1.10	" "

Stationery - 1s. 3d. per term

Fuel (winter terms) 2s. 6d.

Advanced drawing, painting, instrumental music - taught in private lessons - fees paid directly to Masters.

Boarders: £6. per term for board
£0.12s.6d. for washing per term

All calculated on the basis of four eleven-week terms each year.

P.C.A. Toronto Academy - Accounts and Subscriptions Box
(Printed Circular - August 27, 1850).

³⁷ Record, May 1847.

³⁸ P.C.A. McCollum Papers, Box 3, Envelope 5. "Knox's College - Preparatory Department" (Printed Circular from Dr. Robert Burns).

³⁹ U.C.A. Minutes of Knox College Committee and Professor's Court, April 8, 1848.

⁴⁰ Leslie Armour and Elizabeth Trott, The Faces of Reason: An Essay on Philosophy and Culture in English Canada 1850-1950 (Waterloo, 1981), p. 44.

⁴¹ Masters, Protestant Church Colleges, pp. 42-43.

⁴² Minutes of Synod 1855, Appendix, pp. 26-27.

⁴³ Canadian Presbyter, Vol. 1 (December 1857), pp. 321-26; Vol. 2 (July 1858), p. 196.

⁴⁴ Minutes of Synod 1844, 1847, 1849, 1853, 1856.

⁴⁵ Minutes of Synod 1847. They were only joined in the person of Dr. Robert Burns.

⁴⁶ Dr. Robert Burns' appointment to Knox College seems to have been a way of extricating him from his congregational problems at Knox's Church, Toronto. Minutes of Synod 1856, pp. 11-13.

- 47 Minutes of Synod 1855, Appendix, pp. 26-27.
- 48 Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 15-16.
- 49 Minutes of Synod 1856.
- 50 Minutes of Synod 1857.
- 51 Minutes of Synod 1855, p. 12.
- 52 Banner, April 21, 1848. Knox College also had a "Meta-physical and Ethical Society" - D.H.MacVicar - President.
Record, December 1858, p. 21.
- 53 Record, Dec. 1848.
- 54 Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 30.
- 55 Minutes of Synod 1855, Appendix, p. 27.
- 56 Minutes of Synod 1855, pp. 9-10.
- 57 Minutes of Synod 1856, pp. 13-14.
- 58 Minutes of Synod 1856, p. 8.
- 59 Minutes of Synod 1859, pp. 13, 42; 1860, p. 32; 1861,
p. 10.
- 60 Minutes of Synod 1860, p. 23.
- 61 Kemp, Digest, p. 459.
- 62 Ibid., p. 461.
- 63 Minutes of Synod 1858, p. 19.
- 64 Record, June 1847.
- 65 Minutes of Synod Oct. 1844, p. 16.
- 66 Kemp, Digest, p. 457.
- 67 Ibid., p. 458.

⁶⁸Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. I (June 1852), p. 172.

⁶⁹Kemp, Digest, pp. 458, 41-42; Minutes of Synod 1847, pp. 16, 40; 1859, pp. 11-12; 1860, p. 22.

⁷⁰Minutes of Synod Oct. 1844, pp. 16-17. Cf. Record, March 1853, pp. 69-71.

⁷¹Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. I (June 1857), p. 174.

⁷²Record, May 1853, pp. 100-01.

⁷³Minutes of Synod Oct. 1844.

⁷⁴See Chapter Six, "Finances," concerning the debate over the Sustentation Scheme. Cf. Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 108-09. Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 128-29.

⁷⁵Minutes of Synod Oct. 1844, p. 17. Cf. Record, March 1849, pp. 71-2. Rev. George Smellie, in this article argued in favour of the Diaconate but asserted that it was an inferior office to that of the elder. Moreover, elders and deacons could meet together to discuss financial matters "with equal powers to deliberate, vote and conclude on all cases coming before them." It is not clear if Elders and Deacons did meet together as a Deacon's Court. Cf. Kemp, Digest, pp. 44, 458.

⁷⁶Minutes of Synod Oct. 1844, p. 18.

⁷⁷Minutes of Synod 1846, p. 85.

⁷⁸Kemp, Digest, p. 77.

⁷⁹Minutes of Synod 1856, pp. 24-25.

⁸⁰Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 33.

⁸¹Kemp, Digest, 458.

⁸²Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 62-69.

⁸³Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁴Minutes of Synod 1860, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁵Record, March 1846.

⁸⁶See Appendix IX.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THEOLOGY, WORSHIP, AND DISCIPLINE

The nineteenth century was a time of theological ferment for Western Christianity. Post-Enlightenment thinkers attacked historic Christianity, attempting to undermine its historical and philosophical foundations. Current thinking in geology and biology challenged the first chapters of the Book of Genesis and its account of the creation of man and the cosmos. Rationalistic biblical criticism questioned and often discarded the traditional view of the inspiration and authority of Scripture.¹ Even within the 'orthodox' camp, evangelicals were put on the defensive by English Tractarianism with its emphasis upon the medieval rather than the reformation formulas of Christianity. It was into this situation that the Free Church was thrust following the Disruptions of 1843-1844.

The Canadian Free Church, as a direct descendant of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland, was fully evangelical and Calvinistic in its theology. Their Calvinism was that of the Westminster standards. As a Committee of Synod, reporting on the Niagara Presbytery, put it in 1844:

. . . they hold, in common with ourselves, the Westminster Confession of Faith as their standard; and, as a Presbytery, maintain and uphold its doctrines in what is usually termed the Calvinistic sense, holding fast by the great cardinal doctrines of the divine sovereignty, the decree of election, and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, as distinguished from the views, which, on account of their extreme character, are usually, styled Antinomian and Arminian.²

In their preaching and teaching, they emphasized the evangelical doctrines of the substitutionary atonement of Christ, and justification by faith alone. Mark Young Stark, in sermon on Colossians 3, 1-3: "If ye then be risen with Christ" provided a succinct summary of such evangelical doctrine:

Man, we are informed, was originally created by God, after his own image, in righteousness and true holiness, but he fell by sin from this estate of life to God, and of life with God. Our first parents not only brought upon themselves, and all their posterity, the sentence of death, but became dead to those principles, motives, and affections which would incline and enable them to live to God, in conformity with His will. But they who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ are raised from this spiritual death to spiritual life. They live under the influence of new principles, new objects of affection and desire, new motives; they are raised from the death, or state of spiritual deadness and insensibility, in which they were sunk through corruption, to the life of godliness, and this through Christ; and they are not only raised from this state of death and brought to this state of life by Christ, by the atonement which He made for sin in His Own body on the cross, and by the righteousness which He wrought out for believers, by fulfilling the law while He endured the penalty, and by the life-giving, sanctifying influences of the Heavenly Spirit, which He purchased for and communicates to His people; but they are risen with Him. In His life they have life; their life is hid with Christ in God. He lives in them, they have fellowship in all the privileges of His resurrection; because He died for sin, they die unto sin; because He rose from the dead, they rise with Him to newness of life.³

The same sentiments were echoed by Principal Michael Willis of Knox College, who in speaking of 'saving faith' asserted that:

My dear friends, we must not rest in simple historical belief, a mental entertainment of the message concerning Christ, though that

is very precious and valuable, and nothing good can be got without it. We must not rest in a mere intellectual assent; we must commit our souls to Christ, we must come to Him, we must rest upon Him, we must welcome Him to perform in us all that belongs to His office as Saviour, not only as having died for us, but as now teaching us by His word and Spirit, that he may reign over us and make us wholly His. That is the faith which gives life.⁴

While stressing the sovereignty of God in salvation, preachers like Stark issued exhortations to their listeners to be prayerful, concerned for their own spiritual state, and concerned with living lives which were honouring to Christ. Theirs was not a cold rationalistic faith, but a warm-hearted, evangelical Calvinism.⁵ Their sense of order and dignity might lead them to eschew certain forms of evangelicalism and revivalism, but there was certainly no conflict in their minds between their Calvinism and their Evangelicalism. "No sovereignty on God's part," asserted Willis, "is at all at variance with our immediate duty and privilege, of accepting the common salvation which is proffered to us in the most unrestricted terms."⁶

Or as the Record put it:

The general call and invitations of the gospel are addressed to every creature—to all the ends of the earth. Salvation is offered to all without discrimination, who hear the gospel. But it does not follow that all accept of the offered salvation, or that all are made willing to accept of it. . . . salvation in its commencement, progress, and completion, is all of grace—the free and unmerited gift of God, which he bestows or withholds as it seemeth good in his sight.⁷

It is clear, then, that theologically, the Free Church was evangelical and Calvinistic. At the same time, it is instructive to examine how the Free Church responded to the theological currents of the mid-nineteenth century.

In recent years, historians of Anglo-American religion have paid increasing attention to the influence of the Scottish Common-Sense Philosophers. The contribution of Thomas Reid, James Beattie, William Hamilton, and James McCosh, to the making of the American Fundamentalist tradition has been analysed by George Marsden.⁸ The impact of Common Sense in Canada has been closely scrutinized by A.B. McKillop.⁹ The appeal of Common Sense to the Christian mind is readily discernible. It provided a necessary antidote to the philosophical skepticism of men such as David Hume. In Scotland, although the Common-Sense philosophers had been aligned to the Moderate Party,¹⁰ Evangelicals like Thomas Chalmers used the philosophy as an apologetic tool and infused it with his own evangelical theology. As D.F. Rice has argued:

. . . the soteriological themes on which Chalmers' theology centred brought him into direct conflict with the humanistic and rationalistic temper of the Moderate-Common Sense synthesis. Assuredly he established a rapprochement with the Scottish philosophy at many points. Indeed, he was never fully aware of the degree to which his own thinking reflected the errors against which he inveighed. Nevertheless, his purpose was largely apologetical. He acutely perceived the gulf separating a Christian anthropology from the anthropocentrism of the Scottish philosophy. From this perspective Chalmers discerned innumerable sources of tension between the religious impetus of the Common Sense philosophy as it was synthesised with the religious convictions of the Moderates, and the evangelicalism that he himself proclaimed. In aiming criticism at the sentimentalised conception of God and the superficial views of human nature endemic to Scottish rationalism, Chalmers rightly laboured to bring a more christocentric dimension to Scottish theology.¹¹

The Common-Sense philosophers were studied in the classrooms of Knox College, though it is likely that they used Reid, Beattie

et al. in much the same manner as did Chalmers.

John Moir has argued that American theology had little influence in Canada during the nineteenth-century because "most Canadian Protestant churches remained theologically conservative."¹² While this may be true as far as so-called 'liberal theology' was concerned, it ignores the influence of American conservative theology—notably that coming from Princeton Seminary.

The connections between Princeton and the Scottish Free Church have already been noted. In 1844 the Free Church deputies visited Princeton Seminary and Charles Hodge and William Cunningham, though known to each other by reputation only, met for the first time and enjoyed each other's company. The connections between the two churches were maintained. Less significant, though nonetheless real, was the link between Princeton and the Canadian Free Church. Dr. Robert Burns had been part of that 1844 delegation though some of his comments irritated his Princeton hosts. In March 21, 1844 Hodge wrote to Cunningham that "Dr. Burns preached a delightful sermon in our chapel last evening. I believe we are all disposed to let him abuse us and our domestic institutions as much as he pleases, if he will only preach the gospel as purely and spiritually as he did last night."¹³ Burns was also a friend of the Professor of Church History at Princeton—Dr. James W. Alexander.¹⁴ The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record gave frequent and favourable reviews of the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review. As Dr. Burns commented on the occasion of the death of Dr. Miller: "It is to these noble theologians at

Princeton we are indebted for that treasury of sacred literature and sound theology, 'The Princeton Review,' a periodical which no seminary of theology should be without."¹⁵ As well, students at Knox College studied Hodge's Commentaries on Ephesians and Romans.¹⁶

One of the surest indicators of the theological influences which were brought to bear on the Free Church is the curriculum which was taught at Knox College and which was imbibed by a generation of Free Church ministers. Two important sources survive which make such an examination possible: Professors' reports to the annual meeting of Synod and occasional college notices published in the Record outlining courses of lectures to be given and subjects for examination.

Henry Esson taught Moral Philosophy at Knox College from 1844 until his death in 1853. In 1845 he issued a "Prospectus of Course on Philosophy of the Human Mind." He regarded "mental and metaphysical science" as "having their proper and perfect work as the handmaid of Divine Revelation." His analysis of the nature of man was to encompass the "sensitive, intellectual, and emotional, understanding by this last the various original active springs or principles, including the moral faculty, by whatever name it may be designated, as the supreme and governing power." Proceeding to a study of Logic, Ethics, and Natural Theology, Esson wanted to demonstrate "how insufficient are all that man's knowledge and powers can effect in the enlightenment of the understanding, and the regulation of the will, without light and grace from on high." In addition

to this, some lectures were to be given on the "moral condition of man," using Butler, Abercrombie, and Chalmers, with supplemental reading in Reid, Beattie, Brown, Butler, Abercrombie, and Chalmers.¹⁷

William Rintoul lectured briefly on Hebrew and Biblical Criticism. His lecture topics for 1846 included: "structure and contents" of the Bible; authorship, stylistic differences between books; texts and manuscripts; ancient versions; modern versions; the inspiration, "authenticity and genuineness" of scripture; interpretation; "difficulties"; "difficulties in the Bible compatible with its inspiration—these gradually lessening with the progress of Biblical science and the advancement of the Gospel age"; and "the Transcendent importance of a thorough knowledge of the holy Scriptures to the Christian Minister—the subordination of the critical to the devotional study of the Scriptures."¹⁸

Dr. Robert Burns lectured in Systematic Theology and later in Church History in Knox College. In 1846 his lectures in Systematics were to include the following subjects:

. . . ancient and modern theories regarding the being and perfections of God, as contrasted with the system of the Bible; imperfections of natural theology. General character and claims of revelation; internal evidences and outline of proofs at large; objections grounded on mysteries and supposed opposition to reason examined and refuted. Doctrine of the Trinity, divinity of Christ; incarnation; mediatorial scheme; modern views on the atonement, its nature, extent, and issues; justification by imputed righteousness through faith; divinity, personality, and work of the Holy Spirit, on good works and the place they hold in the Christian system.¹⁹

Dr. Burns was one who was influenced by the Scottish Common Sense philosophers. In a printed letter to the College Committee of March 23, 1848 he praised them for their refutation of Hume and Berkeley. "The world is under infinite obligations to such men as Reid, Stewart, Campbell, Beattie, and others," he asserted, "who exposed the baselessness of the theory, and appealed successfully to primary principles of human belief, as ultimate facts in the arrangements of God. I tremble when I think of the readiness with which the exploded theory has been received; because I look upon it as not only destructive of all the evidence for final causes, in proof of the existence of God, but as directly subversive of all belief in the existence of any beings in the universe except ourselves."²⁰ In 1856-1857 Dr. Burns taught both Church History and Christian Evidences. The outline of his lectures in Church History indicate that the focus of his course was Old and New Testament history—little time was devoted to post-Apostolic Christianity.

- I. History in general—its nature, objects, and uses; best method of studying it, chart of ancient, medieval, and modern history; characters of leading historical writers, ancient and modern.
- II. Sketches historical and argumentative of questions and opinions, respecting, —
 1. The Mosaic History of Creation and of the Deluge.
 2. The Common Origin of the Human Family.
 3. The primitive condition of man, or (as it has been called) the state of nature.
 4. The connection between Ancient Sacred and profane history.
- III. The history of the work of redemption under various dispensations, as exhibited in the Old

Testament, historically, typically, and prophetically, with a view of the leading events during the period which elapsed, from the close of the canon of the Old Testament, to the coming of Christ.

- IV. A condensed view of Jewish antiquities, with a special respect to the typical character of the Mosaic economy; and notices of the MSS. of the Old Testament Scriptures.
- V. Examination of the theories of Eichhorn, DeWette, Strauss, and others, regarding the history of our blessed Saviour, and analysis of the Acts of the Apostles.
- VI. The history of the New Testament Church, from the day of Pentecost down to the era of Constantine.²¹

It is notable that Burns included in his course a consideration of some recent German New Testament scholarship. In his Church History course for 1857-1858 Dr. Burns extended his subject matter to include the Medieval, Reformation, and Modern periods.²² A number of Dr. Burns' introductory lectures on Church History were published in the Record and from these one can discern his conception of the scope and intent of Church History. In an 1848 lecture he defined Church history as:

. . . the history of God's arrangements with our world, for displaying his own glory, and securing the salvation of his people: the history of successive dispensations of grace in behalf of guilty man: the history of the doctrines, the worship, the institutions of the visible Church: the history of the effects of true religion on the literature, the arts, the civilization of the species: the history of the relations established betwixt the varied sections of the Church and the civil communities of men: in a word, the history of the contest betwixt truth and error for the mastery. On such a history much precious instruction may be grafted, and the historian and herald of the Churches, may become also the minister of God for the salvation of his people.²³

Church History, as so conceived, had both a didactic and apologetic value. In this regard, Church History helped in "the establishment of the truth of the Gospel by arguments derived from its rapid progress and success"; it described "the history of the fulfilment of prophecy"; it provided "a map of the human mind and of the human character" and it encompasses "an enquiry into the causes of error, and such an enquiry is of great advantage as supplying in many cases the means of exposing and refuting the error itself."²⁴ Dr. Burns also taught Christian Evidences in 1856-1857. For text books he used Butler's Analogy, Paley's Evidences, and the work of Whateley on Evidence. The subjects dealt with in this course included:

- I. Sketches of various theories of infidelity ancient and modern—chiefly the latter—as embracing Atheism, Pantheism, and Development theories—and the different forms of Deism as at present in vogue.
- II. The existence, attributes, and government of God—argument a priori of Dr. Clarke—argument of DesCartes, estimate of the argument in regard to clearness and conclusiveness. Argument from Design—replies to objections by Lord Bacon, DesCartes, Hume and others—Illustrations from works of God—from mind—from adaptations—from succession of events. Development theory—Geology—argument from Conscience.
- III. Evidences of revelation—possibility—necessity and probability of revelation—objections of Newman and others as to the mode of revelation—Miracles, Prophecy, Rapid Propagation of the Gospel—Internal Evidence—undersigned coincidences. Genuineness—Authenticity—Inspiration of the Sacred books—Replies to popular objections.²⁵

Dr. Michael Willis lectured on Systematic Theology and Biblical Criticism, in 1854-1855 using the Westminster Confession of Faith and Calvin's Institutes in Latin for the former, and Horne on hermeneutics for the latter.²⁶ In 1856-1857 Willis also used Hill's system of theology.²⁷ In the area of hermeneutics Willis was aware of what was being done in the German universities—praising some scholars and cautioning against others. He thus argued that "Though I think the writings of their critics and philologists have been overpraised; yet they have brought some valuable accessions to the illustration of the evidence of our faith, and to the exposition of the sacred books, in opposition to the assaults of rationalism, and it is well that we should keep up some acquaintance with the Olshausens, the Hengstenbergs, the Hugenbachs [sic], and others, who have assisted to stem the torrent of a wild and licentious criticism, as well as philosophy, which threatened to sap the foundations of Christianity." Willis then went on to commend the study of Systematic Theology as an antidote to certain hermeneutical excesses:

. . . there is, we think, a danger of magnifying hermeneutical science to the deprecation of theological systems—of attaching by far too much importance to the assaults of modern infidelity, or neology, and letting ourselves down from the tone of confidence with which we are entitled to speak of long-established truths; as if the whole of Christianity were yet a question, and the very safety of the citadel were compromised by some small affair of a various reading, or some conjectural emendation of occasional clauses. . . . It enhances in our opinion, the value of dogmatic theology, when we see the Ernestis, and Tholucks, and Rosenmüllers and Heinrichs of Germany, compromising truth in so serious a

degree even while opposing themselves, with success to certain devices of the common enemy; pulling down with the one hand, while they build up with the other; not because their criticism is valueless, but because their knowledge of the analogy of faith is defective.²⁸

Though the Free Church as a whole was firmly wedded to a Calvinistic orthodoxy, one of its Professors in Knox College has been charged with departing from that stand. D.C. Masters has thus argued that "the most distinguished of the early teachers at Knox College was also the shakiest in his theology."²⁹ Born in 1818 in Berwick upon Tweed, George Paxton Young had been educated at the Edinburgh High School, the University of Edinburgh, and at the Free Church Theological College. He was ordained to Martyr's Church, Paisley and in 1847 emigrated to Canada. He served as Minister of Knox's Church, Hamilton, from 1850-1853. In 1854 he left Hamilton to become Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Knox College, Toronto.³⁰ In 1864 he left Knox College because he could not fully subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith. As Masters put it: "By 1864, philosophy and higher criticism had landed him in a position in which he could no longer accept orthodox Presbyterian doctrine."³¹ Indeed, as early as 1860 Young was seeking the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast, and was trying to use Isaac Buchanan's influence with the Duke of Newcastle to further his ambitions.³²

In 1864, while seeking a position as inspector of schools, Young again sought to use Buchanan's influence. In thinking about the timing of the appointment Young intimated to Buchanan

that if it were late:

I would be deprived of an excellent reason for resigning my Professorship in Knox College. It would save me from all disagreeable questions, beginning with the abominable word 'why,' if I could say to the Synod: 'I resign my position in Knox College, having accepted the office of Inspector of Grammar Schools for Upper Canada.'³³

Interestingly enough, Young never did give any more reason for resigning other than that he had accepted the position with the Ontario Department of Education.³⁴ After serving with the Department of Education, Young returned briefly to Knox College before taking up the Chair of Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics in University College, Toronto.³⁵

In 1854 Young published his Miscellaneous Discourses and Expositions of Scripture—a collection of sermons which he had preached in Hamilton. According to Masters, they "indicate that already he had begun to introduce into Canada historical and critical methods of analysing the Old Testament, that were being developed in Europe."³⁶ Apparently this book also indicates that Young had been influenced by Friedrich Gesenius,³⁷ one of Germany's leading Hebraists who taught theology at the University of Halle.³⁸ In light of the Free Church's concern for theological orthodoxy, the question immediately arises as to why his views were not detected, and Young himself subjected to church discipline.

In November 1854 a review of Young's book appeared in the Free Church's in-house organ—the Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record. The review was a favourable one and there was no mention of Young employing 'higher critical' methods. Instead,

the sermons were described as "discourses of great excellence, rich in evangelical sentiment, and pervaded by a spirit of earnest piety. They at the same time exhibit a vigorous and independent style of thinking, a full command of appropriate illustration, and a diction which united energy and point with gracefulness and simplicity." Moreover, "the author reveres the authority of the inspired record, and has too deep an appreciation of excellency of the divine truth to permit his travelling out of his way to deal in barren abstractions, or in the nice refinements of metaphysics. . . ." The reviewer mildly criticized Young for occasional lapses into what he called "over-decisiveness in the way the author sometimes makes his assertions on points which are open to debate and where differences of sentiment are fairly warrantable." Yet, in the final analysis, "We cordially commend the volume to our readers."³⁹

An examination of Young's Miscellaneous Discourses and Expositions of Scripture confirms this view. They were Calvinistic, evangelical and orthodox. In a sermon entitled, "The Traitor Unmasked, or Incidents of Our Lord's Last Passover," based on the text John 13:21-38, Young declared "what an encouragement does this passage furnish to sinners to put their trust in Christ!" He went on to assert that:

God was glorified in Him. He fully satisfied divine justice. He magnified the law and made it honourable; so that, on the footing of His finished work, God can pardon sinners, and bestow upon them the blessings of eternal life, without a shadow falling upon any of the perfections of His nature, or the slightest injury being done to His moral government. No sacri-

fice less than the blood of Emmanuel could have sufficed to take away sin; but this infinitely precious offering has been made, and every sinner, however guilty, who puts his trust in Christ, is assured, on the word of Him who cannot lie, of obtaining forgiveness, sanctification, peace, and complete redemption. The invitation, addressed to every creature under heaven, is 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Let me urge this upon unconverted sinners. It is my duty, brethren, as a minister of Christ, to use every persuasion in my power to induce you to avail yourselves of the rich provisions of saving mercies brought to your hand in the Gospel; and this I would discharge, not merely as a duty, but in the spirit of friendly affection, and out of love to your immortal souls. AS THOUGH GOD DID BESEECH YOU BY US, WE PRAY YOU IN CHRIST'S STEAD, BE YE RECONCILED TO GOD.⁴⁰

John Irving has suggested that it was Young's rejection of the Scottish Common Sense philosophy which led to his theological problems of 1864, citing J.G. Hume's remark that Young "saw that many of the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church were moulded in the thought and phraseology of this philosophy and so he found that he could not teach what he regarded as erroneous."⁴¹ It is clear that Young used Common Sense writings in his Knox College classes. Thomas Reid's Essays and Sir William Hamilton's Philosophical Writings were used as texts in the Junior and Senior Philosophy classes,⁴² though the Record pointed out that "the doctrine taught by the Professor is widely different from the views of Dr. Reid."⁴³ At the same time, in his classes on Exegetical Theology, Young used Hodge's Commentary on Ephesians as a textbook.⁴⁴ All of this is suggestive that if Young's personal philosophical and theological views were undergoing a transition

in the years 1854-1864, he kept them under the surface and did not allow them to become the focus of public discussion.

