

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
OF MONTREAL
1822 - 1866

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INTRODUCTION

Religion has always played a major role in Montreal's history. Although it was founded in 1642, no Protestant churches were established until after the British Conquest of New France in 1760. The influx of English speaking settlers brought several Protestant churches to Montreal and by 1822 there were five separate Protestant churches of three denominations, two Presbyterian, two Methodist and one Church of England. The sixth church was the "American Presbyterian Church of Montreal". Founded in 1822 it was one of the most interesting churches established in Montreal.

The Church was founded by a group of United States born Montreal residents to serve as their spiritual center, for they did not find the Church of Scotland atmosphere in the other two Presbyterian churches in Montreal to their liking. This group joined the Presbyterian Church in the United States in 1824 and remained connected to it, rather than to any Canadian Presbyterian Church, until 1925 when it joined the United Church of Canada.

The Church was founded at the beginning of a significant period of Montreal's growth and it grew up with the city as the latter expanded from a population of 20,000 to 90,000. This growth forced the establishment of more Protestant Churches and, where^{as} the Church was one in six in 1822, it was one in twenty-four in 1861. This thesis is an attempt to describe the growth and history of the Church from its foundation in 1822 to 1866.

This period of forty-four years was chosen because it covers the period during which the Church occupied the building it erected on the northeast corner of McGill and St. James Streets. In 1865, this site

was abandoned in favour of a new one at the corner of Drummond and Dorchester Streets.

The Church was an extremely active organization throughout the four decades, and, as a result, a chronological treatment of its history would have been impractical. Consequently, the arrangement adopted is a topical one wherein the various aspects of the Church's life have been treated as units for the whole period of forty-four years. These topics have been grouped into three basic divisions, - THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH, THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE CHURCH and THE CHURCH IN THE COMMUNITY.

The first section deals with the background and origins of the Church, its material progress and its fight for recognition as a Church. Such things as the fabric and the finances of the Church are also dealt with in this section.

The second section is the history of the Church's "raison d'être". The Religious Life of the Church has been approached from the angle of the Church's composition. Thus this section contains the chapters on the Session, the Ministry and the Congregation. The chapter on the Church in Being is an attempt to reconstruct some of the services provided by the Church for its Congregation. This was difficult, as contemporary writers took such things for granted and made no record of them. The one exception to this was in the case of the Sunday School where the ample records left by the Sunday School Society justify a separate chapter.

The third section is an attempt to relate the life of the Church to the history of Montreal. This section has been subdivided into two chapters. The first on the Church's place in the religious life of

Montreal and the second on its place in the secular life. This section is by no means exhaustive and is only intended to suggest the general lines along which the Church and the city may have affected each other.

The study was hampered by the very few detailed studies either of Canadian church history or of the history of Montreal. Consequently, some topics have had to be treated in a general way rather than in a detailed study.

A large number of the sources used were handwritten minute and record books of various churches and organizations. Few of these had any pagination and reference to them in the foot-notes has been made by Volume number and by date rather than by page number. The majority of these sources were located in the Erskine and American United Church and I wish to express my very deep appreciation to the Session of that Church for their very gracious permission to use their Archives.

I should like to acknowledge the very valuable advice and assistance of my advisor, Professor J. I. Cooper, in both the research necessary for, and the preparation of, this thesis. My thanks are also due to the Librarians of McGill's Redpath, Divinity and Law Libraries, and especially Mr. Stassny, for their aid.

I should also like to express by thanks to my parents and to Miss Valerie Ross for the assistance they have given me in the preparation of the manuscript, and to Miss P. Davis and Miss M. Simons who typed the master copy of the thesis.

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THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

1825 - 1865

This stood on the north-east corner of St. James and McGill Streets. The house on the left belonged to Samuel Hedge and was where some of the initial meetings of the Church were held. The Bible House stood on St. James Street at the left of the picture. The date of the picture is unknown.



THE CHURCH
from the back of the
auditorium. The
plaque on the wall to
the left of the pul-
pit is in memory of
the Rev. Caleb Strong
(now in the vestibule
of the Erskine and
American United
Church)

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH INTERIOR

THE CHURCH
from the pulpit
with the organ
in the center of
the gallery



PART 1.

THE ORIGIN AND THE GROWTH OF THE
CHURCH

Chapter 1.

MONTREAL IN THE 1820's

3

The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal which was established in the winter of 1822-23 was founded during a significant period of the city's history. The conditions which made this period significant did not cause its establishment, but serve as a background for its foundation and later development.

Although originally founded as a missionary post in 1642, Montreal's position at the head of ocean navigation and at the foot of the Great Lakes Basin had made it a major center of the fur trade. At the end of the French Regime, Montreal was only just emerging from the rough and ready conditions that characterized frontier towns. Its prosperity was based largely on the fur trade, which even at this time stretched across (1) nearly three quarters of the continent.

Under British rule the fur trade expanded and Montreal became the capital of a huge commercial empire extending throughout the Great Lakes Basin and into the Canadian Northwest. This empire, however, was not built on sound commercial principles, for it was based upon an enterprise that was wholly dependent on the whims of fashion. Thus a constant and stable market for the furs could not be counted upon. This was especially hazardous for all those involved, from the trapper to the merchant as well as those in subsidiary occupations, since it took a full year for the furs to travel from the trapline to the final market.

For a variety of reasons the fur trade began to wane until by 1821 it had disappeared as a major factor in Montreal's economic life. This disappearance did not cause a major upheaval in Montreal because it had occurred gradually. During the same period Montreal's economy was changing and it was becoming the center for a growing timber and agri-

cultural trade. The colonization of Upper Canada after 1783 had pushed the frontier westwards. The communities that grew up in this newly populated area were forced by geographical and political considerations to look to Montreal for those essential commodities that they could not make themselves. The result was that as the fur trade disappeared a much more diversified economic system began to develop. This diversification meant that a more mature and fully developed set of institutions would be necessary, than had been required during the days of the fur trade. The chief areas affected were those of finance and transportation.

In the field of finance the challenge was met by the establishment of two banks. The first of these, the Bank of Montreal, appeared in 1817 and was shortly followed by the Bank of Canada. Both of these were set up to facilitate commercial transactions in the city, and with places outside the province, more especially New York.⁽²⁾

The development of transportation was a much more difficult question. Although the city lay at the head of ocean navigation, it was unable to take full advantage of its position. The river between Montreal and Quebec was difficult for sailing ships to navigate, the two main difficulties, beyond the necessity of favourable winds, were the shallowness of Lake St. Peter and the swift St. Mary's Current, that swept through the harbour at Montreal, making ascent to the town difficult, except with a strong favourable wind. Although commercial steamboats were plying the river between Montreal and Quebec as early as 1809, it was not until the construction of the "Mercures," with its 100 n.p. engine in 1823,⁽³⁾ that towing ocean sailing ships up the river became feasible. Even this was only a stop gap and Montreal did not achieve its real importance

as a seaport until later in the century when the channel below the city was developed, and when ocean steamships could ascend the river under their own power.

Above Montreal, transportation was quite a different problem. Numerous rapids made extensive canalization of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa Rivers necessary. Although proposed by the Imperial Government, the ~~the~~ *machine* canal had to be begun by a company of Montrealers who were unwilling to see their growing trade with Upper Canada cease to expand because of inadequate transportation facilities. With the completion of the canal (by the Provincial Government) in 1827, Montreal merchants were enabled to ship their merchandise west with far greater ease than had previously been possible. ⁽⁴⁾

These are indicative of the efforts being made by Montrealers at that time to retain Upper Canada within the city's commercial sphere, against the vigorous competition shown by New York for the same purpose. Montreal's commerce was for the most part transshipment of products destined for, or produced in, Upper Canada, merchandise going west, timber, wheat and other basic products going east. Nevertheless there were the nuclei of manufacturing industries already developing in Montreal.

The development of Montreal from a center of the fur trade to a commercial center had brought extensive changes to the town. The population of approximately five thousand in 1760 had increased fivefold ~~by~~ 1825. The area surrounded by the town walls had become far too small to contain the growing population and as a result suburbs began to develop outside them. Between 1801 and 1817 the walls were torn down and the suburbs became more accessible. ⁽⁵⁾ The main area of development was in the St. Lawrence suburbs to the west (true west) of the town, but there

was substantial construction in the Saint Antoine and St. Anne's Suburbs to the south as well. The Quebec Suburb situated on the road to Quebec contained a "score or two" of houses situated for the most part on St. Mary Street.

The difference between these suburbs and the old town was quite marked. Construction in these newer areas was chiefly of wood ~~as~~^{with} an occasional brick house. At that time most of the "respectable" people still lived in the old town and only a few had begun to initiate the later trend to the suburbs. These suburbs probably contained the dwellings of the working classes of those days, although only a few industries such as the Allison, Turner & Co. Foundry, Miller's Shipyard and several Breweries were then in existence.

The old town which was bounded by McGill, Craig and Bonsecours Streets had a different character. The houses were of stone or rubble construction and usually only one or two stories high. Their roofs were covered with diagonal rows of tin or iron shingles which gave the town a dazzling appearance from a distance.

In all, Montreal contained about a hundred streets most of them narrow and crowded, especially in the old town. Many of them were named after saints. This resulted in several Protestant churches acquiring the names of saints, for they were known by their locations. Thus such churches as St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church or the St. James Street Methodist Church were known as St. Gabriel's and St. James. (Although long since removed from their original location some of these still retain these names. For example, the St. James Street Methodist Church is now St. James United on St. Catherine Street West.)

Among the few streets paved at this time were the town's two main arteries, Notre Dame and St. Paul's Street, both of which were roughly parallel to the waterfront. Notre Dame was almost wholly residential with the town's "aristocracy" resident on its eastern portion, and the middle class on its western half. The town's cross streets were a mixture of residential and commercial premises.

Commerce and business centered on St. Paul Street, where most of the shops stood. These were small and usually marked by a symbolic sign as literacy was quite restricted. Nearly all the upper stories of these premises were occupied as dwellings, probably by the proprietors of the businesses beneath.

Public services were at a minimum. Police protection was limited to a few night watchmen and such fire protection as existed was in the hands of fire insurance companies. Water supplies were only just being installed and public transportation was quite unheard of. Business interests, however, had erected public street lights on St. Paul Street as early as 1816 and Notre Dame Street was similarly equipped soon after. There is no record of public disposal of garbage, sewage, and snow, and **this was** probably non existent. The absence or inadequate development of these facilities added much to the difficulties of life.

The beginning of winter brought Montreal's commercial life to a halt, for water transportation was made impossible by ice, and land communications were difficult for passengers and extremely inefficient for freight. The result was an increased number of social gatherings. These ranged from quiet family parties to gala public balls. Social distinctions were evidently drawn for T.S. Brown states "the families of

those who sold at retail, or were concerned in mechanical operations were blackballed if presented" at these public balls. There was a great deal of drinking among all social classes and intoxication was a major social problem. There were only a few other diversions to pass the long winter hours. A theatre had been established on College Street in 1825 but (6) sports and other recreations do not seem to have been popular pastimes.

This is a brief picture of the economic and historical background of Montreal in the early 1820's. It was in this picture that the events that were to lead to the establishment of the American Presbyterian Church occurred.

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Chapter 2.

THE BIRTH OF
THE
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

The American Community in Montreal

The Church Background

The American Community in Montreal

At the time of the Conquest in 1760 the population of Montreal
 (1)
 was approximately five thousand persons, of whom the vast majority, if
 (2)
 not all, were of French origin. The movement of British subjects into
 Lower Canada that began after 1760 was not one of major proportions and
 of this only a few Americans, and these chiefly merchants and fur traders,
 (3)
 moved to Canada. The growth of the British population was slow. By
 1766 it numbered merely six hundred people and it was still only between
 (4)
 two and three thousand in 1774. These were mostly merchants, traders
 (5)
 and innkeepers. Of those who came north from the older British colonies
 some were, of course American-born, while others, such as James McGill,
 were British in origin having previously emigrated to the American col-
 (6)
 onies from Great Britain.

With the advent of the American Revolution, thousands of
 Loyalists were dispossessed and some 6,800 settled in the "Old Province
 (7)
 of Quebec". These Loyalists were accompanied by others who were
 neither loyalist nor rebel, but who were simply seeking better oppor-
 (8)
 tunities. The majority of these newcomers settled west of the Ottawa
 River, but a few remained in, and east, of Montreal.

The actual number of Americans and others who entered Canada
 from the United States is not ascertainable. But A. L. Burt states in
 his book, the Old Province of Quebec, that the only bodies of immi-
 grants to arrive from Great Britain before the turn of the century
 (9)
 numbered less than six hundred. Thus it would appear that the major-
 ity of the English speaking residents of Canada arrived from the United
 States.

The immigration into Lower Canada from the United States after the Revolution was largely from New England and northwestern New York. (10) Although it included a large number of farmers seeking land, it also embraced persons of many different occupations, innkeepers, merchants and various types of skilled mechanics. Montreal attracted numbers of these immigrants for its position at the junction of the Ottawa, St. Lawrence and Richelieu Rivers furnished excellent communications with the vigorous new settlements in Upper Canada, as well as with the older ones of Quebec and New England. Especially attracted to the city were many New England shopkeepers. (11)

The key to much of this immigration from New England to Lower Canada lay in the geographical position of Vermont. Although one of the United States, Vermont was part of the "Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence", bound to it by the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River System. This tie was to remain intact right down until 1822 when the opening of the Champlain Canal gave Vermonters a market for their products in New York. Before this new market was opened, however, Vermont's dependence on Lower Canadian trade routes for its economic existence encouraged many of its commercially minded inhabitants to gravitate to Montreal. This was especially true during the economic boom created by the British demand for North American produce during the Napoleonic Wars. (12)

The War of 1812 produced a somewhat unusual situation, for while Great Britain and the United States were waging intensive warfare against each other in the Atlantic and Great Lakes regions of North America, New England and Lower Canada were relatively undisturbed.

Although prohibited, trade between the two was carried on by means of various devices, such as the use on Lake Champlain of a supposedly neutral ship flying the Swedish flag. ⁽¹³⁾ In fact the trade was so extensive that Governor Prevost reported to Lord Bathurst that "Two thirds of the Army in Canada are at the moment eating Beef provided by American Contractors drawn principally from the States of Vermont and New York." ⁽¹⁴⁾

By 1812 the American community in Montreal had reached sizable proportions. Of the 938 men who formed the 1st battalion of the Montreal Militia at this time, 236 were known to be Americans; many more were American by birth but considered themselves British subjects. ⁽¹⁵⁾ The Proclamation issued at the outbreak of War in 1812, ordering all Americans either to take the Oath of Allegiance or leave the province was greeted by mixed reactions. Some took the oath, others returned to the United States and still others did neither. The Proclamation was apparently a matter of form for no penalties were imposed upon those who ignored its alternatives. ⁽¹⁶⁾

Montreal viewed the American segment of its population with mixed feelings. French Canadian labourers disliked the competition for jobs, provided by the American labourers. Anglo-Canadian merchants not only envied their success but also feared that eventually the American merchants would abandon Montreal taking a great deal of its commerce with them. ⁽¹⁷⁾ The American community, however, remained in Montreal throughout the war with little, if any, molestation.

After the War of 1812, the official class in Upper Canada ⁽¹⁸⁾ became extremely suspicious of the United States and it seems likely that this distrust spread, at least among certain groups, to Lower Canada.

There it may have been intensified by the final loss of the fur bearing area south of the Great Lakes and the loss of control over the canoe routes to the west. These appeared much more disastrous at that time than was actually the case. Coupled with this was the gradual withdrawal of Vermont, from the Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, that began (19) in 1815 and was completed by the opening of the Champlain Canal in 1822. Various contemporary authorities gave conflicting reports of the attitudes adopted by Lower Canadians towards the Americans and American institutions, and it is therefore difficult to make any definitive statement concerning public opinion at the time. In general, however, distrust and suspicion were probably confined to official circles and directed chiefly against the inhabitants of the United States, for the British and American elements in the Montreal community appear to have lived in relative (20) harmony.

The expectation that the American community would leave Montreal taking their trade with them never materialized, and the Americans remained in Montreal. The Montreal census of 1825 revealed a total population of 26,154. The non-French Canadian element numbered 11,324, nearly half the population. Both figures illustrated the substantial increases which had taken place since 1762. The American community which stood at 820 was fifth on the list of non-French Canadian groups. It was preceded by the Irish (4,015), the English Lower Canadians (3,128), the Scotch (1,542) and the English (1,376). The remaining 443 persons were (21) a very cosmopolitan group having originated in thirty other countries.

By 1825 the American element in Montreal had attained a position of considerable importance in the commercial field. The replacement of

of the fur trade by a wider range of commercial and industrial enterprises had brought them into prominence. One of Montreal's two banks, (22) the Bank of Canada, was founded by a group of Americans in 1818, and the most widely read of Montreal's three newspapers was published by Nahum (23) Mower from Worcester, Mass.

Manufacturing interests run by Americans included the Eagle Foundry. This was run by three brothers named Ward from Vermont. It was in this factory that the engine for the "Hercules" was built. Its 100 hp. elicited the comment that it was believed to be the most powerful steam engine of its type then in existence in North America. (24) The same firm established the first steamboat ferry between Montreal and Laprairie in (25) 1818. The Lyman brothers from Northampton, Massachusetts, had just entered the druggist trade as manufacturers. Their brother-in-law, Roswell Corse, was engaged in manufacturing paints and linseed oil in his (26) St. Ann's suburb factory.

At least two Taverns (hotels) were kept by Americans as were several boarding houses. Elisha Lyman (from Northampton, Mass.) was the proprietor of the Brock Tavern on McGill and College Streets. This hotel served as the Montreal depot of the stage line to Kingston which (27) was run by Horace Dickinson, a fellow countryman of Lyman.

Skilled craftsmen were represented by the blacksmiths, Samuel Hedge (another Lyman brother-in-law) and Jonathan Alger. The DeWitt brothers, Jacob and Jabez, were engaged in making hats at this time and M. Savage was producing corsets, pelisses and mantuas. David Nelson (28) was a saddler, an important trade in the days before the automobile.

Among Montreal's merchants at this time were Horatio Gates, who dealt in potash and flour, Zabdiel Thayer, a crockery merchant,

Benjamin Throop, grocer, and Daniel E. Tyler, tea merchant. There were also a couple of American born doctors and an attorney among Montreal's professional classes.
(29)

Thus it can be seen that the Americans were making a valuable contribution to the life of Montreal despite the suspicion and distrust with which they were viewed from some quarters.

THE CHURCH BACKGROUND

American influences had been present in Montreal Presbyterianism for nearly four decades before the erection of the American Presbyterian Church. The first of these appeared in 1786 when the Rev. John Bethune organized the first Presbyterian congregation in Montreal. Bethune, like a number of his congregation, was a Loyalist who had been imprisoned by the Americans. After his release he became chaplain to the 84th or Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment and when the latter was disbanded he settled in Montreal.
(30)

Also included in this congregation ~~were~~ a number of New Englanders who left home before the Revolution and who preferred to remain under the British flag rather than to return to an independent United States. This congregation was short-lived, breaking up when Bethune moved to Glengarry the next year. For several years thereafter the Presbyterians worshipped with the Anglicans under the Anglican minister,
(31)

the Rev. David Delisle.