The only major challenge to the Free Church's Calvinistic orthodoxy to come from within the church was the case of Rev. Robert Peden. Peden was born c. 1816 in Kilmarnoch, Scotland, and educated at the University of Glasgow and the United Secession Theological Hall. He emigrated to Canada and was admitted to the charge of Amherstburg in the Kirk Synod in 1844. That same year he signed Dr. John Bayne's Protest and joined the new Free Church Synod.⁴⁵

Peden's views came to the notice of the church at large in 1847 with the publication of his book—A Hidden Gospel; the Cause of the Loss of Souls (114pp.) The Record began to review his book in December 1848. In the eyes of the reviewer Peden had denied the doctrine of particular redemption and held unsound views on conversion. "We would earnestly and affectionately warn our friend," he wrote, "against the more than questionable tendencies of his present views."⁴⁶ This review was continued in the February 1849 issue of the Record. Objections were raised against Peden's views of election and his downplaying of creeds and confessions. The reviewer asserted that "we do not at all sympathize with those ultra views which would hesitate as to a free and frank invitation to sinners to come to Christ. We are not aware of anything in the view we have set forth of the doctrine of election, that militates against this." "The decrees of God," he argued, "are not meant to influence our conduct at all; it is with the revelation of God only we have to do." Clearly the reviewer

was attempting to argue a consistently Calvinistic position over and against Peden's watered-down version.⁴⁷

In the March 1849 issue of the Record Peden replied to the charge that he advocated the doctrine of universal redemption. Distinguishing between atonement and redemption, Peden argued that:

. . . there is an unlimited sufficiency in the ransom of the whole world, while I as assuredly believe that none will enjoy the blessings of redemption, but those who put their trust in the finished work of Christ. . . . Because all do not, and will not enjoy the blessings of redemption, to say that the meritorious work of Christ was neither sufficient for them, nor intended for them, is virtually to say that there was really no Gospel to be preached to them, or if it were preached to them, the very fact of their dying in impenitence is a proof that it was false, for Christ never died for them—never did or endured anything for them on the cross, and therefore, the very fact of their dying impenitent, would shew that if Christ had ever been exhibited to them as a Saviour able to save them, and willing to save them, it was false, for they were neither included in the ransom, nor was any price ever paid for them.⁴⁸

Peden based his case scripturally on such passages as I John 2:2; 2 Cor. 5:14; I Tim. 2:4-6 and quoted at length from Thomas Chalmers in attempting to defend his position. In closing his letter he asserted that:

A universal atonement is necessary to a universal offer, but redemption in the sense of deliverance is only enjoyed by those who put their trust in the atonement, and consequently redemption is particular, as it is restricted in its enjoyment only to believers, just as justification and sanctification are restricted only to such, — and thus it is that a Gospel for every creature, is only redemption to those who believe.⁴⁹

In replying to Peden's letter the editor of the Record maintained that Peden had espoused views which were both unscriptural and inconsistent with the Westminster Confession of Faith. Moreover,

. . . while plausibly appearing to set off to advantage the grace of God, or the grace of the Saviour, they indeed detract from both; reducing the scheme of salvation to a thing uncertain and contingent; and contradicting all that the Word of God sets forth of a covenant of redemption; and of a commutative satisfaction of the Divine law, as implied in the work and death of the sinners' surety.⁵⁰

The reviewer went on to argue that:

. . . the real question is this:- was the atonement a price paid and accepted for all men alike? or, was it in respect of destination, a meritorious and effectual satisfaction only for many? The question is not of the intrinsic value of Christ's blood. We perceive that Mr. P. blends together the universal destination of the atonement, with its sufficiency (which we delight to affirm no less than he)—to avail every one who shall trust in it. No one denies that the blood of Christ is, in respect of inherent value, sufficient not only to have atoned for all men, but for all creatures—angels as well as men. But, either it was, according to the will of God, a price for all, or it was not. If it was, then the salvation of all must follow: if Christ was made sin for every individual of the human race, justice requires that all shall be 'made the righteousness of God in Him.' But if Christ was not a sacrifice for all to the effect of securing the deliverance of all; then, in a strict sense, and the only sense relevant to the question, his death was no price whatever, and nothing was purchased by it.⁵¹

In Peden's scheme, the work of the Father in election, was divided from the work of the Son in redemption; which in turn is divided from the work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration and effectual calling.⁵² Nor, from the reviewer's point

of view, was such a doctrine of definite atonement at all inconsistent with the free offer of the gospel.⁵³

Robert Peden and his critics were reactivating an old debate in the history of the Christian Church—that of the nature and extent of the atonement of Christ.⁵⁴ This debate had been a lively one in Scotland, both within the Church of Scotland and in the secessionist churches.⁵⁵ Within the United Secessionist Church, James Morison of Kilmarnock had espoused a view of universal atonement and was deposed from the ministry for doing so.⁵⁶ In all likelihood, Peden was a follower of Morison.⁵⁷

Because of his views Peden was called before the Presbytery of London. He failed to appear and instead sent a letter. The Presbytery examined his book and announced that it contained "doctrines at variance with the word of God, and the standards of the Church" and served Peden with a libel. In response to this libel Peden appeared before the Presbytery. The Presbytery sustained their libel, but on account of the wide circulation of Peden's views, sent the case to the Synod "for their judgment, in the hope, that the dangerous and most pernicious doctrines advocated by Mr. Peden, may be the more effectually discouraged and condemned."⁵⁸

The case came before the Synod in 1850. Peden appeared and defended his position, admitting that he did hold some of the doctrines he was credited with, and denying that he held others. However, his speech to the house convinced the Synod that he held these other doctrines as well. A Committee was appointed "to meet with Mr. Peden, and endeavour to convince

him of the unscriptural and dangerous nature of the doctrines which he holds."⁵⁹ After further debate and consideration of the report of this Committee, the Synod sustained the reference from the Presbytery of London and issued a lengthy statement on the atonement. In this they upheld the doctrines of election, effectual calling, regeneration, unmerited grace, and justification by faith. As for Peden's views, they are "at direct variance with the aforesaid doctrines, subversive of the fundamental truths of the Gospel and fitted to prove injurious to the souls of men, and in particular, that he holds"—

1. That Christ made atonement in the same sense for all mankind, thereby denying Christ's covenant relation to his people, and effectual satisfaction to justice on their behalf.
2. That the fallen sinner does not require a special subjective work of the Holy Spirit in his heart, to enable him to believe in Christ to the saving of his soul.
3. That the work of the Spirit in enabling a sinner to believe in Christ unto salvation, is the same in nature and energy, with that which takes place in the heart of a sinner, who resists the Spirit and remains in unbelief and a state of enmity towards God.
4. That faith is a mere intellectual act, and that in a sense which is inconsistent with the doctrine, that saving faith implies a vital spiritual principle in the heart, and that its principle acts are of a moral and spiritual nature, consisting in particular of the 'accepting, receiving and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification and eternal life.'⁶⁰

The Synod suspended Peden, cut the tie between him and the congregation at Amherstburg, and gave to the Presbytery of London the responsibility of dealing with him "with the view of convincing him of the unscriptural and dangerous nature"

of his views. If he refused to abandon these views or submit to the Presbytery's authority, the Presbytery could depose him.⁶¹ In actual fact, Peden was eventually deposed. The congregation at Amherstburg split into two and a property dispute ensued.⁶² Those supporting Peden were organized as the Evangelical Union Church—the name which the Morisonian churches in Scotland used.⁶³ The Peden case closed, then, with the Free Church affirming its Calvinistic orthodoxy and slamming the door on Morisonianism.

The Free Church did not develop a separate and systematic response to nineteenth-century science. Though Darwin's Origin of Species did not appear until 1859—late in the Free Church period when matters of Union dominated all else—other 'developmental theories' were noted and criticized. The conclusions of contemporary geology, rather than posing a threat to Christian belief, were used to buttress it.

Members of the Free Church were careful to assert the harmony of geology and religion. For the most part they were careful to distance themselves from particular interpretations of Genesis which might seem in conflict with the conclusions of modern geology.⁶⁴ This was sometimes done, however, by asserting that the Bible was silent on scientific details. William Rintoul, writing in 1848, argued that "while the world, as now arranged, was the work of a few days, its present arrangement was preceded by a state of darkness and confusion, beyond which it discloses nothing but the sublime fact, that the world was not eternal—that it had a beginning."⁶⁵ An

editorial in the March 1848 issue of the Record entitled "The Effect of Errors in Theology—Geologists Once Skeptical—The Pre-Adamite Earth" asserted that modern geology and a right interpretation of scripture were consistent. He cited various Christian geologists—William Buckland of Oxford, Adam Sedgwick of Cambridge, Pye Smith, and the Free Church's Hugh Miller and Thomas Chalmers. Buckland, for example, had written The Relics of the Flood (1823)—"the last important attempt to combine geology and theology."⁶⁶ The writer in the Record, cautioning against allowing false interpretations of Scripture to be stumbling-blocks argued that:

Happily, in our day, science and theology are not in opposition to each other. Divines have profited by the errors of former days, and they are now more cautious in committing scripture to pronounce in matters of science, being assured that it does not lie within its province.⁶⁷

Another Free Church minister, Mark Young Stark, gave a commemorative lecture in 1859 on the Free Church of Scotland's Hugh Miller—the Cromarty stonemason who edited the Edinburgh Witness and who has been described as "not a mere reader of popular science but as a geologist of standing and the most successful scientific popularizer of the day."⁶⁸ In this lecture Stark rejected Lamarck's development theory, arguing that it questioned "the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, because if there be no intermediate acts of creation from the calling into existence of the original monads, or first elements of being, then, in what does man differ from the brute, except in being merely a higher development of dying,

perishing creatures."⁶⁹ Such a developmental theory, Stark argued, was "atheistical in its tendency, in so far, that if man be not an immortal creature, it matters little to him whether there be a God or not." Yet in Stark's mind, the results of contemporary geology had helped to destroy theories such as Lamarck's.⁷⁰

Stark also made a number of comments about the age of the earth and the creation of man. He suggested that there were geologic ages prior to the creation of man. He rejected the idea that the earth was created as it is with the fossils already in place. The 'days' of creation in Genesis 1 and 2 "must have been lengthened periods of time in which, under the inscrutable economy of God, our planet was preparing for its present dispensation, and the reception of man."⁷¹ Moreover, nature provided a mirror of humanity "created in the image of God—having become fallen, corrupt, and degenerate, and this in analogy with the deteriorating process, which is ever operating in nature, according to a universal law, written in the Record of the Rocks, those marvellous, but indisputable chronicles of the Earth's history."⁷² God's eternal decrees, he declared, were "engraven . . . in unmistakable and indis- tructible characters on the face of nature."⁷³ As for the Mosaic flood, Stark followed Miller in postulating that it had not been universal, but had only covered those sections of the earth inhabited by humans.

An apparently different view of creation, however, was put forward in a Free Church reviewer of William Dawson's

Archaia; or Studies in the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures. Although generally favourable, he did, however, take issue with Dawson's treatment of the Mosaic account of creation. The reviewer rejected the "day-period hypothesis" and argued for a view of the creation of the world:

. . . by a series of creative acts, continued in all the departments of organic life up to the time when man appears. This being the case, the inference will possibly be that the Mosaic records contain a representation of the creation in the form of six literal days in which there is comprehended in epitome all that is necessary for us to know concerning the origin of the physical phenomenon of the universe. This view of the case . . . releases the text from its supposed figurative signification, and Geology from the necessity of discovering certain distinctly marked periods of the creation of the vegetable and animal Kingdom.⁷⁴

Stark, like other Free Church commentators on science insisted on the essential harmony of science and biblical Christianity. He thus asserted that:

A revelation from God cannot, when properly understood, contradict true science. God revealed in nature and in his word must ever be consistent with himself; and so, as science has advanced, and the Bible has been better understood, the latter has derived many indubitable confirmations of, and testimonies to its truth from the investigations of scientific men. It is ignorance which causes the antagonism.⁷⁵

The Free Church, then, used geology to fight against certain pre-Darwinian developmental theories, and asserted that true science and correct biblical interpretation were in harmony one with another. The main problem with this was that by interpreting scripture by science, as soon as a new scientific

theory emerged, a hasty retreat might be necessary.

The mid to late Victorian periods witnessed a number of changes in the worship and liturgy of the Scottish churches: the introduction of organs and hymn-books; altered communion practices; and architectural changes. In these matters the United Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland were the most receptive to change, while the Free Church remained the most 'conservative.'⁷⁶ The Free Church in Canada, like its parent in Scotland, resisted most changes in worship and liturgy.

There was no formal service book or liturgy in the Free Church apart from the Westminster Directory for Public Worship. This directory, drafted by the Westminster Assembly, was passed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, February 3, 1645 and by Parliament, February 6, 1645.⁷⁷ The order of worship according to the Directory was: Call to Worship; a brief prayer; scripture reading (reading Old and New Testaments consecutively and providing an exposition of the passage if necessary); singing of a psalm; a long prayer (the Directory set down the order for such a prayer); Sermon; prayer; psalm and a "solemn blessing" to close the service.⁷⁸ It is difficult to determine how closely the Canadian Free Church followed this order. The Canadian Presbyterian complained in 1858 (with particular reference to prayer) that while the Directory "still hold a place nominally among the standards of Presbyterian usage," it has "practically fallen into neglect" and "every one does what is right in his own eyes"—some, for example, neglecting prayers for civil authorities, omitting

the Lord's prayer, or praying for a short or long period as sees fit.⁷⁹

During the service, the congregation sang while sitting and stood to pray.⁸⁰ The singing was led by a precentor. He might use a tuning fork to locate the proper note and would then often sing the first line of the psalm, which was then repeated by the congregation.⁸¹ Of the ten set tunes for the psalms the precentor might know only a few, and these he might embellish by 'gracing'—"the addition of unauthorized shakes and quavers to the tune very much as the spirit moved him."⁸² Congregational singing was often poor in quality and precentors often unskilled. The Canadian Presbyterian complained, for example, that:

Most frequently our precentor is one who can shout and make a noise neither musical nor melodious in its character, and who, in the selection of his tunes or in the mode of their expression, has little or no regard to the subject of the Psalm.⁸³

The staple diet for congregational singing would have been the metrical psalms. In addition to these, some congregations would have sung 'paraphrases'— prose sections of scripture. These had been published in Scotland in 1781 and contained many which were antithetical to an evangelical outlook.⁸⁴ Within the Canadian Free Church they were criticized by both 'conservatives' and 'innovators.'

The Record probably spoke for many of these 'conservatives' when it eschewed both paraphrases and hymns by writers such as Isaac Watts. The editor thus asserted that:

One of the first steps in the defection of those churches which have departed from the faith once delivered to the saints, has been the superseding of the words of the Holy Ghost and substituting the words of man in the worship of God. There is cause for alarm, for the purity and stability of the Church, that disregards scriptural worship.⁸⁵

Paraphrases, he declared "admits of human opinions and sentiments being mixed up with the Word of God." While admitting the need for a new version of the Psalms, he argued that "God has given in his word a model for prayer, while he has given a system of praise, complete, it must be esteemed, until cases in the experience of the Christian and the Church can be cited, to which nothing in the Scripture songs is applicable."⁸⁶

The Canadian Presbyterian, on the other hand, representing those who were calling for innovations in worship, criticized the paraphrases, but instead of regressing to exclusive psalmody, called for the production of a Free Church hymn book. Pointing to the hymn book of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland⁸⁷ which was used by some of their congregations in Canada, it declared it to be "unquestionably greatly superior to our own paraphrases."⁸⁸ It argued for a hymn book which would contain selected paraphrases (getting rid of those "which are a scandal to us as a Calvinistic Church, and of those that are manifestly defective in their statements of evangelical truth") and selected hymns (retaining only those "which are couched in the language of direct prayer and praise" and omitting "didactic and sentimental songs").⁸⁹ At the time

of the Union of 1861 congregations were permitted to retain their previous forms of worship, which meant that United Presbyterian congregations would continue to use their organs.⁹⁰

The question of the use of instrumental music in public worship first came before the Synod in 1855. The congregation in Brockville had introduced an organ into their worship service. This the Synod disapproved of, declaring:

. . . that the introduction of instrumental music in public worship is not approved or permitted by this Church, and enjoin all Presbyteries to take order that no such innovation be introduced in any of the congregations within their bounds; but to take steps, so far as practicable, to encourage and cultivate the harmonious exercise of vocal praise.⁹¹

Yet two years later the Brockville congregation was still in possession of its organ, and that apparently "the congregation is unanimous in their desire to retain the organ as an aid in leading the praises of the Sanctuary, and that the peace of the congregation has not been interfered with."⁹² Nonetheless, the Synod instructed the congregation to remove the organ and the congregation complied with this order.⁹³ Such sentiments against the use of organs would have been supported by Peter Brown and the Toronto Banner. He argued that the use of organs suppressed congregational singing, with the result that "the hearers leave the praise to be performed by the wood, the ivory and the brass."⁹⁴ The Canadian Presbyterian, on the other hand, asserted that "It would, we believe, have been agreeable to many, if the Synod could have seen its way to grant the modest and earnest request of those gentlemen."⁹⁵

Most Free Churches had at least two services each Sabbath day. In Knox's Church, Hamilton, for example, the Sabbath-School met before the morning service. This morning service began at 11:00 A.M. and lasted until 1:30 P.M. The afternoon service began at 3:00.⁹⁶ In Galt, John Bayne, for most of his ministry, had only one service—beginning before noon and continuing until nearly 3:00 P.M. When he began to hold a second service, he had to shorten the morning one so as to rest for the evening.⁹⁷ In the Côté St. Church, Montreal, services were held at 11:00 A.M. and 7:00 P.M. with the Sabbath-School meeting at 2:30 P.M.⁹⁸

As for the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the Free Church, the Synod of 1848 declared that it "shall be dispensed at least once a quarter, and that ministers should, if necessary, dispense it without assistance from brethren in the neighbourhood, rather than not dispense it thus frequently."⁹⁹ There is evidence, however, that this was not always carried out.¹⁰⁰ Typically, the 'communion season' would encompass meetings over a number of days. Fast and preparation days would be held on the Friday and Saturday prior to the communion service and a day of thanksgiving would follow it.¹⁰¹

Discipline in the Free Church would be exercised at all three levels of authority: Kirk Session, Presbytery, and Synod. The top two levels of authority operated as courts of appeal for cases not satisfactorily resolved at lower levels. We have already seen how this worked in the case of Robert Peden, in which the Presbytery of London, noting the seriousness of the situation, referred it to the Synod for consideration.

In general, cases of baptism, admission to the Lord's Supper or moral misconduct by members would be dealt with by Kirk Sessions. If charges were brought against ministers for any reason, these could be dealt with by Presbytery, but would often find their way by reference or appeal to the Synod. Care was taken to avoid arbitrariness, and strict rules were formulated to cover such matters as: church censures, fama clamosa, accusations, and witnesses. The following section from the Free Church's draft Book of Discipline, dealing with 'Church Censures' will serve to indicate the scope and nature of discipline:

1. The proper grounds of Church Censure, are breaches of the Divine law, which tend to bring discredit upon religion; or the maintenance of doctrines which are manifestly inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Christianity.
2. The proper subjects of Church Censure, are Church members; and its proper ends are the preservation of the Church's purity, the prevention of error, and immorality, and the reclaiming of offenders.
3. Charges against individuals which have long lain dormant; or where there is a manifest deficiency of proof; or where the precept in Matt. xviii. 15, has not been complied with; should not be investigated by Church Courts, with a view to the infliction of censure.
4. In receiving accusations, conducting processes, and inflicting censures, Church Courts should avoid the unnecessary divulging of offences, lest the spreading of scandal, should harden the guilty, grieve the godly, and dishonor religion.
5. The censures inflicted by Church Courts, are admonition, rebuke, suspension,

deposition from office, and excommunication.

6. Scandals may come before Church Courts by fama clamosa, accusation, reference, complaint or appeal.¹⁰²

It is possible, through a brief examination of Kirk Session records, to see how discipline was conducted at the congregational level. In Prescott, Canada West, for example, one Isaac Boyd came before the Session on January 30, 1845:

. . . to account for immoral conduct & absenting himself from public worship; & having been frequently admonished in private & entreated to return to the path of duty, & no hopes that he would do so, his name was taken from the roll.

After about a year and a half, we find that Boyd had been restored to church privileges.¹⁰³ In this and other cases of discipline, the goal seems to have been repentance and reconciliation.¹⁰⁴

Some issues of discipline and practice had wide implications and were debated in the Synod. The case of trafficking in liquor will be considered in another context.¹⁰⁵ One such issue was baptism. In 1850 the Synod passed a Declaratory Act on Baptism, to the effect that it should be administered to only those (and their children) "of whom there is good reason to believe that they are consistently professing the name of Christ, and obedience to him. . . ." Moreover, parents who desire to have their children baptized should not be neglecting the Lord's Supper. In general, baptism should be administered publicly, not privately.¹¹⁶ The other major question concerning baptism to reach the Synod was that of Roman Catholic baptism—was it valid; and thus should converts

from Roman Catholicism be 're-baptized'? An overture to the Synod of 1858 asked for a declaration that "Romish Baptism is not to be regarded or treated as Christian Baptism, and to instruct Sessions to take action accordingly." This was sent down to the Presbyteries under the Barrier Act and rejected.¹⁰⁷ There were other issues of discipline which were discussed by the Synod, as for example, the question of marriage with a deceased brother's wife. In this, the Synod merely reaffirmed the position of the Westminster Confession.¹⁰⁸ In general, then, discipline seems to have been strict, but fair, and for the most part did not disrupt the smooth functioning of the church.

The Free Church maintained conservative positions in the matters of theology, worship, and discipline. Theologically, they emphasized the doctrines of the substitutionary atonement and justification by faith alone. They maintained the Calvinistic view of particular redemption and limited atonement, and deposed Robert Peden for his rejection of them. In the matter of worship, they resisted attempts to introduce instrumental music into the public worship services, and when one congregation obtained an organ, they were asked to remove it. The Free Church, then, was able to maintain its theology and worship intact, and exercise discipline with a minimum of difficulty. Issues arose on which the Synod was forced to take a stand, but this did not engender any major schism. They exhibited a profound concern for truth as they saw it, and to this end were prepared to sacrifice worldly advantage and popularity.

References - Chapter Eight

¹Cf. Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1875 (Edinburgh, 1975), Chap. 9, "The Rise of Biblical Criticism."

²Minutes of Synod October 1844, pp. 28-29.

³Sermons by the late Rev. Mark Young Stark, A.M. Formerly Minister of Knox's Church, Dundas, With Memoir, By the Rev. William Reid, A.M. (Toronto, 1871), p. 175.

⁴Michael Willis, Pulpit Discourses Expository and Practical, and College Addresses &c. (London, 1873), p. 27.

⁵pace Goldwyn French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto and Montreal, 1968), p. 25.

⁶Willis, Pulpit Discourses, p. 18.

⁷Record, October 1850, p. 182.

⁸G. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture (New York, 1980).

⁹A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence (Montreal, 1979), pp. 23-50.

¹⁰Burleigh, A Church History of Scotland, pp. 301-02. Strangely enough, even David Hume was "on intimate terms with all the leading Moderates," Burleigh, *ibid.*, p. 301. Cf. Daniel F. Rice, "Natural Theology and the Scottish Philosophy in the Thought of Thomas Chalmers," Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. 24, No. 1 (February 1971), p. 33. McKillop fails to discuss this Evangelical/Moderate dichotomy and his treatment suffers because of this.

¹¹Rice, "Natural Theology and Scottish Philosophy," p. 46.

¹²John S. Moir, "American Influences on Canadian Protestant Churches before Confederation," Church History, Vol. 36 (December 1967), p. 454.

¹³A.A. Hodge, The Life of Charles Hodge, D.D., LL.D. (New York, 1880), p. 354.

- ¹⁴Record, January 1851, p. 39.
- ¹⁵Record, January 1851, p. 39. A.A. Hodge's Outlines of Theology was recommended to readers of the Record, Nov. 1860, p. 1.
- ¹⁶Minutes of Synod 1858, p. 46; Record, November 1856, pp. 6-7.
- ¹⁷Record, December 1843, p. 142.
- ¹⁸Record, January 1846, p. 146.
- ¹⁹Record, January 1846, p. 146.
- ²⁰P.C.A. McCollum Papers, Box 3, Envelope 5, pp. 1-2.
- ²¹Minutes of Synod 1857, pp. 50-51.
- ²²Minutes of Synod 1858, p. 47.
- ²³Record, January 1849, p. 33.
- ²⁴Record, January 1849, p. 33.
- ²⁵Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 51.
- ²⁶Record, May 1855, p. 106.
- ²⁷Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 51.
- ²⁸Record, December 1848, p. 18.
- ²⁹Masters, Protestant Church Colleges in Canada, pp. 45-46.
- ³⁰John A. Irving, "The Development of Philosophy in Central Canada From 1850-1900," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (September 1950), pp. 259-60.
- ³¹Masters, Protestant Church Colleges, pp. 45-46.
- ³²P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Young to Buchanan, September 13, 1860, Vol. 63, #49999; cf. Vol. 49, #39818. Young also intimated to Buchanan that Principal Willis had "got the Prince [of Wales] by the button, and crew him up to Knox College while it was

empty, unswept, ungarnished, with a dunghill in front, etc. . . . would have liked very well to have seen the farce—from behind a screen; but did not choose to be an actor in it." This is suggestive of some tension between Young and Willis.

³³P.A.C. Buchanan Papers, Vol. 63, #50011-15. Young to Buchanan, January 10, 1964. Young's emphasis.

³⁴Minutes of Synod, Canada Presbyterian Church 1864, pp. 21, 22, 24.

³⁵Masters, Protestant Church Colleges, p. 46.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Irving, "Development of Philosophy," pp. 260-62.

³⁸J.G.C. Norman, "H.F.W. Gesenius," in The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 410.

³⁹Record, November 1854, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁰George Paxton Young, Miscellaneous Discourses and Expositions of Scripture (Edinburgh, 1854), pp. 94-95. Young's emphasis.

⁴¹Irving, "Development of Philosophy," p. 263.

⁴²Record, May 1855, p. 106.

⁴³Record, February 1856, pp. 64-65.

⁴⁴Minutes of Synod 1858, p. 46. On Young see also Armour and Trott, The Faces of Reason, pp. 85-911. Their treatment of Young and Knox College is not altogether convincing. Their suggestion that Young's Miscellaneous Discourses "reveals little which would suggest his later career" is undoubtedly correct. However, their argument that Young left Knox because he came to the conclusions "that men are free and, in an important sense, make their own fates, and the conclusion that reason and only reason provides an adequate basis for belief and action" is highly speculative (as they themselves admit elsewhere—"For eleven years he laboured at Knox and we can only speculate about what went on in his mind"). However, their assertion that, "The historic connection between Presbyterianism and the Calvinistic doctrines of predestination and justifica-

tion by faith suggest that Young must have always been in the wrong church" is, in this writer's opinion, clearly wrong-headed, and cannot be reconciled with the doctrine espoused in Miscellaneous Discourses.

⁴⁵F.E.S., Vol. 7 (Edinburgh, 1928), p. 648; Kemp, Digest, pp. 46-49.

⁴⁶Record, December 1848. Peden's Book was published in Montreal by J.C. Beckett. By contrast, the Montreal Witness recommended the book "generally, to the attention of the public," suggesting that, "From the earnest and at the same time, interesting manner in which it is written . . . it is likely to make a definite and lasting impression upon the minds of readers." Montreal Witness, Dec. 13, 1847, p. 394.

⁴⁷Record, February 1849.

⁴⁸Record, March 1849, p. 74.

⁴⁹Record, March 1849, p. 75.

⁵⁰Record, March 1849, p. 75.

⁵¹Record, March 1849, p. 75.

⁵²Record, March 1849, p. 76.

⁵³Record, March 1849, p. 76.

⁵⁴Cf. Berkhof, Systematic Theology, pp. 392-99; Louis Berkhof, The History of Christian Doctrines (Edinburgh, 1975, 1937), pp. 165-98.

⁵⁵Macleod, Scottish Theology, pp. 242-51.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 242.

⁵⁷Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 213.

⁵⁸Record, February 1850, p. 59.

⁵⁹Kemp, Digest, p. 46.

- ⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 47-48.
- ⁶¹Ibid., p. 48.
- ⁶²Minutes of Synod 1852, p. 18.
- ⁶³Macleod, Scottish Theology, p. 242.
- ⁶⁴Cf. Record, March 1851, p. 65; March 1848, pp. 72-73.
- ⁶⁵Record, June 1848, p. 118.
- ⁶⁶Stephen F. Mason, A History of the Sciences (New York, 1962), p. 407.
- ⁶⁷Record, March 1848, pp. 72-73.
- ⁶⁸Drummond and Bulloch, Church in Victorian Scotland, p. 229.
- ⁶⁹Mark Young Stark, A Lecture on Hugh Miller Delivered Before the Y.M.C.A. at Dundas, Cobourg, Montreal (Dundas, 1859). P.C.A. Stark Papers, AR5/H8M5.
- ⁷⁰Ibid., p. 36.
- ⁷¹Ibid., p. 37.
- ⁷²Ibid., p. 38.
- ⁷³Ibid.
- ⁷⁴Record, February 1860, p. 50.
- ⁷⁵Stark, A Lecture on Hugh Miller, p. 41. Cf. Canadian Presbyter, Vol. I (Sept. 1857), p. 228.
- ⁷⁶Drummond and Bulloch, The Church in Victorian Scotland, Chapter 7, "Changing Worship," pp. 178-214; Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 123-24.
- ⁷⁷The Directory for the Publick Worship of God; Agreed Upon By The Assembly of Divines At Westminster, With the Assistance of Commissioners From the Church of Scotland etc., in The Subordinate Standards and Other Authoritative Documents of the Free Church of Scotland (Edinburgh, 1955), pp. 138ff.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 138-39; G.D. Henderson, The Claims of the Church of Scotland (London, 1951), pp. 61-63; Frederick H. Rennie, "Spiritual Worship with a Carnal Instrument: The Organ as aid or obstacle to the 'purity of worship' in Canadian Presbyterianism, 1850-1875," unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Knox College, Toronto, 1969, pp. 52-54.

⁷⁹Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. 2 (February 1858), p. 35.

⁸⁰Record, June 1860, p. 122; F.H. Rennie, "Organ Controversy," pp. 54-56.

⁸¹F.H. Rennie, "Organ Controversy," pp. 54-56.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 56-57.

⁸³Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. 1 (March 1857), p. 70.

⁸⁴Drummond and Bulloch, Church in Victorian Scotland, p. 183.

⁸⁵Record, January 1853, p. 42.

⁸⁶Record, February 1854, p. 61.

⁸⁷This was published in Scotland in 1851 and contained hymns by Isaac Watts, John Newton, John Wesley, and John Keble. Drummond and Bulloch, Church in Victorian Scotland, pp. 183-84.

⁸⁸Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. 1, November 1857, p. 297.

⁸⁹Ibid.; cf. Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. 2 (May 1858), p. 147 and (December 1858), p. 375.

⁹⁰Johnston, "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian church in Canada 1875," p. 389.

⁹¹Kemp, Digest, p. 63. Johnston comments that the Brockville congregation had a "varied background" and "traits inherited from the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A." "Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875," p. 388.

⁹²Kemp, Digest, pp. 64-5.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 65-66.

⁹⁴Banner, April 30, 1847.

⁹⁵Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. I (July 1857), p. 166.

⁹⁶Record, January 1851, p. 35.

⁹⁷Smellie, Life of Bayne, pp. 31-32.

⁹⁸Lovell's Canada Directory for 1857-1858, p. 442.

⁹⁹Minutes of Synod 1848.

¹⁰⁰Record, May 1851, p. 103.

¹⁰¹Record, April 1855, pp. 83-84.

¹⁰²Record (Supplement), January 1856, p. 117. The Book of Discipline, in the form in which it was published in the Record was never given final approval nor published in a final form. However, A.F. Kemp did prepare a digest of Free Church laws and practice which was published. Kemp, Digest, p. 423.

¹⁰³P.C.A. Minutes of Kirk Session - Prescott. January 30, 1845 and July 29, 1846.

¹⁰⁴For the case in Osgoode of the attempts to remove a minister and the Presbytery's attempt to reconcile parties in the church, cf. Record, September 1855, pp. 170-71; October 1855, p. 187.

¹⁰⁵See Chapter Nine, "Politics and Society," pp. 331ff. below.

¹⁰⁶Kemp, Digest, pp. 57-58; Minutes of Synod 1850, p. 23.

¹⁰⁷Kemp, Digest, p. 61.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 71.

CHAPTER NINE

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

The relationship of the Free Church to the political and social questions of mid-nineteenth-century Canadian society has received considerable attention—even from historians whose central concerns are not the church itself. The usual correlation is between the Free Church and Reform politics. Thus P.B. Waite, citing the Toronto Leader has argued that "the Free Kirk of Scotland, though its adherents numbered only 8 per cent of the population, was the strongest of all the Protestant sects in political energy and almost wholly Reform in politics."¹ Part of the reason for this close identification of the Free Church and Reform politics is the notion that the embodiment of a Free Church politician was George Brown of the Toronto Globe. Accordingly Donald Creighton has written that in the election of 1844, John A. Macdonald "knew . . . that the Scots Presbyterians, upon whose united support he might have counted, had been divided by the 'Great Disruption' between 'Old Kirk' and 'Free Kirk' with the Free Kirkers following the Reformist lead of George Brown and the Toronto Globe."² Brown and Macdonald, then, personified the Free Kirk and Old Kirk respectively:

In temperament, character, and convictions, he [Brown] was almost the exact antithesis of Macdonald. A Reformer, a stiff Free Kirker, an ardent voluntaryist who abominated any connection between church and state, a passionately serious dogmatist to whom all compromise and accommodation were alien and difficult, Brown contra-

dicted Macdonald's instinctive habit of thought with the whole force of his downright, positive nature. The two men were almost certain to clash. . . .³

That many Free Churchmen were Reformers cannot be denied. Indeed, even in Scotland, most Non-Intrusionists and Free Churchmen were on the Whig/Liberal side in politics.⁴ However, it is necessary to emphasize that the Free Church politically was larger than George Brown. While many of the Free Church members who sat in the Legislative Assembly and Council were reformers—William Notman, Joseph C. Morrison, Adam Fergusson, and J.H. Price⁵ not all were—at least not all of the time. Malcolm Cameron and Isaac Buchanan, for example, both of whom were as active in the Free Church as George Brown, do not fit easily into the reform mold.⁶ At the same time, it is necessary to distinguish between the political activities of individual Free Church members and that of the entire church as expressed by the Synod. In the latter case, political action was limited to about six issues—all having a religious dimension. In order to understand the Free Church's political action, it is necessary to delineate its attitude to society as a whole.

In the first place, the Free Church certainly regarded politics as a legitimate sphere of action. An editorial in their Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record of 1856 rhetorically asked, "Ought Christians to meddle with politics?" and then responded, "Certainly they ought. Why should the ungodly alone have the control of these matters? If Christians stand aloof, it need not be wondered at if our Courts of Parliament and

Municipal Councils reflect, not the virtues, but the vices of the people." Addressing, then, the specific issue of the election of Aldermen, Councillors, and School Trustees, the editor argued that:

It is a matter of no small importance that pious, as well as intelligent men, be chosen. Mayors, Councillors, Trustees, can do much to protect the Sabbath, to repress intemperance, to discourage the horse-race and circus, and promote education. None but men of principle and piety, therefore, should be entrusted with these vast interests.

A plea was then made for Christian principle to replace mere party considerations:

Hitherto, Christians have too often kept aloof from elections, or, perhaps, voted for the man of their party, whether moral or immoral, a Christian or an infidel. It is high time that God should be acknowledged in politics as well as in all the other relations of life. Rulers are instruments employed by God for important ends. Is it not then a direct insult to the Almighty, to select for his service, men who are notoriously his enemies?⁷

Not only should Christians in general be involved in politics, but ministers must also address themselves to public issues, yet at the same time avoiding becoming a "political agitator, or partizan." Because many political questions:

. . . have a most important and direct bearing on the progress and influence of true religion; and it will not do for ministers to avoid these, under the plea that they lie beyond the limits of their peculiar province. Some of these questions we may specify, such as Education, Popery, Temperance, Slavery. There is no doubt that all these important questions have suffered greatly from this very cause, namely, from a tendency on the part of some ministers to shrink from the responsibility of assuming a distinct position, and giving from the pulpit a certain sound. For this, however, the people are at least as culpable as ministers.⁸

Thus the Free Church, though often speaking as if life could be separated into sacred and secular spheres, had a wholistic view of the Christian life. "The true christian," declared the Record, "will not merely be a christian on the Lord's day, he will show his christianity by his work-day conduct also."⁹

Not all ministers, however, wanted such overt political action as the Record seemed to be advocating. In the Synod of 1850, for example, in debating the issue of Clergy Reserves and Rectories an amendment was put forward:

That, inasmuch as the Synod has declared, in the Resolutions of 1848, that, as a Church, it has relieved itself from any ecclesiastical connexion with the Clergy Reserve Fund; and, inasmuch as the question of the Clergy Reserves and Rectories involves the discussion of political questions now agitating the public mind in this province—this Synod, as a Court of Christ, now met to deliberate on spiritual matters, dismiss this questio vexata, convinced that any further discussion of the question in this Synod would necessarily involve this Church in all the evils of a political controversy.¹⁰

Such political quietism was rejected by the Synod 24-2, though, interestingly enough, 16 men abstained.¹¹

Throughout the late 1840s and 1850s the Free Church was busy on the political and social front, addressing six issues on which they took decided stands: Clergy Reserves and Rectories; King's College; Intemperance; American Slavery; Sabbath-Breaking; and Popery.

One such issue which immediately confronted the Free Church in 1844 was that of Clergy Reserves and Rectories. The former, it will be remembered, were established as part of the Constitu-

tional Settlement of 1791, when it was decided to set apart one-seventh of the land in Upper Canada "for the support and maintenance of a protestant Clergy."¹² The precise meaning of this phrase helped exacerbate the controversy for the next half-century. The Church of Scotland Synod, on the strength of its position as one of the Established Church of the British Empire, agitated for, and eventually received a share of these reserves.¹³ By 1840 a solution to the Reserves question provided for the Methodists and even the Roman Catholics to share in this patrimony.¹⁴ It was into this situation that the Free Church was plunged following its organization in 1844.

The Canadian Free Church was indeed in an awkward position. Their parent body in Scotland, having severed the connection with the Established Church of Scotland because they felt that they could no longer maintain this position at the same time as being faithful to the Headship of Christ over His Church,¹⁵ had nonetheless not relinquished the establishment principle. As Dr. Thomas Chalmers had declared to the first General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland:

The Voluntaries mistake us, if they conceive us to be Voluntaries. We hold by the duty of Governments to give of their resources and their means for the maintenance of a gospel ministry in the land . . . though we quit the establishment, we go out on the Establishment principle; we quit a vitiated Establishment, but would rejoice in returning to a pure one.¹⁶

The Canadian Synod was in a similar situation. They were not opposed to government endowments as such and firmly held to the principle that governments and nations have a responsibility to acknowledge God in their activities and legislative decisions.

The specific question of Clergy Reserves came before the Free Church Synod at its October 1844 meeting. At that time a Memorial was drafted and forwarded to Governor-General Metcalfe, notifying him of their secession from the Kirk Synod, their reasons for doing so, and seeking a response to the question:

. . . whether or not in this position,—maintaining as they do unchanged their Standards of doctrine, discipline, government and worship,—her Majesty's Government will be disposed to continue those allowances from Government enjoyed by some of their number, and secured to them personally, they believe, by a late Imperial statute, and which, indeed, some of them enjoyed before they were admitted into the Synod of the Presbyterian Church in connection with the Church of Scotland.¹⁷

Indeed, in the election of 1844, various politicians like Francis Hincks, Malcolm Cameron, and the Conservative H.M. Jessup attempted to gain Free Church support by aiding their efforts to receive a share of the Clergy Reserves.¹⁸ By the time that the Synod met again in Cobourg in 1845 it had received a reply from the Office of the Provincial Secretary stating that in the opinion of the Crown's Law Officers, "said allowances could not be continued on account of the new position in which the Synod stand."¹⁹ Accordingly, the Free Church Synod assumed, for the most part, a position of practical non-endowment. Though a cumbersome phrase, it more accurately describes the Free Church's position than that of voluntarism. In actual fact, four former United Synod Ministers who were now members of the Free Church retained their government allowances under the provisions of the Act of 1840: Robert Boyd, William Smart,

James Rogers, and Duncan McMillan each received about £63 p.a.²⁰ Boyd and Smart kept theirs until 1855 when they commuted for about £650 each; Duncan McMillan voluntarily relinquished his around 1846.²¹ The editor of the Record attempted to justify this situation by asserting that: "As for these three brethren, the Synod has not thought fit to interfere with their own judgment in the matter; seeing their allowances are held by them on purely individual grounds, and not by any engagement to which this Church is a party, and must become void at their death."²²

Following the election in 1848 of a Baldwinite Reform Ministry, the Free Church again had to make a decision concerning accepting government endowments. There existed at that time a surplus of £1800 from the Clergy Reserve Fund for which one could apply. There was some difference of opinion within the Church as to the most appropriate course of action for the denomination to take. A report in the Record indicated that a minister in the Presbytery of Brockville had applied for, and received, an allowance²³ and an Overture from that same presbytery called upon the Synod to "adopt such measures as may secure a just proportion of said fund to the ministers of the Church."²⁴ Various congregations also applied for money.²⁵ On the other hand, some members of the Free Church laity like the Browns of Toronto had finally assumed an anti-endowment stance, particularly in the wake of Sir Robert Peel's grant to the Roman Catholic college at Maynooth, Ireland.²⁶ Moreover, an editorial in the Record argued that if the Free Church "after her recent

experience of the Lord's goodness, were to go back to take a Government allowance in the company of the present recipients of them, then would her glory be indeed departed."²⁷ Thus when the Synod met in Toronto in 1848 it passed a series of resolutions, affirming the duty of the civil magistrate to protect and support the church, but asserting that the question of using public funds to support the church was a secondary matter and might be settled "on the grounds of Christian expediency."

Having set the ground rules, the Synod declared:

That, however justifiable the retention of endowments received under different circumstances may be, the Synod looking to the conduct of the Government of this country is now offering endowments to religious bodies without reference to the distinction between truth and error—to the divisions and jealousies which the acceptance of endowments in present circumstances would occasion—to the strong feeling which prevails throughout the Church that their acceptance would tend to diminish the usefulness of ministers and the liberality of the people in contributing to the support of the Gospel—and to the evil influence which an irreligious Government might exert through the dependence upon the State, which such endowments would occasion—the Synod is of opinion that it would be deeply injurious to the interests of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, and to the cause of the Redeemer in this land, to accept in present circumstances of any grant of public money from the Government.²⁸

Thus the Synod refused to accept allowances from the Government and forbade all ministers and congregations from taking independent action in this matter. Moreover, they set up a commission which, along with the Presbyteries, were to deal with "erring Congregations, and to endeavour by affectionate dealing with them to induce and persuade them to give up the false position which they have assumed and especially to return

without delay any money which they may have received from the government."²⁹

The Free Church's opposition to the Clergy Reserves and the Rectories did not remain a matter of internal discussion, but became one of the foci for Free Church political action. At the Synod of 1850 Dr. Burns put forward a motion calling for the lands held as Reserves and Rectories to be appropriated for education—Academies and Common Schools—"and that in both, the Word of God shall be distinctly recognized as the basis; and as the guardian of education." The Synod passed Burns' motion, defeated one which regarded the discussion as involving a spiritual court in a political question, and set up a committee to draft a memorial which could be presented to the Government.³⁰

For a time, however, in 1849-1850, various Free Church members were divided on the Clergy Reserves issue—though more on tactics than on ideology. Thus Dr. Burns sided with Lesslie of the Examiner and Malcolm Cameron in their more radical Clear Grit attitude, over and against Willis, Gale, and the Browns who supported the Baldwin/Lafontaine position. However, by 1851 the Free Churchmen were united in advocating immediate government action on the reserves.³¹ In that same year they supported J.C. Morrison's bill to repeal the rectories by annulling the 1791 Constitutional Act. This action succeeded in placing an obstacle between the Reform ministry and the Free Church which, in the words of one commentator, made them a "solid block, hostile to the government." When in 1851 the

Clear Grits supported the Hincks/Morin governments in their equivocal stand on the reserves, Cameron became persona non grata with the Free Church.³³

A Committee of Synod was appointed throughout the years 1850-1855 to make known the Free Church's position on these matters. In 1851 a petition from this Committee was presented in the Assembly by Hon. James H. Price.³⁴ In June 1853, an editorial in the Record asserted that:

. . . when it is manifest that State endowments, as in our case can only be enjoyed at the expense of civil peace and prosperity, and of charity and confidence and co-operation and hopeful prospects of union among the several sections of the evangelical Church, we find it difficult, without imputing very unworthy motives, to understand how any man, or number of men, can be induced to ask or take or retain such ill-omened advantages.

Moreover, under the present system both "truth and error, evangelical religion and anti-christian superstition" are supported.³⁵

Some members of the Free Church, like Hon. Adam Fergusson of Woodhill, James Shaw, and Peter Brown, were involved in the Anti-Clergy Reserve Association.³⁶ As well, others worked behind the scenes at election time. Though he lost badly, Isaac Buchanan, who had supported Metcalfe in 1844, ran against Alan MacNab in Hamilton on an anti-reserves platform.³⁷ Indeed, MacNab was not trusted by such Free Churchmen as George Paxton Young. In July, 1854, Young wrote to Buchanan suggesting that the latter get the Hamilton Banner to pressure MacNab to make known his views on the issue.³⁸ Young had even tried to get George Brown to run against MacNab and had written to George's

brother Gordon that, "It would be a great triumph for your brother to unseat Sir Allan."³⁹ Finally, when the new clergy reserve bill was being discussed in 1854 the Free Church expressed its disapproval of the clauses allowing ministers and churches to commute their shares.⁴⁰

The Free Church opposed the existing constitution of King's College, Toronto, and made repeated calls for an end to its 'sectarian character.' Accordingly, a petition from the Commission of Synod, dated 10 October 1845, called for the establishment of a University of Toronto "to be entirely freed from all sectarian attachments, and made exclusively a School of Literature and Science on the broadest base, and on the most liberal principles."⁴¹ Moreover, the management of the college should be vested in a group elected by the Legislature. Their opposition to King's was based, not only on a desire to see its patrimony benefit the whole community, but also on the fact that, it was currently dominated by the Church of England—"a sect hostile to evangelical truth and charity."⁴² A Committee of Synod was formed in 1848, with Dr. Burns as Convener, to watch over any bill to amend King's Charter and to petition Parliament on the matter.⁴³

One of the Free Church's most outstanding critics of King's College was Dr. Robert Burns. In a series of open letters to Governor-General Elgin, published in the Banner in 1847-1848, he put forth his position. He argued against any partition of the funds of the college; to do so, he asserted, would be "unpatriotic and pernicious." The financial affairs

should be distinct from the 'literary' department and should be overseen by an independent board which would be responsible to the Legislature. Nominations to chairs should be made by a board of governors or trustees chosen periodically by the Legislature and "representing different colonial interests." The 'test' should be kept as it is. However, while all chairs of theology and theological education should be excluded this "will not be understood as excluding all practical religion on principles generally acknowledged."⁴⁴ He was accordingly critical of any attempts to prevent religious observances from being authorized by the college authorities. "There seems to be less danger to be apprehended," he maintained, "from leaving a wide discretion on this subject to the existing managers of the Institution than by an authoritative exclusion of religious forms in every shape." Indeed, he argued that:

It appears to me altogether preposterous to legislate at all for the education of the people in the absence of religious sanctions. And can there be any sense of moral obligation independently of the being of God and man's responsibility to him? Can sound morals be separated from the fear of God and the sanctions of the Divine law? Can Christianity and the Holy Scriptures be set aside without practically setting aside all visible religion? And can that education be safe which is wholly detached from all religious associations? Yea, are we entitled to banish from all schemes of College reform that which is placed in the very front of the Charter of erection?

Burns eschewed what he called sectarianism (meaning denomination-
alism) and advocating instead a common Christianity, asked, "is there no medium between exclusively sectarian opinions, and the shoreless sea of godlessness?"⁴⁵

Baldwin's University Bill of 1849, though not the ideal of the Free Church⁴⁶ was one which could be tolerated. Although, in the eyes of the editor of the Record, the bill was not explicit enough about Christianity, he disagreed with those who characterized it as "ungodly and unchristian," arguing that "if the bill pass into law, and be made to operate against the religion of the Saviour, then must the guilt lie in the community at large, and especially the professedly christian part of it."⁴⁷ The following month, the Free Church Record, in noticing various criticisms of itself in the Methodist Christian Guardian, turned its guns on the Methodists and Egerton Ryerson. It asserted that the Common School Act of May 1846 was "more entitled to be branded as infidel, anti-christian, and godless, than the University Bill" and yet the Guardian had not criticized it. In actual fact the Common schools were not godless. As for the King's bill, "if it became law, and be worked by good men, it will be worked in favour of religion."⁴⁸

It is worth noting at this point that the term 'secularization' is apt to be a misleading one when used to describe the Free Church attitude towards King's. What they desired was an end to the domination by any one religious denomination of a university which was the common property of all the citizens of Canada West—especially dominance by a group of High-Church Anglicans who were seen as antipathetic to evangelical Protestantism. However, the University of Toronto was to be a non-sectarian, Christian, university. In this regard the

Free Church seems to have had an unwarranted optimism concerning the future ability of evangelicals like themselves to influence the character of the university.⁴⁹ "We see no infidelity or antichristianism in the Common School Act, or the College Bill," declared the Record in June 1849, "so long as they allow religious men to conduct the system of education which they severally originate, in harmony with Christian truth, and in subordination to it."⁵⁰ Some members of the Free Church even envisaged the University of Toronto replacing the Arts curriculum of Knox College.⁵¹

The issue of dividing the University College endowment among denominational colleges reappeared in 1859-1860.⁵² The bulk of the Free Church was still opposed to any such division. This is not surprising, as University College "seemed more an adjunct of the Free Church than a national institution."⁵³ A petition from the Knox College Board of Management argued that the endowment could not be divided "without endangering the whole system of national education, fostering religious strife and jealousy in the community, and virtually lending the national sanction and support to systems of religious error."⁵⁴ Dr. Willis, on the other hand, supported dividing the endowment.⁵⁵ Always a strong establishmentarian, Willis also envisaged government money extricating Knox from its financial difficulties. Indeed, he felt so strongly about the issue, that he temporally resigned from Knox and the Synod.⁵⁶

The Free Church advocated a strict observance of the Fourth Commandment—"Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it Holy."