The second attempt to establish a formal Presbyterian church in Montreal was also the result of influences from the United States. This time, however, it was the outcome of friendly aid and encouragement from the American Church. The Presbytery in Albany allowed one of its ministers, the Rev. John Young, a Scotsman from Ayr, to journey to

Montreal for the purpose of helping its Presbyterians to organize a church. This was in due course accomplished and on September 9, 1791, it became an official member of the Albany Presbytery, Young being named its
(32)
"stated supply". This appears to have been the only aid that the Church received from the United States. If there was any further help either spiritual or financial, records of it have not survived.

In June 1793 the connection with the Presbytery at Albany was transferred to the newly formed Presbytery of Montreal. This Presbytery had a very uncertain existence and very little is known about it. Although no formal connection is evident in this early period of its history, the background of the St. Gabriel St. Church, as it became known, was defini-
(33)
tely Church of Scotland and not that of one of the Secession churches.

In 1802 Young resigned his charge and the Church remained without a minister for several months. Then a dispute arose as to which of two candidates should be called to the pastorate. The result of the vote taken in May 1803 was quite clear, but the dissenting minority was dissatisfied and withdrew to form a church of its own. This group organized, not under the minister on whose behalf it had seceded, but under his successor, the Rev. Robert Easton, who was a member of the Associate
(34)
Reformed Synod of Scotland.

The seceders were, for the most part, divisible into two groups; the first were those of American birth whose religious upbringing was not in the tradition of the Church of Scotland; the second consisted of persons whose views were sympathetic to those held by the secession
(35)
churches in Scotland. These views were reflected in the seven resolutions adopted by the Church Committee on May 24, 1805 and approved by the Congregation on June 3rd of the same year. These laid down that

the new church was to be a member of the "Associate Reformed Synod of Scotland commonly called Burgher Secession," and that its ministers were to be procured from that source. They also stipulated that if the church ever broke the connection with this Synod, any "monies" collected in the United States for its construction should be refunded to the Synodical Fund of the Burgher Secession Church in the United States. Of the £1,500 eventually collected for the construction of a church building some £600 was donated from sources in the United States, a further indication of American interest and influence in Montreal Presbyterianism.

The Church which was built with this money was erected on the west side of St. Peter Street facing St. Sacrament; and was known as the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church. Through the years the character of the Church gradually changed. Thus in 1822 when it became necessary to seek a new minister, a dispute arose as to which branch of the Presbyterian church should be approached for a replacement. At a church meeting called to reach a decision, it was decided by a small majority to send to the Church of Scotland for a successor. This move aroused the ire of various members of the congregation, they contending that since not all those eligible to vote on the issue had been allowed to do so, the decision was invalid. Furthermore it was their belief that the decision was a violation of the Church's obligations to those who had helped to build and to maintain it. These members, evidently agreeing with the view of Deacon Samuel Hedge, that although he had no objection to going to heaven, he utterly failed to see the necessity of going there by way of Scotland, then withdrew from the Church. These seceders were mostly American by birth, but they were joined by others of different origins as well. Those who chose to remain with the old

Church were also of different origins, and included a few American born.
(40)
Thus the split was not solely along lines of national origin.

The foregoing reasons for the organization of the Church are founded on religious factors. The only apparent reason based on secular considerations is the one advanced by Campbell in his History of the St. Gabriel Street Church. He maintains that the animosity with which the Loyalist groups unfairly regarded the American community as a result of
(41)
the War of 1812 was the paramount reason for the creation of the Church. The strength of this argument is somewhat weakened by the observation that the split in the St. Peter Street Church occurred seven years after the war had ended and was not wholly on lines of national origin. It loses still further weight when it is remembered that the Presbyterians have always laid great stress on both doctrine and beliefs and that it is characteristic of them to divide over issues ranging from the intro-
(42)
duction of organ music in the church services, to the relationships
(43)
between the Church and the State. Thus the change in denominational allegiance from the Burgher Secession Church to the Church of Scotland was in all probability the major cause of the split. This argument is all the more valid as the group that originally broke away from the St. Gabriel Street Church in 1803 to form the St. Peter Street Church did so because it was more in sympathy with the secession churches than with the Church of Scotland.

The seceders did not immediately organize a new church, and indeed for some time it was undecided as to whether they should organi-
(44)
ze as a Presbyterian or as a Congregational church. This indecision can probably be attributed to the fact that many of the seceders had

New England Congregational backgrounds, but had joined the Presbyterian church in Montreal because no Congregational church existed at that time. This indecision might also be ascribed to the "Plan of Union". This was an agreement reached by the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in the United States in 1801. It sought to eliminate local conflict and unnecessary duplication of churches in new areas. It had been possible because the differences between the two churches were based not on doctrine but on the forms of church government. (45) Under this Plan local churches could organize as one or the other but still call a minister of either denomination.

The question was eventually resolved in favour of the Presbyterian order of church government. Although no specific reason for the choice was recorded, one can assume that it was probably based on the connection with the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church, and on the fact that one of the reasons for the secession was the severance of the ties of that Church from the Burgher Secession Church in the United States. The decision having been made, the American Presbyterian Society was organized on December 24, 1822. (46)

At approximately the same time as the events described above, the Methodist Churches in Great Britain and the United States reached agreement over the dispute which had arisen between them over the question of which had the responsibility for the mission field of British North America. The agreement provided that henceforth the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States would limit its activities to Upper Canada and the Wesleyan Methodists from Britain to Lower Canada. To comply with the terms of this agreement, each church withdrew its missionaries at work in the other's territory and advised its adher-

ents to unite with the other group. In Montreal some of the members connected with the American church refused to unite with their British brethren and, instead, joined the seceders from the St. Peter Street Church. (47) Unfortunately no record of the individuals involved or even the size of the group seems to have survived. It also seems likely that a few members of the St. Gabriel Street Church may have withdrawn at this time in order to join the new church. Here again no definite record seems to have survived to substantiate this. (48)

Once organized, the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal affiliated itself with "The Presbyterian Church in the United States". This connection it retained for just over a century. Then in 1925 it severed its bonds with the American Church in order to participate in a great new experiment in Christianity. This was the new United Church of Canada which was based upon a union of the Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches of Canada, the roots of those groups that had originally formed the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal.

Despite the relatively orderly progression of events noted above, it is difficult to set an exact date at which it may be said that the Church came into existence. This is not because of a lack of dates, but rather because of an overabundance of them. The first meeting to be recorded took place on December 24, 1822. (49) Church services began two months later on February 23, 1823, (50) but the formal organization of the Church did not occur until a month after that on March 23, 1823. (51) The reasons for this profusion of dates lie in the rather peculiar organization set up to manage the Church's affairs.

FOOT-NOTES

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38. Session Minute Book (American Presbyterian Church)
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Chapter 3.

THE CHURCH AND THE SOCIETY

The Society

• The Church

The Relationship between the Society

and the Church

The Society

The people who formed the American Presbyterian Church were, as has been pointed out, of varying denominational backgrounds, and this was reflected in the organization and institutions they adopted when setting up the Church. The basic form of church government was Presbyterian, but there were some features that were quite foreign to the usual structure of that church. Although there were Methodists in the group, no distinctly Methodist institutions such as "the class meeting" appears to have been adopted in the constitution or practice of the new Church. Perhaps this may be ascribed to the fact that in all probability their numbers were quite small. (1)

The Congregational influences in the Church were very strong and the differences from the regular order of a Presbyterian church bear a distinctly Congregational stamp. At that time there was no Congregational church in Montreal and the Congregationalists appear to have worshipped with the Presbyterians. Of the early members of the American Presbyterian Church whose origins can be traced, a considerable number appears to have come from New England Congregational backgrounds. (2)

The first of the Congregational influences to appear was also one of the strongest, and, because it was alien to the Presbyterian order, it was to cause numerous complications in the future history of the Church. This influence was the establishment of the "American Presbyterian Society of Montreal".

In some of the New England States "the society" was a body

recognized by state laws of incorporation. This body usually consisted of a number of persons (not necessarily all, or even a few, had to be full church members) associated to manage the congregation's property and finances. In the Congregational church the Society was an important and often independent body. Sometimes the church could not take action unless its decisions were concurred in by the Society. Although unrecognized by "The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of the United States" these Societies were occasionally found in Presbyterian churches. (3) Two reasons may be advanced for this, the first being that local state laws of incorporation may have required such an institution for the holding of land. The second is that it may have been an outgrowth of the 1801 Plan of Union on lines similar to those occurring in the Montreal Church.

The American Presbyterian Society developed from the first recorded meeting held on Christmas Eve, 1822 in the City Tavern. (4)

Although they did not adopt a constitution until some weeks later the sixty-six persons present at that first meeting appointed an eight man Prudential Committee. It was to be the duty of this committee to secure premises in which to hold public worship, to employ a minister and to make all other necessary arrangements. By this time some 100 persons had subscribed £340 for two years to defray the expenses that might arise in connection with the Church. (5)

As a result of the Committee's efforts, the first church services were held on February 23, 1823 in the Wesleyan Chapel on St. James Street and were conducted (6) by the Rev. Samuel Whelply of Flattsburg.

The Constitution of the Society was quite straightforward.

The object as stated in the preamble was "to form and build up a church and congregation in this place according to the pure principles of the Gospel".⁽⁷⁾

It is noted that although the majority of persons in the Society were Americans "it is by no means intended to exclude any on account of origin".⁽⁸⁾

The Constitution also outlined the rules and regulations of the Society and set times for the annual meeting, the conditions for the election of officers, and the appointment of a prudential Committee. Provisions for special meetings and the majorities needed before certain questions were to be considered as decided, were also carefully outlined. The only extraordinary feature concerned the executive of the Society. Each year at the Annual Meeting, held on Christmas Day, a Secretary, a Treasurer and the prudential Committee were appointed for the coming year. The Society did not elect a President, but required that at each meeting the Secretary should be responsible for initiating action to elect a chairman for that Meeting. (The Society as such met only a few times a year, for the Annual Meeting and any other special meetings that might be thought necessary for specific purposes.) The only exception to this rule occurred when a meeting was adjourned rather than dissolved. When such a meeting reconvened the previous chairman was still in the chair. The Society, however, continually elected Jacob DeWitt to this position, with scarcely a break from its first meeting in 1822 until his death in 1859.⁽¹⁰⁾

No clear statement seems to exist as to what constituted qualification for membership in the Society, but it appears to have been based on the ownership or rental of a pew in the Church. Certainly no

requirement of full church membership was demanded either for membership or even for tenure of office in the Society and in fact ten of the thirty-seven persons who held office in the Society were never communicants of the Church.
(11)

The Prudential Committee was, with the Secretary and the Treasurer, the controlling body of the Society. Each year until 1864 it was appointed by the Annual Meeting, but in 1864, under the Act of Incorporation, the Trustees alone were appointed and they took over the few functions which at that time were left to the Prudential Committee.
(12)

The Society existed to control the temporal affairs of the Church, a duty that would have been performed by a board of trustees in a regular Presbyterian church. Thus it fell to the Society to hold the land for the Church. The difficulties surrounding this question will be dealt with in a future chapter,
(13)

but it should be pointed out that both the men who jointly owned the property of the Church before 1837 and the Trustees after that date were members of the Society, rather than of the Church. This is shown by the fact that nine of the twenty-five trustees appointed up to the year 1864 were merely adherents
(14)

and not full communicant members of the Church.

The Act of Incorporation acquired in 1864 was virtually a new constitution for the Society. It placed the control of the Society's affairs in the hands of the Trustees. It required that the Trustees elect a Chairman, a Secretary, and a Treasurer and it set up a nine man board of trustees with specific terms of office, both features not having

been delineated before that time. This had the effect of tying the Church and Society together in a far closer relationship than had previously existed. It also made the organization of the Church conform (15) more closely with the usual presbyterian pattern.

The Church.

Despite the fact that by the end of February 1823 attempts to procure a minister and to finance the Church's operations had begun, the Church itself had not been formally organized as a Christian community. The first steps toward this end were taken at a meeting in (16) Samuel Hedge's home on March 8, 1823. At that time, and at two subsequent meetings, the gathering discussed and finally adopted a Covenant and a Confession of Faith for the Church. On March 23, the Church was formally organized as such by the Rev. Samuel Whelply and less than a month later the Lord's Supper was observed for the first (17) time. The object of the Church was to form a Christian community for the worship of God. This object, the Church intended to pursue under the presbyterian form of church government. As a result, one of the first actions taken after formal organization had been accomplished was the choosing of elders to form the Session. This body was the controlling organ of the Church's spiritual affairs. Of the four men (18) originally chosen to fill the office of elder on March 26, two declined, and a fifth was later chosen to form a Session of three. These three, George Savage, Samuel Hedge and Elisha Lyman were ordained to (19) their office on April 10, 1823.

Congregational influences, although strong in the Society, were

not confined to that body and show up in the Church as well. The
 (20)
 Covenant and the Confession of Faith both state allegiance to Presbyterian practices and forms, but their very existence is an indication of Congregational influences and thinking. The practice of having an individual Confession of Faith and a separate Covenant for each church was a Congregational one, not normally found in a Presbyterian church. This was in line with the basic thinking behind the two forms of church government. The Congregational Church believed in a system whereby each local church was an autonomous unit owing no allegiance to any body in doctrine or in government. The Presbyterian Church, on the other hand, regarded the local church merely as a small part of the whole church. This was subject to a pyramidal structure of church courts in matters of both church government and doctrine, and thus a Covenant and Confession of Faith would be for the church as a whole and not just the local church.

Although it had been organized as a Presbyterian church, it took no steps to unite with any Presbytery of any of the Presbyterian Churches
 (21)
 until May, 1824. Then it applied for admission to the Presbytery of New York, which was connected with "The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America". It was admitted and remained in that Presbytery
 (22)
 until November 1830. At that time, the Third Presbytery of New York City was erected and the American Presbyterian Church was transferred to its oversight. It remained in this body until well after the period under discussion.

One of the major problems that faced the Church and Society was that of obtaining a minister. The Rev. Samuel Whelply had aided in the

foundation of the Church but he was connected with a church at Plattsburg and had merely been on an eight week leave of absence from his church to help the Montrealers. (23) The Church was served by a number of temporary supply ministers for some time. Then the Society issued a call to the Rev. Joseph Sanford. This was refused as was a second invitation (24) which contained slightly better terms. After a further period, the Church and Society issued a call to the Rev. Joseph Stibbs Christmas. (25) This call was accepted and on August 1, 1824 he was inducted as the first pastor of the Church by the Presbytery of New York. (26) The induction service was held in the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church (27) as the American Presbyterian Society had not yet begun to erect a building for the accommodation of the Church.

Membership in the Church had two sides. The first and most important was communicant membership. This included only those entitled to partake of the Lord's Supper. This privilege was limited to those who had made a public confession of faith or who had transferred their membership from another Church. In both cases they had to be approved by the Minister, Session and communicant members before publicly agreeing to the Church's Covenant and Confession of Faith, and being enrolled in the Church Register. The Church began with twenty members, but by 1866 this had reached 340. In the forty-four year interval some 921 names were enrolled, but deaths, transfers and removals kept the membership at any one period below 400 members. The other element of church membership was the adherent membership. Strictly speaking they were not members and their names are only listed indirectly. Often the husbands or wives of communicant members, they were frequently active in Church affairs and

many of the men owned pews in the church building. Their exact numbers are not ascertainable but they were probably fairly numerous.

The problem of co-terminal interests and membership between the Church and the Society made the determination of any dividing lines between the two very difficult. The two operated as if they were quite independent of one another, but since their operations concerned the same persons and events this was impossible. In theory, the control of spiritual affairs of the Church passed to the Session as soon as it was established. The control of temporal affairs however remained with the Society. The difficulty with this arrangement was that the Society laid claim to the right to nominate the elders who formed the Session, thus giving them an indirect control over spiritual affairs as well. Although there were other overlapping areas of jurisdiction this was the major one and it led to several very difficult situations.

The Relationships Between the Church and the Society.

The rather unusual synthesis of the various organs of church government, whose development has been outlined, did not prove to be entirely satisfactory in practice. The difficulty lay in the fact that the organs were derived from two different traditions and these had concepts of the division of jurisdiction which were not always compatible. As the exact functions of each group were not clearly defined, conflicts did arise between the Church and the Society. Usually these were short-lived and quite often no protests were made when one infringed upon the jurisdiction of the other. Once or twice, however, matters of principle were involved and the dispute became quite bitter. The pattern of

relationships was further confused and often made even more inexplicable by the fact that the membership of the Church and the Society and their controlling bodies were quite often largely composed of the same people.

The basic difference between the two main sections of the Church community was that its spiritual affairs were looked after by the Session, which was a small body representative of the communicant members. The temporal affairs of the community were governed by the executive, the Prudential Committee and the Trustees of the Society. Although the division seems clear enough, the actual dividing line was often impossible to draw as the implementation of a spiritual matter often necessitated the expenditure of funds which was a temporal affair. Sometimes one body realized it was stepping into the other's field and dropped the matter before it could become an issue. Such a case arose in 1827 when the Society considered the advisability of altering the (28) Covenant and the Confession of Faith. As these two documents had been drawn up by the Church, and were definitely spiritual affairs, this action would have been considered an unwarranted intrusion upon the prerogatives of the church, and thus strongly resented. Fortunately, however, the Society abandoned the idea and consequently no dispute arose.

One area that could easily have become a fertile field of conflict was in regard to jurisdiction over the regular Sunday services of the church. These were spiritual affairs, and thus under the care of the Session. However the Society frequently interfered with their conduct. Despite this the Session raised no objections. The question of taking an offering was a case of this type, and the Society often introduced or abolished this feature of the service without any prior consul-

tation with the Session or indeed without any subsequent objection. In
 (29)
 1855 the Society even went as far as to change the Sunday afternoon
 service to the evening, and despite the fact that the Session had tried
 (30)
 this in 1845, when it proved impractical, the latter body voiced no
 objections to the move, either on the grounds that this was not the
 Society's right or that it had previously proved impractical.

Closely related to the same problem was the question of church
 music. Twice the Society adopted new Hymn Books for the church, with-
 (31)
 out any apparent consultation with the Session or Congregation.
 Nor were there any subsequent objections by the Church. A similar lack
 of response was shown when the Society decided to employ a choir director
 (32)
 to lead the singing in the services.

In strange contrast to the storms that were created in other
 (33)
 Presbyterian Churches of the day over the same issues, was the com-
 plete lack of interest with which the Session regarded the possible
 (34) (35)
 introduction of an organ and the congregational mode of singing.
 The Session did not oppose these innovations either on religious grounds,
 as in other churches, or on the grounds that this was a matter solely
 under their jurisdiction. In fact there is no recorded opposition what-
 soever.

When it first created the Prudential Committee, the Society
 assigned to it the task of procuring a minister for the Church. It re-
 tained this function after the formal organization of the Church. The
 Society chose the candidate to be approached, but this was always done
 with the full cooperation of the Church. To signify the Congregation's
 approval the elders signed the official call together with the Prudential

Committee, the Trustees and the executive of the Society.