They were careful to point out to their own members and adherents their responsibilities and duties concerning this aspect of God's law and engaged in public and political agitation in an attempt to suppress Sabbath-desecration—particularly in the Post Offices and on the Canals and Railroads. Indeed, so vigorous were their attempts to ensure a proper observance of the Lord's Day, that the Toronto Leader in 1857 was prompted to remark that "'those Free Church fanatics are advocating the abolition of the Sabbath Day!"⁵⁷

A good illustration of the Free Church's attitude to the Sabbath was their Pastoral Address of 1853. This outlined what was regarded as the Biblical basis for their views on the Sabbath, arguing in part that, "It is enshrined in the very heart of the decalogue, and is surrounded by commands which are looked upon as universally binding."⁵⁸ Thereafter it delineated both "public abuses" and "social abuses" of the Sabbath. In the former category were labour in the Post Office, and on the Canals, Stages, Steamboats, and Trains.⁵⁹ The government, it asserted, had been "converted into a gigantic Sabbath desecrator, setting an example which, if followed by all classes of the community, would speedily annihilate the Sabbath." Because of such abuses others were also forced to work on the Sabbath, thus depriving workers of "rights which we deem sacred, and . . . [consigning them] to a slavery as unnatural as it is unnecessary." Under the category of "social abuses" were listed: social visiting, travelling, including "pleasure excursions" and business travel; harvesting crops;

"indulgences in light reading," whether "the polluting pages of some novel," newspapers, history or science books or even religious literature as this might be misinterpreted as sanctioning other forms of literature; letter reading and writing.⁶⁰ Instead, the entire Sabbath day was to be devoted to "the exercise of God's worship, excepting only such portions of it as acts of necessity and mercy may require."⁶¹

Private abuses might well be the focus of discipline by Kirk Sessions, public abuses, however, necessitated political action. Thus individuals and congregations were encouraged to use "every legitimate means, such as petitioning Parliament, organizing associations, getting lectures delivered and tracts circulated." In towns like Kingston, Free Church ministers like R.F. Burns were involved in Sabbath Reformation Societies. Moreover, to assist their readers in drafting petitions, the Free Church Record published a model petition along with detailed instructions:

To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of
the Province of Canada, in Parliament Assembled:-

The Memorial of the Undersigned Inhabitants of
the City of Kingston, humbly and respectfully
sheweth:-

That your Memorialists regard the Sabbath
as Divine in its origin, and permanent in its
obligations:

That they are deeply convinced of the evils
that have flowed from its neglect, and the
benefits that have attended its observance:

That, conscious of the favour the Almighty
has shown us as a people, they feel anxious
to avoid everything fitted to provoke his
frown:

That they cannot but look upon the business
carried on in the Postal department, by the
transmission of Her Majesty's Mails, the opening

of Post offices, and the delivery of letters and papers on the Lord's Day, as other than displeasing to Him, by dishonouring an institution to which He has fixed His seal:

They therefore humbly and respectfully memorialize your Honorable House, that on taking the premises into your serious consideration, you will adopt such measures to your wisdom may seem most expedient for the entire abolition of all labour on the Lord's Day in the above important department of the public service.

And your Memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.⁶²

Such petitions were, in 1852, to be sent to George Brown M.P.P., who agreed to present them.⁶³

Agitation by both the Free Church and like-minded Christians was considerable. In 1852, for example, 69 memorials were sent to the Legislature; in 1853 the number was 196. A Parliamentary Committee was set up to collect information and a bill which was brought in was lost by a vote of 17-16. Although not entirely pleased with all aspects of this bill, the Free Church ascribed its defeat to Lower Canadian M.P.s—"Had it been left to Upper Canadian votes, it would have been carried almost unanimously, only two having been registered against it."⁶⁴ The Free Church's Committee on Sabbath Observance had corresponded with this parliamentary committee and had recommended to the church that in the event of an election, candidates should be sounded out on the Sabbath question.⁶⁵

In the minds of the Free Churchmen, the Sabbath question was intimately related to the larger question of national responsibility and the judgement of God upon nations. Citing Nehemiah 13 the Record in 1850 asserted that, "If we quietly

and passively submit to the perpetuation of a great national outrage against the Lord of the Sabbath, need we wonder if He visit us with national judgments."⁶⁶ As well, it was asserted that, "the Sabbath supplies a thermometer by which the religious temperature in individuals and communities may be tested. Just in proportion as it is observed or neglected will religion flourish or decline."⁶⁷

The Free Church's "War Against Vice"⁶⁸ embraced not only sabbath-breaking, but also extended to such 'worldly amusements' as the theatre and dancing, and to the sin of intemperance. However, not all Free Churchmen regarded drinking as necessarily sinful. Thus, in the Synod of 1847, during a debate on the case of the Côté Street Church, Montreal, in which the Kirk Session had disciplined a man for trafficking liquor, John Bayne put forth a motion, which, while commending the Session for its "zeal . . . and their efforts to promote purity of communion," yet:

. . . urge upon them the importance of avoiding every thing which might have the least appearance of an arbitrary or capricious application of general rules in the exercise of discipline, more especially with reference to matters in which difference of opinion may exist, even among Christians, as to the line of distinction between what is lawful and what is unlawful. . . .⁶⁹

Yet, by the early 1850s the Free Church had taken a decided stand on the side of total abstinence. Indeed, some of the Free Church's college students organized The Knox College Temperance Society which was described as "a total abstinence association."⁷⁰

There seems to have been two principal reasons for the Free Church's advocacy of temperance. By many it was regarded as a sinful practice, one which, if engaged in by church members brought shame to the church and was an obstacle to evangelism. Secondly, intemperance was seen as a social evil—causing great harm to individuals, families, and society itself—and was "the main source of crime in our land."⁷¹ Thus Rev. P. Gray of Norval, in an article based on the text Romans 14:21: "It is better not to eat meat or drink wine or to do anything else that will cause your brother to fall" (NIV) railed against intemperance as "a deadly enemy of the gospel of Christ, and . . . one of the sorest plagues to our fellow-creatures as denizens of this world."⁷² Or as the editor of the Record argued in 1849, only the gospel can make a drunk sober, but "men can strive against a common enemy, and by enforcement of external prudential rules, may be co-workers with the Author of the great remedy—may be the instruments in His hand, of promoting the moral regeneration of perishing souls."⁷³ Accordingly, the Free Church was involved in lobbying the legislature for a law to suppress totally "the importation, manufacture, and sale of intoxicating drinks as a beverage."⁷⁴ In April 1853 Malcolm Cameron's bill was commended to the readership of the Record as "more stringent than the famous Maine law, and so much the better. Nothing short of it will suit Canada."⁷⁵

The Synod of 1853 admonished Kirk Sessions to be more diligent "in dealing with those who, by intemperate or tippling

habits, bring a reproach on the Church, and on the cause of Christ" and called upon all ministers, office-bearers, and members:

. . . to pursue such a course, in regard to the use of intoxicating drinks, as shall bear the most decided practical testimony against the sin of intemperance, remove temptation from themselves, and free them from the serious responsibility of countenancing the use of intoxicating drinks by others.⁷⁶

The following year the Synod resolved "to adopt and advocate the practice of total abstinence from intoxicating drinks as a beverage, as essential to the full influence of the Church in the world as well as on its own adherents."⁷⁷ Thus, although some Free Church ministers and members may have continued to drink moderately, the official position was one of total abstinence. Nor was their position one peculiar to themselves, as they participated with other evangelical churchmen in such associations as the Toronto Temperance Reformation Society.⁷⁸

In most discussions of the temperance movement in mid-nineteenth-century Ontario great stress has been given to American influence, to regarding temperance as a means of social control,⁷⁹ and as embodying middle-class bourgeois values.⁸⁰ Thus F.L. Barron has argued that:

. . . as a panacea aimed primarily at the working class, temperance, along with Sabbatarianism and other collateral movements, was designed to close the Sunday drinking places and to make sure that the labour force showed up for work on a regular and sober basis. To that end, thrift, punctuality, industry and other Methodist ascetic values became essential components of

the temperance message, thereby providing many of the ethical foundations for capitalist development, and, at the same time, defining the means to middle-class status.⁸¹

Yet as we have seen, the Free Church's concern was not addressed exclusively to the working classes, but to all members of its communion. Indeed, in 1847 the Session of Côté Street Church, Montreal, refused to allow any of its members to take communion who 'trafficked in wine and spiritous liquors' and were supported by the Synod in this. Clearly, in this case the object of the discipline would have been a member of the merchant class. While the Free Church was alive to the social costs of intemperance, they were also concerned about the obstacles which it placed in the way of evangelism, and about the shame and dishonour which in their view it brought to Christ and His church.

In the nineteenth century, Britain and Canada were forced to come to grips with a revived Roman Catholicism, both in the spheres of politics and society. The Free Church took a decided stand in opposition to 'Popery,' both on theological and political grounds. They opposed it, not only because they regarded it as wrong theologically and biblically, but also because they saw it as posing a serious threat to civil and religious liberty.⁸² In 1848 the Record described Popery as "the masterpiece of Satan's policy in the world. For while it is essentially opposed to the Religion of the Son of God, it yet counterfeits it in all its prominent features; and so it has a shew of Apostolicity, Catholicity, and unity."⁸³ In August 1850 the Record argued that:

If we would secure civil and religious liberty for ourselves and our posterity, and deliver our country from the blighting influence of Rome, let us labor, not as some would, for the destruction of Romanists, but with spiritual weapons let us seek the destruction of their system.⁸⁴

This was certainly a prime motivation in the evangelism of French Canada. An editorial in the July 1853 Record thus commented that:

Many persons look upon the evangelization of our French fellow-countrymen as a matter in which they have but little interest. Surely, however, the political influence which they wield, the manner in which that influence has of late blasted measures that we would have hailed with joy, and the mournful scenes connected with popery, which we have witnessed, will lead the members of our Church in Canada West to strive to do something in order to remove the ignorance and superstitious blindness of the habitans. This motive we mention as a selfish one, secondary to the ever-binding command of our Saviour—to preach the gospel to every creature, and to be added to the desire engendered in the heart of every true Christian, to give to others also a share of what he possesses, of the knowledge of the true God, and Jesus Christ his Son, for this is life eternal.⁸⁵

Accordingly, the Free Church was a warm and active supporter of the French Canadian Missionary Society. In 1857 the Society's officers and committeemen included such Free Churchmen as John Redpath, James Court, D. Fraser, and A.F. Kemp.⁸⁶ For many years the Society was designated as one of the Synod's annual collections and was commended as assisting "the advancement of sound Protestantism in opposition to soul-enthraling and soul-ruining error."⁸⁷

Sir Robert Peel had already outraged Protestant sensibilities by his endowment of a Roman Catholic college at Maynooth,

Ireland. As Peter Brown expressed it: "England, Protestant England, as a nation is about to renounce all distinctions between right and wrong in matters of religion, and is forming a State alliance [with] the man of Sin. We stand amazed."⁸⁸ If they were outraged by the actions of 1845, they were infuriated by the Papacy's decision in 1850 to restore the territorial diocesan system to the English Roman Catholic Church—something which had not been done since the Reformation.⁸⁹ This 'Papal Aggression' of 1850-51, coming in the wake of Puseyite inroads into the Church of England, had all the makings of a worldwide Popish conspiracy. Indeed, Dr. Robert Burns, participating in a debate in Simcoe on the Clergy Reserves and Rectories question declared that "an alliance will be formed between the High Church body of the West and the Papists of the East, to crush the liberties of our land."⁹⁰ Moreover, Burns, in reflecting on his actions in Scotland in 1829 in opposing Catholic Emancipation, asserted that "assuredly the present aggressions of Popery are just the filling up of what the friends of Protestantism then anticipated."⁹¹ At the Synod of 1851 a series of resolutions on this subject were moved by Dr. Burns, and passed:

- I. Regarding Popery as at once a system of Religious Error and Ecclesiastical Despotism, at war with the civil interests of mankind, we cannot but look with serious apprehension on every fresh effort put forth by its abettors to regain ascendancy in Protestant lands.
- II. While we recognise no Head of the Church save the Lord Jesus Christ, and disown all claims to such headship on the part of any secular

power as nugatory, we consider the late proceedings of the Pope, in regard to the establishment of a Hierarchy in Great Britain, as a direct assumption of Papal supremacy, and to be resisted by every constitutional means, on the part of a Protestant Government.

- III. We are clearly of opinion that the dangers to be apprehended from the present aggressive movements of the Papacy, have been greatly encouraged by the endowment of Romish Colleges and Schools, and by the recognition of the titles of its dignitaries, both at Home and in the Colonies; as also by the widespread prevalence of Puseyite and Tractarian error.
- IV. We enter our protest against the numerous incorporating acts in favour of Romish priests and churches, and the claims of the Romish Church to a restitution of the Jesuits' Estates, and against all countenance given by public authority to a system dangerous to the civil and religious interests of mankind.
- V. We feel deeply humbled on account of the divisions in Churches called Protestant, and the measure of formality and worldly conformity that marks the administration of so many Christian Societies; and we call on our people to be very earnest in supplication and prayer, for a gracious effusion of the Holy Spirit, that truth may triumph over error, and that the beauty of holiness may ever rest on the Church of the living God.
- VI. Lastly, we recommend to our Ministers and Missionaries, to take every opportunity of pointing out to their people the Errors of Popery, and of seeking to establish them in that truth which maketh wise unto salvation.⁹²

The wider Protestant community of Toronto responded to the Papal Aggression with the Protestant Alliance.⁹³ Backed by George Brown, this group aimed at a transdenominational group united to oppose Popery:

That it appears desirable to form an Alliance, which shall combine all classes of Protestants, whose object shall be not merely to oppose the

progress of Popery, but to maintain and defend, against all its encroachments, the scriptural doctrines of the Reformation, and the principles of religious liberty, as the best security, under God, for the temporal and spiritual welfare and prosperity of this Province; and further, by scriptural means, hereafter to be specified, to aim at the conversion of Roman Catholics to the pure faith of the gospel.⁹⁴

The Free Church Record warmly supported such a Movement, as "not only expedient, but necessary." "It is high time," the editor asserted:

. . . for something being done for uniting Protestants in an intelligent, scriptural, mild, but still firm opposition to Popery, as being a system directly opposed to the social and political, as well as to the moral and spiritual interests of any community.⁹⁵

In 1853, in the wake of the Gavazzi riots in Quebec City and Montreal, the Synod defended "that distinguished Italian refugee" and called upon the Legislature:

. . . to discriminate carefully betwixt those matters of conscience which no public law can reach, and those systems of priestcraft which are based on allegiance to a foreign power, and are in their tendency inimical to the rights of loyal subjects, and the interests of public morals and of the public safety.⁹⁶

The Corrigan murder case in St. Sylvestre, Canada East, and Bishop Charbonnel's pastoral of January 1856, evoked harsh sentiments from the Free Church, as it did from many Upper Canadian Protestants.⁹⁷ The Record accordingly declared in March 1856 that:

The time has come, when Protestants can no longer make concessions, or temporize with Popery. It is time that the Protestantism of the country were thoroughly roused, and

practical measures adopted for checking the encroachments of insidious Jesuits and grasping Ecclesiastics.⁹⁸

In short, the Free Church viewed a revived Roman Catholicism as a threat to the political, social, and religious interests of Canada. The Montreal-based, Canadian Presbyter, for instance, argued that to separate church and state or "religion from the conduct of public affairs" was not only wrong, and virtually impossible, but would not obliterate such a threat. Asserting that George Brown himself held this mistaken idea, it argued for denying support to Roman Catholicism:

. . . not on the poor footing of the separation of Church and State, but on the ground of an intelligent disapproval of the whole system of Popery, as detrimental to the highest interests of the State, or Common Weal.⁹⁹

In the minds of many Free Churchmen there were definite links among these four issues: Clergy Reserves, Temperance, Sabbath-Breaking, and Popery. Affirming as they did that nations were responsible to God for the conduct of their affairs, and that God blessed those individuals and nations which honoured Him, and visited with His judgements those who did not, they had a powerful motivation for speaking out on these issues. An editorial of January 1854 thus pointed to these four issues and asserted:

Let us all, under a deep sense of our responsibility, combine our energies and prayers, in order to remove the evils and vices which, alas, too extensively prevail among us, and to render our country moral - sober - religious. Then we may expect, that 'God, even our own God, will

bless us, I and, that we, as individuals, as families, and, as a community, shall experience the blessedness of those 'whose God is the Lord.'¹⁰⁰

Moreover, the Free Church Synod railed against the evils of slavery, and against their American Presbyterian brethren who tolerated it. Free Churchmen were prominent in such ventures as the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada—Dr. Michael Willis acting as its President,¹⁰¹ and as a denomination they operated a mission to freed slaves and other blacks in the western sections of Canada West.

The Free Church conscience was outraged by the "Double Shuffle" of August 1858.¹⁰² The Record denounced Macdonald's actions, declaring that "we . . . cannot but look upon it as fitted to demoralize the community, and familiarize the public mind with trickery and perjury." "If such corruption prevails at the fountain," they asked, "what can we look for in the streams?"¹⁰³ The Canadian Presbyterian was even more outspoken. Declaring the right of those who were "guardians of morals and piety" to protest against violations of the law of God, they denounced the actions of Macdonald's government as legally questionable, and as having "insulted the Majesty of Heaven by taking a deceptive oath."¹⁰⁴ They also took the opportunity to lecture their "voluntary friends," arguing that "this is an instance in point . . . of what we mean by the magistrate, in his official capacity, having regard to the revealed Word of God."¹⁰⁵ "Reverence for the thrice-hallowed name of God is the bulwark of justice," they asserted, "let this once be broken down, and our national glory as a God-fearing people

will be destroyed."¹⁰⁶

In many ways the Free Church adopted a strict attitude towards society. They eschewed various practices which they regarded as 'worldly' and 'carnal.' The Presbytery of Kingston, for example, declared in August 1857 that:

. . . in their opinion, horse-racing, public balls, circuses, and theatres, are decidedly injurious to morality and vital godliness, and ought not to be engaged in, attended upon, nor in any way countenanced by the members of the Church, as staining the purity of christian character, offending pious brethren, and bringing scandal upon the Church, as well as endangering their own safety.¹⁰⁷

The Free Church's political activities were, for the most part, restricted to questions of public morality—Sabbath-breaking, Popery, Slavery, Clergy Reserves and Rectories, the University question, and temperance. These included many of the most important and controversial issues in mid-nineteenth-century Canada. The Free Church, however, sought influence, rather than power. Those politicians seeking Free Church support would find it to be a two-edged sword, for while it might help them gain office, it forbade the kinds of compromises which were often necessary to retain power.

References - Chapter Nine

¹P.B. Waite, The Life and Times of Confederation (Toronto, 1962), p. 126.

²Donald Creighton, John A. Macdonald—Young Politician (Toronto, 1956), p. 98.

³Ibid., p. 159; cf. Ian Rennie, "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State," pp. 39, 128; A.M.M. Evans, "The Scot as Politician," in W.S. Reid, ed., The Scottish Tradition in Canada (Toronto, 1976), pp. 276-77; W.L. Morton, "Victorian Canada," in his Shield of Achilles (Toronto and Montreal, 1968), p. 314.

⁴W.L. Mathieson, Church and Reform in Scotland 1797-1843, pp. 329-30.

⁵Evans, "Scot as Politician," p. 287; Ian Rennie, "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State," pp. 123-24; Record, February 1851, p. 57; Banner, November 26, 1847.

⁶Buchanan, for example, had in 1843 first supported Baldwin but then switched to Metcalfe, thinking that the Free Church would need to be on the government's good side. Bridgman, "Isaac Buchanan and Religion," pp. 174-80.

⁷Record, December 1856, pp. 22-23. The Canadian Presbyterian argued that "... provided that there be no slavish adherence either to an unscrupulous administration or to a factious opposition, we should be glad to find Presbyterians on both sides of politics. The Church is not to stand on the planks of one party 'platform' or another—but ought to comprise men of various views on questions of ordinary politics, if of one mind and heart on essential points of truth and virtue. It should thus be rendered impossible for any selfish politician to calculate on having the influence of the Presbyterian Church at his back." Canadian Presbyterian, Vol. 2 (January 1858), p. 12.

⁸Record, June 1857, p. 118. The Synod also had a Committee on "Registration of Births, Marriages, Deaths &c." It reported to the Synod of 1857 that changes were being made in the relevant acts which would be more satisfactory to the Free Church. Minutes of Synod 1857, p. 50; cf. Minutes of Synod 1859, p. 38.

⁹Record, August 1854, p. 150.

¹⁰Minutes of Synod 1850, p. 13.

¹¹Minutes of Synod 1850, pp. 20-21. Mark Young Stark, for example, though declaring himself to be a Reformer ("but I am equally jealous of subjection to the multitude as to an aristocracy"), argued that, "I see such an utter disregard of principle here by the politicians of both parties, that I have never been able to take any interest in their squabbles for supremacy." He had only voted once—and regretted it. U.C.A. Stark Papers, Box 1, Envelope 9. Stark to his Mother, Nov. 4, 1844.

¹²Quoted in Moir, The Church in the British Era, p. 61.

¹³On this see J.S. Moir, "'Loyalty and Respectability': the Campaign for Co-Establishment of the Church of Scotland in Canada," Scottish Tradition, Vol. IX/X (1979-1980), pp. 64-83; Moir, Church in the British Era, pp. 114ff.

¹⁴Moir, Church in the British Era, p. 125.

¹⁵See above, Chapter One and my "'For Christ's Kingdom and Crown': The Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland and the Problem of Church State Relations, 1829-1843," The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History Papers 1981, pp. 21-41.

¹⁶Quoted in Hanna, Memoirs of Thomas Chalmers, IV, p. 348.

¹⁷Kemp, Digest, p. 412.

¹⁸Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 99-101.

¹⁹Kemp, Digest, p. 412.

²⁰Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 96; cf. U.C.A. Smart Papers, "Biography of William Smart, 1811-1849," pp. 111-17.

²¹Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 89, 96, 114-15; Record, April 1847.

²²Record, April 1848, p. 89.

²³Record, June 1848, p. 119.

²⁴Kemp, Digest, p. 413.

²⁵Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 143-45.

²⁶See Vaudry, "Peter Brown, the Toronto Banner and the Evangelical Mind in Victorian Canada."

²⁷Record, June 1848, p. 119.

²⁸Kemp, Digest, p. 414.

²⁹Minutes of Synod 1848; cf. Moir, Enduring Witness, pp. 119-11. Moir regards this action as a victory for voluntarism and especially attributable to the influence of the Banner and the Globe, "The laity of the Free Church had frustrated the desire of its clergy to obtain financial independence." Moir, Church and State in Canada West, p. 49.

³⁰Kemp, Digest, pp. 416-18; Minutes of Synod 1850.

³¹Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," pp. 153-69; cf. Moir, Church and State in Canada West, p. 54.

³²Ian Rennie, "Free Church . . . ," pp. 169-70.

³³Ibid., pp. 170-71.

³⁴Record, July 1851.

³⁵Record, June 1853, p. 125.

³⁶Record, June 1850, p. 123; cf. Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 113.

³⁷Bridgman, "Isaac Buchanan and Religion," pp. 100-04.

³⁸P.A.C. Buchanan Papers. G.P. Young to Buchanan, July 8, 1854, #49976.

³⁹P.A.C. George Brown Papers. G.P. Young to Gordon Brown, n.d. c-1601, pp. 19-20.

⁴⁰Record, November 1854.

- ⁴¹Record, January 1846.
- ⁴²Record, January 1846.
- ⁴³Minutes of Synod 1848.
- ⁴⁴Banner, December 10, 1847.
- ⁴⁵Banner, April 7, 1848.
- ⁴⁶pace Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 116.
- ⁴⁷Record, May 1849.
- ⁴⁸Record, June 1849, p. 121.
- ⁴⁹Record, June 1849.
- ⁵⁰Record, June 1849, p. 121.
- ⁵¹Minutes of Synod, 1849.
- ⁵²Moir, Church in the British Era, p. 184.
- ⁵³Moir, Church and State in Canada West, p. 119.
- ⁵⁴Record, May 1860, p. 102.
- ⁵⁵Minutes of Synod, June 1860, p. 33.
- ⁵⁶Nicholson, "Michael Willis," pp. 112-15.
- ⁵⁷Quoted in Ian Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 219.
- ⁵⁸Record, June 1853, p. 115.
- ⁵⁹Cf. P.A.C. Buchanan Papers. Adam Fergusson of Woodhill to Buchanan, February 14, 1854 to get that "desecrating whistle" of a train stopped on the Sabbath. Vol. 25, #21699-21702.
- ⁶⁰Record, June 1853, pp. 115-16.
- ⁶¹Record, September 1851, p. 170.

⁶²Record, August 1852, p. 148.

⁶³Record, August 1852, p. 148. The United Presbyterian Church also used George Brown as a vehicle for presenting their Sabbath petitions. P.A.C. Brown Papers. William Stoughton to George Brown, April 6, 1856, MG 24 B40, Vol. 2, p. 261.

⁶⁴Record, July 1853, p. 130. Cf. Record, July 1855, p. 133.

⁶⁵Record, July 1853, p. 130. In January 1858 the Record called upon its readers to elect M.P.s who were sound on the Sabbath question. "It will be generally found," it declared, "that the man who is sound on this point, may be trusted on the other great moral questions, who are more or less connected with it." Record, January 1858, p. 25.

⁶⁶Record, June 1850, pp. 118-19.

⁶⁷Record, August 1854, p. 146.

⁶⁸This is Bradley's term. Ian C. Bradley, The Call to Seriousness: The Evangelical Impact on the Victorians (New York, 1976), pp. 103-06.

⁶⁹Minutes of Synod 1847, p. 24.

⁷⁰Record, May 1851, p. 106.

⁷¹Record, June 1852, p. 122.

⁷²Record, September 1848, pp. 163-64.

⁷³Record, November 1849, p. 7.

⁷⁴Minutes of Synod 1852.

⁷⁵Record, April 1853, p. 92.

⁷⁶Minutes of Synod 1853.

⁷⁷Minutes of Synod 1854, p. 22.

⁷⁸Banner, October 25, 1847; cf. W.H. Elgee, The Social Teachings of the Canadian Churches, Protestant, The Early

Period, Before 1850 (Toronto, 1964), p. 154. For Isaac Buchanan's inconsistencies in the matter of alcohol, cf. Bridgman, "Isaac Buchanan and Religion," pp. 192-95.

⁷⁹Bridgman, "Three Scots Presbyterians in Upper Canada," pp. 274-76.

⁸⁰F.L. Barron, "The American Origins of the Temperance Movement in Ontario, 1828-1850," Canadian Review of American Studies, XI, No. 2 (Fall, 1980), pp. 131-50.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 140.

⁸²Record, December 1849, p. 19.

⁸³Record, July 1848, p. 135.

⁸⁴Record, August 1850, p. 156.

⁸⁵Record, July 1853, p. 134.

⁸⁶Lovell's Canada Directory for 1857-58, pp. 453-54.

⁸⁷Record, July 1851, p. 129.

⁸⁸Banner, May 16, 1845.

⁸⁹R.K. Webb, Modern England (New York and Toronto, 1974), p. 301.

⁹⁰Record, August 1851, p. 150.

⁹¹Record, August 1851, pp. 150-51.

⁹²Minutes of Synod 1851, p. 27.

⁹³Moir, Enduring Witness, p. 121.

⁹⁴Record, April 1855, p. 87.

⁹⁵Record, April 1855, p. 87.

⁹⁶Minutes of Synod 1853, pp. 28-29. In February 1858 the Record argued that "old party lines" were largely vanishing and the new lines were drawn "not so much between conservative

and liberal, as between that policy that would carry out thorough Protestant principles; and the policy that would yield to the influence of Popery, even at the sacrifice of our Educational system, and of the Protestantism of the country." Record, February 1858, p. 40.

⁹⁷J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas 1841-1857 (Toronto, 1967, 1977), p. 198.

⁹⁸Record, May 1856, p. 109.

⁹⁹Canadian Presbyter, Vol. 2 (October 1858), p. 291.

¹⁰⁰Record, January 1854, p. 37.

¹⁰¹Record, April 1851, p. 91.

¹⁰²On the "Double Shuffle" see Creighton, John A. Macdonald: Young Politician, p. 269; Careless, Brown of the Globe, Vol. I, pp. 277ff.; W.L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British North America, 1857-1873 (Toronto, 1964, 1968), pp. 18-19.

¹⁰³Record, September 1858, p. 125.

¹⁰⁴Canadian Presbyter, Vol. 2 (September 1858), p. 257.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 258-59.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁰⁷Record, September 1857, p. 161; cf. Minutes of Synod 1858, pp. 25-26; P.C.A. Minutes of the Kirk Session of Prescott, Canada West, September 28, 1854, pp. 63-64. Members of the Church were also called upon to exhibit a concern for the poor, use their money wisely, and shun extravagant living. Record, November 1857, p. 2; January 1858, pp. 25-26.

CONCLUSION

The Free Church in Canada was born of a Scottish conflict transferred to a colonial setting. Such a dispute in the Mother Kirk demanded a response from Presbyterians overseas. Though indigenous Canadian factors—such as the dispute over the Temporalities Bill—fuelled the conflict, it is still true that had there been no split in the Church of Scotland, there would have been none in the Canadian Synod. At the same time, much evidence exists to suggest that the Disruption of 1844, although productive of discord, gave to those who left a renewed sense of mission, a unifying set of principles, and a greater determination to transform society. For Free Churchmen the secession left behind many of the less zealous ministers in the Kirk Synod and put the Canadian church in touch with an international evangelical movement.

At the time of the Disruption in Scotland, both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland attempted to secure the support of Canadian Presbyterians. This, however, was hardly a contest of equals. The more aggressive, better organized Free Church of Scotland took the initiative and held the stronger position, right from the beginning. Deputies from the Free Church arrived first. At the same time Free Church supporters in Canada enjoyed the support of the considerable journalistic talents of Peter and George Brown of the Toronto Banner. By the time that Church of Scotland deputies arrived, the Disruption in Canada had already occurred and a Canadian Free Church was firmly established. Moreover, the Kirk supporters in Canada did little to

counteract Free Church influence and failed to capture the imagination of the Presbyterian community.

The Free Church had no need to create new and unfamiliar ecclesiastical structures. There was little in the old ones to hinder their plans, or which could not be enlivened by an infusion of enthusiasm and new personnel. The familiar presbyterial organization of local congregations, attached through regional presbyteries and under the final authority of a provincial synod was retained. This ability to avoid unnecessary change in organization eliminated a potential source of conflict.

Although there were strong ties between the Canadian and Scottish Free Churches, it was clear that the Canadians could not rely exclusively upon British ministers to fill its pulpits. It was essential to ensure a steady, reliable supply of new ministers for an expanding church. Knox College was thus organized as the denomination's seminary. By 1859 fifty ministers in the Synod had been wholly or partly trained at Knox.

By 1861, at the end of the first phase of its history, the Free Church had enjoyed a considerable measure of success. It had surpassed in numbers both the Kirk Synod and the United Presbyterians. This is not surprising as the Free Churchmen were enthusiastic and well-organized missionaries whose view was not obstructed by a Scottish exclusiveness. The Kirk Synod might take refuge in an appeal to tradition and hope to maintain its position by passive resistance. This might satisfy more worldly Presbyterians like John A. Macdonald, who would not be moved by enthusiasm, or those who instinctively opposed zeal in

any form. Yet this enthusiasm brought the Free Church into missionary work, attracting to it those outside the Presbyterian community.

Having separated from the Old Kirk, it was understandable that the Free Church would attempt to seek accord with other Presbyterians in the province. Union negotiations were thus begun and held intermittently during the next seventeen years with the United Presbyterians. Although sharing a common theology and organization, the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church were nonetheless separated by the gulf of tradition, history, and different views on the relation between the state and the church. Indeed, some Canadian Free Church ministers had debated this latter point with United Presbyterians in Scotland. In Canada this debate continued.

The most serious difference between the Free Church and the United Presbyterians was their position on church - state relations. The United Presbyterians did not see the state as an agent of religion in society and rejected church establishment in any form as an open door to worldly influence in the church. They argued that Christian and non-Christian magistrates had the same responsibilities and both should govern in accordance with natural law. From the Free Church point of view, a Christian, whether a magistrate or a private citizen, had an obligation to secure the passage of legislation and the pursuit of policies based on Christian principles. In practice, the United Presbyterians were inclined to support the same policies and candidates as the Free Church, but did not pursue these policies with the same intensity, and consequently did not exercise the same influence.

The Free Church Synod deposed Dr. Andrew Ferrier, minister at Caledonia, for his voluntarism. This undoubtedly added to the obstacles in the way of union. Yet such matters were a legacy of the Scottish past, had little relevance to conditions in Canada, and did not excite much interest among Canadian congregations. It remained for a new generation of Canadian-trained ministers, who had little involvement in old country disputes, to decide to put aside these differences.

The Free Church belief in the importance of political action committed them to activities to combat slavery, intemperance, popery, and sabbath-breaking. As it was not in theory opposed to state support, the Free Church in 1844-1845 applied for a continuation of its government grants, but was refused. By 1848 the Synod decided to abandon all claims to state support, apparently under the impact of Peel's grant to Maynooth College, and the influence of Peter and George Brown, declaring that the state could no longer distinguish between true and false religion. Most issues placed the Free Church in the camp of the Reformers. At the same time, however, it is apparent that not all members of the Free Church were political reformers, and that the church was not exclusively made up of the followers of George Brown.

In matters of finance, the Free Church, for the most part, had to rely on its own community for support. It did receive some money from friends in Scotland, Ireland, and England, but could also count upon the support of such wealthy members as Isaac Buchanan and John Redpath. In the organization of its financial affairs it tried to introduce some novelty. An attempt

was made to institute a common Sustentation Fund out of which all ministers' stipends would be paid. However, because of lay suspicions of ordained office-holders managing congregational money, the idea never gained wide acceptance and had to be abandoned. Local congregations thus made their own arrangements for paying the minister's stipend. Pew rents, subscriptions, and collections were the usual means of raising this money. The most ambitious project financially was the establishment of Knox College. Though suffering from financial insecurity, the college had, by 1856 moved into new quarters at Elmsley Villa, and by 1858 had been incorporated by an Act of the Provincial Parliament. The church as a whole, experienced the financial vicissitudes of one dependent upon voluntary support, but was in turn, a good example of the sufficiency of such support.

There were in the Free Church three offices to which men could be ordained: minister, elder, and deacon. Each of these required the same standards of piety and the same theological affirmations. The educational requirements, however, were different, as the ministers underwent a rigorous six-year programme of arts and theological study. With the elders, ministers were responsible for spiritual guidance and discipline in the local congregation. They also sat and deliberated together in the church courts. Deacons were to be entrusted with congregational finances, but because of reluctance to concentrate power in this office, finances were usually in the hands of managers and trustees. The church readily received ministers from the Free Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. Those trained by the Church of Scotland would not be admitted without examination, nor would

those from the New and Old School Presbyterian Churches in the United States: the former because its theology was sometimes questioned, the latter because it tolerated slavery.

Truth as they saw it was more important to Free Churchmen than organic unity. This in part explains why union negotiations with the United Presbyterians were so difficult and protracted. A concern for maintaining orthodoxy of belief and conduct led to the deposition of both Andrew Ferrier and Robert Peden, and explains the church's emphasis on discipline. Coupled with this theological orthodoxy was an ecclesiastical conservatism which manifested itself in resisting changes in form of worship—particularly the introduction of instrumental music in church services. Maintaining such orthodoxy created tensions but did not fragment the church. Those who were disciplined may have had sympathizers, but had not attracted disciples who might demonstrate their sympathy by leaving. Those in the Synod with forceful personalities, like Dr. Robert Burns, often irritated and alienated their colleagues, although they undoubtedly attracted people to the church. Clearly the Free Church was made up of busy men and not chronic schismatics.

The Free Church's theological outlook was both Calvinistic, affirming the doctrine of election, and evangelical, calling men and women to repentance and faith in Christ. They saw no inconsistency in holding both positions. They also maintained the doctrines of the substitutionary atonement of Christ and justification by faith alone. These ideas can be perceived in the sermons of Michael Willis, Mark Young Stark and George Paxton Young. Though Young has been charged with deviating from this

orthodoxy, it appears that, at least during the Free Church years, he maintained his evangelical Calvinism.

The Free Church exercised an influence in Canadian society which was far beyond its numbers. There were very few concerned with Canadian politics who were not aware of the weight of its influence. It was only one voice, but often the loudest in a chorus of evangelical Protestants decrying popery, intemperance, and sabbath-breaking. Though its critics might dismiss the Free Church as bigoted, obscurantist, and self-righteous, a more sympathetic assessment might see it as tough-minded, informed, and uncompromising. Its clear views, fervent zeal, and transcendent message, though inviting ridicule, were arguably its greatest strengths.

Though the links between the Free Church and the Reform Party are not as firm as once supposed, yet still George Brown remains a symbol of the Free Church and its influence: often feared, but not distrusted; exercising a moral influence in society, but enjoying only a transitory role in the exercise of power. In short, the Free Church may never have enjoyed great popularity, but, popular or not, it was an active and powerful force within society.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Biographical Addendum

Original Protestors of July 1844

Alexander, Thomas - Born Aberdeen, Scotland, 1805. Son of a tailor. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1824. Licensed by the Presbytery of Dundee, 1830. Appointed by the Glasgow Colonial Society June 2, 1834. Ordained to Cobourg 1834. Minister - Cobourg 1835-1844; Free Church Cobourg 1844-60; Percy and Seymour 1860-1874; Mt. Pleasant 1874-1884. Died December 16, 1895. (F.E.S. 7, p. 624.)

Allan, Daniel - Born Ross-shire, Scotland 1812. Educated King's College, Aberdeen 1824-29. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society July 20, 1836. Ordained to Stratford and Woodstock October 21, 1838. Joined Free Church 1844. Minister - North Easthope 1847-1874. Died December 1884, Goderich, Ontario. (F.E.S. 7, p. 624.)

Bayne, John - Born West Parish, Greenock, Scotland, November 16, 1806. Son of Rev. Kenneth Bayne, Minister of Gaelic Chapel, Greenock, and Margaret Hay. Sister was Mrs. Wilson of the Bombay Mission. Educated Greenock Grammar School, University of Glasgow, Divinity Halls of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Refused Ministerial Post in South Carolina, U.S.A., offered to him by Dr. Thomas Chalmers (c. 1839-40). Assisted Chalmers in Water of Leith project. Licensed September 8, 1830 by Presbytery of Dingwall. Assistant to Rev. John Barry of Shapinstray, Orkney Islands, 1833-34. Appointed to Canada by Church of Scotland's Colonial Committee. Ordained September 3, 1834 by Presbytery of Dingwall. Supplied pulpit of St. Andrew's, Toronto, for about 10 months. Called to Galt, 1835. Visited Scotland 1842-43 to procure ministers for Canada. Was in Edinburgh at time of Disruption of the Church of Scotland (May 18, 1843). Led Free Church movement in Canada 1844. Publicly debated Dr. Liddell of Queen's on merits of Free Church Question, 1845. Published lengthy pamphlet, "Was Recent Disruption . . . Called For?", 1846. Moderator of Synod, 1846. Strong attachment to Free Church distinctives. Wary of Union with United Presbyterian Church. Declined Chair in Knox College, Toronto, on Professor Esson's death, 1853. D.D. Union College, Schenectady, New York (P.C.U.S.) 1855-56 leave of absence because of illness. Died November 3, 1859. Principal Willis preached funeral sermon from text: "A Prince and a Great Man Has Fallen in Israel." (Smellie, Memoir of Bayne, pp. 1-35; F.E.S. 7, pp. 625-26.)

Black, David - Educated University of Edinburgh. Appointed by Colonial Society and Ordained to LaPrairie, Lower Canada, October 19, 1837. Minister - Ste. Thérèse to 1856. In 1868 was resident at Chateauguay. (F.E.S. 7, p. 627.)

Cheyne, George - Born 1802. Son of an Auchterless farmer. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1822. Ordained 1831 by Presbytery of Strathbogie for ministry in British North America. Admitted to Amherstburg, Upper Canada, 1831. Inducted into Saltfleet and Binbrook, September 1843. Died April 1, 1878. (F.E.S. 7, p. 630; Banner, September 1, 1843.)

Douglas, James - Born June 11, 1792, County Monaghan, Ireland, son of a farmer. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed 1819 by Secessionist Presbytery of Down (Ireland). Emigrated to U.S.A. Minister at Lisbon and in Pennsylvania. Emigrated to Canada c. 1829 and worked in Monaghan, Caven, Emily. Admitted to Caven, September, 1834. Demitted charge September 1868. Died April 30, 1870. (F.E.S. 7, p. 632.)

Esson, Henry - Born 1793, Balnacraig, Aboyne, Scotland, son of a farmer. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1811. Licensed May 7, 1817 by Presbytery of Aberdeen. Ordained May 15, 1817 by Presbytery of Aberdeen as Assistant and Successor at St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal. Assistant to Rev. Mr. Somerville at St. Gabriel Street. Experienced an evangelical conversion 1839. Minister of St. Gabriel Street, Montreal to 1844. Moderator of Church of Scotland Synod, 1842. Joined Free Church in 1844. Professor of Literature and Philosophy, Knox College, Toronto, 1844-1853. Died 11 May 1853. Published various sermons and pamphlets. (F.E.S. 7, pp. 632-633; Gregg, History of the P.C.C., pp. 164-65; I.S. Rennie, "Free Church and Relations of Church and State," p. 45; Banner, July 5, 1844.)

Gale, Alexander - Born 1802, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, son of a farmer. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1819. Licensed 1819 by Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil. Emigrated to Canada 1827. Minister - Amherstburg 1828-31; Lachine 1832-33; Hamilton 1833-46. Moderator of Church of Scotland Synod, 1837. Clerk of Church of Scotland Synod, 1836, 1839. Editor of Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record, 1844-. Appointed Principal of Toronto Academy and Professor of Classical Literature, Knox College, 1846. Moderator of Free Church Synod, 1853. Died Hamilton April 6, 1854. (F.E.S. 7, p. 634; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

Gordon, Henry - Born 1790, Edinburgh, Scotland. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society April 22, 1833. Minister in Church of Scotland Synod - Newmarket and King, 1834-37; Gananoque 1837-43; Joined Free Church Synod, 1844. Minister - Gananoque 1844-1869. Moderator of Free Church Synod - 1854. Minister without charge - 1869-1880. Died December 13, 1880.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 635.)

Lindsay, Robert - Appointed by Church of Scotland Colonial Committee. Minister at Ayr, Canada West.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 639.)

McAllister, William - Born 1804, Glasgow, Scotland, son of a merchant. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed by Presbytery of Glasgow. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society. Ordained, October 14, 1829 by the Presbytery of Skye. Minister - Lanark, 1830-42; Sarnia, 1842-53; Métis, 1853-61. Died December 2, 1866.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 640; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

McIntosh, Angus - Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society April 22, 1833. Missionary at Markham 1836. Minister - Thorold, 1836-48; Resumed work as a missionary 1848 -
(F.E.S. 7, p. 642; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

McKenzie, Donald - Born August 2, 1798, Dores, Inverness-shire, Scotland. Educated King's College, Aberdeen. Ordained 1833 by Presbytery of Dingwall. Emigrated to Canada. Admitted to Zorra, June 1834. Minister - Zorra, 1834-1872. Died April 8, 1884.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 642.)

MacLean, Alexander - Ordained to Picton, February 1843. Minister - Without Charge, Presbytery of Kingston, 1846; Wellington Square, 1847-54; Cumminsville & Nairn, 1855-61.
(Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

McMillan, Duncan - Born Islay, Scotland. Emigrated to Canada, 1828. Licensed August 30, 1830 by the United Presbytery of Upper Canada. Ordained to Caledon, April 1831. Minister - Caledon, 1831-39; East Williams, 1839-44; Williams, 1844-45; Caledon and Erin, 1848-53; Aldboro, 1854-61. Died - London, Ontario, January 23, 1889.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 644; Gregg, History of the P.C.C., p. 372; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

Meldrum, William - Born Aberdeenshire. Minister - Puslinch, Vaughan; Harrington. Died - November 22, 1889.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 646.)

Peden, Robert - Born, c. 1816, Kilmarnoch, Scotland. Educated University of Glasgow and United Secession Hall. Admitted to Amherstburg, 1844. Deposed for heresy, 1850. (F.E.S. 7, p. 648; Kemp, Digest, pp. 46-49.)

Rintoul, William - Born October 30, 1797, Kincardine-in-Menteith, Perthshire, Scotland, son of a merchant. Educated at Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh - M.A. - 1826 (?). Ordained 1821 by Presbytery of Dunblane to Maryport, Cumberland. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society as 1st minister of St. Andrew's, Toronto, September, 1830. Admitted to Streetsville, 1835. Moderator of Church of Scotland Synod, 1836. Clerk of Church of Scotland Synod - 1837, 1843-44; Minister - Streetsville, 1835-1847; Clerk of Free Church Synod, 1844-1850; Taught Hebrew and Biblical Criticism, Knox College, 1846-47; Interim Professor of Hebrew, 1848-49; Editor of Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record. Admitted Minister of St. Gabriel Street Free Church, Montreal, July 3, 1850. Died of Cholera, Trois Pistoles, Canada East, September 13, 1851. (F.E.S. 7, p. 649; Minutes of Synod)

Smellie, George - Minister - Free Church, Fergus, 1844-1861. Moderator of Free Church Synod, 1857. Protégé of Dr. John Bayne of Galt. (Minutes of Synod)

Stark, Mark Young - Born November 9, 1777, Dunfermline, Scotland. Father owned Brucefield Linen Works, Dunfermline. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1821; Theology at Glasgow. Licensed 1824 by Presbytery of Glasgow. Unable to get a ministerial appointment in Scotland. Declined to enter the Church of England. Emigrated to Canada in 1833 under the auspices of the Glasgow Colonial Society. Ordained to Dundas and Ancaster, September 26, 1833. Moderator of Church of Scotland Synod, 1844; Moderator of Free Church Synod, 1844. Minister - Dundas and Ancaster, 1833-1854. In 1854 Ancaster and Dundas were divided into two charges; Stark remained with the Dundas congregation. Resigned charge 1863. Died January 24, 1866, Dundas, Canada West. (William Reid, Memoir of Stark; A.L. Farris in D.C.B., 9, pp. 741-2.)

Other Ministers Who Joined the Free Church in 1844

Boyd, Robert - Born County Antrim, Ireland, 1791. Son of a Farmer. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1814. Licensed by Presbytery of Ballymena. Emigrated to Canada 1820. Taught and preached in Prescott. Called to Prescott and ordained February 1821. Probably a member of United Synod. Joined Kirk Synod 1840. Seceded from the Kirk Synod before the Disruption of 1844. Joined Free Church Synod. Minister Prescott. Moderator of Synod 1851. D.D. 1854. Died January 29, 1872.

(Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 362-63; F.E.S. 7, p. 627.)

Clark, Daniel - Born Inverness, Scotland. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1822. Licensed by Presbytery of Inverness. Appointed by Colonial Committee as Missionary at Martintown, Upper Canada. Admitted to Indian Lands, August 28, 1830. Joined Free Church Synod 1844. Minister Indian Lands 1844-1852. Left Free Church Synod and emigrated to U.S. ca. 1852. Applied to Free Church Synod of 1855 to be recognized as a Minister of Synod. Does not appear to have been re-admitted to Synod.

(F.E.S. 7, p. 630; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

Clugston, John - Born Glasgow, Scotland, 1796. Son of a tailor. A brother, William, Minister at Forfar. Educated University of Glasgow. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society April 12, 1830. Ordained by Presbytery of Forfar to St. John's Church, Quebec City, June 15, 1830. Minister Kirk Synod, Quebec City, 1830-1844. Joined Free Church Synod in 1844. Minister Free Church, Quebec City, 1844-1847. Appears to have returned to Scotland ca. 1847. Died at Free Church Manse, Stewarton, Ayrshire, January 21, 1877. (F.E.S. 7, p. 630.)

Eastman, Daniel Ward - Native of Goshen County, New Jersey. Educated Goshen Grammar School, and North Salem Seminary. Studied theology with a Mr. Lewis of Stamford, Connecticut, and a Dr. Benedict of New Jersey. Licensed by Morris County Associated Presbytery, March 18, 1801. Emigrated to Canada and settled in Stamford region about one year. Ordained by "Ontario Association" in East Palmyra, New Jersey, June 9, 1802. Returned to Canada. Ministered in Niagara Peninsula. Minister in Barton, 1814-18. Moved to Grimsby 1819. Joined United Presbytery of Upper Canada. Left United Synod to join Niagara Presbytery in 1833. Rejoined United Synod. Joined Kirk Synod with United Synod in 1840. Joined Free Church Synod 1844. Minister - Free Church, Grimsby 1844-51. Minister without charge 1851 - Died August 4, 1865.

(Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 185-89; F.E.S. 7, p. 632.)