Only in one field did the Church and Society come into serious disagreement. The conflict developed over the question as to who should elect the elders to the Church Session. The Presbyterian type of Church government consists of a pyramidal system of church courts. Starting from the local church, there are the Session, the Presbytery, the Synod and the General Assembly. The Session is the governing body of the local church in spiritual affairs, but its decisions, if it is thought necessary, may be appealed to Presbytery or even further up the scale to the superior courts of the Church. The Session's duties are treated in detail in Chapter # 8 but basically it is their duty to watch over the spiritual welfare of the Church. In a regular Presbyterian Church of the period, elders were elected by the adult male members of the congregation in full communion with the church. (36) In the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal a somewhat different custom prevailed. Whenever it became necessary to appoint new elders, the Session would notify the Society. The Society would nominate the required number of elders and ask the congregation to concur in their nomination. After this they would be ordained to their office. This system was repugnant to many church members because they opposed non-communicants, (as were some of the members of the Society) voting in the election of Session despite the fact that only a communicant could become an elder.

The reasons for the development of this peculiar and unwieldy system are complicated and go back to the foundation of the Church in 1822. Three days after the formal organization of the Church as a Christian body, the male members met and elected four of their number as

elders, two declined the position and a fifth was named to replace them.
 (37)
 These men were duly ordained to their position on April 23, 1823.

The next year the Society claimed that these men had not been properly chosen and elected three men to serve as elders, apparently asking the Church merely to concur in the election.

This action was protested to the Presbytery of New York on the ground that non-communicants had taken part in the election. On July 30, 1824
 (38)
 Presbytery ruled that all male members of the congregation who were either subscribers to the Society or pewholders of a year's standing were entitled to vote in these elections. This was, of course, a victory for the Society.

In December 1825, the Church petitioned the Society to grant it the exclusive right of electing its own elders.
 (39)
 The petition was not sustained.
 (40)
 In 1830, the Society elected two elders. No opposition was raised by the Church and the men were duly ordained on June 18, 1830. In 1834, two more elders were elected, but an attempt from within the Society to transfer this prerogative to the Church alone failed.
 (41)

In February 1840, the Session took the initiative in recommending the addition of three elders to the Session. No further action was taken until July, when the Society elected a single elder. At the same meeting it again considered a proposal to let the Church choose its own elders, but once again no concrete action was undertaken.
 (42)
 The next day the Church flatly refused to concur in the election of the elder and categorically denied the Society's right to elect the members of Session.
 (43)
 These measures passed by votes of 32-18 at the Church's

annual meeting. In December of the same year, these decisions were reversed by a vote of 55-37 and the elder chosen by the Society was confirmed in his position. (44) The result of this decision was that twelve people left the Church. (45) No reasons for this surrender of the Church's right are given.

The matter rested for three years before any further action was taken. Then in May 1844, the Session, acting on the advice of two members of the Third Presbytery of New York City who had visited Montreal the previous fall, publicly nominated three elders. (46) The Society rejected these "pretensions" and nominated its own slate also passing a resolution to the effect that they "cannot admit any assumed prerogative to encroach upon their rights and privileges and do hereby declare the nomination of last Sabbath null and void". (47) The Church, indignant at this treatment, refused to take any further steps at that time. (48)

In March of the following year, the Session was called on to act on the Society's nominations of the preceding May. The meeting that was called on the issue was protracted and various procedural devices were tried to prevent any decision being reached. The result was, however, that the Church approved the Society's choice and again surrendered its claim to the choosing of its own elders to the Society. (49)

This decision was not unanimous and a protest was drafted. This, with supporting documents was sent to Presbytery for a decision. The protest, it should be noted, was signed by sixty-two people. Presbytery's reply was in the form of advice rather than a decision for it felt that the appeal was really beyond its jurisdiction.

The reply first noted that its advice of July 30, 1824, to the

effect "that every male member of the congregation who is either a subscriber to the Society or a pewholder in the Church for at least one year be entitled to vote" has not been followed. It further notes that the General Assembly of 1830 forbade unbaptized persons from voting in Church elections. It then stated that while all previous elections were valid, in future, only church members should be allowed to vote. It also recommended that the Church meet and agree on a mode for future elections. The Secretary of Presbytery also pointed out that the usual procedure was for the Session to nominate candidates and for the Church (50) to vote for elders from among the nominees.

In May the candidates originally nominated by the Society a year previously and eventually approved by the Church were ordained. No further action about a settlement was taken, either on the lines suggested by Presbytery or on any other lines.

The matter rested there until October 1847, when thirty-one of the Church members petitioned Presbytery for the answers to six questions that had vexed the peace of the Church. They requested a ruling so that they could clear away the disputes that plagued the Church before the ordination of their new minister, the Rev. John McLeod. The first five questions dealt largely with matters of procedure and the answers were quite straightforward. The sixth dealt with the question of the election of the elders and was in two parts. The first part asked if Presbytery had meant in its advice of April 28, 1845 that only church members were to vote in these elections. This was answered in the affirmative. The second half of the question asked Presbytery to request a statement from the Session as to why the latter had not called a meeting to settle

the question in 1845. Presbytery explained that this had merely been a recommendation and not an injunction.

After a brief review of the situation it pointed out that while it was definitely the right of a church to nominate and choose its own officers, usage in the Montreal Church had allowed the Society to nominate these officers, with the Church having the right either to concur in the nomination or to reject them. Therefore it saw no reason to upset this custom.

This recommendation seems to have been adopted and from this time forward the procedure was for the Session to suggest to the Society that new elders would be needed. The Society would make its nominations, then the Church and Session would concur in the election of the persons so nominated.

The whole dispute originated in the curious combination of institutions set up by the Church Community and was further complicated by a possible misunderstanding of the relationship of the Church and Society by the Presbytery of New York. This is not unlikely as the set-up was quite unique and definitely foreign to the presbyterian form of government.

In retrospect the case of the Session and Congregation seems to be the stronger of the two, it being based on three considerations, (1) the usual practice in Presbyterian Churches, (2) the fact that the first Session was elected by communicant male members only, (3) those who were to administer the spiritual life of the church should be chosen by "believers" only. The Society's claim rested on the questionable constitutionality of the first session which had been established before

a settled clergyman had been procured. Once having gained this point it seized the initiative and having organized a session, proceeded to base its claims on precedent. The final result upheld the Church's position that none but communicants should vote, but then ignored this by agreeing that the method in use was quite satisfactory.

The whole pattern of relationships between the Church and the Society seems to have been that the Society encroached upon the jurisdiction of the Church. Why it did is not evident. It may have been that as it was founded first it felt that tradition dictated that it should undertake the leadership of the Church. Perhaps since ~~they~~ they controlled the Church's finance they felt they should also control its life, it might even be laid to the personalities of the men involved.

For the most part the Church did not contest these infringements but when it did, it put up a determined fight, until Presbytery had to be called in to arbitrate. Much of this might have been avoided if the Church had organized solely along either Presbyterian or Congregational lines. The peculiar synthesis of the two systems did not make the division of functions between the Church's two organs sufficiently clear and consequently conflicts arose. On the whole, it is surprising that this peculiar organization did not lead to more serious conflicts than was actually the case.

FOOTNOTES

1. The only record of this Methodist group comes from a Methodist source.
John Carroll, Case and his Contemporaries.
Toronto, 1869, Vol. II, p. 334.
 No mention of them is made in the records of the American Presbyterian Church so it seems reasonable to assume that the group was fairly small.
2. See Chapter # 9
3. Rev. J. Hodge, What is Presbyterian Law ?
Philadelphia, 1882. p. 37-8.
4. The City Tavern was actually a hotel on St. Paul Street and was later known as the Exchange Coffee House.
Rev. Robert Campbell, The History of the St. Gabriel Street Church.
Montreal, 1887. p. 7.
5. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, December 24, 1822.
6. Rev. George Wells, Historical Sermon preached at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the American Presbyterian Church.
Montreal, 1873. p. 8.
7. G.R. Lighthall, A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal
Montreal, 1923. p. 4-7.
 This constitution is also in the Trustees Minute Book, Vol. I.
8. Ibid. p. 5.
9. Ibid. p. 5 Rule V.
10. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, dates of meetings from 1822-1859.
11. This statement is the result of a compilation of a list of persons who held office in the Society, from its records and comparing it with the Church Register.
12. See Chapter # 4
13. See Chapter # 4
14. See footnote # 11 of this Chapter.
15. See Chapter # 4

16. Session Minute Book (A.M.C.)
Vol. I, March 8, 1823.
17. Ibid. April 13, 1823.
18. Ibid. March 26, 1823.
19. Ibid. April 10, 1823.
20. Ibid. March 15, 1823.
21. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.B.)
Vol. I, May 20, 1824.
22. Ibid. November 1830.
23. Session Minute Book (A.J.C.)
Vol I, April 20, 1823.
24. Trustees Minute Book (A.T.J.)
Vol I, May 15, 1823.
November 1, 1823.
25. Ibid. June 1, 1824.
26. Ibid. August 1, 1824.
27. G.R. Lighthall, Op. Cit. p. 7.
28. Trustees Minute Book (A.I.B.)
Vol. I, November 29, 1827.
29. Ibid. Vol. I, December 25, 1855.
30. Session Minute Book (A.I.C.)
Vol. I, May 13, 1845.
31. Trustees Minute Book (A.J.B.)
Vol. I, December 25, 1847.
Vol. II, May 3, 1866 and June 5-21, 1866.
32. Ibid. Vol. I, November 5, 1821.
33. See Johnston, A.J. Factors in the Formation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1875.
McGill Thesis, (typewritten) 1955, Chapter 9.
34. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.B.)
Vol. I, April 18, 1840.
Vol. I, June 3, 1840.

35. Ibid. Vol. I, December 27, 1859.
Vol. II, December 29, 1864.
36. Members in full communion means those who are entitled to partake of the communion service. This implies their having made a profession of faith and having been accepted as a member of the church by the Session.
37. Session Minute Book (A.F.C.)
Vol. I, March 26 - April 23, 1823.
38. Copy of a Minute of the New York Presbytery dated Montreal, July 30, 1825, known as Document # 1 in a series of papers presented to the Third Presbytery of New York City in 1895 and now in the vault of the Arskine and American United Church.
39. Session Minute Book (A.F.C.)
Vol. I, December 10, 1825.
40. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, December 25, 1825.
41. Ibid. Vol. I, November 6, 1834.
Session Minute Book (A.F.C.)
Vol. I, November 19, 1834.
A Statement and Appeal from various members of the Church to the 3rd Presbytery of New York City, dated March 1845 in the Vault of the Arskine and American United Church.
42. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, July 23, 1840.
43. Session Minute Book (A.I.C.)
Vol. I, July 24, 1840.
44. Session Minute Book (A.I.C.)
Vol. I, December 31, 1840.
45. Statement and Appeal. Op. Cit.
The church's records do not indicate who these persons were or where they left for.
46. N.S. Frost letter to Rev. Caleb Strong. March 24, 1845.
In the Vault of the Arskine and American United Church.
47. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, May 9, 1844.
48. Session Minute Book (A.I.C.)
Vol. I, May 10, 1844.

49. Statement and Appeal. Op. Cit.

50. E.F. Hatfield (Secretary of New York Presbytery) letter to
Rev. C. Strong, April 28, 1845. Erskine and American United Church.

Chapter 4.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

One of the first problems to face the new American Presbyterian Church after its formation was that of acquiring recognition of its status as a church by the local community and also recognition as a legal entity by the Government. Such recognition was absolutely necessary if the Church were to fulfil the purposes for which it had been brought into existence.

It was not long before the Montreal community recognized the American Presbyterian Church as a separate entity. This recognition was not demonstrated by any official ceremonies by any one organization or even by a group of organizations, but was indicated by invitations to join such groups as the Protestant committee for burying paupers who died in the Montreal General Hospital. (1) Recognition was also evinced (2) by the willingness of the Wesleyan Methodists and later by the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church (3) to lease their buildings to the American Presbyterians that the latter might hold services. Recognition outside church groups was signified by the participation of the Montreal Masonic Lodges at the laying of the cornerstone of the Church's first building. (4)

Official recognition of the Church by the Government was a formal affair and one that was very important to the welfare of the Church. The absence of official recognition during the early years of the Church's life seriously impaired its activities in both spiritual and temporal affairs. At the time of the foundation of the American Presbyterian Church, this recognition consisted of two elements. From the viewpoint of the community and of spiritual welfare the most important of these was the right to hold authorized registers in which to record baptisms,

marriages and burials. If the Church were refused the right to hold such registers it meant that the performance of these ceremonies would not be recognized by law and indeed would be considered illegal. As these ceremonies were considered to be an essential part of religious, as well as of temporal life, the inability of a church to perform them was regarded as extremely serious. From the temporal viewpoint, official recognition required the acquisition by the Church of corporate status. This meant that the Church could establish a board of trustees to hold its property in trust, and to institute legal action on behalf of the Church.

At this time the legal status of the different Protestant denominations in the Canadas was a subject of dispute. The Church of England claimed that as it was the Established Church in England it was also the Established Church in the Colonies and thus it vigorously defended its claim to be the sole custodian of registers of baptisms, marriages and burials. These claims were strongly contested by the Church of Scotland which maintained that as it was the Established Church in Scotland it had equal status with the Church of England in the Colonies. The attitudes of the various government officials were divided, with the result that no clear statement of the relative positions of the two churches was possible.
(5)

By 1820 the Church of Scotland had succeeded in attaining equality of status with the Church of England in regard to the custody of registers. The question of incorporation was, however, a very different one. Incorporation through the Provincial Legislature had not been achieved by the Anglicans,
(6) but they had succeeded in getting corporate

(7)
 privileges through grants of Royal Letters Patent. The Church of Scotland was unable to acquire similar privileges either by Royal Letters Patent or by acts of incorporation. This resulted in some inconvenience, for in Montreal, the St. Gabriel Street Church, a Church of Scotland congregation, had discovered that its property was not held by the elected successors of the first board of trustees, but rather by the heirs of the members of the first board. To ensure that the land was to be held by the trustees elected successors alone, necessitated a laborious and time consuming series of legal conveyances and agreements. When the Church petitioned the Governor-in-Chief for an act of incorporation in 1827 to circumvent this difficulty, the petition was refused on the advice of the Attorney General. This official maintained that the Governor-in-Chief did not have the necessary authority to grant such a
 (8)
 charter.

The position of the other Protestant denominations was quite clear, they simply had no existence in law as churches. They were denied corporate status as well as the custody of authorized registers. One Minister at Quebec who had ignored this restriction in 1803 and had performed baptisms, marriages and burials, had been prosecuted at the
 (9)
 instigation of the Anglican Bishop. The Court found that he had acted far beyond his authority and forbade him to continue performing the
 (10)
 three ceremonies in question.

The only other religious groups present in any number in Lower Canada at this time were the Roman Catholics and the Jews. The Roman Catholic Church had received its rights to property and registers from the old French régime. As the Cession of 1763 had brought only a few

changes, these rights remained substantially the same. The Jewish
 community in Montreal numbered only 56 in 1825,⁽¹¹⁾ but it received the
 custody of authorized registers in 1829⁽¹²⁾ and the right to own pro-
 perty in trust in 1846.⁽¹³⁾

Although the American Presbyterian Church was accorded social recognition as a church by the Montreal community shortly after its foundation, legal recognition by the Government at Quebec was neither as quickly nor as easily obtained. The petition presented to the Provincial House of Assembly on January 23, 1826 stated that when the Church had presented a set of registers to the Court of King's Bench for official authorization, as required by law it had been told:

That it having been decided in the Provincial Court of Appeals that the Statute which requires the Enregistration of Marriages, Baptisms and Burials in Lower Canada, does not authorize the granting of Registers to any other Protestant Ministers than those of the Established Churches of England and Scotland, we must in conformity thereto, and until some further Legislative Proceeding is made restrict ourselves to the granting of Registers only to Ministers of the above Churches and therefore, that it is not now in our power to sign the Registers by you presented and comply with the prayer of your Petition. (14)

As a result of this refusal, for which no date can be found, the petition had been drawn up and presented. It prayed for the right to perform the three ceremonies in question. It must be noted that while the Church obeyed the law with regard to marriages and burials, it kept a special register of baptisms. Baptism and communion are the only two sacraments recognized by the Protestant churches. Thus while the American Presbyterian Church might recognize the validity of civil registration of births, it did not admit the right of the state to deny to it the performance of one of the most important ceremonies of

(15)

Christian church life.

A Committee of the House, appointed to investigate the Petition, reported favourably with the result that a bill was brought down and passed to allow the minister of the American Presbyterian Church to perform the three ceremonies and to have the custody of authorized registers in which to record them. This Bill was submitted to the Legislative Council for its concurrence, but on February 23, 1826 a motion was passed that it be considered on "the first of June next".⁽¹⁶⁾ This manoeuvre, a parliamentary device to kill the Bill, was often resorted to in an effort to avoid consideration of measures that were either unpopular or too controversial. Today this is commonly known as the "six months hoist" and it means that consideration of a bill is deferred to a date after the Parliamentary session has ended.

On December 29, 1828 the House of Assembly received a second petition.⁽¹⁷⁾

This Petition was from the Society rather than from the Church. Thus along with the prayer for the right to hold registers, the Petition included a prayer for the granting of corporate status to the Society's Trustees. They requested this feature in order that the Society might hold land for a House of Worship, a Parsonage and a Burial Ground without running into difficulties similar to those encountered by the St. Gabriel Street Church. The House of Assembly passed a bill granting both of these privileges and sent it to the Legislative Council for its concurrence. The Council was still unwilling to consider such action and it again used the "six months hoist" to nullify the Assembly's bill.⁽¹⁸⁾

Encouraged perhaps by the fact that the Wesleyan Methodists had

gained the right to hold registers in 1829, ⁽¹⁹⁾ the Society made a third attempt in 1830. The proceedings followed a similar pattern except that the Council killed the Bill by taking it into a Committee of the Whole House for consideration and failed to "report it out". ⁽²⁰⁾ This failure to "report" a bill out was another parliamentary stratagem for killing an unwanted bill.

On February 11, 1831 the House of Assembly received a fourth ⁽²¹⁾ Petition. This was presented by the American Presbyterian Society after the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council had both passed a bill to incorporate ⁽²²⁾ St. Andrew's Church, which was a Church of Scotland congregation at Quebec. This Bill had not come into effect at the time of the American Presbyterian Society's Petition, for it had been reserved. Although Royal Assent had been granted on January 31, 1831 to the St. Andrew's Church Bill it was not proclaimed in Lower Canada until April 29, 1831, and as official news took some time to cross the Atlantic it seems likely that the American Presbyterian Church and Society were basing their hopes on the favourable action by the Legislative Council rather than the knowledge that the Bill had actually been assented to. The fourth Petition again asked for authorized registers and corporate status for the Church. On February 16, the House passed a bill granting these and sent it to the Council for its concurrence. The Council passed an amended version of the Bill which then had to be reconsidered and approved by the House of Assembly.

The Amendments were, for the most part, changes involving isolated words. Unfortunately the system of reference used in the Journals of Parliament makes it impossible to assess their import without

a copy of the original draft bill which is not available. There were, however, two clause amendments. The first of these required that the Ministers and Trustees of the Church must have taken the oath of allegiance to the King before the benefits of the act could have become operative. The second was a rider which reserved the rights of the King unimpaired, despite anything granted in the Bill. (23) This latter was a standard rider attached to all bills of this nature.

The House of Assembly agreed to these amendments and after adding the exact amount (2/6) of the fee to be charged for the registration of the oaths of allegiance (left blank by the Council) passed the Bill again. This Bill received the final approval of the Legislative Council on March 28, 1831. It did not, however, become effective immediately, because on March 31, it was reserved for "The signification of His Majesty's pleasure thereon". (24) This meant that the Bill would have to go to Great Britain for the approval of the British Government before it became law.