- Fraser, Samuel Cumming - Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1835. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society and ordained March 18, 1844. Admitted to St. Charles, Belle Alliance, 1844. Joined Free Church Synod, 1844. Minister: Port Neuf, 1846-47; MacNab and Horton, 1849-57; MacNab, 1859-68; Thorold, 1871-76. Retired 1877. (F.E.S. 7, p. 634.)
- Harris, James - Born Ireland. Licensed by Presbytery of Monaghan, Northern Ireland Secession Church. Emigrated to Canada, 1820. Organized a congregation in York. According to William Gregg, in 1844, Harris' congregation joined with those who had seceded from St. Andrew's Church to form Knox's Church, Toronto. However, the Minutes of the Free Church Synod (Toronto, 1844) list Harris as minister of "Toronto 1st Presb. Church" while Andrew King is listed as the Officiating Minister of Knox's Church. In 1845, Harris is listed a minister of "York Township"; in 1846, no congregation listed; and in 1847 as minister without charge. Attended Synod though minister without charge. Died, Toronto, September 14, 1873. Age 79. (Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 364-66; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)
- Henry, Thomas - Educated University of Edinburgh. Minister: La Chute (Kirk Synod) 1841-44; La Chute (Free Church) 1844-61.
- Reid, William - Born Kildrummy, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, December 10, 1816. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1833. Licensed 1839. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society and emigrated to Canada. Ordained January 30, 1840. Minister Grafton and Colborne 1840-44; Free Church Grafton and Colborne 1844-49; Picton 1849-53; Editor Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record 1853-75. Agent of Church 1853-61; Clerk of Synod, 1851-61; Moderator of Synod 1850; Moderator of Assembly of Canada Presbyterian Church 1873; Moderator of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1879. D.D. Queen's 1876. (Rattray, Scots in Canada, pp. 864-65; F.E.S. 7, p. 648; Wallace, Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography; Minutes of Synod, 1844-61.)
- Roger, John Morrice - Born Kincardine O'Neil, Scotland, September 14, 1807. Son of a minister. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1827. Licensed by Presbytery of Kincardine O'Neil. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society March 20, 1833. Ordained to Peterborough, Upper Canada, November 10, 1833. Joined Free Church Synod, July 1844. Minister, Peterborough and Caven, 1844-61. Moderator of Synod, 1847. Died January 9, 1878. (F.E.S. 6, p. 102; 7, p. 649.)

Rogers, James - Native of Ireland. Received by Presbytery of Brockville, July 17, 1832. Ordained to Demorestville, Hallowell, and Hillier, June 12, 1833. Joined Kirk Synod 1840. Joined Free Church Synod 1844. Minister, Free Church, Demorestville, 1844-56. Resigned ca. 1856 and emigrated to U.S.A.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 649; Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.)

Smart, William - Born Haddington, Scotland 1788. Educated at Missionary Seminary, Gosport, Hampshire, England, with a view to service in India. Ordained in Scots Church, Swallow Street, London, April 8, 1811. Emigrated to Canada and admitted to Brockville, October 1811. Joined Kirk Synod 1840. Joined Free Church 1844. Minister Free Church, Brockville, 1844-52, Yonge, 1853-54; Minister without charge, Presbytery of Brockville, 1855-61. Died at Gananoque, September 9, 1876.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 651; Minutes of Synod, 1844-61.)

Wightman, Thomas Henderson - Born County Antrim, Ireland, 1800. Son of a merchant. Educated University of Glasgow, M.A. 1819. Ordained to Camden, Canada West, 1844. Minister - Camden, 1844-46; Teacher, Toronto Academy, 1847-48; Minister, York Mills and Scarborough, 1849-52; York Mills, 1853-54; York Mills and Fisherville, 1857-58; Innisfil, Barrie, etc. Moderator of Synod, 1852.
(Minutes of Synod 1844-61; F.E.S. 7, p. 654.)

Ministers Who Remained in the Kirk Synod in 1844

Anderson, James - Born Cromarty, Scotland 1797. Son of a farmer. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen, 1825-29. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, July 16, 1834. Ordained to Ormstown, Lower Canada, July 15, 1835. Died at Ormstown, April 6, 1864.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 625.)

Anderson, Joseph - Born Glasgow, Scotland, 1790. Son of a merchant. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1814. Ordained to Newtown Crommelin in the Irish Presbyterian Church, August 8, 1826. Emigrated to Canada. Admitted to South Gower and Mountain. Joined Church of Scotland Synod 1840. Retired July 1864. Date of death unknown.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 625.)

Barclay, John - Born Ayrshire, Scotland 1812. Son of a merchant. Educated University of Glasgow, M.A. 1832. Ordained to St. Andrew's, Toronto, December 6, 1843. D.D. Glasgow, 1855. Demitted charge October 27, 1870. Died at Toronto, September 27, 1887.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 625.)

Bell, Andrew - Born London, England, 1805. Son of Rev. William Bell, sometime minister at Perth, Canada West. Educated University of Glasgow. Ordained to Streetsville, in either 1825 or 1828. Joined Kirk Synod 1834. Minister, Ancaster and Dundas, 1847-52; L'Orignal 1852-56. Died at L'Orignal, September 27, 1856.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 626; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 370-71.)

Bell, George - Son of Rev. William Bell. Educated Queen's College, B.A. 1847. LL.D. Queen's 1874. Ordained to Cumberland May 30, 1844. Minister, Simcoe 1848-57; Clifton, Niagara 1857-73; Walkerton 1874. Died sometime before 1898.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 626.)

Bell, William - Born Airdrie, Scotland, 1780. Son of a weaver. Educated University of Glasgow. Ordained March 4, 1817 by Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh. Emigrated to Canada. Minister Perth, Upper Canada, 1817-57. Joined Kirk Synod 1835. Died August 16, 1857. Wrote Hints to Emigrants (Edinburgh, 1824).
(F.E.S. 7, p. 626; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 196-200.)

Black, Edward - Born Wigtownshire, Scotland, December 10, 1793. Son of a minister. Educated University of Edinburgh. Licensed by Presbytery of Wigtown, June 1815. Assistant to his father, 1817-22. Assistant minister at St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal, 1822-31. Minister of St. Paul's Church, Montreal, 1831 - D.D. Edinburgh 1837. Died May 7, 1845.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 627.)

Bryning, John - Born in England, 1769. Licensed by United Presbytery of Upper Canada, August 1830. Ordained to Mt. Pleasant, November 3, 1830. Died at Mt. Pleasant, September 15, 1853.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 628; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 771-72.)

Buchan, Alexander - Born Foulis, Perthshire, Scotland, 1795. Educated University of Edinburgh. Licensed Presbytery of Dalkeith. Appointed by Church of Scotland Colonial Committee. Ordained to Leeds and St. Sylvestre, Canada East, October 17, 1842. Returned to Scotland, admitted to Stanley, March 20, 1851. Appointed to Bannockburn, July 11, 1854. Received a renewed commission from Church of Scotland Colonial Committee, returned to Canada, and was admitted to Stirling (Presbytery of Kingston), November 12, 1856. Died July 18, 1875.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 628.)

Campbell, Peter Colin - Born January 21, 1810. Son of the Minister at Ardchattan. Educated University of Edinburgh - M.A. 1829. Ordained by Presbytery of Inverary as minister of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Brockville, Upper Canada, September 15, 1835 and admitted 1836. Appointed Professor of Classical Literature, Queen's College, May 22, 1840. Returned to Scotland and admitted to Caputh, September 25, 1845. M.A. King's College, Aberdeen, 1854. Professor of Greek, King's College, Aberdeen, 1854. Appointed Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, October 1855. D.D. Edinburgh and King's College, 1855. Appointed first Principal of University of Aberdeen, September 15, 1860. Died December 12, 1876. His publications include: Christ Our Advocate (Murray Lecture, Aberdeen, 1856); The Theory of Ruling Eldership (Edinburgh, 1866); Idolatry and Christianity; Obedience the Way to Faith and Knowledge; What to Desire and Expect from the Divine Goodness; Watchfulness (Murray Lectures, Aberdeen, 1860).
(F.E.S. 7, pp. 378-79.)

Cook, John - Born Sanquhar, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, April 13, 1805. Son of an artificer. Educated at Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Assistant minister at Cardross. Ordained by Presbytery of Dumbarton 1835. Admitted to St. Andrew's, Quebec City, 1836. D.D. Glasgow 1838. Moderator of Kirk Synod 1839, 1844. Served as Temporary Principal and Professor of Divinity in Queen's College, 1857-59. Principal of Morrin College, Quebec City, 1861-92. First Moderator of General Assembly of Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1875. LL.D. Queen's University 1880. Died at Quebec City, April 1, 1892.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 631; Rattray, Scots in Canada, III, pp. 905-07.)

Cruikshank, John - Born Fordyce, Scotland, 1803. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1821. Appointed Murray lecturer at King's, 1827 - "On the Superiority of the Gospel Information Regarding the Divine Nature." Ordained 1828. Called to St. Andrew's, Ottawa, September 17, 1829 and admitted March 4, 1830. Moderator of Kirk Synod 1835. Minister, Brockville, 1843-46; Niagara, 1846-49. Returned to Scotland and admitted to Turriff (Presbytery of Turriff) September 19, 1850. D.D. Aberdeen 1866. Died, London, June 13, 1892.
(F.E.S. 6, p. 273; 7, p. 631; Minutes of Kirk Synod.)

Dickey, John - Born Ireland. Joined Kird Synod 1840. Admitted to Williamsburg (Presbytery of Glengarry) 1841. Died 1851 at Williamsburg.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 631.)

Evans, David - Born Ireland. Educated University of Glasgow. Ordained 1815. Minister Ste. Thérèse, Lower Canada, 1823-41; Richmond, Canada West, 1841-52; Kitley, Canada West, 1852-62.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 633; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., p. 369.)

Ferguson, Peter - Born Bridge of Teith, Scotland. Educated University of Glasgow and United Secession Divinity Hall. Licensed by United Associate Presbytery of Falkirk and Stirling, 1830. Emigrated to Canada. Ordained to West Williamsburg April 1831 by United Presbytery of Upper Canada. Admitted to Esquesing April 11, 1832. Joined Kirk Synod 1834. Died 1863.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 633; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., p. 373.)

Fraser, Thomas - Born Johnstone, Renfrewshire, Scotland, 1791. Son of a merchant. Educated University of Glasgow. Ordained May 18, 1819 to Relief Church, Dalkeith. Demitted May 9, 1826. Emigrated to Canada. Admitted to Niagara 1827. Emigrated to United States. Attached to Dutch Reformed Church. Returned to Canada. Admitted to Lanark 1844. Retired 1861. Died at Montreal, July 15, 1884.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 634.)

Galloway, George - Born Peterhead, Scotland, 1814. Son of a shoemaker. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1833. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society 'Missionary at Large' to Upper Canada. Ordained to Markham, February 4, 1840. Died November 11, 1844 at Markham.
(F.E.S. 7, p. 634.)

George, James - Born Perthshire, Scotland, November 8, 1800. Son of a farmer. Educated Universities of Glasgow and St. Andrews, and at United Secession Hall. Emigrated to United States 1829. Ordained by Associate Reformed Presbytery of New York, September 21, 1831. Ministered at Philadelphia and Ft. Cavington, New York. Emigrated to Canada, 1833. Minister - St. Andrew's, Scarborough, 1833-47; Belleville, 1847-48; Scarborough, 1848-53. Professor of Systematic Theology, Queen's College, 1846-53; Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Queen's 1853-62; Vice-Principal, Queen's, 1854-57. D.D. Glasgow, 1855. Minister, Stratford, 1862-70. Died at Stratford August 26, 1870. Published: The Sabbath School of the Fireside (Kingston, 1859); Thoughts on High Themes (Toronto, 1874). (F.E.S. 7, p. 635; Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography.)

Grigor, Colin - Born Ross-shire, Scotland. Educated King's College, Aberdeen, 1817-1821. Licensed by Presbytery of Aberdeen. Appointed by Colonial Committee and Ordained to L'Orignal 1844. Admitted to Guelph, February, 1848. Translated to Plantagenet, 1857. Died at Plantagenet, January 9, 1864. (F.E.S. 7, p. 636.)

Johnson, Thomas - Born Ahoghill, Country Antrim, Ireland. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed by Associate Presbytery of Antrim, 1822. Emigrated to Canada 1827. Ministered at Ernestown. Admitted to Chinquacousy 1834. Joined Kirk Synod, August 4, 1840. Resigned June 1862. Died August 30, 1866. In 1844 he remained in the Kirk Synod but the majority of his congregation went into the Free Church. (F.E.S. 7, p. 638.)

King, William - Born 1790. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed by Synod of Ulster. Emigrated to Canada from Pennsylvania. Organized church at Nelson 1822. Ordained 1824. Waterdown added to charge in 1830. Minister until 1852 in Nelson and Waterdown. Died March 13, 1859. (F.E.S. 7, p. 638; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., pp. 368-69.)

Lambie, James - Born Tarbolton, Ayrshire, Scotland, 1805. Son of a farmer. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1822. Ordained to Pickering and Whitby 1841. Died September 16, 1847. (F.E.S. 7, p. 638.)

Lapeltrie, Emile - Emigrated to Canada under auspices of London Missionary Society. Ordained to St. John's Church, Montreal, September 2, 1841. Returned to France in 1850 because of ill-health. (F.E.S. 7, p. 639; Campbell, Hist. St. Gabriel Street Church, p. 778.)

- Lewis, Alexander - Born Ulster 1790. Minister St. Mary's, County Guysborough, Nova Scotia, 1816-1835. Admitted to Caledon and Mono, Upper Canada, 1837. Joined Kirk Synod 1840. Demitted 1865. Died December 4, 1878. (F.E.S. 7, p. 639.)
- Liddell, Thomas - Born St. Ninian, Sterlingshire, Scotland, October 18, 1800. Educated Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Licensed by Presbytery of Stranraer, March 7, 1827. Minister Montrose 1829-31; Lady Glenorchy's, Edinburgh, 1831-1841; Queen's College, Kingston, Canada West, 1841-46. Taught philosophy, logic, Hebrew, Church History and Theology at Queen's. D.D. Edinburgh 1841. Returned to Scotland 1846. Admitted to Lochmaben (Presbytery of Lochmaben; Synod of Dumfries) March 29, 1850. Died June 11, 1880. (F.E.S. 2, p. 215; D.C.B. X, pp. 441-42.)
- Mair, William - Born Glasgow, Scotland, 1798. Son of an artificer. Educated University of Glasgow, 1812-1818. Licensed by Presbytery of Glasgow, 1821. Served as assistant at Cardross. Appointed by Colonial Committee and ordained to Chatham and Grenville, Lower Canada, July 26, 1833. Died October 17, 1860. (F.E.S. 7, p. 645.)
- McClatchey, George - Born Ireland. Ordained by Secession Church in Ireland. Admitted to Clinton and Grimsby, Upper Canada, May 23, 1834. Joined Kirk Synod 1840. Demitted because of ill-health, September 29, 1852. Died at London, 1857. (F.E.S. 7, p. 640.)
- McColl, Alexander - Probably son of an Inverness-shire farmer. Educated University of Glasgow. Minister Aldborough, Canada West, 1842- (F.E.S. 7, p. 640.)
- McGill, Robert - Born Ayr, Scotland, May 21, 1798. Son of a schoolmaster. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed by Presbytery of Glasgow. Ordained by Presbytery of Glasgow, July 15, 1829. Minister: Niagara, 1829-1845; St. Paul's, Montreal, 1845-56. Moderator of Kirk Synod, 1839; Clerk of Synod, 1831-33; 1835. Founding editor of Canadian Christian Examiner, 1837-40. D.D. Glasgow, 1853. Died at Montreal, February 4, 1856. Wrote: Brief Notes on the Relation of the Synod of Canada to the Church of Scotland (Niagara, 1844); Letters on the Condition and Prospects of Queen's College, Kingston (Montreal, 1846); Discourses Preached on Various Occasions (Montreal, 1853). (F.E.S. 7, p. 641; Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography.)

Machar, John - Born ca. 1796, Tannadice, Forfarshire, Scotland. Son of a farmer and flax-miller. Educated King's College, Aberdeen (M.A. 1814) and at University of Edinburgh. Served as tutor in family of Capt. Allardice of Murlingden. Licensed by Presbytery of Brechin, October, 1819. Assistant minister, Brechin and Montrose Cathedral. Tutor to family of Sir William Ogilvy of Inverquhar, 1823-25. Assistant minister, Logie, Stirlingshire, 1825-26. Selected by Presbytery of Edinburgh and ordained to St. Andrew's, Kingston, April 27, 1827. Moderator of Kirk Synod 1833. Taught Hebrew at Queen's College. Acting Principal of Queen's, 1846-53. D.D. Glasgow 1847. Died February 7, 1863. (F.E.S. 7, p. 642; D.C.B. IX, pp. 495-96.)

M'Isaac, John - Ordained to Lochiel, April 30, 1835. Returned to Scotland and admitted to Oban, January 8, 1846. (F.E.S. 7, p. 642.)

M'Kenzie, John - Born Fort Augustus, 1790. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1813. Ordained for service in Canada, December 23, 1818. Admitted to Williamstown, 1819. Moderator of Kirk Synod 1831. Died April 21, 1855. (F.E.S. 7, p. 642.)

M'Kid, Alexander - Born Thurso, Scotland, 1820. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1842. Appointed by Colonial Committee. Minister: St. Andrew's, Ottawa, 1844-45; Hamilton, 1845-48; Goderich, 1848-66. Retired 1866. Died 1873. (F.E.S. 7, p. 643.)

M'Laren, John - Born Balquhiddy, 1807. Educated University of Glasgow. Missionary at St. Columba's, Glasgow. Appointed by Colonial Committee. Ordained to Martintown, August 6, 1840. Died at Martintown, March 22, 1855. (F.E.S. 7, p. 643.)

Macmorine, John - Born Sanquhar, Scotland, 1799. Educated University of Edinburgh. Emigrated to Canada. Assistant at Quebec City, 1837. Admitted to Melbourne, Lower Canada, June 29, 1839. Resigned 1844. Taught at High School of Quebec, 1844-45. Minister, Ramsay, Canada West, 1846-. D.D. Queen's 1865. Died at Almonte, May 22, 1867. (F.E.S. 7, p. 644.)

Macmurchy, John - Born Argyll-shire, Scotland, 1800. Son of a farmer. Educated Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow. Emigrated to Canada 1840. Admitted to West Guillembury, January 19, 1842. Translated to Eldon, 1844. Died at Eldon, 1866. (F.E.S. 7, p. 644.)

M'Pherson, Thomas - Born Ross-shire, Scotland. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1827. Emigrated to Canada. Minister: Beechridge, 1836-1843. Translated to Lancaster, 1843. Refused to enter the Union of 1875. Minister of Cote St. George, 1877-1886. (F.E.S. 7, p. 645.)

Mann, Alexander - Born Aberdeen, Scotland ca. 1800. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1819. Appointed by Colonial Committee and ordained by Presbytery of Aberdeen, 1840. Admitted, February 16, 1841 to Fitzroy, Turbolton, Packenham, Macnab and Horton, Canada West. Minister, Packenham 1851-71. D.D. Queen's 1876. Died September 15, 1884. (F.E.S. 7, p. 645.)

M'Naughton, Peter - Born Comrie, Scotland, 1799. Son of a farmer. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1821. Ordained by Presbytery of Auchterarder, March 1833. To Canada with Glasgow Colonial Society. Admitted to Vaughan, Upper Canada, August 21, 1833. Demitted July 1844 upon receiving presentation by Earl of Cawdor to Dores (Presbytery of Inverness). Admitted September 27, 1844. Demitted June 1846. Returned to Canada. Admitted to Vaughan, September 1847. Translated to Pickering 1848. Resigned all connection with the church, November 21, 1855. Died, May 10, 1878. (F.E.S. 6, pp. 451-52; 7, p. 644.)

Mathieson, Alexander - Born Renton, Dunbartonshire, Scotland, October 1, 1795. Son of a copperplate printer. Educated University of Glasgow - M.A. 1814. Tutor for ten years in family of one Robert Campbell, Rosneath. Licensed by Presbytery of Dunbarton, 1823. Ordained by Presbytery of Dunbarton, October 19, 1826, for St. Andrew's, Montreal. Moderator of Kirk Synod, 1832, 1860. D.D. Glasgow 1837. Died February 14, 1870. Wrote: The Moral and Religious Influence of Autumn: A Sermon in Three Parts (Montreal, 1849). (F.E.S. 7, pp. 645-46; Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography; Rattray, Scots in Canada, III, pp. 850-53.)

Merlin, John - Born Derry, Ireland, 1781. Educated University of Glasgow. Emigrated to Canada and admitted to Hemmingford 1822. Joined Kirk Synod 1841. Retired 1856. Died November 2, 1866. (F.E.S. 7, p. 646; Gregg, Hist. P.C.C., p. 369.)

Muir, James Creighton - Educated University of Edinburgh. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, April 29, 1836. Ordained to Georgetown, Lower Canada, September 1836. Moderator of Synod 1849. D.D. Queen's 1858. Died 1881. (F.E.S. 7, p. 647.)

Neill, Robert - Born Dunipace, Stirlingshire, Scotland 1804. Educated University of Glasgow. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, 1837, for service in Montreal. Assistant in St. Andrew's, Montreal, Valcartier, Kingston. Ordained to Seymour, January 29, 1840. Member of Board of Trustees, Queen's College, 1848-1858, 1871-1875. D.D. Queen's 1872. Demitted charge 1884. Died January 23, 1890. (F.E.S. 7, p. 647.)

Purkis, Isaac - Born Hampshire, England. Minister of an Independent Church. Admitted to Osnabruck, 1839. Joined Kirk Synod 1841. Died, October 16, 1852. (F.E.S. 7, p. 648.)

Roach, Walter - Born, Edinburgh, Scotland ca. 1808. Educated University of Edinburgh. Licensed by Presbytery of Edinburgh. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, March 15, 1833. Ordained at Quebec, November 21, 1833 as first minister of Beauharnois, St. Louis, Chateauguay. Clerk of Presbytery of Quebec 1838-41; Clerk, Presbytery of Montreal 1842-48. Moderator of Kirk Synod, 1847. Died, August 27, 1849. (F.E.S. 7, p. 649.)

Romanes, George - Born Berwickshire. Educated University of Edinburgh. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, March 15, 1833. Minister Smith's Falls 1834-38; St. Francis, 1839-40; Smith's Falls and Elmsley, 1841; Smith's Falls, 1842-46. Professor of Classical Literature and Moral Philosophy, Queen's College 1846-49. Emigrated to England in 1850 and settled in London. LL.D. Queen's 1866. Died in Oxford, England, May 23, 1894. (F.E.S. 7, p. 649.)

Ross, Alexander - Born Ross-shire, Scotland 1794. Educated King's College, Aberdeen 1818-1822. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, April 22, 1829. Ordained by Presbytery of Toronto, June 30, 1829. Minister: Aldborough 1830-42; Woolwich, 1843-46; Innisfil and Gwillimbury, 1846-55. Died March 14, 1857. (F.E.S. 7, p. 650.)

Shanks, David - Born 1801. Educated University of Glasgow. Emigrated to Canada 1832. Acted as Missionary at Montreal. Minister at St. Eustache 1833-47; Valcartier, 1847. Joined Kirk Synod 1841. Died November 12, 1871. (F.E.S. 7, p. 650.)

Simpson, William - Born Stirling, Scotland, 1806. Educated University of St. Andrews and Original Secession Theological Hall. Licensed by Original Secession Presbytery of Stirling and Falkirk, 1830. Joined Church of Scotland 1839. Appointed by Colonial Committee for Canada. Ordained 1840. Admitted to Lachine. Minister - Lachine 1844-1886. Refused to enter Union of 1875. (F.E.S. 7, p. 650.)

Smith, John - Born Cromarty, Scotland, January 19, 1801. Son of a minister. Educated King's College, Aberdeen 1814-1819. Ordained in Scotland. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society May 27, 1833. Admitted to Beckwith, November 3, 1833. Died at Beckwith, April 18, 1851. (F.E.S. 7, p. 651.)

Tawse, John - Born Towie, Aberdeenshire, Scotland 1801. Son of a farmer. Educated Marischal College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1821. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society. July 30, 1836. Ordained to King, Upper Canada, March 8, 1837. Demitted 1874. Died 1877. (F.E.S. 7, p. 653.)

Urquhart, Hugh - Born Ross-shire, Scotland 1793. Educated King's College, Aberdeen - M.A. 1815. Licenced Presbytery of Inverness. Ordained Presbytery of Dingwall, August 5, 1822. Emigrated to Canada, October 1822. Preached and taught in Montreal, 1822-27. Helped Henry Esson with Montreal Academic Institution, St. Paul Street. Admitted to St. John's, Cornwall, January 16, 1827. Taught in Cornwall (John Sandfield Macdonald was one of his students). Moderator of Synod 1840. Professor of Biblical Criticism and Ecclesiastical History, Queen's, 1846-57. D.D. Aberdeen 1857. Died February 5, 1871. (F.E.S. 7, p. 654; Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 310, 312.)

Walker, William Montgomery - Born Irvine, Scotland, February 18, 1805. Son of a physician. Educated University of Glasgow. Licensed Presbytery of Irvine 1829. Assistant at St. George's, Glasgow. Appointed by Glasgow Colonial Society, June 5, 1834. Ordained to Scots Church, Huntingdon, Lower Canada, November 5, 1834. Returned to Scotland. Presented to Ochiltree (Presbytery of Ayr) by John, 2nd Marquess of Bute. Admitted August 15, 1844. Died April 24, 1880. (F.E.S. 3, pp. 62-63; 7, p. 654.)

Wilson, Thomas Clark - Born Lesmahagow, Scotland, December 22, 1806. Son of a minister. Educated University of Glasgow. Ordained by Presbytery of Lanark. Emigrated to Canada. Admitted to Perth, Upper Canada, August 18, 1830. Returned to Scotland. Admitted to New Parish, Ardrossan, May 6, 1845. Presented by trustees of Duke of Atholl, June 1846, translated and admitted to Dunkeld, August 27, 1846. Died Joppa, August 3, 1877. (F.E.S. 4, pp. 156-56.)

APPENDIX II

The Original 'Protest' of 1844*

WHEREAS the Church, as the divinely constituted Depositary and Guardian of Revealed Truth, is specially bound to lift up her testimony for those particular truths of revelation which are at any time endangered or overborne by the antagonist powers of this world.

And whereas those great and fundamental truths which respect the supremacy of Christ in his Church,—the spiritual independence of her rules,—their exclusive responsibility to her Great Head,—the rights and privileges of his people, and the proper relation which should subsist between the Church and the State are at the present day endangered, and have actually been overborne in the Established Church of Scotland through recent encroachments of the State upon her spiritual province, and submitted to by her.

And whereas, in righteous testimony against these encroachments, great numbers of office-bearers and members of said Church have solemnly and deliberately come out from her, and are now favourably constituted into the Free Protestant Church of Scotland—a Church which has, during the last twelve months, enjoyed many unequivocal tokens of the approbation of the Great Head.

And whereas, this Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connexion with the Church of Scotland, apart from all considerations of a general kind, which should have led them to testify against the defections and corruptions of the said Established Church, were especially bound to do so, because of their connection with the said Church, and because also of repeated testimonies solemnly and deliberately lifted up by the Synod in former years in behalf of the contendings of those who have been compelled to secede.

And whereas the due and proper testimony against the defections and corruptions of the Established Church of Scotland was a termination of the peculiarly close and untenable connexion in which this Synod stood to her.

And whereas it has been in an orderly and constitutional way proposed to this Synod, having been made the subject of petitions and overtures by congregations and Presbyteries,—and whilst it has been advocated by many of the members, that this Synod should terminate its connexion with said Church, and alter its designation accordingly.

And whereas this Synod has, by the vote of a majority of its members, come to the decision that it shall not terminate said connexion, nor take other such action as was required,

Therefore we, the undersigned Ministers and Elders, members of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connexion with the Church of Scotland, do in our own name, as well as in the name of all who may adhere to us, hereby dissent and protest against said decision for the following reasons:

1. That in our conscientious conviction this Synod thereby giving their virtual sanction to the procedure of the Established Church of Scotland, in the great questions at issue between that Church and the Free Protestant Church of Scotland, and lending the weight of their influence as a Church to the support of principles which are incompatible with the purity and the liberty of any Church by which they are allowed, and which are fitted at the same time to do grievous injury to the cause of the Redeemer throughout the world.
2. That in a cause relating to any Church, in which they have many and obvious views for feeling a very deep and special interest,—a cause, too, in which the honor of Christ's crown and the interests of His kingdom are intimately concerned, they have refused to discharge the obvious duty of lifting up a full and unambiguous testimony for the truth, and thereby strengthening the hands of those who are witnessing for Christ and suffering for His sake.
3. That after solemnly pledging themselves in various forms, and at different times, to maintain the great principles for which the Free Protestant Church is now contending, and which the Established Church of Scotland has practically repudiated,—and after, especially, the import and the sincerity of such pledges had been brought into question by the actings of various ministers, and even of one of the inferior Church Courts—they have virtually receded from these solemn pledges, and destroyed the weight of every expression of their opinions in favour of the aforesaid principles embodied in their records.
4. That by leaving an open door for the admission of ministers and elders from the Established Church of Scotland, holding unsound views on the great principles aforesaid, they have most seriously endangered the purity of the Church, and brought even her independence into peril, through the probable introduction of office bearers prepared to submit to the same encroachments of the civil power, by which the Church of Scotland has been enslaved.

5. That they have rendered the relation in which they stand towards the Established Church of Scotland so doubtful and equivocal, that even their declaration of spiritual independence is necessarily deprived of all significance and weight,—that the terms on which their endowments are held have been, in effect, declared to be such as are incompatible with the proper regulation of their intercourse with other churches, and even with free action in many other matters of great importance; and that, moreover, they have cast away the opportunity of placing this Church on a base on which she might have gathered around her all the sound-hearted Presbyterianism of the Province.
6. That they have given additional weight to the practical argument against establishments furnished by the present position of the Established Church of Scotland, strengthened the hands of those, who, in this province, are denying the lawfulness and expediency of all national endowments for religious purposes, and rejected the opportunity which God, in his providence, had afforded them of proving to the world that entire freedom of action, and a jealous determination to guard against the encroachments of the civil power, were perfectly compatible with the enjoyment of the countenance and support of the state.
7. That in a matter in which the consciences of many of their brethren were aggrieved, and for refusing relief, in regard to which no moral necessity could be pleaded on their part, such relief has nevertheless been refused.

Wherefore, for all these and other reasons which might be stated, we dissent from the decision to which this venerable court yesterday came,—and while feeling painfully the solemnity of our position and deeply distressed in the view of the possible results, that by continuing the peculiar connexion which has hitherto subsisted between them and the Established Church of Scotland, we solemnly protest to this venerable court, before God, the Church of Christ, and the world, that it is our conscientious belief, that, in respect of the premises, sin, in matters fundamental, has been done by this court; and that, while at the same time we continue to adhere to the Confession of Faith, and other standards of this Church, we can yet no longer with a clear conscience, hold office in the Presbyterian Church of Canada, in connexion with the Church of Scotland.

And further, we protest that the guilt of schism lies not on us, but on those who have acted in a way which compels us to depart.

And further also, we protest on behalf of ourselves and those of the people of this Church who may now, or hereafter adhere to us, that we hold ourselves entitled to all the property and emoluments of whatsoever kind, of which we are now in possession.

*Source: Banner, July 12, 1844.

APPENDIX III

United Synod Ministers and the Free Church in Canada*

<u>Name</u>	<u>Country of Origin</u>	<u>Age - 1844</u>	<u>Free Church</u>
William Smart	Scotland	56	yes
Robert Boyd	Ireland	53	yes
William King	Ireland		no
John Gemmell	Scotland		died 1844
Robert Lyle	Ireland		died 1841
John Bryning	England	75	no
George McClatchey	Ireland		no
James Rogers	Ireland		yes
Thomas Johnson	Ireland	49	no
Joseph Anderson	Scotland	54	no
James Douglas	Ireland	52	no
James Cairns			
John Dickey	Ireland		no
Samuel Porter	Ireland	34	no
Alex Lewis	Ulster	54	no
Isaac Purkis	England		no
Daniel Eastman	U.S.		yes
James McAuley			yes

*Source: F.E.S.

Gregg, History of Presbyterian Church in Dominion of Canada (Toronto, 1889).

APPENDIX IV

The Montreal Free Church Committee*

William Bethune	- schoolmaster, later Presbyterian minister
John Redpath	- stone-mason
J.R. Orr	
Archibald Ferguson	- firm of coopers
David Ferguson	- firm of coopers
William McIntosh	
William Hutchison	- builder
James Morrison	- builder
Evandor McIvor	
Archibald McGoun	- bookkeeper
Alexander Fraser	- later sheriff in Ontario
Donald Fraser	- later Free Church minister
Dr. Macnider	- physician
Adam Stevenson	
Joseph McKay	- dry-goods merchant
James Court	- public accountant; land agent

*Source: D. Fraser, Narrative of Rise and Progress of the Free Church, Côté Street, Montreal (Montreal, 1855);
Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church,
 pp. 512-17, 389, 479, 489, 449.

APPENDIX V

Free Church Supporters in St. Gabriel Street*Church, Montreal

- Adam Ferrie - General Merchant - His Free Church Support was probably only support for Esson, possibly for popular rights. Later attended the Unitarian Church.
- William Murray - Bookkeeper; later President of Canada Shipping Co.; Montreal Assurance Co.
- Donald Fraser - later Free Church minister - joined Côté St. Church
- Alex. Fraser - later Sheriff in Ontario - joined Côté St. Church
- William Gunn - Banker - Soon returned to Kirk (St. Paul's)
- Alex. Urquhart - Wholesale grocer - Perhaps personally attached to Esson - Joined St. Andrew's in 1855
- James Turner - Veterinary Surgeon
- Arch. Macfarlane - Wholesale hardware and dry-goods
- Wm. C. Cormack - Dry-goods, clerk, later partner
- Robert Macfarlane - Grocer
- Robert Dalgleish - worked in the Dept. of the Military Secretary - His wife joined Côté St. Church in 1844, he followed after
- David Rea - Bookkeeper
- Andrew Simpson - worked for Simpson and Dawson, brewers
- John Sutherland - Blacksmith, partner with Wm. Burnett
- George Middlemiss - Cabinetmaker
- James Mearns - Cabinetmaker
- William Hutchison - Builder - joined Côté Street Church
- Andrew Wilson - worked for Montreal Herald

*Source: Campbell, History of St. Gabriel St. Church, pp. 474-91.

APPENDIX VI

Free Church Opponents in St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal*

Andrew Shaw	- involved in shipping/telegraph - went to St. Andrew's
Kenneth Walker	- owned a draper's shop
William Laverock	- storeman/grocer
F. Macculloch	- worked for W.M. Peddie
D.P. Ross	- dry-goods merchant
James Logan	- general merchant
Daniel Fisher	- general merchant/auctioneer - brother of John Fisher
James Scott	- wholesale dry-goods merchant
Thomas Ross	- member of Coopers' Guild
John Fisher	- general merchant
Robert Esdaile	- worked for W.M. Peddie/later 1st president of Montreal Corn Exchange - went to St. Andrew's
Donald Ross	- auctioneer/ nephew of D.P. Ross - went to St. Paul's
William Muir	- dry-goods importer - went to St. Paul's
David Handyside	- merchant/distiller - stayed in St. Gabriel's for a few years, later joined St. Thomas' Episcopal Church
D. Gorrie	- brewer/fodder merchant - stayed in St. Gabriel's but still attached to Kirk
Robert McFarlane	- grain broker
W. McCulloch	- civil servant - Indian Dept.
Charles Tait	- bookkeeper for Allison, Turner, & Co.
John Speirs	- dry-goods merchant - went to St. Paul's/ sister went to Coté Street
James Tyre	- dry-goods - went to St. Andrew's

- W.M. Peddie - hardware business - went to St. Andrew's
to 1866 - returned to a reorganized St.
Gabriel Street
- William Suter - merchant
- John Charles Lilly - worked for Peddie and Macculloch
- Colin Macdonald - Town Major - attended St. Andrew's
- Alex. Ferguson - partner in Macpherson and Crane Forward-
ing Co. - went to St. Andrew's
- John Blackwood - merchant
- William Skakel - clerk in ordinance dept.
- James Law - merchant with Isaac Buchanan and Co. -
went to St. Andrew's
- John Rose - school teacher/lawyer/later politician -
stayed at St. Gabriel's until 1845 - went
to St. Paul's

*Source: Campbell, History of St. Gabriel Street Church, pp. 140,
427-435, 469, 491-511.

APPENDIX VII

Formula to be Signed by Ministers, Elders,
Deacons, and Probationers*

I, _____, do hereby declare that I do sincerely own and believe the whole Doctrine contained in the Westminster Confession of Faith, as approved by the Church of Scotland, in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-seven, to be the truths of God, and I do own the purity of worship presently authorised and practised in this Church, and also the Presbyterian Government and Discipline thereof: which Doctrine, Worship, and Church Government I am persuaded are founded upon the Word of God and agreeable thereto; and I promise that, through the grace of God, I shall firmly and constantly adhere to the same, and to the utmost of my power, shall in my station assert, maintain, and defend the said Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church by Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods; that I shall, in my practice conform myself to the said Worship, and submit to the said Discipline and Government, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion of the same; and I promise that I shall follow no divisive course from the present order in the Church; renouncing all doctrines, tenets, and opinions whatsoever contrary to or inconsistent with the said Doctrine, Worship, Discipline or Government of this Church.

Questions to be put to a Minister at his Ordination

1. Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and the only rule of faith and manners?
2. Do you sincerely own and believe the whole doctrine contained in the Confession of Faith, approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in the year 1647, to be founded upon the Word of God; and do you acknowledge the same as the confession of your faith; and will you firmly and constantly adhere thereto, and to the utmost of your power assert, maintain and defend the same, and the purity of worship as presently practised in this Church?
3. Do you disown all Popish, Arian, Socinian, Arminian, Erastian, and other doctrines, tenets, and opinions whatsoever, contrary to or inconsistent with the foresaid Confession of Faith?
4. Believing, as you declare, that the Lord Jesus, as King and Head of the Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hand of Church officers distinct

from the civil magistrate, are you resolved to maintain, and that at all hazards, that in the administration of spiritual things, the Church is bound to act ministerially under Christ her Head, as responsible in such administration to him alone; while, in all things secular and civil, her officers and members are subject to the laws and rules that govern civil society?

5. Are you persuaded that the Presbyterian Government and Discipline of this Church are founded upon the Word of God, and agreeable thereto, and do you promise to submit to the said Government and Discipline, and to concur with the same, and never to endeavour, directly or indirectly, the prejudice or subversion thereof, but to the utmost of your power, in your station, to maintain, support, and defend the said Discipline and Presbyterian Government by Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods, during all the days of your life?
6. Are you persuaded that the pastoral relation can be legitimately founded only on the free choice and consent of the people?
7. Do you promise to submit yourself willingly and humbly, in the spirit of meekness, unto the admonitions of the brethren of this Presbytery, and to be subject to them and all other Presbyteries and the superior judicatory of this Church, where God in his providence shall cast your lot; and that according to your power you will maintain the unity and peace of this Church against error and schism, notwithstanding of whatever trouble or persecution may arise, and that you shall follow no divisive courses from the present Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government of this Church?
8. Are not zeal for the honour of God, love to Jesus Christ, and desire of saving souls, your great motives and chief inducements to enter into the function of the holy ministry, and not worldly designs and interests?
9. Have you used any undue methods, either by yourself or others, in procuring this call?
10. Do you engage, in the strength and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord and Master, to rule well your own family, to live a holy and circumspect life, and faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully to discharge all the parts of the ministerial work, to the edification of the body of Christ?

11. Do you accept of and close with the call to be pastor of this Church, and promise through grace to perform all the duties of a faithful minister of the gospel among this people?

Questions to be put to a Probationer

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the same as the foregoing.
7. Do you promise that you will subject yourself to the several judicatories of this Church, and are you willing to subscribe to these things?

Questions to be put to an Elder

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the same as the foregoing.
7. Do you accept of the office of an Elder of this Church, and promise through grace, faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully, to discharge the duties thereof?

Questions to be put to a Deacon

- 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, the same as the foregoing.
7. Do you accept of the office of a Deacon of this Church, and promise through grace, faithfully, diligently, and cheerfully, to discharge the duties thereof.

The Synod ordained that the aforesaid Formulæ and Questions, shall be used by Presbyteries at the licensing of Probationers, and the ordination and admission of Ministers, and by Sessions at the ordination and admission of Elders and Deacons.

* Source: Kemp, Digest, pp. 11-13.

APPENDIX VIII

Basis of Union between the Presbyterian Church of Canada,
and the United Presbyterian Church in Canada*

The Presbyterian Church of Canada and the United Presbyterian Church in Canada, believing that it would be for the glory of God, and for the advancement of the cause of Christ in the land, that they should be united, and form one Church, do hereby agree to unite on the following Basis, to be subscribed by the Moderators of the respective Synods in their name and behalf; declaring, at the same time, that no inference from the fourth article of said Basis is held to be legitimate, which asserts that the Civil Magistrate has the right to prescribe the faith of the Church, or to interfere with the freedom of her ecclesiastical action; further, that unanimity of sentiment is not required in regard to the practical applications of the principle embodied in the said fourth article, and that whatever differences of sentiment may arise on these subjects, all action in reference thereto shall be regulated by, and be subject to, the recognised principles of Presbyterian Church order.

- I. OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.—That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, being the inspired Word of God, are the supreme and infallible rule of faith and life.
- II. OF THE SUBORDINATE STANDARDS.—That the Westminster Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, are received by this Church as her Subordinate Standards.

But whereas certain sections of the said Confession of Faith, which treat of the power or duty of the Civil Magistrate, have been objected to, as teaching principles adverse both to the right of private judgment in religious matters, and to the prerogative which Christ has vested in his Church, it is to be understood:

1. That no interpretation or reception of these sections is held by this Church, which would interfere with the fullest forbearance as to any difference of opinion which may prevail on the question of the endowment of the Church by the State.
2. That no interpretation or reception of these sections is required by this Church, which would accord to the State any authority to violate the liberty of conscience and right of private judgment which are asserted in chap. XX, sec. 2, of the Confession; and in accordance with the statements of which, this Church holds that every person ought to be at full

liberty to search the Scriptures for himself, and to follow out what he conscientiously believes to be the teaching of Scripture, without let or hindrance; provided that no one is to be allowed under the pretext of following the dictates of conscience, to interfere with the peace and good order of society.

3. That no interpretation or reception of these sections is required by this Church, which would admit of any interference on the part of the State with the spiritual independence of the Church, as set forth in Chap. XXX. of the Confession.

III. OF THE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST OVER THE CHURCH.—That the Lord Jesus Christ is the only King and Head of His Church; and He has made her free from all external or secular authority, in the administration of her affairs, and that she is bound to assert and defend this liberty to the utmost, and ought not to enter into such engagements with any party as would be prejudicial thereto.

IV. OF THE HEADSHIP OF CHRIST OVER THE NATIONS AND THE DUTY OF THE CIVIL MAGISTRATE.—That the Lord Jesus Christ, as Mediator, is invested with universal sovereignty, and is therefore King of Nations, and that all men, in every capacity and relation, are bound to obey His will as revealed in His Word; and particularly, that the Civil Magistrate (including under that term all who are in any way concerned in the Legislative or Administrative action of the State) is bound to regulate his official procedure, as well as his personal conduct, by the revealed will of Christ.

V. OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT.—That the system of polity established in the Westminster Form of Presbyterian Church Government, in so far as it declares a plurality of Elders for each congregation, the official equality of Presbyters, without any officers in the Church superior to the said Presbyters, and the unity of the Church, in a due subordination of a smaller part to a larger, and of a larger to the whole, is the Government of this Church, and is, in the features of it herein set forth, believed by this Church to be founded on and agreeable to the Word of God.

VI. OF WORSHIP.—That the ordinances of worship shall be administered in this Church, as they have heretofore been, by the respective Bodies of which it is composed, in a general accordance with the directions contained in the Westminster Directory of Worship.

*Source: Minutes of the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, (June 1861), pp. 12-14.

APPENDIX IX

Identifiable Elders - Synod of 1857*

James Gibb of Quebec City	- President of the Quebec Bank
John Redpath of Montreal	
James Court of Montreal	- of Court & McIntosh, Accountants (sat as designated elder for Inverness)
F.W. Torrance of Montreal	- of Torrance and Morris, Advocates (sat as designated elder for St. Louis de Gonzague)
Adiel Sherwood of Brookville	- Sheriff
J. Hunter of Cornwall	- Tinsmith
Neil Stewart of Vankleek Hill	- Crown Land Agent
Thomas Smith of Mitchell	- Iron founder, blacksmith, and carriagemaker
Arch. Young of Sarnia	- either a nurseryman & florist or a general dealer & insurance agent
William Clerk	- Presbyterian Mission Agent (London)
A.D. Ferrier of Fergus	- conveyancer and agent for British Fire Insurance Co.
Charles Allan of Elora	- J.P.; Reeve of County; Land Agent; Agent for Bank of Upper Canada
Robert Balmer of Oakville	- Postmaster; Clerk of Division Court; commissioner in Queen's Bench; Conveyancer
Alex. Fraser of Cobourg	- Probably agent for the Montreal Fire Insurance Co.
Allan McIntosh	- J.P.
Jeremiah Simmons of Trenton and Consecon	- Clerk of Council and Division Court; agent for Times and Beacon Fire Insurance Co.

- James Gibson of Brock Street Church, Kingston - "Steward"
- James Stewart of Chalmers Church, Kingston - architect & builder
- James Shaw of Toronto - of Shaw, Turnbull & Co.,
importers and wholesale dry
goods merchants and Treasurer
of the St. Andrew's Society
- Hon. John Macdonald - farmer and school trustee
(Gananoque)

* Source: Minutes of Synod 1857.

Lovell's Canada Directory for 1857-58, passim.
(pp. 226, 862, 308, 477, 105, 109, 76, 821,
853, 150, etc.)

TABLES

TABLE 1

Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in Connection with the Church of Scotland*

No.	Location	Moderator	Clerk(s)	Synod Roll			Attendance Record			
				Congregations	Ministers	Elders	Ministers	%	Elders	%
11	Kingston	J. McKenzie	R. McGill		19		15		7	
12	Kingston	A. Mathieson	R. McGill				12		2	
13	York	J. Machar	R. McGill	25	25	13	18	72	2	15
14	Montreal (adjourned)	A. Connel	J. Mackenzie				7		2	
14	Montreal	A. Connel	J. Mackenzie 'pro tempora'		41	11	17	41	4	36
15	Williamstown	J. Cruickshank	R. McGill	46	43	26	29	67	8	31
16	Kingston	W. Rintoul	A. Gale	50	49	21	26	53	4	19
17	Toronto	A. Gale	W. Rintoul	56	52	30	28			
18	Montreal	J. Cook		57	54	28	24	44	9	32

TABLE 1 (Cont'd)

ar	Location	Moderator	Clerk(s)	Synod Roll			Attendance		Record	
				Congregations	Ministers	Elders	Ministers	%	Elders	%
39	Kingston	R. McGill	A. Gale	58	55	32	20	36	7	22
40	Toronto	H. Urquhart		83 (includes United Synod)	77	34	34	57	10	29
41	Kingston	J. George	A. Gale	92	82	42	36	44	13	31
42	Montreal	H. Esson	A. Gale	86	84**	33	36	43	5	15
43	Toronto	J. Clugston	W. Rintoul A. Bell	88	86***+	57	42	49	17	30
44	Kingston	M.Y. Stark - - - - - J. Cook	W. Rintoul A. Bell	91	91**	69	67	74	40	58
44	Montreal	J. Cook	A. Bell	67	63**	44	32	51	10	23

A&P PCC in Connex CofS, 1831-1844.

Includes 2 Queen's Professors 1842-1844.

Includes 2 ministers who then left Synod.

TABLE 2

Free Church in Canada, 1844-1861*

Year	Location	Moderator	Clerk(s)	Synod Roll			Attendance Record			
				Congregations	Ministers	Elders	Ministers	%	Elders	%
1844 (July)	Kingston	M.Y. Stark	W. Rintoul	23	23					
1844 (Oct.)	Toronto	M.Y. Stark	W. Rintoul	53	32	31	23	72	15	48
1845	Cobourg	Robt. Burns	W. Rintoul	40	33	31	20	61	10	32
1846	Hamilton	John Bayne	W. Rintoul	53	47	36	35	74	26	72
1847	Kingston	John M. Roger	W. Rintoul	86	54	39	27	50	13	49
1848	Toronto	Don. McKenzie	W. Rintoul	92	58	46	39	67	20	43
1849	Toronto	Michael Willis	W. Rintoul	106	61	46	44	72	22	49
1850	Toronto	Wm. Reid	W. Rintoul	111	65	52	43	66	24	46
1851	Kingston	Robt. Boyd	Wm. Reid John Burns	105	73	57	46	63	30	53

TABLE 2 (Cont'd)

No.	Location	Moderator	Clerk(s)	Synod Roll			Attendance Record			
				Congregations	Ministers	Elders	Ministers	%	Elders	%
52	Kingston	Thomas Wightmen	Wm. Reid John Burns	115	81	57	50	62	26	46
53	Hamilton	Alex Gale	Wm. Reid	124	89	69	66	74	47	68
54	Toronto	Henry Gordon	Wm. Reid	107	92	72	71	77	39	54
55	Montreal	Thomas Lowry	Wm. Reid	105	104	71	63	61	30	42
56	London	George Cheyne	Wm. Reid	121	110	102	78	71	51	50
57	Kingston	George Smellie	Wm. Reid	129	124	80	87	70	45	56
58	Hamilton	J. Wardrope	Wm. Reid	139	131	92	106	81	66	72
59	Toronto	G.P. Young	Wm. Reid	153	143	105	108	76	56	53
60 (une)	Hamilton	W.B. Clark	Wm. Reid	168	151	106	111	74	68	64
60 (ct.)	Toronto	W.B. Clark	Wm. Reid	168	150	108	52	35	22	20
61	Montreal	Wm. Gregg	Wm. Reid	158	158	128	113	72	74	58

Source: Minutes of Synod 1844-1861.