In the records of the Church there is a copy of a letter dated May 7, 1831 from the Trustees of the Society to Denis Benjamin Viger. This letter asked for his attention to the Bill as he was going to London as the agent of the Province of Lower Canada. This letter was, however, unnecessary for the Bill had received Royal Assent on April 12, 1831. On June 5, 1832 the Governor-in-Chief proclaimed "an Act to afford Relief to a Certain Religious Congregation at Montreal denominated Presbyterians". (25)

The Act consisted of eight sections. The first outlined the problems and petition of "Certain Protestants at Montreal". After

stating the authority under which it was enacted, the Act proceeded to grant the Church the right to hold registers of marriages, baptisms and burials and stated that these

... to all intents and purposes have the same effect at law as if the same had been kept by any Minister in this Province of the established Church of England or Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithstanding. (26)

The second section granted the Congregation the right to set up a Board of Trustees and ensured that any property held in trust by that Board would be transferred in perpetual succession to their elected successors only. It also gave the Trustees the right to defend this property at law if it became necessary. The third section limited the land to be held in trust to a maximum of two arpents.

The next two clauses legalized past and future conveyances of property and set the fees to be charged by the Prothonotary of the Court of King's Bench for the registration of such documents.

The sixth section was the one which required that the Minister and Trustees of the Church, take the oath of allegiance to the King and that a record of this be "fyled" in the office of the Prothonotary. The last two clauses were common to all such acts. The first protected the rights of the King and his successors; the second declaring the act to be a public one and to be noted by all who might be concerned.

The long delay in securing these necessary rights and privileges for the American Presbyterian Church can be attributed to several factors. The major one is that the Legislative Council was reluctant to pass such a bill. Some of this reluctance can be traced to the struggle for establishment waged by the Churches of England and Scotland. The

Anglican clergy strongly opposed the granting of custody of registers to any but one of their own number. The Council probably feared that if they were too liberal with this privilege it might become an accepted precedent, which the other Protestant churches might cite in demanding the same rights. Actually the precedent had already been established by the granting of registers to the Wesleyan Methodists and the Jews in 1829. Much the same is true of the right to hold land in trust. Here the precedent had been established by the incorporation of a Church of Scotland congregation a year previous to the passage of the Act to relieve the American Presbyterians.

A further element in this disinclination is reflected in the sixth section of the Act. The War of 1812 had left an aftermath of deep distrust for the United States and for things American. The requirement that the Ministers and Trustees be British subjects is indicative of this distrust. In connection with this, it should be noted that although the Journals of the House of Assembly record two of the four petitions as emanating from the American Presbyterian Society of Montreal, the bills introduced and the final Act all designate the Church as "a certain Religious Congregation at Montreal denominated Presbyterians".

Other elements may have entered the struggle, but the Journals of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council give but the bare outlines of the proceedings of these bodies. The result is that they do not record the names of those who moved such things as the "six months hoists", they do, however, note who presented both petitions and bills. Thus it is difficult to trace the intrusion of private

jealousies and vested personal interests which possibly opposed the passage of the relief bill. This absence of detail makes it difficult to prove or disprove the statement in the obituary of Jacob DeWitt Sr., in the Montreal Witness of March 26, 1859, that as a member of both the American Presbyterian Church and Society, and the Provincial Parliament he was responsible for the final success of the petitions. He may well have been responsible, for behind the scenes lobbying was often necessary in similar cases, but his name does not appear in the official record as being connected with any of the petitions or bills.

Despite the very full records kept of the life of the American Presbyterian Church only one notation concerning this important struggle appears in the minutes of the Church Session or the Trustees of the Society. This was a resolution of the Society's annual meeting on December 25, 1828 to present a petition to the Provincial Parliament for the right to keep a church register. (27) This was the beginning of the second attempt noted above. The only other contemporary comment on this bill outside the official government records was in the Canadian Courant of June 12, 1832. The Editor, in commenting upon the proclamation of assent to a number of reserved bills, including the one affecting the American Presbyterian Church, stated that grumblers would now have to admit that Canada had a wise and just system of government.

It should be noted that the act was not an act of incorporation such as had been granted to two (28) congregations of the Church of Scotland at Quebec, but was merely "an act to afford relief". It did, however, grant the major privileges that incorporation permitted, that is, corporate status for the Church as well as the custody of authorized

registers. Full incorporation was probably withheld on several grounds. First, the petition had not asked for full incorporation. In this the Church probably took its cue from a bill that Parliament had passed in 1830. This Bill had made provision for churches of all denominations (29) to hold land through Trustees. The Bill had been reserved and was not proclaimed until April 27, 1831, having been assented to in Great Britain on the last day of January of the same year. Thus the action of the American Presbyterian Society had begun before the final outcome of this Bill had become known in Canada. Second, incorporation had only just been granted to congregations of the Church of Scotland and Parliament was probably unwilling to extend such full privileges to another Protestant denomination quite so soon and especially to a Church that owed its ecclesiastical allegiance to a denomination in the United States.

The Act stands in a unique place in the history of Lower Canada, for although the Jews and the Wesleyan Methodists had gained the right to hold registers in 1829, and the latter, under the act noted above (10-11 Geo. IV c 58), could hold land in trust, it was the first time that any church other than the more or less established Churches of England, Scotland and Rome had been granted the right both to hold registers and to corporate status. At the time this Act came into force, none of the dissenting churches in England and Wales possessed the same rights as were granted to the American Presbyterian Church. It was not until 1836 that dissenting churches in England and Wales received the privilege of performing the marriage ceremony and of keeping registers of these acts. (30)

(31)

The fact that nine "dissenting" denominations received this right in

Lower Canada before the passage of the Registration Act and the Marriages Act in 1836 in Great Britain suggests that some of the more liberal ideas reached fruition in the Colonies before they were acceptable to the British Parliament.

Although entitled to set up a proper Board of Trustees under this Act the Society did not do so until 1837. This delay was probably caused by a legal controversy that arose over the ownership of the site of the Church. This controversy began in 1829 and was not settled until 1836.⁽³²⁾

This Act remained in force until 1864. In the early part of that year the American Presbyterian Society decided to erect a new church building.⁽³³⁾ The site of the new edifice was to be further west as the majority of the Congregation had gradually moved westward with the growth of the city. This decision caused some difficulties as apparently the "Act to afford relief ..." had made no provisions for the possible sale of the Church's immovable property. The Trustees of the Society, with the approval of the Church, wished to sell the old site and building in order to help finance the cost of a new site and building. To circumvent the difficulties arising from the projected sale the Society petitioned the Legislative Assembly of Canada for an Act of Incorporation⁽³⁴⁾ which would allow it to utilize its property as it saw fit.

The petition was presented to the Assembly on March 17, 1864; and one month later "An Act to incorporate the Trustees of the American Presbyterian Society of Montreal"⁽³⁵⁾ was read for the first time. The bill passed through both Houses of Parliament in a routine manner without any amendments being made and was assented to on June 30, 1864.⁽³⁶⁾ The

swift passage of this act is in sharp contrast to the prolonged struggle which preceded the winning of the initial rights and privileges. The reasons for this difference are not completely clear, especially when seen against the events of the 1860's. The Civil War in the United States had raised a great deal of apprehension in Canada, and this distrust might well have made Parliament reluctant to grant incorporation to the Church. That this was not the case is probably attributable to the extensive contribution that the individual members of the Church had made to the life of Montreal since its establishment in 1822. Another important factor was that although still proud of their American origin, as exemplified by their membership in the New England Society they were largely British in character.

(37)

There was no opposition to the bill on religious grounds. By 1864 the general climate of opinion had accepted the fact that the "dissenting" churches had as much right to incorporation and the custody of registers as did those churches which laid claim to be the established churches of the country.

The Act was, in effect, a new constitution for the American Presbyterian Society and to some extent simplified the confused form of government that had evolved in the Church. After granting the Trustees all the usual rights and privileges of a corporation, the Act granted the special right of collecting pew rents.

Under the Act there was to be a Board of nine Trustees. These were to be elected for three year terms, three being elected each year in order to give continuity to the Board. Special provision was made to fill the vacancies in the first two years until the system was in

full swing. Each of the trustees was to be at least twenty-one years of age, a member of the Society in good standing for at least one year and not a member of any other church.

Conditions for the calling of meetings; the extension of voting privileges; the quorum, and majorities of votes necessary; as well as the types of reports to be made at annual meetings were all delineated by the Act. Nine of the twenty-five clauses dealt with the finances of the Church and five of these outline the special privileges with regard to pew rents.

The Trustees were given the right to make by-laws respecting the temporal affairs of the congregation, and they had to elect a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer from among their own number each year. The Secretary had to keep a "register" of the Society's actions which was to be open to the Society's members "at all seasonable times".

In effect, the Act placed all the duties formerly performed by the Prudential Committee and the Executive of the Society in the hands of the Trustees alone. As well as controlling the temporal affairs of the Church, they still retained the right to nominate the elders to the Church's Session. The Act did not introduce the procedure of selling and renting of church pews into the American Presbyterian Church. This had been done since its foundation. Now, however, the practice received legal sanction.

There was little delay this time in bringing the provisions of the Act into force. At the Annual Meeting on December 26, 1864, (38) the first Trustees under the Act of Incorporation were elected by the Society.

In contrasting the two acts, two things stand out quite clearly. In the second Act the Legislature showed no qualms about the use of the term "American Presbyterian Society" and even incorporated it into the title of the Act. Also notable is the absence of the clause requiring the Minister and Trustees to take the oath of Allegiance to the Queen. This was despite the fact that the Church still owed allegiance to a denomination in the United States and still procured its ministers from the United States. The probable reasons behind these changes are those alluded to above in connection with the absence of opposition i.e. the Church's services to the community and the actual allegiance of the majority of its members being British.

The Act, however, did not cover all the contingencies that were to arise, and on February 23, 1866 a committee was set up to secure the right to own property for a Free School and a Mission on Chaboillez Square. The amendment allowing the Society to own such property was (39) not granted until 1878 and thus does not form a part of this investigation.

The whole struggle for legal recognition is an interesting one and one that shows that religious recognition and toleration had to be won in North America as elsewhere and could not be taken for granted. The persistence with which the "dissenting" denominations sought these privileges is exemplified by the actions taken by the American Presbyterian Church in the 1820's and 1830's. The relative ease with which the Act of Incorporation was procured signifies the change in attitude which had developed since the days of the earlier struggle. As has been pointed out, the success of the American Presbyterian Church in

1831 is significant because it was the first time that such privileges had been granted to any Protestant church other than one belonging to the "established" Churches of England and Scotland.

The American character of the Church probably accounted for some of the reluctance to grant the original act. By 1864, however, the real nature of the Church had become Canadian, the people were loyal British subjects, though closely tied with the United States in ecclesiastical discipline. Thus the question in 1864 was not one of granting incorporation to a group of aliens, for the Church members were loyal and had in the past played a loyal part in community and national life.

FOOTNOTES

1. A letter in the Papers of the Church dated December 7, 1823.
Michael Scott to Jacob Bigelow.
This letter invited J. Bigelow and H. Dickinson to join the
committee as representatives of the American Presbyterian Church.
The others on the committee were:
The Rev. John Bethune
The Rev. H. Esson
Mr. H. McKenzie
Mr. A. Skarkel
Mr. M. Scott
2. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, January 7, 1823.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, February , 1824.
4. Canad~~ean~~ Courant. June 15, 1825.
5. W.S. Reid, The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada.
McGill Thesis (typewritten), 1935. p. 79.
6. N. Bosworth, Nochelaga Depicta.
Montreal, 1839. p. 104.
7. W.S. Reid, Op. Cit. p.78.
8. R. Campbell, History of the St. Gabriel Street Church.
Montreal, 1887. p. 289.
9. W.S. Reid, Op. Cit. p. 48.
10. Hon. W.R. Riddell, "When a Few Claimed Monopoly of Spiritual
Functions."
Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records.
Vol. XXII, 1925. pp. 202-209.
11. T.S. Brown, Montreal Fifty Years Ago.
Montreal, N.D. p.28.
12. 9 George IV c 75. (Lower Canada).
13. 9 Victoria c 96. (Lower Canada).
14. Lower Canada, Journals of the House of Assembly (1826)
p. 10 & 11.
15. This register is still extant in the Papers and Records of the
Society.

The Universalists	4 William IV c 21) 1834
The Calvinistic Baptists	6 William IV c 49) 1836
The Methodist Protestants	6 William IV c 50)
	(all Lower Canada).

32. See Chapter 5

33. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, December 26, 1863.

34. Petition from Edwin Atwater et al.
Presented to Legislative Council (Province of Canada) March 16, 1864.

35. 27-28 Victoria c 163 (Province of Canada).

36. Province of Canada, Journals of the Legislative Assembly. 1864.
Vol. XIII, pp. 111, 181, 232, 280, 374, 385, 411, 504.

37. See Chapter 14

38. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. II, December 26, 1864.

39. 41 Victoria c 40 (1878) (Quebec)
Other later legislation affecting the American Presbyterian Church.
35 Victoria c 45 1871
53 Victoria c 83 1890
63 Victoria c 98 1900
5 George V c 138 1915
(all Quebec).

Chapter 5.

THE BUILDINGS AND THEIR
SITES

The Site

The Building

The New Church and Site

One of the first problems to face the Society was that of procuring accommodation in which the Congregation could hold services. This problem was one of the original questions put to the Prudential Committee on the day of its formation. (1) Two weeks later a solution was reached by leasing the Wesleyan Methodist Chapel on the corner of St. Francis Xavier and St. James Street. For the privilege of using the building when the Wesleyans were not using it, the American Presbyterians paid a rent of £ 100 a year and half the cost of employing a "door-keeper". (2)

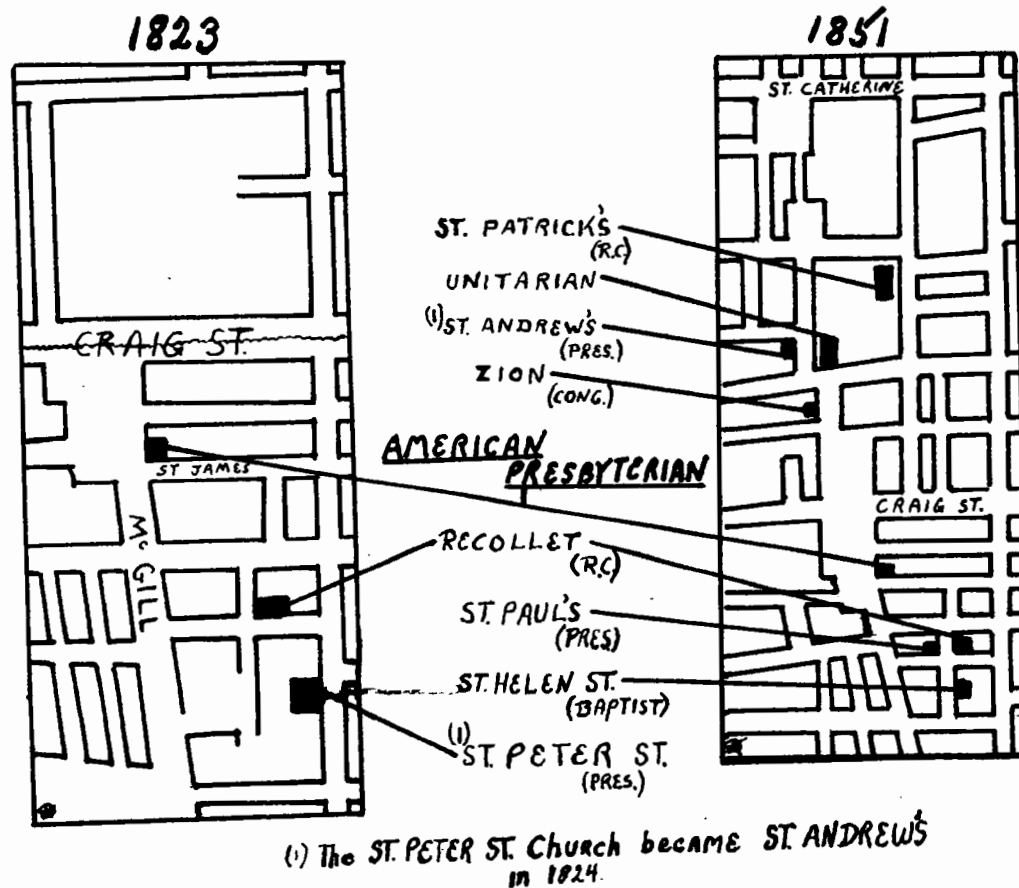
During the first year of the Church's existence various locations served as meeting places. The initial meetings, other than services of the Congregation and the Session were held at Samuel Hedge's house in Fortification Lane. (3) The Society held its first meeting at the City Tavern on St. Paul Street. (4) The difficulty of finding suitable accommodation for the services and other meetings so necessary to the life of the Church, was probably behind the early decision of the Society to erect a church building. This decision was made on April 24, 1823, (5) and a committee was set up to locate a site for the building. At the same time it was decided to seek financial aid for this venture in the United States.

As the construction of a building would take some time, the Society found it necessary to seek other accommodation until its own building was ready for occupancy. After its year in the Methodist Chapel had terminated, the Society rented the St. Peter Presbyterian Church on much the same terms. (6) The Society continued to lease this Church until it finally moved into its own building. This return to

the fabric of the Church from which they had seceded was only a physical return, for the two churches continued their individual spiritual existences. The return, however, does suggest that the split had not left any deep seated animosities between the two congregations.

The Site

Eighteen months after its creation, the committee on the site
(7)
reported to the Society. Its choice was a lot on the northeast corner of St. James and McGill Streets. The Society approved the Committee's selection and steps to purchase the site were taken.



The lot chosen was an excellent one for several reasons. It

stood on the edge of the older part of town facing the suburbs that had grown up since the Cession of 1763. Although it was at that time further west than any other church site in the city, it proved a good choice, for in later years the streets leading from Commissioner's Square to the north became popular locations for churches of all denominations.

Eventually, however, the same westward movement of population that had made the site such a good one forced its abandonment, and the Church had to move to a new location.

Doige's Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders and House-keepers residing in Montreal, published in 1819 lists forty-six persons who were later connected with either the Church or the Society. Analysis of their addresses shows that two-thirds (29) lived in the East and West Wards of the city, while the remaining third (17) were spread throughout the suburbs with the balance in favour of those in the West.

STANTOINE 1	ST LAWRENCE 4	ST LOUIS 0
ST JOSEPH / RECOLLET 0 / 3	† CITY 29	QUEBEC 1
ST ANNES 8		

† = The Church

The addresses in the city show a marked balance in favour of the

West Ward with five addresses listed on McGill Street, three on St. Louis Street and two each on Place d'Armes, Fortification Lane, and St. Francis Xavier Street. Notre Dame and St. Vincent Streets each contained one household. The most popular street was St. Paul Street where the residences of thirteen people are listed. The majority of these were merchants and artisans of various sorts, and since in most cases no address other than that of the business is given, it is probable that they lived above their places of business as was the custom in those days. (9) The listings for the suburbs are too few to be of any real value except in St. Anne's suburb where six of the addresses occur in the eastern part of the area. It thus becomes apparent that the site for the Church was more or less centrally located with regard to the homes of the Congregation.