TABLE 3

Population of Lower Canada According to Religion (Major Denominations) 1831-1861*

Denomination	1831		1844		1851-52		1861	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Roman Catholic	412,717	74.6	572,439	82.0	746,854	83.8	943,253	94.8
Church of England	34,620	6.2	43,527	6.2	44,682	5.0	63,487	5.7
Church of Scotland	15,069	2.7	26,702	3.8	4,047	.45	23,730	2.1
Wesleyans			10,797	1.5	5,799	.65	25,957	2.3
Other Presbyterians	7,018	1.2	5,279	.75	29,159	3.2	5,149	.46
Free Church					267	.029	14,856	1.3
Other Methodists			5,026	.72	15,400	1.7	4,887	.43
Baptists	2,461	.4	4,063	.58	4,493	.50	7,751	.69
Total population			697,084		890,261		1,111,566	

*Sources: Censuses for 1831, pp. 108-09; 1844, pp. 146-47; 1851-52, pp. 204-05; 1860-61, pp. 284-87.

FIGURES

FIGURE 1

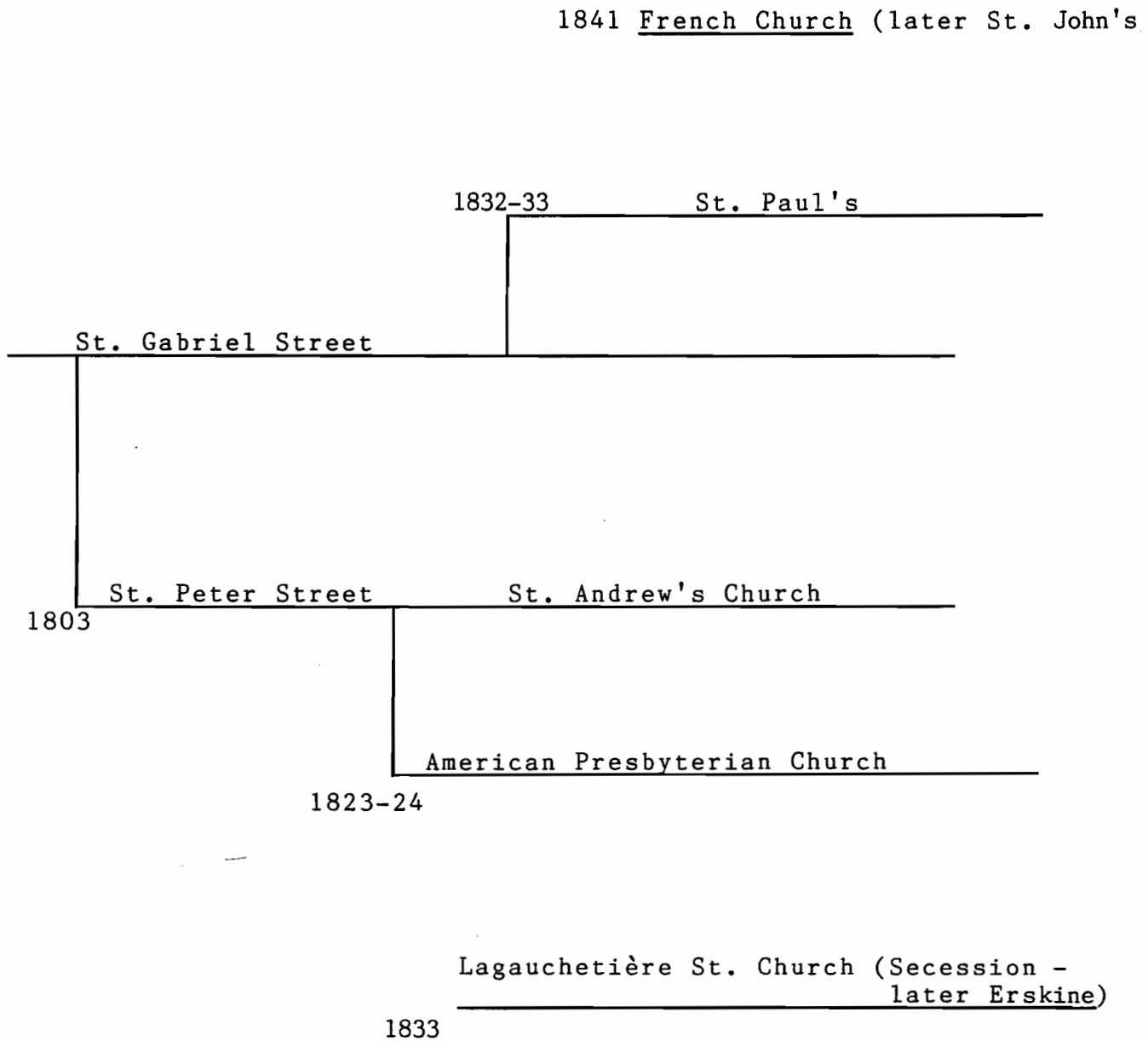
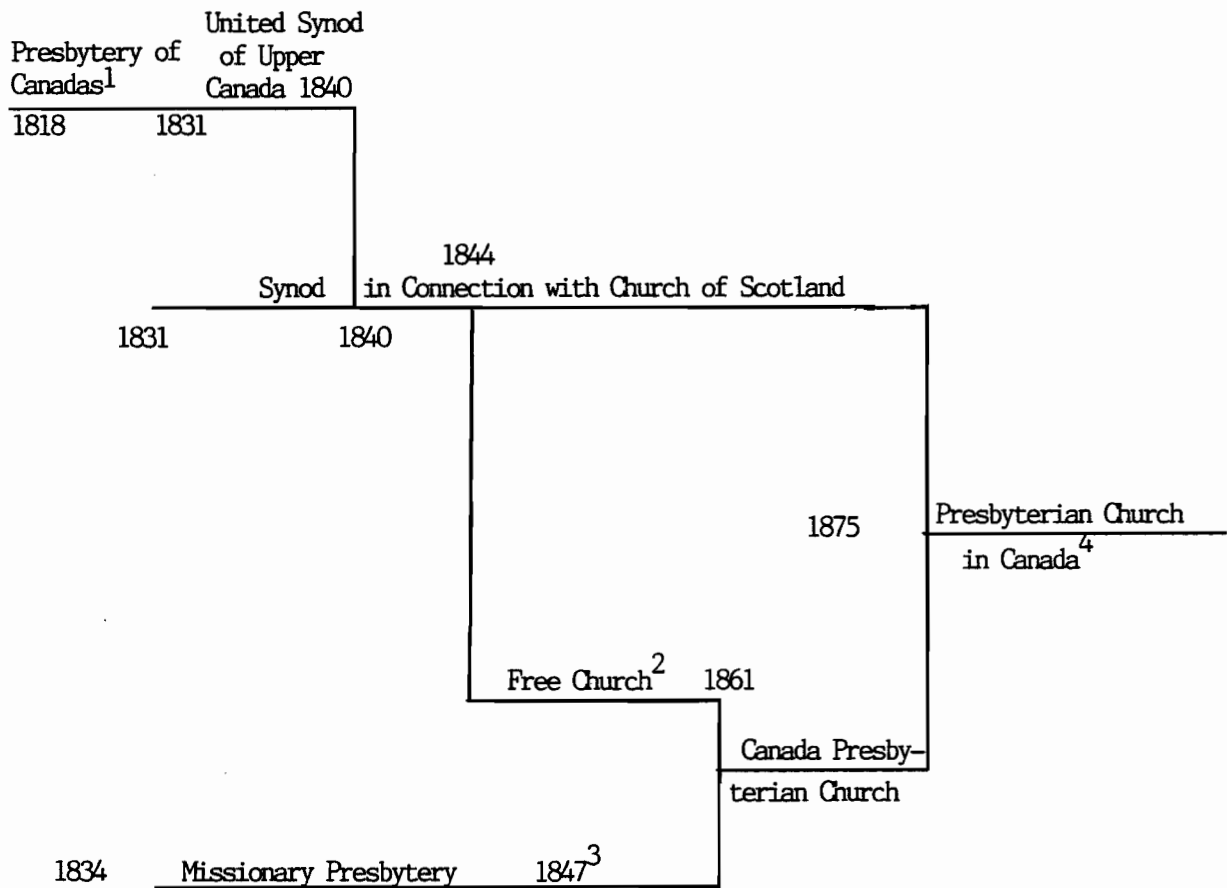
Presbyterianism in Montreal 1786-1844

FIGURE 2

Major Presbyterian Unions and Divbisions in the Canadas1818-1875

¹ Name changed to United Presbytery of Upper Canada before becoming United Synod of Upper Canada in 1831.

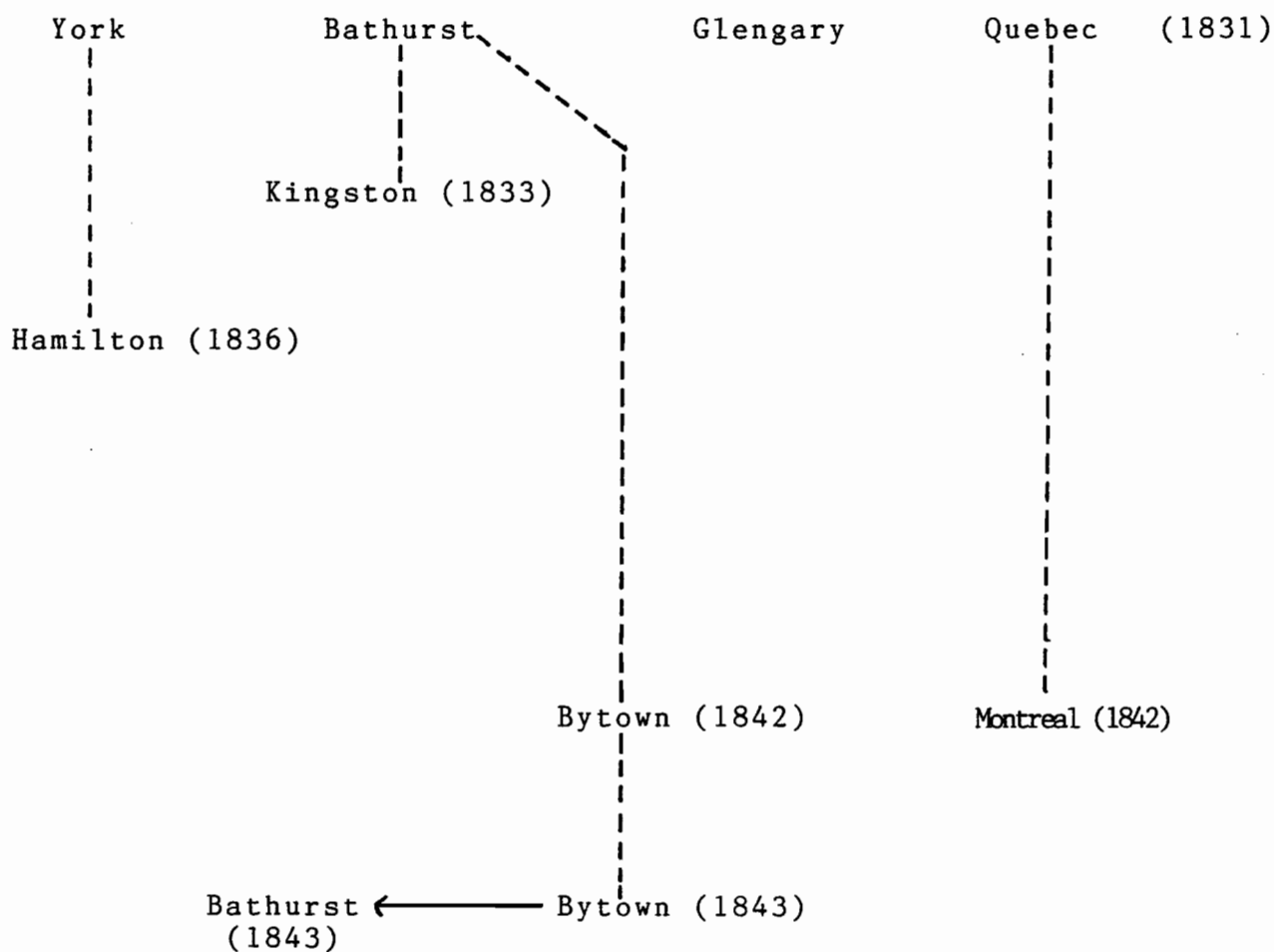
² Official name - Presbyterian Church of Canada.

³ Name changed to United Presbyterian Church in Canada.

⁴ Included two Maritime Synods.

FIGURE 3

The Development of Ecclesiastical Structures Within
the Church of Scotland Synod 1831-1844

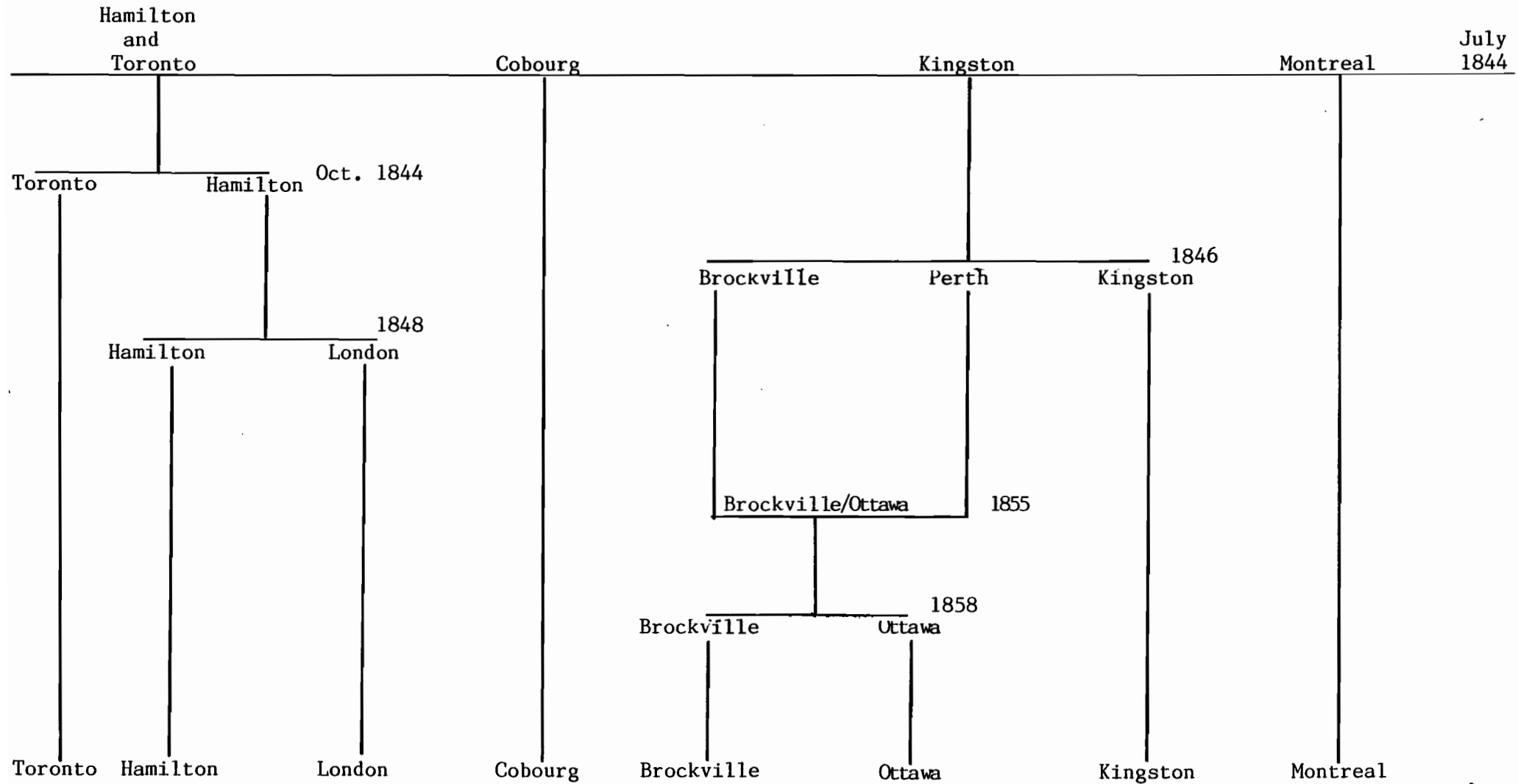


- - - - - indicates division of existing Presbytery and formation of new Presbytery.

————— indicates reunion of two Presbyteries.

FIGURE 4

Presbytery Divisions - 1844-1861



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1. INTRODUCTION
2. PRIMARY SOURCES
 - I. Manuscript
 - A. Private Papers
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 - A. Church Records
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 - C. Memoirs, Pamphlets, Sermons, Treatises
 - D. Newspapers and Periodicals
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3. SECONDARY SOURCES
 - I. Books and Monographs
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 - III. Theses and Unpublished Studies
 - IV. Dictionaries, Biographical Aids, etc.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. INTRODUCTION

The most important sources for the history of the Free Church in Canada are the printed Minutes of Synod (2 vols., 1844-1861) and The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record (1844-1861). The Synod was the highest court of the church and exercised both a judicial and a legislative function. It thus heard appeals from the lower courts (Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries) and enacted new law for the guidance of all church members. Meetings of the Synod were held once a year, in varying locations (usually Toronto, Montreal, Hamilton or Kingston) and would last for approximately one week. They would be attended by both ministers and elders, and served as a parliamentary forum for the discussion and debate of church matters. The Minutes of this body thus provide a continuous and overall view of the church's activities, an outline of the debate on key issues, and a glimpse into the procedures employed. The Minutes for some years also included the reports of the various Synod committees. These Synod Minutes were collated and organized topically in A.F. Kemp's Digest of the Minutes of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Montreal, 1861). This contains most of the material found in the published Minutes along with some additional material. The manuscript minutes of Synod, available at the United Church Archives adds little of substance to the printed version.

The Ecclesiastical and Missionary Record was the official organ of the church, and is indispensable in helping to fill the gaps left by the Minutes. It was published monthly at Streetsville, Hamilton, and Toronto under the successive editorship of the Rev. Alexander Gale, Mr. John Burns, and the Rev. William Reid. Its contents were varied, including accounts of Synod and Presbytery meetings, congregational activities, accounts of missionary tours throughout the Provinces, religious news from Britain and Europe, editorial opinion, and letters from its readers. The Presbyterian College, Montreal has an almost complete edition of the Record.

There are only a few manuscript collections extant which relate to the Free Church. The private papers of only a handful of ministers survive. Those that do are located either at the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (housed at Knox College, Toronto) or at the United Church Archives (housed at Emmanuel College of Victoria University, Toronto). At the Presbyterian Church Archives is a small collection of Mark Young Stark papers, the H.S. McCollum Papers, the William Proudfoot papers, as well there are a few items of William Bell, Robert Boyd, George Cheyne, Elizabeth and Henry Esson, Andrew Ferrier, John Jennings, William King, R.J. McDowell, and George Paxton Young. At the risk of over-systematization, these have been grouped together under the term 'Papers.' Stark was for many years the minister at Ancaster and Dundas, was the first Moderator of the Free Church Synod, and was an important member of the church. Unfortunately, this collection of Stark papers contains little beyond receipts for personal financial transac-

tions. The four boxes of McCollum Papers contain material chiefly relating to the Presbytery of Hamilton and mainly concerning local finances and ministerial appointments. William Proudfoot was one of the leading ministers of the United Presbyterian Church. The collection of his correspondence contains some letters to Free Church ministers. The United Church Archives contains a larger and more useful collection of Mark Young Stark Papers. Of particular interest are a series of letters, written to various members of his family, and covering the crucial months of 1844 as Stark anticipated the July Synod. The archives also contain the papers of Dr. Robert Burns, Minister of Knox's Church, Toronto, and Professor of Church History at Knox College. These include Burns' sermon and lecture (in his hieroglyphic shorthand), but not much of substance.

The papers of various prominent laymen survive, and these contain varying amounts of material which is relevant to a study of the Free Church. At the Queen's University Archives are the papers of one of the Church of Scotland Synod's most important laymen, William Morris. At the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa are the Isaac Buchanan Papers and the George Brown Papers. Both of these men were active members of the Free Church at various stages of her history. The Buchanan papers, in particular, shed light on the Church's early financial concern and illuminate aspects of the clerical/laity tension.

Some Presbytery records are available in manuscript. The Presbyterian Church Archives have some from the Presbyteries of Hamilton and Montreal, and the United Church Archives have

some from the other Presbyteries. Those which have been consulted add little of substance to either the Synod Minutes or the Record. Some other manuscript church records exist—the most useful being those relating to Knox College and Toronto Academy.

Apart from such brief biographies as those contained in W.S. Reid, ed., Called to Witness (2 vols. 1975 and 1980) or in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, no modern published studies of individual Free Church ministers exists. The memoir and biographical material published in the nineteen and early twentieth centuries is restricted to Robert Burns, John Bayne, Mark Young Stark, Donald Harvey MacVicar, and William King. Although containing some useful information, these are often sketchy and fail to answer the most important questions. There is also a small amount of theses' material available. The most useful is D.R. Nicholson's study of Michael Willis and H.J. Bridgman's treatment of Robert Burns. Access to these is more problematical for the general reader. For those men who were ministers at the time of the Disruption of 1843, the best source for biographical information remains Hew Scott's monumental Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae (New Edition, 7 Vols., Edinburgh, 1915-28). The material is organized geographically according to Synods in the Church of Scotland, but there is a separate section for ministers in colonial churches which includes British North America. Laymen such as Isaac Buchanan (cf. Douglas McCalla, The Buchanan's Business, Toronto, 1979) and George Brown (cf. J.M.S. Careless, Brown of the Globe, 2 vols., Toronto, 1959) have been better served by published studies,

though admittedly the authors are only secondarily concerned with the religious activities of their subjects.

Only a few Free Church sermons were ever published. These include volumes by Mark Young Stark, Dr. Michael Willis, Principal of Knox College, and Professor George Paxton Young. Because preaching played such an important part in the life of the church, an examination of sermon material is a necessary component of such a study, and illuminates the theological position of the church.

The controversy surrounding the Disruption in Canada, unlike its Scottish counterpart, did not generate a pamphlet war. Only a handful were ever produced—most of the skirmishing was done in the newspaper press — the Toronto Banner (1843-1848), under the editorship of Peter Brown being the most vociferous champion of the Free Church cause.

No comprehensive study of the Free Church in Canada exists. Several aspects of its life have received consideration in a number of books, articles, and theses. Until the middle of this century little had been written concerning Presbyterianism in Canada, to say nothing of the more restricted field of the Free Church. In the latter part of the nineteenth-century, William Gregg, former minister of the Toronto Free Church congregation of Cooke's Church and a sometime Professor of Church History of Knox College, produced his History of the Presbyterian Church in the Dominion of Canada from the earliest times to 1834. The chief value of this book is in the biographical information it supplies, and as is indicated by its title, it did not cover the Free Church period. The same author's

Short History of the Presbyterian Church did deal with the middle decades of the century, but its treatment was cursory at best. The best modern treatment is to be found in the relevant chapters of John S. Moir's Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada (Toronto, 1974). The Disruption of the Canadian Church and the origins of the Free Church are dealt with in N.G. Smith's article in the Canadian Journal of Theology (October 1955) and J.A. Johnston's "Presbyterian Disruption in British North America" (unpublished B.D. Thesis, Presbyterian College, Montreal, 1953). Smith's study, however, appears so determined to assert that the split should never have occurred, that it almost fails to explain why it did. Ian S. Rennie's "The Free Church and the Relations of Church and State in Canada 1844-1854" (unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1953) is an excellent piece of work, and contains some useful material on the relation of the Free Church to contemporary politics. The only study of Presbyterian worship in Canada is F.H. Rennie's examination of the organ controversy.

A knowledge of the history of the Scottish Church in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is essential to understanding the Canadian situation. Although J.H.S. Burleigh's Church History of Scotland (London, 1960) provides a good introduction, it is becoming dated and has been replaced as the standard work by A.L. Drummond and J. Bulloch, The Scottish Church 1688-1843 The Age of the Moderates (Edinburgh, 1973) and The Church in Victorian Scotland (Edinburgh, 1975). On the Disruption in

Scotland itself, the classic works are Robert Buchanan, The Ten Years Conflict (2 vols., Glasgow, 1852), James Bryce, Ten Years of the Church of Scotland (2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1850), and Alexander Turner, The Scottish Secession of 1843 (Edinburgh and Glasgow, 1859). The best modern histories are G.D. Henderson, Heritage: A Study of the Disruption (Edinburgh and London, 1943) and Hugh Watt, Thomas Chalmers and the Disruption (Edinburgh, 1943). For those wishing to delve more particularly into the subject, the collection of "Disruption Pamphlets" in the McLaughlin Library, University of Guelph, is probably the best collection of this material in North America. A smaller collection (including some not found at Guelph) is in the library of The Presbyterian College, Montreal.

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