The lot itself measured seventy-five feet by eighty-nine feet (french measure) and fronted on St. James Street. The rear of the lot formed a common boundry with the property of Samuel Hedge's home and blacksmith shop, which fronted on Fortification Lane, the same house where many of the earlier meetings of the Church were held. To the west, the site bordered on McGill Street at the point where it widened to become Commissioner's Square, while on the east it bordered a lot belonging to Thomas Thain.

The land was purchased from Thomas Thain, one of the partners of McGillivray & Thain the controlling firm in the Montreal fur trading group known as the Northwest Company. The cost of the lot was £ 1012/10/0. The initial payment, set at £ 212/10/0 was to be paid at the signing of the deed. The balance was to be paid in annual payments of £ 100 due the first of May each year beginning in 1826. (10)

On October 4, 1824 Herman Seaver, Jacob DeWitt, William Forbes, Horace Dickinson, David Ward Eager, Jonathan Alger, Francis Leonard and Thomas Hastings took joint possession of the deed. At the same time they signed an agreement among themselves. The terms of this second document reflect the fact that the Society did not have corporate status at that time and therefore could not have the land held in trust for it by a board of trustees. The agreement was an effort to circumvent this difficulty. The land holders agreed to hold the land jointly among themselves and with any others the Society might appoint. They also agreed to convey the land to the Trustees named by the Society when it had secured the legal right to own land as a corporation. In order to avoid the awkward situation in which the St. Gabriel Street Church had found itself, ⁽¹¹⁾ the agreement included a clause that prevented the rights to the land being inherited by the heirs of the original land holders. The document also prohibited the land owner's legal representatives from laying claims against the property if any one of the holders ⁽¹²⁾ became insolvent.

The deed noted that the land was in the Seigneurie of Montreal and consequently was "subject to the payment of such cens et rentes toward the domain thereof as may be legally due and owing thereto". ⁽¹³⁾ The deed also noted that the contracting parties had been unable to ascertain just what these "cens et rentes" were. Nevertheless it declared that the land was free of all arrears of "cens et rentes" and of "every other charge, burthen, and encumbrance". This is an interesting illustration of the fact that the ownership of the seigneuries belonging to the religious orders had been in doubt since 1763, for the Seigneurie of Montreal

had belonged to the Sulpician order. If the Society had had to pay these "cens et rentes" it would be doubtful if it would appreciate paying them to a branch of the Roman Catholic Church.

In the spring of 1829 the Society learned that the land was not free "of every other charge, burthen and encumbrance" as the deed stated, in fact there was a substantial claim against it. The firm of McGillivray and Thain had acted as executors for the estate of Isabella Ferguson, the wife of John Gregory, one of Montreal's fur barons. By undertaking this duty the firm had pledged its own property as security for the proper administration of the estate. In 1826 the firm became insolvent and George Gregory, the residuary legatee obtained a court judgment of £ 6099/1/6 against the estates of McGillivray and Thain. This judgment placed the Society's property in jeopardy because it had been purchased from Thain after his firm had assumed the execution of
(14)
the estate.

This situation caused some concern and legal advice was sought
(15)
by the Society even before Gregory had asked the Society to pay him
(16)
the balance of payments actually due to Thain's estate. This sum
(17)
amounted to £ 800 with interest from May 1, 1825. This demand suggests that the Society had made none but the initial payment. Unfortunately no financial records seem to have survived and thus the exact position is difficult to establish. It does seem unlikely, however, that the Society would begin to erect an expensive building on land for which it had made only the initial payment. Within a few days of his first demand Gregory made a second one. This asked the
(18)
Society to pay him £ 20,000 or else to vacate the property.

The issue lay dormant for a few years, but was revived again in 1835. Although the Society sought legal advice in order to protect the property, a settlement was reached out of court. In a document dated September 20, 1836 Gregory transferred his claim to Jacob DeWitt and John E. Mills for the sum of £ 1200. This money was to be paid in two installments the first due when Gregory, then resident in Britain, ratified the agreement, and the second, one year from the same date. Each side agreed to stop all court actions and to pay their own court costs. The agreement also guaranteed DeWitt and Mills that no further claims would be made against the land. (19)

Although the American Presbyterians had been granted corporate status in 1832 they had not elected a board of trustees to hold the land. No reason for this delay can be found in the records, but it would seem likely that the Society was unwilling to complicate the issue still further by transferring the land in dispute to a Board of trustees. Once the Conveyance of Claim had been signed, the Society proceeded to elect a seven man board of trustees to hold the property on its behalf. (20) On February 13, 1837, in fulfilment of the agreement signed on October 4, 1824, (see above) the remaining land holders turned over the property and emplacements to the Trustees for the sum of ten shillings. The Trustees (21) also assumed the payment of the £ 1200 to settle Gregory's claim.

Gregory ratified the agreement on June 19, 1837 and the first payment was apparently made. In October 1839 DeWitt and Mills received a Summons from the Court of Queen's Bench (Montreal) to account for some £ 477/16/5 which was still owing to Gregory. (22) No further evidence on this claim has survived among the Papers and Records of the Church and

(23)
Society. It is reasonable to assume, however, that the issue was finally settled in a satisfactory manner, for the Society remained in legal possession of the property until it sold it in March 1865.

Although the site on the corner of St. James and McGill Streets, was sold in March 1865, (see below) in June of the same year, the Trustees of the Society found it necessary to create a sub-committee to deal with a further dispute concerning this property. The City Corporation of Montreal laid claim to a strip of land running between the wall of the church building and the line of McGill Street. This claim was rejected by the Trustees' attorney S.M. Dorman and his opinion was shared (24) by J.J.C. Abbott, Q.C. Unfortunately this sub-committee never submitted a report to the Board of Trustees and thus the final disposition of the issue was not recorded.

The Building

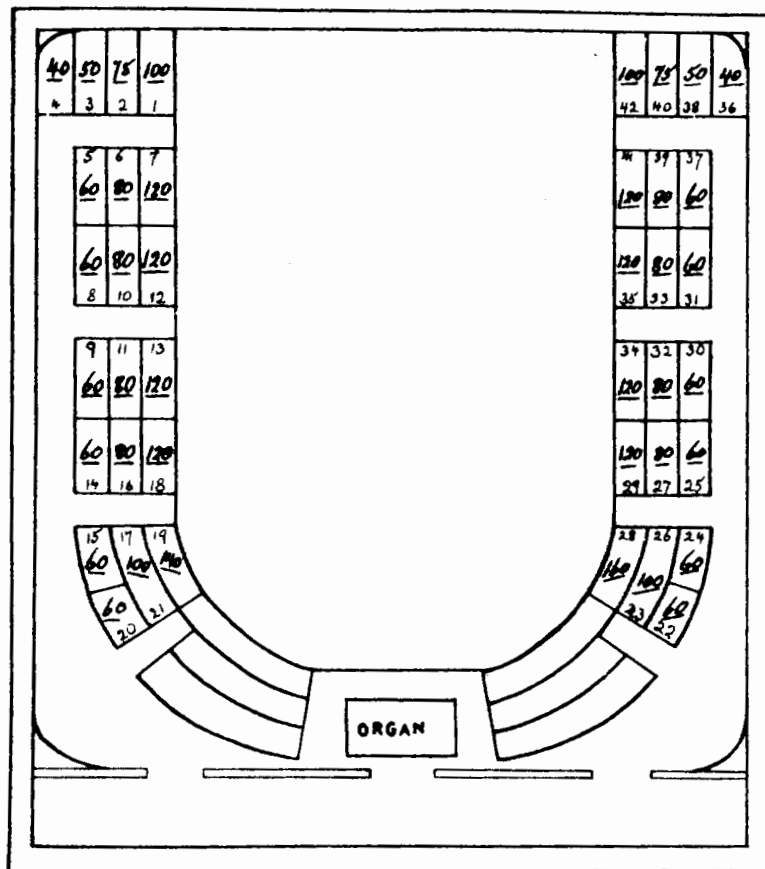
Once the decision to purchase the lot had been taken, the Society moved quickly and, even before the purchase had actually taken place, (25) had appointed a building committee to plan the new edifice. (26) This committee submitted two plans to the Society for consideration, the first was a church of octagonal form and its cost was estimated at £ 2058/6/0, the second was an "oblong square" its cost being estimated (27) at £ 1546/15/9. Probably for financial considerations, Montreal was denied what might have become one of its most unique buildings for on December 13, 1824 the octagonal pattern was rejected in favour of the (28) "oblong square" plan.

The cornerstone of the new church was laid on Monday, June 13,

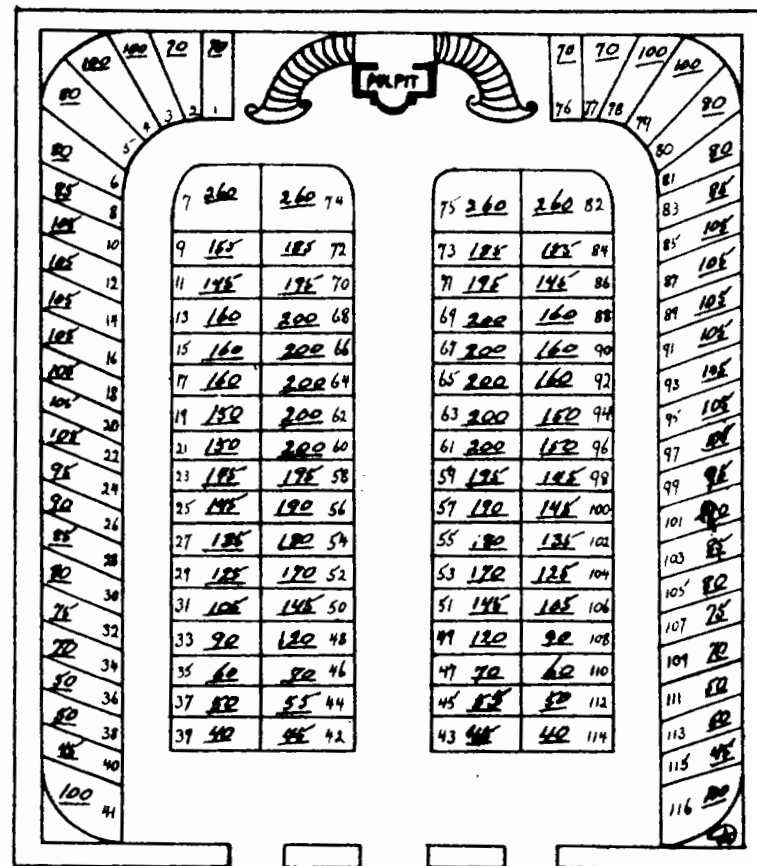
1825 in an impressive ceremony. The Prudential Committee of the Society had asked the Masons to lay the cornerstone and William McGillivray the Provincial Grand Master officiated in the proceedings. He was assisted by the officers of the Provincial Grand Lodge, Union Lodge # 1, St. Paul's Lodge # 3, and the Wellington Persevering Lodge # 7. Also in attendance were members of the Montreal Bar in their gowns and Major Gregory's Royal Montreal Cavalry. The band and guard of honour were from the Grenadier's Company of the 70th Regiment. (29)

The Canadian Courant of June 15, 1825 said that the ceremony was well attended despite the time of year "when the mercantile part of our citizens are busily employed." It in fact noted that it was the most numerous and respectable assembly that had been seen in seven years. Despite its obvious approval of the event, the paper criticized the people in charge for not preparing the area better, for the loose stones and other refuse had caused the Masons and others great inconvenience. (30)

The Congregation occupied the building on April 3, 1827 although it was not yet finished. Contributions for the construction had been solicited in the United States and elsewhere, but the greater part of the cost was to be raised through the sale of the pews. The Committee set up to place a value on the pews estimated that the cost of the church building less the basement and steeple would be less than £ 4500. It therefore decided to assess the pews on the ground floor for a total of £ 3500/5/0. Presumably it was intended that the pews in the gallery would be assessed for the remaining £ 1000. Each individual pew was assigned a price according to its position and these are marked on the plan of the Church reproduced below. The actual cost of (31)



GALLERY



AUDITORIUM

PEW DIAGRAM
OF THE
AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

{ PEW PRICES ARE
UNDERLINED AND
ARE IN POUNDS (£) }

the Church as reported by the Building Committee was £ 4030/10/2⁽³²⁾
or well over twice the original estimate for the "oblong square"
pattern.

When the building was occupied in 1827 three major sections
were still unfinished, the basement, the gallery, and the steeple.
There was some disagreement as to how the gallery should be finished and
as a result little was done to complete it.⁽³³⁾ It was not until 1853⁽³⁴⁾
that the pews in the gallery were put on sale although they had been
in use for quite some time. The basement was the object of a campaign
on the part of the Sunday School Society which wanted to use it for
classes. Eventually it was properly equipped and in 1850 the Sunday
School began to use it regularly. The church steeple was never erect-
ed and only this one reference to it was ever made in the records. The
reasons for its not being completed were not recorded, but they were
probably financial, for as late as 1853 the Society was still paying off
debts contracted in the building's construction.⁽³⁵⁾

The additions and renovations made through the years are diffi-
cult to trace. Often the Society would create a committee to investi-
gate some additions or changes to the fabric of the Church, but in the
absence of a report from the committee it is impossible to ascertain
just what was achieved. At some date gas lighting must have been in-
stalled, for the deed of sale in 1865 specified that the gas fittings
were not to be considered part of the building, but no record was made
of the installation of gas in the Trustees Minutes. The gift of a clock⁽³⁶⁾
was accepted in 1829 from a Mr. Cheney. Six years later new lamps
were to be bought for the Church. (These lamps were not gas lamps as

it was not until 1837 that Montreal was supplied with gas.)⁽³⁷⁾ In 1840 the Society sought tenders for the completion of the vestibule,⁽³⁸⁾ while at the same time a committee was set up to procure an organ. The organ was bought by a number of the church members and lent to the Church rent free.⁽³⁹⁾ It was placed in the gallery at the back of the Church facing the pulpit.

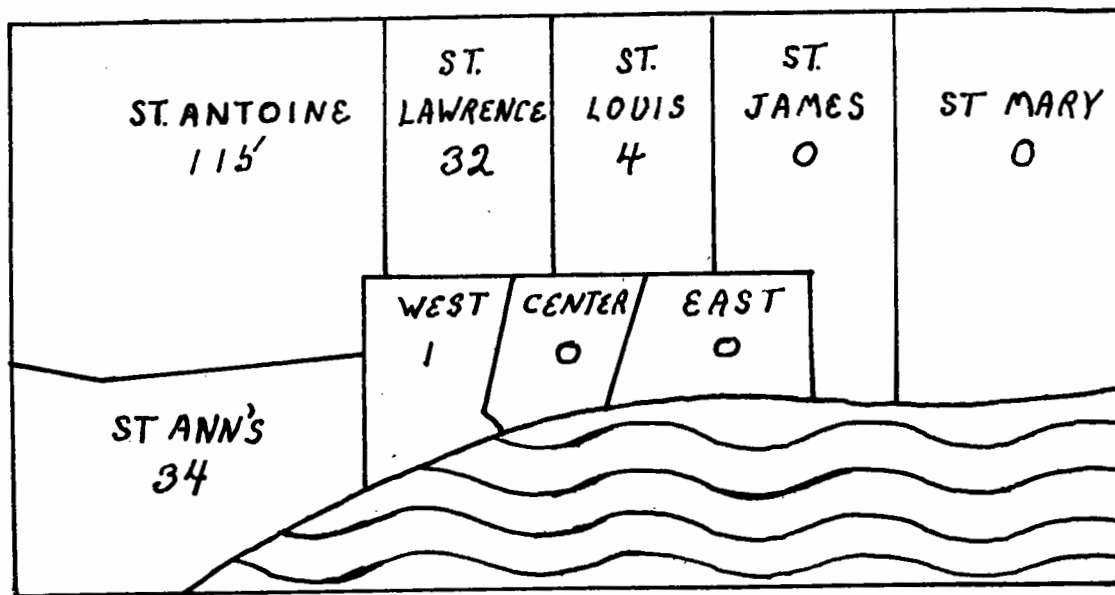
In 1848 the Society appointed a committee to provide better ventilation for the Church and shades for the windows in the southwest wall. This was also the year in which the first steps were taken to finish the basement.⁽⁴⁰⁾ In 1851 the ladies of the congregation refitted the pulpit.⁽⁴¹⁾ The possibility of erecting a shed to protect the horses and carriages of the members was investigated in 1857 but nothing more was done.⁽⁴²⁾ Three years later the building was cleaned, painted and ventilated.⁽⁴³⁾

The New Church and Site

Proposals to move to a new site were advanced as early as 1850,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but nothing concrete was done until 1859.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In that year a committee was set up to consider the matter. The problem rested there until June 18, 1863 when it became obvious that a considerable difference of opinion existed over the issue.⁽⁴⁶⁾ As a result, a committee was set up to take a poll of the opinion of the (pew) proprietors of the Society.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Committee reported that the majority favoured a new church, and as a direct result of this report a committee was set up to work on the matter.⁽⁴⁸⁾

This move was necessary, for as the city had grown from 22,384 in

(49)
 1825 to 90,323 in 1860, the English speaking population had gravitated towards the western suburbs. The American Presbyterians had been part of this trend, for by 1863 when the Church Register listed 343 persons, (50) only 12 who lived in Griffintown, and 27 who lived east of Bleury, were left below Beaver Hall Hill. The rest all lived to the west of it. Thus from its position in the center of its congregation in 1825, the Church, by 1860, had been left on the very eastern edge of the area inhabited by its members.



[Distribution of American Presbyterians as reported in the 1871 Census. This census reported 186 American Presbyterians in Montreal but this is inaccurate as there were 300+ in 1866.]

Less than two months after the decision to move had been made, the Society authorized the committee to purchase a new site. This site which was on the corner of Drummond and Dorchester Streets measured (51) 242 by 180 feet and was purchased from a Miss Doyle for \$ 5,500.

At this time the Society still had not secured the right to hold any property other than the McGill Street site. Thus the new site was held and all contracts for the new building were let by H.A. Nelson of the Building Committee, as a private individual. The new Board of Trustees was elected in December 1864, and on January 25, 1865 it assumed responsibility for all contracts signed by Nelson on behalf of the
(52)
Church.

With the election of the new Board of Trustees the way was also cleared for the sale of the old church building. The decision was to put it up to auction, because the Committee set up to dispose of the old property reported

... intimating that some who had been offering for the same, now declined purchasing, owing to the condition of the country in its relation to the United States.

Certain conditions attached to the sale are worthy of note: the minimum offer to be accepted was \$ 28,000. The terms were, one-third of the purchase price was to be paid immediately, and the balance in two equal payments, with 7% interest from May 1, 1865. The latter ~~was~~ the
(53)
date on which the purchaser was to have possession of the property. The gas fittings, organ, and moveable benches were not to be considered part of the sale. The Church also made it a condition of sale that when the building was demolished the contents of the cornerstone were to be delivered to the Trustees.

On February 23, 1865 the building that had served the Church and Society for thirty-eight years was sold to Harrison Stephens for \$ 30,500. With the sale the Society had to seek temporary accommodation. They asked and received permission to use the Normal School Building on

Belmont Street. The Church used these premises until June 24, 1866 when the first service was held in the Dorchester Street building.

Among the papers that were deposited in the cornerstone when it was laid on April 27, 1865, was a short manuscript history of the Church, by the Minister, the Rev. James Bonar. In this he noted that the new building was "too far west" but that the Society felt that the growth of the city would in time justify the location.

FOOTNOTES

1. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, December 24, 1822.
2. Ibid. Vol. I, January 7, 1823.
3. G.R. Lighthall, A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church.
Montreal, 1923. p.9
4. Chapter # 3 footnote # 4
5. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, April 24, 1823.
6. Copy of the Agreement among the Papers and Records of the Society
dated February, 1824.
7. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol. I, September 8, 1824.
8. 1823 Map. Map republished by Cambridge Press Montreal 1956.
1851 Map. The New Guide to Montreal and its Environs.
Montreal, 1851.
9. T.S. Brown, Montreal Fifty Years Ago.
Montreal, N.D. p. 21.
10. The Deed for the site on St. James and McGill Streets
dated October 4, 1824. (Erskine and American United Church Records)
11. Chapter # 4
12. Legal Agreement among the land holders of the Society
dated October 4, 1824. (Erskine and American United Church Records)
13. The Deed. Op. Cit.
14. Transfer of Claim from George Gregory to J. DeWitt and J.E. Mills
September 20, 1826.
15. Mr. Rolland, letters to Jacob DeWitt, April 17, 1829, and May 27,
1829.
16. George Gregory, letter to Jacob DeWitt, May 4, 1832.
17. Transfer of Claim (Op. Cit.)

18. Jacob DeWitt, letter to George Gregory, May 9, 1832.
and Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, July 4, 1835.
19. Transfer of Claim (Op. Cit.)
20. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, February 9, 1837.
21. Deed of Conveyance, from DeWitt to the Trustees of the American
Presbyterian Society. February 13, 1837.
22. Court of Queen's Bench Summons, October, 1839.
23. Actual records of the events in this dispute are very sparse and
the major part of the narrative has been built up from the re-
capitulation of events that are the standard form at the beginning
of legal documents such as deeds, conveyances, and transfers of
claims.
24. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. II, June 22, 1865.
25. Ibid. Vol. I, October 4, 1824.
26. Ibid. Vol. I, September 15, 1824.
27. Ibid. Vol. I, December 6, 1824.
28. Ibid. Vol. I, December 13, 1824.
29. Montreal Herald. June 15, 1823.
30. Session Minute Book (A.F.C.).
Vol. I, April 3, 1827.
31. Unfortunately there is no record of just how much was collected
in the United States.
32. See Appendixes ~~C, D, E~~, for the Building Committees report of expenditure,
and a couple of the bills presented to the committee.
33. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, March 27, 1828.
34. Ibid. Vol. I, January 20, 1853.
35. Rev. James Bonar, a short manuscript history of the church placed in
the cornerstone of the Dorchester St. Church build-
ing.

36. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, December 25, 1829.
37. N. Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta
Montreal, 1839. p. 193.
38. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, April 18, 1840.
39. Bonar, Op. Cit.
40. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, December XII, 1848.
41. Ibid. Vol. I, December 25, 1851.
42. Ibid. Vol. I, December 25, 1857.
43. Ibid. Vol. I, December 26, 1860.
44. Bonar, Op. Cit.
45. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, December 27, 1859.
46. Ibid. Vol. I, June 18, 1863.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid. Vol. I, December 26, 1863.
49. Brown. Op. Cit. p. 28.
50. The figure 343 was worked out by an analysis of the Church Register.
The Church reported 318 as being its membership in 1864 in its report
to the General Assembly, but my estimates agree with the 1866 report
to the General Assembly.
51. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. I, February 4, 1864.
Vol. II, January 25, 1865.
Also Bonar, Op. Cit.
52. Trustees Minute Book (A.F.S.)
Vol. II, January 25, 1865.
53. Ibid. Vol. II, February 7 and 20, 1865.

Chapter 6.

THE STRUCTURE OF
CHURCH FINANCE

Income

Current Expenses

Capital Expenditure

Other Revenue

Expenditure

Current Expenses

Capital Expenditures

Special Expenditures

The Trustees Report. 1866

One of the tasks that was essential to the life of the American Presbyterian Church was the financing of its operations. This aspect of church life came under the jurisdiction of the American Presbyterian Society and formed an extensive part of its responsibilities.

Unfortunately, there is no detailed financial report available for the years under examination, with the exception of 1866. Thus the description of the Church's finances is little more than a bare outline. The topic is divided into two main categories, Income and Expenditure. Each of these can be subdivided into current expenses and capital expenditure. The occasional special instances which cannot be fitted into either main category are treated at the end of the chapter.

Income

Current Expenses

The Society employed various methods of raising money for general expenses. The first used was a subscription or pledge list whereby the individual members promised to contribute a stated amount toward the expenses of the Church. It was reported to the organizational meeting of the Society that such a list had been circulated and that one hundred people had subscribed £340 for two years to help defray the expenses of the Society.⁽¹⁾

In January 1823, the Society adopted the system whose basic idea was current in the Protestant churches of the day. This was the pew rental system. Each year at the annual meeting, the pews in the church building would be rented to the members of the Church and Society. The money raised was used to pay the general expenses of the Society. In the

American Presbyterian Church the rental of a pew gave the tenant a vote in the proceedings of the Society regardless of whether or not he was a communicant member of the Church. (2)

Unfortunately no indications of what the rent for an individual pew was, or how much was raised annually by this method has survived. In the early years when the Society rented premises from other Montreal churches, the rents seem to have been set by putting the pews up to auction. (3) This method was also resorted to in the first years in their own building. (4) It would appear, however, that some other basis for the calculation of the rents was used in later years. This is suggested by the use of percentage increases of the pew rents in 1840, 1854-5 and 1859. (5) This mode of augmenting the Society's revenues would have had a very unequal and unfair effect if pew rents had been based on auction prices. One possibility is that the annual rent of a pew may have been set as a percentage of the value assigned to each pew by the assessment committee in anticipation of their sale. (See below, Capital Expenditure)

This system of pew rental does not seem to have succeeded in furnishing all the income necessary to pay the current expenses of the Society. This is partly indicated by the percentage increases of the rents noted above, and partly by the deficits reported to the Society at its annual meetings. The amounts of these deficits are sometimes recorded in the minutes of the Annual Meetings. Below a few examples are quoted. (6)

1834	£81/15/16	1838	£44/7/8
1835	£56/8/6	1842	£400 approx.
1836	£78/-/-	1843	£141/11/9
1837	£68/3/4	1852	£80/-/-

In 1841 the Society's ways and means for the ensuing year were estimated at £492/-/1, its expenditures at £676/5/-. The estimated deficit of £181/4/11 was low and it reached approximately £400. Whether the increase was because of increased expenditures, or decreased income is not indicated.⁽⁷⁾

Various devices were introduced to meet these deficits and to augment the Society's revenues. One of these was the percentage increase of pew rents mentioned previously. Another was the introduction of a subscription book at the annual meeting to pay off the previous year's debts. This method seems to have been the standard solution to the problem, it being used in 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838 and 1852. In January 1866 a special subscription list was circulated with a view to liquidating the arrears in current expenses before the new building was occupied.⁽⁸⁾ Such a subscription book was simply a list in which members of the Society pledged themselves to pay a specific amount (probably of their own choice) to be used solely for the liquidation of the debt in question.

The use of "weekly offerings" collected during the service does not seem to have been popular. Recourse was had to them only at infrequent intervals as they were considered supplements rather than replacements of the pew rental system.⁽⁹⁾ In 1846 when Zion Congregational Church in Montreal dropped the pew rental system in favour of "weekly offerings"⁽¹⁰⁾ it was still considered something of an innovation in church financing.

Capital Expenditure

Capital expenditures were treated quite separately from the current expenses of the Society and thus the raising of funds for this purpose was pursued separately, although somewhat similar methods were used.

The same meeting that approved the erection of the first church building (11) also decided to seek financial help in the United States and elsewhere.

This step was probably motivated by the close ties of many members with the United States, and by the support which previously had been given to Presbyterian churches in the Montreal area by persons in the United States. (12) Although no full record of this appeal survived, there are one or two brief references in the Trustees Minute Book. On September 22, 1823 it is recorded that \$345 had been collected from Boston and \$100 from transients towards the building fund. Among the papers and records of the Society there is an undated account of the money raised and expenses incurred by the Rev. J.S. Christmas on a trip to the United States. This trip, made on behalf of the Society, produced \$299.28. Christmas' expenses were \$100.51½. Thus, the Society received \$198.76½ for the building.

The method used to finance the major part of the construction costs of the church building was based on pew space. After the building was finished a committee of the Society placed an assessment on each pew according to its size and location. The pew was then put up to auction and sold to the highest bidder above the assessment. The ownership of a pew entitled the purchaser to a deed, which like other real property, was inherited by his heirs. The possession of a pew through ownership or rental gave the occupant a vote in the Society's affairs regardless of whether the person was a communicant member or not. This method cannot have been completely satisfactory, for all the pews in the church building were not purchased despite the fact that several pews were (13) often owned by one person. In fact, the Society was still paying for

the original building in 1853, the debt being approximately \$3,200 at
(14)
that time.

After the first auction in 1827 the unsold pews were put up to
auction each year at the Annual Meeting. After their sale, if any, the
remaining pews were rented for the ensuing year. For unknown reasons
the pews in the gallery were not sold until 1853. The auction on January
(15)
20 of that year produced the following results.

<u>Pew</u>	<u>Assessment</u>	<u>Price Paid</u>	<u>Purchaser</u>
19	\$140	\$160	N.S. Frost
28	140	149	D.P. Jones
35	120	139	Geo. Brush
34	120	130	J. DeWitt
12	120	136	Austin Adams
29	120	123	Irta Gould
17	100	101	N.S. Frost
13	120	121	Benj. Lyman

Although no concrete evidence can be cited, it is unlikely that
the purchase of a pew exempted the owners from the payment of an annual
pew rent, the reason being that purchase money was devoted to capital
expenditures, and pew rents to current expenses.

Various necessary repairs and renovations to the fabric of the
Church were made possible through the setting up of special subscription
lists when the need arose. Sometimes, however, church organizations,
such as the Ladies Society, would make a gift to the Church for such a
(16)
contingency.

As the cost of the second building was considerably higher than
(17)
that of the first, several methods in addition to the sale of pews were
used to finance it. The sale of the old building realized some \$30,500
(18)
which was applied to the cost of the new building. The Society also
(19)
authorized the borrowing of a total of \$13,000 to help cover the cost

of construction. Neither of these sources of revenue had been available for the first building; the first because the Society at that time owned no property which it could sell; the second because in 1823 the Society did not have corporate status and therefore could not borrow money as a corporation.

Other Revenue

There were one or two other sources of income which were used for specific purposes. The amount of rent paid by the pork packing plant to the Society for the use of the church basement and the use to which it was put was not recorded. (20) After the Sunday School Society began using the basement, however, the American Presbyterian Society fixed its rent at a sum equal to the annual interest on the Society's (21) debt, presumably with the intention of paying that interest with the money received.

When the United Secession Church rented the fabric of the American Presbyterian Church in 1833, it paid half the heating costs and half the expense of a doorkeeper. The cost of lighting for themselves, and any insurance premiums that might be necessary to cover their use of the building were also to be borne by the United Secession Church. These (22) terms suggest that the American Presbyterian Society was not intending to make a profit, but only to cover the increased costs arising from the United Secession Church's use of the building.

There is no record of the Society seeking government aid either for current expenses or for capital expenditure as did the Churches of England and Scotland. With the exception of the Church of Scotland, Presbyterians as a rule emphasize the voluntary principle of church financing whereby each congregation supports its own operations. Govern-

ment support was accepted only for the Free School "in connection with" the Church. This aid was for secular education and did not directly effect the Church's finances. Indirectly, these grants released for possible church use, funds that otherwise might have been used to support the Free School.

Expenditure

Current Expenses

As has been noted previously, no account of the income and expenditure of the Society has survived to the present day, thus is it difficult to ascertain just how the money was spent. There are, of course, some indications, but just what proportions of the regular revenues were allotted to each field of expenditure is impossible to ascertain .

One major item in the budget was salaries. In 1823 the Rev. Joseph Christmas received £300 per annum and a promise of an increase of £100 when the church building was finished. ⁽²³⁾ His successor received £250 per annum with an increase of £50 after two years. ⁽²⁴⁾ The minister's salary apparently remained on this level until 1857 when the Rev. James Bonar received £400 (\$1,600) per annum. This was increased to \$2,000 in ⁽²⁵⁾ 1865. (Canada adopted decimal currency January 1, 1858.) From time to time the Church had to employ a "supply" or assistant minister to help the regular minister, this also caused ~~ed~~ a drain on the Society's resources. In 1838 when Perkins fell ill a "supply" was engaged at ⁽²⁶⁾ £2/10/0 a week. The next year an assistant was engaged at \$1,000 per annum. ⁽²⁷⁾ When Perkins resigned, this assistant, the Rev. Caleb Strong, took over as pastor.

The Society also employed a "doorkeeper" who was probably a

janitor, but no indication of the size of his salary was made in the
 (28)
 Trustees records. The only other salary indicated is that of a choir
 director, and in 1851 the Society offered to pay up to £150 a year for
 (29)
 his services.

The agreement made with the United Secession Church suggests
 some further expenses, but without giving any idea of their importance.
 These included heating, lighting and insurance on the building.

The only other item in this field of church finance is mentioned
 by the Montreal Witness. In 1856 this paper notes that the Church donat-
 ed £150 yearly to the American Board of Foreign Missions. It did not,
 (30)
 unfortunately, suggest the methods used to raise this sum.

Capital Expenditures

Capital Expenditures consisted largely of the purchase of prop-
 erty and the construction or alteration of the Building. Since these
 have been noted earlier in this chapter and in the chapter on the
 Building and Site, they will not be discussed here.

Special Expenditure

From time to time, the Society established special subscription
 lists or made collections for a specific purpose. These were outside
 the regular expenses of the Church and included such things as the occas-
 ional special collection on behalf of the Sunday School or a special
 missionary post. Also in this class are the sums collected and present-
 (31)
 ed to the ministers as a parting gift when they moved to other jobs.

In 1854 they made a special collection to help the Rev. John McLeod pay
 (32)
 his expenses during a leave of absence taken to regain his health.

In 1861 the Society presented the Rev. James Bonar with enough money to

(33)
visit his native Scotland.

This account has been brief because of the lack of material available, thus it would not be reasonable to draw any extensive conclusions about the Society's finances. In general terms the Society seems to have had difficulty from time to time in financing its operations. These difficulties varied in their seriousness but the Society managed to keep them more or less under control. This suggests that a church could be supported by the voluntary method and that dependence on government grants was not really necessary for a church.

The Trustees report for 1866 was not used in the compilation of this chapter because it was issued in December and thus covered a year in which the Church and Society were first renting accommodation and then using their own new premises. For this reason the report for 1866 does not furnish a picture that was typical of the Society's finances from 1822-66. However, as it may be of some interest, a brief résumé is
(34)
given.

Revenue

Pew Rents 1865	\$ 214.22	
1866	1,920.40	
Premium for choice of Pews	17.50	
		\$2,152.12
Sabbath collections		582.28
Old carpet sold		20.89
Donations		1,720.40
Balance		
		31.20
		\$4,506.89

Expenditures

1865 Amount due Treasurer	\$	237.14
1866 Minister's salary to October 1st		1,900.00
Music		591.99
Amount paid Sexton	J. Cooper	\$80.00
	W. McClung	50.00
		130.00
Gas bills		126.80
Coal & Wood		213.35
Normal School hall (Rent)		200.00
Interest		325.00
Cartage		15.65
Miscellaneous		67.71
Insurance		104.00
Matting		101.29
Corporation Assessments		437.00
Sundry Bills		<u>56.74</u>
		<u>\$4,506.89</u>

Balance due Treasurer \$31.20

FOOT-NOTES

1. Trustees Minute Book (American Presbyterian Society)
Vol.1 December 24, 1822.
The wording of this minute does not indicate whether this was £340 for each of the two years or £340 for both years ~~together~~.
2. This appears on a paper among the Society's records dated 1827 and called "Conditions of the Subscription Book". The same paper also has a pew diagram at the top with the individual pew prices listed.
3. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.1 March 1, 1824.
4. Ibid. Vol.1, April 5, 1827.
5. Ibid. Vol.1,
December 17, 1840, 50%
December 25, 1854, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
December 25, 1855, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ %
December 27, 1859, 10%
6. Ibid. Vol.1,
December 25, 1834.
December 25, 1835.
December 26, 1836.
December 25, 1837.
December 25, 1838.
December 26, 1842.
December 25, 1843.
March 3, 1852.
7. Ibid. Vol.1, December 25, 1841.
8. Ibid. Vol.1 January 4, 1866.
9. Ibid. Vol.1
December 25, 1832.
December 25, 1833.
December 25, 1834.
December 25, 1843.
December 25, 1850.
January 1, 1851.
December 25, 1851.
March 25, 1852.
December 26, 1853.
Vol.11 December 5, 1865.
10. Rev. John Wood Memoir of the Rev. Henry Wilkes, D.D.
Montreal, 1887. p.129
11. Trustees Minute Book, (A.P.S.)
Vol.1 April 24, 1823,

12. See Chapter 1, The Church Background.
13. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.1 December 26, 1863,
14. Rev. James Bonar, A short manuscript history of the
Church placed in the cornerstone of
the Dorchester Street Church Building.

Rev. George Wells, Historical Sermon preached at the Semi-
Centennial Celebration of the American
Presbyterian Church
Montreal, 1873. p.26
15. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.1, January 20, 1853.
16. Ibid. Vol.1, December 25, 1851.- the Ladies Society refitted
the pulpit of the Church.
17. See Appendix F
18. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.11, March 18, 1865.
19. Ibid. Vol.11 April 30, 1866
\$10,000 at 7% interest
October 12, 1866
\$3,000 at 8% interest.
20. George Lighthall, A Short History of the American
Presbyterian Church of Montreal
1823 - 1923
Montreal, 1923. p.13
21. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.1, December 25, 1849.
22. Ibid. Vol.1, August 15, 1833.
23. Ibid. Vol.1, June 1, 1824.
24. Ibid. Vol.1, June 9, 1838.
25. Ibid. Vol.11, April 23, 1857.
December 26, 1865.
26. Ibid. Vol.1, July 9, 1838.
27. Ibid. Vol.1, May 28, 1839.
28. Ibid. Vol.1, December 25, 1828.

29. Ibid. Vol.1, November 5, 1851.
30. Montreal Witness, February 6, 1856.
31. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
Vol.1 August 21, 1828.
June 13, 1839.
32. Ibid. Vol.1, October 5, 1854.
33. Montreal Pilot, June 5, 1861.
34. Annual Report of the Trustees of the American Presbyterian Society of Montreal, Montreal, 1866. p.6 & 7

PART 2.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE
CHURCH

Chapter 7.

THE DENOMINATIONAL BACKGROUND

The Montreal Church was a member of a Presbyterian Church which had its headquarters in the United States. Thus, much of its background lies in the United States rather than in the denominations of Canada and Great Britain. The Covenant adopted by the Church on March 15, 1823⁽¹⁾ pledged the church members to adhere to the "Form of Government and Discipline" used in the "Presbyterian Church of the United States". The Church became an official member of this denomination on May 20, 1824.⁽²⁾

The type of Church government followed by this denomination was presbyterian, as its name implies. This consists of a pyramidal system of ecclesiastical courts which control the functions of the various levels of church organization. The fundamental unit of the denomination was the local church. The communicant membership of the church chose representative members to form the church's session. These men, called presbyters, or elders, together with the Minister of the Church were charged with the moral and spiritual welfare of the local church and its members.⁽³⁾ Supervision of the temporal affairs of the church was delegated to its board of deacons.⁽⁴⁾ In the Montreal Church the deacon's functions were performed by the Society.

The Session and Congregation of a church were not independent as in the congregational form of church government, but were subject to the care and oversight of the presbytery to which they were attached. This body consisted of the representatives of the churches of that denomination in the more immediate geographical area and as such had several important functions in the church's affairs. It existed to provide mutual counsel and assistance to the member churches, and to ensure that they maintained "soundness of doctrine". To enable it to fulfil these responsibilities, it was endowed with certain powers. It served

as a court of appeals for any questionable decisions that might have been taken by one of the sessions under its jurisdiction. The ~~p~~resbytery supervised the daily work of the Church through its approval or criticism of the session's records which it examined once a year. The ~~p~~resbytery could create, divide or unite congregations as circumstances dictated, and in general look after the spiritual welfare of the churches under its care. In addition, it was entrusted with the examination, licensing, and ordination, of candidates to the Ministry. It also installed the minister in his church at the beginning of his ministry and dissolved his ties with it at the end of his pastorate. Membership in ~~p~~resbytery was re-
(5)
stricted to members of the Church Session.

A synod was the assembly of a number of presbyteries and the supervision of these was its special charge. It served as a court of appeal for questionable or contested presbytery decisions, even if these had originally been appealed to presbytery from local churches. It also
(6)
had the right to unite, divide, or create new presbyteries.

The General Assembly of the Church was the highest court of appeal. All questions of doctrine, discipline and any affecting the constitution of the church were decided by the Assembly. The Assembly reviewed the records of the synods, much as the synods and presbyteries reviewed the records of the bodies subordinate to them. The General Assembly was, however, made up of presbytery, not synod personnel. It met once a year with the object of uniting all the churches of the
(7)
denomination in bonds of union, peace and mutual confidence.

The early development of the evangelical denominations in British North America was fostered by churches in the United States. Of these, the Methodist Episcopal Church was the most active, although

the activities of the Presbyterian, Congregational and Baptist Churches cannot be overlooked. Despite the fact that most of these churches directed their attention to Upper Canada and the Maritimes, a few traces of their work appear in Lower Canada as well. In 1791, the Rev. John Young arrived in Montreal under the auspices of the Presbytery of Albany. He helped the Montreal Presbyterians to organize the first permanent presbyterian church there.⁽⁸⁾ The Methodist Church of the United States also⁽⁹⁾ established a congregation in Montreal.

The War of 1812 seriously upset the growth of the American denominations in British North America with the result that the churches with British connections began to gain favour at the expense of the former. By the time the American Presbyterian Church was formed in Montreal, all organized American Missionary efforts had disappeared. The two Presbyterian churches~~had~~⁽¹⁰⁾ been established with American aid, but had become independent quite soon after their establishment. The 1820 agreement, confining the missionary activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church to Upper Canada meant its withdrawal from Montreal. By 1820 direct American influence had ceased to exist in Montreal churches as the only other Protestant church in the town was the Church of England Cathedral.

The establishment of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal was not the outcome of efforts made by the Presbyterian Church of the United States. Rather it was a spontaneous movement brought about by conditions peculiar to Montreal.⁽¹¹⁾ The new Church did not seek official affiliation with the Presbyterian Church of the United States until more⁽¹²⁾ than a year after its foundation.

The subsequent influences on the Church of developments in

British and American denominations are difficult to assess. The distance and difficulty of travel between the Church and its supervising Presbytery in New York made effective guidance almost impossible. The legal position of church and the different climates of opinion between the two countries in other matters served to place the Montreal Church in a unique position. The result was that in a great many instances the Church had to act along the autonomous lines usually associated with the Congregational Churches. With the improvement in communications and the interchange of information over the years, the Church became less isolated from its mother church. Nevertheless, it always maintained a high degree of congregational independence.

The various movements that were at work in the Canadian churches during this period do not seem to have made any deep impressions on the Church. The Montreal Americans seemed content with their connection to the Presbyterian Church in the United States and never made any attempts to sever that bond in order to join any denomination of the presbyterian order in Canada.

The Great Disruption, which split the Church of Scotland in Great Britain and Canada in 1843-44 does not appear to have affected the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal. This Church followed the voluntary principle of church support, and its difficulties in achieving legal recognition would not have endeared it to state control of religion. Thus it is not surprising that the Church allowed the Free Church delegates from Scotland to use its facilities during their tour of North America. (13) Although the Free Church movement swept through the other (14) Presbyterian Churches of Montreal, dividing them and decreasing their congregations, the American Presbyterian Church records show no similar

trends.

The divisions within the Presbyterian Church of the United States had a more important effect on the Montreal Church. After the adoption of the Plan of Union in 1801 two schools of thought grew up within the denomination. The conservative, or Old School, believed that those churches established under the Plan were compromise churches and not good for the spiritual welfare of the denomination. The New School did not feel this way and wished to continue honouring the agreement with the Congregational churches.

The issue came to a head in 1837 when the Old School secured a majority in the General Assembly. The result was that four synods, comprising 533 churches and over 100,000 members, were literally read out of the denomination for what the Old School considered heresy. The New School churches sought readmittance at the next General Assembly, but when this proved impossible they set up a new denomination. Other presbyterian churches which had not been excluded but which did not like the way in which the Old School had acted, now began to join the new church. Since the New School consisted principally of churches in the northern States, its sentiments, even at this early date, were definitely anti-slavery. (15) The slavery issue did not come to a head in the New School General Assembly until 1857. At that time the Assembly passed an anti-slavery resolution with the result that the southern churches of the denomination felt obliged to secede.

Local conditions in Montreal had given the American Presbyterian Church the character of a Plan-of-Union church. Thus it belonged to the New School branch of the Presbyterian Church. After the division of

this branch over the slavery issue the Montreal church remained with the
(16)
anti-slavery element of the denomination.

These events are apparently the only ones either in Great Britain or the United States that influenced developments in the Church. They were not major considerations for they caused no disputes within the Church and consequently there were no secessions. Because of the Church's relative isolation from the American denomination, caused by distance and legal differences in the two countries, and because there was no other church of the same denominational allegiance in the Montreal area, the American Presbyterian Church was required to steer its own course in the majority of its religious and secular decisions.

FOOT-NOTES

1. Session Minute Book (American Presbyterian Church)
 Vol.1. March 15, 1923.
2. Trustees Minute Book (American Presbyterian Society)
 Vol.1. May 20, 1824.
3. The Form of Government, the Discipline and the Directory for
 Worship of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of
 America
 Philadelphia, 1885. p. 413 & 419-421.
4. Ibid. p.414.
5. Ibid. p.423-27.
6. Ibid. p.427.
7. Ibid. p.429-432.
8. Rev. Robert Campbell, History of the St. Gabriel Street
 Church
 Montreal, 1887. p.42-48.
9. G. E. Jaques, jun. Chronicles of the St. James Street
 Methodist Church.
 Toronto, 1888. p.14-15.
10. See Chapter 2
11. See Chapter 2
12. Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
 Vol.1, May 20, 1824.
13. Montreal Pilot April 30, 1844.
14. H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada
 Toronto, 1956. p.211
15. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America
 New York 1930. p.375-7.
16. Montreal Witness June 13, 1857.

Chapter 8.

THE CHURCH SESSION

General Duties

Church Discipline

The direction of the spiritual affairs of the American Presbyterian Church was entrusted to its Church Session. This body was composed of several representatives of the Congregation styled "elders", and the Church's minister. Under the normal presbyterian form of church government, the individual members of the session were elected by the church's congregation from among the male members "in full communion with the church". This system however did not prevail in the Montreal Church. Here local conditions had produced a rather different mode of election. As noted above elders were chosen by the American Presbyterian Society and the Congregation confirmed that election before the ordination of the elder to his duties. (1)

The position of elder was an important one in the Church and was not to be undertaken lightly. In fact there are one or two persons noted in the minutes who declined the office, although having been duly elected both by the Church and the Society. (2) The Session's minutes also contain reference to one or two occasions when certain elders refrained from performing their duties until the Session asked them to take them up again. The first case occurred over irregularities that developed in the course of acquiring a minister and the two elders responsible for the resulting confusion (3) voluntarily abstained from performing their functions until the remaining elders requested them to resume their positions. (4) No reason for the second occasion is given nor any date as to when it began but in 1859 the Session again asked an elder to resume his functions. (5) It should be noted that these elders retained their positions despite their inactivity in the Church's affairs. The

Church could only remove an elder for the severest of offenses and in all probability his case would be brought before Presbytery. No such action however arose in the American Presbyterian Church during the period under examination.

The Session was a relatively small group, never exceeding nine members, even after the Congregation had climbed to over three hundred communicant members. AS a result of its small size, little formal organization was needed and that which did exist was set up by the Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of

America. (6) Under this constitution the church's minister was ex-officio the moderator, or chairman of the Session. (7) If no minister

was present, one of the elders could act as moderator, but this had to be noted in the minutes of the meeting. The only other officer of the Session was the clerk. This job was very largely that of a secretary. To the clerk was entrusted the responsibility of keeping the minutes and other records of the Session. He was also expected to dispose of any necessary correspondence. (8) Records were kept from

the first Church meeting on March 8, 1823, but they seem to have been kept by the moderator of the meetings and not by a clerk. (9) The

first appointed clerk of session appears to have been Lucius Winchester who was elected on January 11, 1828. (10) From this date until

his departure in 1831 his signature as well as that of the moderator is appended to the minutes. After his departure, the minutes were again kept by the moderator, but only until November 1847. At that date E.C. Tuttle was nominated clerk, a post which he held till his death in February 1866 at which time he was succeeded by E.F. Ames. (11)

Once a year, usually in the autumn, the clerk was supposed to

submit the records of the Session to Presbytery for its examination. Because of the difficulties of travel and the distance between Montreal and New York this was seldom done. The first inspection took place on May 30, 1830 when the New York Presbytery, to which the Church belonged, met in Montreal to install the Church's second minister, the Rev. George W. Perkins. The Presbytery was not pleased with the state of the records, claiming that they lacked order and were too loose in their form. Hoping to rectify the situation it added as a footnote to its criticism, (12) the rules that should govern the keeping of such records. Despite this, Presbytery examination of the Montreal Church's minutes occurred only at odd intervals through the years. It was not until the late 1850's and early 1860's that Presbytery inspection even approached the annual review that it was expected to be. Only one further criticism was ever appended to Presbytery's approval and that occurred when in October 1845 it withheld its approval of two excommunications that had (13) taken place without proper forms of trial.

The keeping of other records was often delegated to the minister. (14) On August 6, 1830 the Session placed the compilation of a church register in the hands of the minister, and from time to time it set up a committee to help him revise it. The constitution of the church required that each church keep a register of all Baptisms, Marriages and (15) Burials, but this was designed for conditions in the United States and did not fit conditions in British North America. In Lower Canada the keeping of such a record was considered a civil function and registers had to be obtained from the Court of Queen's Bench, and were to be (16) kept by the minister as a civic responsibility.

Although the leadership of any particular church appeared to be

centred on the minister, in reality a considerable proportion devolved upon the shoulders of the elders. They aided and advised him on all important decisions and helped in the administration of the Church's ordinances and services. In addition they did much pastoral visitation. The Session provided a continuous thread of leadership throughout its existence for, once it had been established, it was maintained constantly. The death or removal of an elder was soon followed by his replacement. During the absence of a pastor it was the Session's duty to secure "supply ministers", and to maintain the church as a worshipping body. It was also the Session's responsibility to seek ministerial candidates for the pastorate when necessary. This latter responsibility was, as already noted, shared with the Society which (17) felt that this was one of its prerogatives.

One of the most important duties of the Session was its control of the church membership roll. Candidates for admission to the church were carefully examined by both the Pastor and the Session before being accepted. When approved, the candidates' names were then propounded to the church membership; if there were no objections the candidates would publically assent to the Church's Covenant and Confession of faith. Occasionally the Session added a rider to its acceptance of a candidate. An example of this occurred on October 15, 1839 when it accepted Miss Elizabeth Bishop "if there be a concurrence with this opinion on the part of her employer". Unfortunately no reason for (18) this qualification was recorded in the minutes. Church membership was considered a serious responsibility and the Session did not hesitate to defer acceptance of any candidate about whom it had doubts. As a result of the careful precautions taken, the records show only one case

of a church member's objecting to the admission of a candidate after the Session had accepted him. In December, 1840, Benjamin Lyman and three others made vigorous protests against the admission of William Brewster. They charged him with having slandered the church, with being contentious and self-willed, and with having spoken evil of the late pastor of the church. Brewster apologized in writing for anything he might have said and was willing to let the letter be made public. This did not satisfy Lyman who claimed that the apology lacked sincerity, and that Brewster was in the habit of "cursing and swearing". When the Session called on him to prove his case, Lyman either could or would not support his accusations. Fortunately the two men were able to adjust their differences in public and Brewster became a member of the church on May 5, 1844.⁽¹⁹⁾

The services held in the church came under the supervision and control of the Session, but they did not need to devote much time to this field as the services followed a more or less set pattern. In 1845 the Session attempted to change the Sunday afternoon service to the evening, but this met with little success and it soon reverted to the afternoon again.⁽²⁰⁾ In May, 1866 the elders approved some changes in the order of service, to begin when the Congregation should occupy the new church edifice.⁽²¹⁾ The control of church music was a specific charge of the Session under the constitution and considerable time was taken up in 1841 to resolve a disagreement between the organist and the choir over the tunes which were to be used for specific hymns. This arose from an incident in October when the two actually disagreed during a regular service in the church. The Session had each side draw up a list of tunes that they knew, and from these two a third list

was compiled containing only those tunes found on both lists. This last list was deposited with the minister, to indicate the tunes to be used in services. Other tunes were to be added only with the approval
(22)
of the choir and the organist.

From time to time the Session would appoint a day for special prayer and humiliation. On these occasions certain topics such as Foreign Missions, Educational Institutions or General Thanksgiving would become the subject of the church's devotions. These meetings were additional to the regular weekly and monthly prayer meetings held for general or specific topics. Such meetings were often held as union meetings with the congregations of other Montreal churches, under the auspices of the Protestant Ministers' Association. Sometimes a week or even two would be set aside, and prayer meetings would be held each night in a different church in town.

Of all the services held in the Church the most important was the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In actual fact admission to this service signified that the person was a member in good standing. Although the frequency of celebration is not ascertainable from the Session records, the usual Presbyterian practise was once a quarter. In its celebration the elders took an active part in helping the minister serve the congregation.

During this period the Session was not specifically charged with the care of the Sunday School, although the constitution perhaps implied it. Later it was definitely made part of the Session's work.
(23)
The Session records contain few references to the Sunday School and none of a supervisory nature. Any direction that may have been carried out was probably exercised unofficially by persons who were members of both

bodies. In 1866 the Session established a subcommittee called the Home Mission Committee, to supervise the work of the Church's city missionary, whose work will be discussed later. This committee seems to have assumed the oversight of the branch chapels that grew up around the Sunday Schools at Hochelaga and St. Henry as well as the new mission school and chapel on Chaboillez Square (est. 1866). However there is no indication that this committee assumed the direction of the
(24)
Sunday schools as well as the Chapels.

Throughout the Church's residence on St. James Street, the Session was active and vigorous. Nevertheless it was basically a conservative body and as a result it did not produce any new and startling ideas. The Session left the introduction of any advanced or unorthodox ideas and experiments to the other organs of the Church. The reasons for this attitude are twofold. First, the Session was preoccupied with the regular duties of the Church and its administration, and therefore there was little time available for speculation. The second is that since the Session was the protector of the Church's spiritual and moral welfare it would attempt to avoid the introduction of any ideas that might upset the equilibrium of church life.

The Session met frequently, but the dates of these meetings do not reveal a regular pattern. When there was business to be handled it met, if there was none, it did not. Much of the time during these meetings was spent in the performance of regular duties, such as the examination of candidates for church membership. The Session also devoted considerable time to the administration of church discipline, but this phase of its work will be dealt with separately. Many of the more specific duties of the Session, such as the initiation of action

to procure a new minister, arose only at intervals. Others, which induced pastoral visitation, were performed outside the regular meetings.

The Session then was the main organ of the spiritual and moral government of the Church and upon it fell the leadership of the Church as an active Christian group. The Session worked hard and well and as a result the American Presbyterian Church was a vital force in the Protestant community of Montreal.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE

The subject of church discipline is an interesting feature of the history of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal. Although its basic roots lie in the Bible, the tradition of church discipline came to the Montreal church via the calvinistic, Congregational and Presbyterian churches of New England. These churches in turn had based their system of discipline upon John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion.⁽²⁵⁾

The early years of New England's history had seen a rigid system of discipline strictly enforced by what Wertenbaker calls "the Bible state" where church and state disciplines were virtually inseparable.⁽²⁶⁾

Gradually this system broke down as it became apparent that the Bible state could not be maintained. The opposition of the British Government to the theocratic society and the gradual influx of other Christian denominations were the causes of the deterioration of that system. This topic has been thoroughly treated in Emil Oberholzer's Delinquent Saints, which is a study of church discipline in Massachusetts from its founding up to the early part of the nineteenth century.⁽²⁷⁾

Thus, the concept, that the New Englanders who came to Montreal had of church discipline was a very different one from that

held by their forefathers.

Despite this, the discipline imposed by the Montreal Church is in very sharp contrast to that practised to-day. Church discipline now appears to be rarely enforced, this being due in part to the fact that the church no longer plays the role in an individual's life that it used to do. Participation in church affairs has been subordinated to other interests, principally those related to work and amusement. Through the years the growing belief that a man's relationship with God is a direct one with Christ as the only Mediator, has changed the role of the church as a corporate body united to worship God. Standards of human behaviour have also altered and things that would have been quite unacceptable to our forefathers are not regarded as immoral any longer. The growth and spread of competing denominations has meant that the social and commercial ostracization that used to accompany the church's censures are no longer truly effective. The waning importance of church discipline was a long and gradual process, As a result the period of forty-three years presented below reveals no marked trends, and because it concerns but one congregation, it is just a small part of the overall picture of church discipline. Nevertheless the picture is an interesting and important phase of the life of the Montreal Church.

In assigning the spiritual and moral welfare of each church to its Session, the constitution of the Presbyterian church made this an effective charge by granting the Session the right to act as an ecclesiastical court. (28) This function although still possible today is rarely exercised, but during the period from 1822 to 1866 the American Presbyterian Church in Montreal had an active Session which definitely

utilized this prerogative in church affairs. The Session's functions as a court of discipline were carefully outlined by the constitution of the church, (29) this being deeply rooted in the Calvinistic tradition of both Presbyterian and Congregational types of church government. The Session, when convened as a court to try a breach of church discipline, was to be guided by the "Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America". This contained rules and regulations for the conduct of the court, the examination of witnesses, and the type of evidence that could be presented. It also laid down channels for appealing decisions of a session to Presbytery. The Session could prefer charges itself, or proceed against any church member on charges laid by other members. Cases involving the minister as an accused person could not be tried by the Session, but were begun in Presbytery as the court of original jurisdiction. (30)

Instead of delineating specific offences which could be tried by the Session the constitution stated that:-

An offence is anything, in the doctrine, principles or practice of a church member, officer or judicatory, which is contrary to the word of God; or which if it be not in its own nature sinful may tempt others to sin or mar their spiritual edification. (31)

This is a very broad and inclusive definition which might include almost any act that a person might commit. The next section does not limit the definition very much for it states:-

Nothing shall therefore be the object of judicial process which cannot be proved to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, or to the regulations and practice of the church founded thereon; nor anything which does not involve those evils which Discipline is intended to prevent. (32)

Nevertheless, despite this extremely broad mandate the Session does not appear to have acted indiscretely, nor laid any types of

charges that were not in fact justified.

The Constitution also described the procedure to be followed during the actual progress of a trial. After charges had been laid, the accused was cited to appear before the Session at a particular time to defend himself. A full statement of the charges had to be given to him at a sufficiently early date, however, to enable him to study the accusations thoroughly. If the person cited did not appear, he would be cited to appear a second time and warned that if he did not he would be proceeded against as if he were present. If the accused still refused to appear, the Session could then censure him for his contumacy and proceed to try him in absentia. (33) The regularity of all such actions and trials was to be checked by Presbytery when it inspected the Session's records. At that time any irregularities were noted and the Session was rebuked for them. (34)

The object of discipline was to keep the church members on the straight and narrow path to salvation, and therefore was reformatory in nature rather than condemnatory. Suspension for a specific or an indefinite period was preferred to excommunication. Of the seventy-two cases investigated by the Session from 1822 to 1866 there were only twenty-seven excommunications, and this number includes four people who had already left to join other churches of which the Session did not approve. If a person confessed to being guilty of a particular sin and professed repentance for having committed it, the Session often accepted this and proceeded no further. If, on the other hand, no evidence of repentance was manifested at that time or after a period of suspension the culprit was usually excommunicated. Even in the case of excommunication the sentence sometimes carried a rider to the effect

that the person should be readmitted to the communion of the church if in time he proved to be sincerely repentant.

To facilitate discussion of the numerous cases that came before the Session, a rather broad classification has been adopted. Disregarding the fact that all the cases discussed by the Session were actually offences against the church and its covenant, they fell into two main categories. (1) Church offences and (2) civic offences. The first of these included those cases which would be considered only by ecclesiastical courts. These included such things as absence from public worship and (ignoring blue laws) violations of the Sabbath. Also included in this category were cases which, depending on their exact nature might or might not appear before the state courts but would and did appear before the Session. These included cases of intoxication and sexual offences.

The second class, that of civic offences, breaks down into two sub-headings. The first of these is "criminal cases". This includes theft and arson, while the civil or commercial grouping covers such matters as commercial disputes and abscondence without providing for payment of debts. Following the order outlined above, the first grouping of cases are those dealing with offences against the church. These can again be subdivided into smaller categories of which absence from public worship is the largest. In 1830 the Session adopted six standing rules to enable it to work more efficiently. The sixth, adopted in December, provided that any absence from public worship was to be the subject of an investigation by a committee of the Session. (35)

The records of the Session from 1822 to 1866 list twenty-five names in connection with absence from public worship. Eleven of these

names are listed only as being subjects for investigation and no further reports on them were made, so apparently the committee was satisfied with the reasons they gave for their absence. The remaining thirteen provoked were subjected to a variety of subsequent proceedings. Three names appear only once in the records, at which time they were excommunicated. These seem to have taken place without any trial, a fact which appears to have escaped Presbytery's censure as being unconstitutional. Five were twice cited to appear before the Session and were tried in absentia when they failed to appear. Four of these were excommunicated. The fifth, because he disregarded the citations, was first censured for his contumacy and then suspended from the church on the original charge. Three more persons confessed their delinquency and after promising more faithful attendance, were retained in the communion of the church. The last case is that of Noah Shaw. One of the contractors on the church and a member since 1834, he was investigated for five absences after 1860, four times he confessed repentance and promised to mend his ways. The fifth time he had apparently left the city and no further action seems to have been taken against him. (36)

The total number of excommunications for this offence is seven, all of which take place between 1830 and 1845. After the latter date, the Session's attitude changes and suspension rather than excommunication is the punishment of the unrepentant. Shaw was not even censured for his repeated absences. But although excommunication for this offence was only used during fifteen of the forty odd years, the total number excommunicated constitutes 25% of the whole number of excommunications between 1822 and 1866.

The Session also kept a close watch on the Sabbath in areas other

than church worship. In December 1836 Mrs. Ann Jane Boulton was investigated because it had been reported that she was doing business in her shop on Sundays. (37) Apparently the allegation was false as no charges were laid against her. In March of the following year the Session decided that ordinary travelling on Sunday was a sin and that offenders would be disciplined. (38) Whether travelling included walking is not indicated, but in July of the same year John E. Marvin was excommunicated for "gross violation of his covenant" to wit having been seen "walking and visiting in worldly company". (39)

The nature of the other offences against the church are difficult to establish being encompassed by the phrases "violation of the covenant" or "neglect of public and secret prayer". The Session would quickly know if anyone were neglecting public prayer but one wonders just how it divined that secret prayer was being neglected as well. The records contain a number of cases for which there is no specific sin mentioned. In 1845 William Dinwiddy was excommunicated after failing to appear and answer unnamed charges. (40) In February of 1858 Mrs. Eliza Richardson was suspended until she manifested repentance for an undesignated offence. (41) Mrs. Mary Chapman was suspended in July 1865 for leading a life "inconsistent with her Christian profession". This suspension was imposed despite her confession and avowed repentance. (42) An earlier case of a similar nature had resulted in the suspension of the culprit at her own request, despite the fact that the Session had been fully satisfied with her confession. (43) Another puzzle was provided by the confession of Abby Gould. Apparently it also mystified the Session as it sent a delegation to ask its import after it had been received through the mail. Unfortunately it failed

to record the results of it's own curiosity although it did accept it
 as a sign of sufficient repentance. (44) In November 1863 Chester L.

Greene's repentance was also accepted as sincere, but again the records
 do not mention his sin. (45)

The Church provided care and discipline for its members. When they moved, this responsibility was transferred to a church near their new home. These transfers, termed "dismissions", were granted only to members in good standing and were considered evidence of the person's good character. An application for a dismissal occasionally resulted in the Session's summoning the applicant to explain some particular aspect of his conduct. An example of this occurred in April 1840 when Robert Cooke applied for a dismissal. This was refused until he confessed a sin he had committed eight years previously. He had fired a gun through the window of his home during a time of "political unrest" and injured someone. This apparently referred to the extremely rough West Ward Election of 1832 for a member for the Provincial House of Assembly. (46)

These dismissions give some indication of the attitude the American Church adopted toward some of its sister churches. Dismissions to and from individual congregations of the Presbyterian Congregational, Baptist and Methodist churches were fairly common even when these churches were located within Montreal, thus implying that the American Church recognized them as valid sister communions. In 1862 the Session refused dismissions to Abby and Ira Gould because they considered the teachings of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) with which the two wished to unite were "wholly opposed to the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles". No disciplinary action was

taken against them nor against Mary Hubbard who followed them the next year, but their names were removed from the roll of members. (47) The

Session had taken a firmer line, with the defection of Mary Lafleur, a convert from Roman Catholicism who had reverted to her original faith, (48) when they excommunicated her in 1832. The Session was unwilling

to let her retain a Presbyterian passport, even if she did not want it, into heaven. The church listed nine persons as having "gone to the (49) Episcopalians", but no further remarks appear in the records.

These people apparently did not apply for letters of dismissal, and even if they had it seems unlikely that the Anglican church could have accepted them as satisfying canonical requirements for communicant membership in the Anglican church. Nor are any dismissals from the Anglican church recorded, but here it is even more unlikely that that church would have granted a transfer to any other church. The interesting feature here is that the Session took no further action regarding these nine defections, which suggests that although they did not approve of the change they did recognize the Anglicans as a valid Christian communion.

This sums up those cases which were solely the field of the church court. There is another group in this classification however, and these are the cases where there can be no clear distinction between church and civic cases. The most numerous of these cases were those involving "ardent spirits". Intoxication was a very serious problem in the nineteenth century and the churches felt that it was their duty to combat this evil. In Montreal the first real attack on the problem (50) began with the formation of a Temperance Society on June 9, 1828.

The pledge was only to refrain from the use of "distilled spirits". (51)

The Society was formed under the guidance of the Rev. J.S.Christmas,

first pastor of the American Presbyterian Church. It is not surprising, therefore to find the Session striving to do all in its power to curb this evil. Of the six cases that it dealt with, only once was the Session satisfied with the confession and repentance of the member

(52)
involved. The remaining cases received far more vigorous treatment. Two were apparently excommunicated without a formal trial, although one had made this impossible by absconding. (53) Two more persons

were tried in absentia after having refused to appear. One was (54) excommunicated, but the other^{was} only suspended until he repented. (55)

Apparently he did not for although no further record is made of his case in the minutes, the Church Register lists his excommunication the following year. The fifth case is that of Henry Cranston. On March 23, 1842 he agreed to make a public confession of being guilty of intemperance. In January, 1843 he again admitted this fault and despite his repentance was suspended for a year. In November, 1845, his name again appears in the minutes, but action was deferred until December 16th. On that date his suspension was extended four months because of his failure to live up to his pledge to reform. Finally the Session lost all patience and excommunicated him for showing no real evidence (56) of repentance.

The last case is that of William Tainsh who was "suspended until he repent" on October 15, 1859. He apparently died still under suspension for his name does not again appear in the Session minutes, but a pencilled note in the register lists him as having died in the United States Army in 1861. (57)

Here again, the trend pointed out in the section on absence from church worship, can be noticed. In the earlier years the Session favoured very strong action, but as the years passed it began to use

suspension rather than excommunication as a punishment.

In connection with "ardent spirits" one further occurrence ought to be mentioned. Having seen the attitude taken by the Session towards alcohol as early as 1830 it is not difficult to imagine the consternation with which it must have received the news that William Dyer, (58) a church member "intended to engage in the traffic in ardent spirits". Repeated attempts by the Session and by the Sunday School Society "to (59) dissuade him from the traffic as immoral" failed to change his attitude. The Session then took a rather unusual step for it called a congregational meeting to discuss the propriety of adopting a rule that no one engaged in the sale of liquor could be admitted to church membership. No decision seems to have been reached at the meeting and the case rested (60) there for some time. In September 1836, the Session was able to (61) excommunicate him for he had committed forgery and absconded.

The question of illicit sex relationships only arose once in the forty odd years; that is, only once was it specifically identified as such. Sex offences, however, may have been cloaked by such phrases as "immoral conduct" or "of leading a life inconsistent with the Christian profession". The one case that is mentioned is that of J.J. Van Benthuyzen who in 1830 admitted having "illicit connexion with the female sex". He avowed repentance and submitted himself to the censure of the church. The session took a lenient view of the case and after he had made a public confession of his sin suspended him for a six months (62) period. The only other case that is denoted as immoral is when G.F. Barnett confessed to having committed two acts of immoral conduct. Although the nature of these acts was not indicated, the Session suspended him until he showed signs of repentance. A year later the Session

decided that he had shown the proper repentance and restored him to
(63)
membership.

One further case remains in the category of offences against the Church. In July 1841 John E. Mills reported a conversation he had had with James Fraser in which the latter slandered the Church. Fraser claimed to have been misunderstood, but apologized. The Session accepted his apology, but warned him to be more discreet in the
(64)
future.

The number of cases that can be described as civic offences is very much smaller than those that can be classed as offences against the church. But in many cases they hold quite as much interest. The field itself breaks down into two subclassifications which are based on regular legal procedure. Criminal and civil cases will therefore be dealt with separately.

Three cases of theft appear in the records of the Session and each has some interesting features. The first occurred in 1835 when William Addy accused John Campbell of theft. He testified before the Session that he had found some articles stolen from him in Campbell's house. The Session apparently looked on Campbell's abscondence as
(65)
proof of his guilt and promptly excommunicated him. Two years later when faced with the same charge William Buck admitted his guilt. He too was excommunicated but the Session added that he should be received back into the church when he showed repentance. No further mention is made of him in the minutes, hence it may be assumed that he
(66)
never showed sufficient repentance to be restored to membership.

The third case of theft is far more interesting, as the accused chose to fight the allegations against him. After a preliminary in-

quiry the Session on October 30, 1848 cited Thomas Clarke to appear before it to answer to a charge of stealing money from his employers. Clarke replied to this by demanding that since he had been publicly accused, any inquiry ought to take place before the Congregation. The Session again cited him replying that the Constitution of the Church contained no provision that would sanction such a procedure. On November 3, Clarke appeared and affirmed his innocence of the charges. Nevertheless the Session requested that he should not attend the next celebration of the Lord's Supper. On November 6, he was cited to appear and face his accusers. Clarke refused and a second citation warned him that he would be tried in absentia if he did not appear. He again refused and was promptly censured for contumacy. The Session then appointed an elder to defend him in his absence and began the trial. The proceedings continued for several days. On December 28, the Session excommunicated him, not for theft, but rather for conduct inconsistent with his profession as a Christian. The notice of this decision was (67) then read to the Church at the next evening service. The Session minutes have no record of one case, but the Church Register lists # 752 John Knox as being guilty of both theft and arson, however no further (68) evidence of his fate is recorded.

Abscondence was also a subject for discipline, more especially if the culprit had vanished without paying his debts. The five persons who did abscond were quickly dealt with by the Session. All five were excommunicated. Usually absconding was coupled with another sin, such as failure to pay debts, or throwing off the restraints of the Christian profession. William Dyer of "ardent spirits" fame was excluded for (69) forgery as well as absconding. The Session apparently assumed that

flight was an admission of guilt and that they were unrepentant for having committed the sin that prompted it.

The civil cases show a wider variety than do the criminal cases. Slandorous gossip appears in the records twice. The first time J.C. Beers asked the Session to investigate rumours concerning his character. The outcome of the enquiry was the Session's publication of statement upholding his good character and warning the Congregation to be more careful in circulating rumours. (70) It moved much more carefully in the second case waiting until after a civil trial bearing on the case had been concluded. This delay was probably to avoid being held in contempt of court for issuing public statements relevant to a matter which was still subjudice. After conducting an investigation of the rumours about him the Session issued a statement vindicating the good Christian character of Benjamin Lyman. It also reminded the Congregation (71) that the circulation of gossip was not a Christian act.

A case that has a slight connection with slander arose from Benjamin Lyman's action to prevent William Brewster becoming a church member. Several members of the Church petitioned the Session to censure Lyman for his actions and statements he had made. The Session showed a sense of discretion and asked the petitioners to withdraw their action because Lyman and Brewster had publicly adjusted their differences. This the petitioners did, although the tone of the letter withdrawing their charges was somewhat reluctant. (72)

The Session was not obliged to take action on all charges laid before it, and at least once, it refused to do this. In October 1863 Melinda Gilbert brought charges against some individual not named in the session minutes. These were returned to her a little more than three

weeks later as the Session maintained that they contained nothing that
 (73)
 would justify action on its part.

One case that stands in a class by itself is the Seymour-Whitney dispute. This was a disagreement arising out of a commercial matter ^{which} and dragged on for four years before being finally disposed of. In 1858, M.H. Seymour charged N.S. Whitney with breaking a pledge to arbitrate the payment of a debt. Whitney explained to the Session that Seymour had appointed as one of the arbitrators a man who was decidedly unfriendly towards him. The Session admitted this was not proper, but censured Whitney anyway for not living up to his pledge. Whitney felt that this was an attempt to force him to arbitrate the issue and consistently refused to do so. After repeated attempts to conciliate the issue the Session suspended Whitney for his stubborn attitude.

Whitney then appealed to the Presbytery. This body felt Whitney was in the wrong, but that the Session had treated him too harshly. As a result the Session rescinded its indefinite suspension of him. Seymour laid further charges against him at this point, and he still lay under censure. The Session refused Whitney's request for a dismissal. Whitney now refused to appear at Session meetings and on July 14, 1862 was "excommunicated until he repent" for his contumacy.

Immediately after the vote on excommunication had been taken, a notary acting for Whitney entered and forbade the Session to take any further action on the case. This prohibition was based on the contention that Whitney had withdrawn from the communion of the Church over a year previously and that therefore the Session had no further jurisdiction in the case. Since it had been threatened with action in the courts of the land "where the laws upon such points are peculiar, in-

definite and unsettled" the Session referred the whole case to Presbytery. The Presbytery after examining the case upheld the sentence of excommunication. On December 18, 1862, therefore the Session publicly notified the Church of the decision.⁽⁷⁴⁾

The whole case did not resolve the original dispute. In reality all it did was to create a great deal of unchristian animosity. In fact, the case caused the Church to lose six of its members, Whitney, who was excommunicated, and his wife and her family who did not feel at home in the Congregation, because of the proceedings and who were granted regular dismissals from the Church.

When the subject of church discipline is treated as a unit rather than by individual cases, or by types of offences it exhibits some extremely interesting features. Some of these appear in the statistical summary below.

Years	No. of persons investigated	Cases Prosecuted	Excommunications	Suspensions	Acceptable confessions
1823-29	0	0	0	0	0
30-34	7	7	4	2	2
35-39	13	12	11	0	0
40-44	11	7	3	1	3
45-49	8	7	3	2	1
50-54	3	2	2	0	0
55-59	7	7	0	3	2
60-64	9	7 (3)	1 (3)	2	4
65-66	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
	<u>72</u>	<u>52</u> (3)	<u>24</u> (3)	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>

(3) this bracketed number is not included in the totals for it applies to the three people whose names were erased from the roll in 1862-63 for becoming Swedenborgians.

Although the Session was established at the same time as the church in 1823, it was not called on to act as an ecclesiastical court for a full seven years after its inception. A somewhat similar situa-

tion occurred between 1850 and 1855. The years 1835 and 1849 also show a lack of evidence of any judicial process. The only apparent explanation for these periods of inactivity in the field of discipline is that no cases were brought before the Session that warranted action on its part.

In all some seventy-two cases were brought before the Session for investigation. Twenty of these are mentioned only once and no note of any further disposition is made, thus it must be assumed that the charges were found to be incorrect and consequently dropped. The remaining fifty-two cases were brought before the session on the average of two or three a year, with the exceptions of the years noted above.

The wide variety of offences, coupled with their relatively small total number, precludes any worthwhile analysis of the types of offences, as there is an insufficient number of any particular one kind to establish any sort of pattern. The one exception to this statement is in connection with absence from church worship. Here there is a sharp increase in the number of persons investigated in the 1860's. The number of prosecutions undertaken does not indicate that the actual attendance at church had decreased greatly.

The sentences imposed by the Session, unlike the number and types of offences, do show a very marked pattern. The number of suspensions and confessions that were accepted as sufficient atonement remains fairly steady throughout the period. But coupled with a sharp reduction in the number of excommunications, they indicate an interesting change. From the above table it will be noted that during the first decade in which discipline was imposed fifteen persons were

excommunicated, and in the second, six. The third, witnessed two such actions and the fourth, one. The reason for this decline seems to be that the Session was willing to impose suspensions or even to accept confessions for offences that it had previously punished by excommunication. This change of attitude might be attributed to two factors, one being that the Session may have realized that harsh discipline was not achieving the ends for which it was designed. Church discipline was imposed with a view to guiding the individual in the performance of his Christian duties. When a person was excommunicated, it put him beyond the pale of the church and thus made any further guidance impossible. The second factor is that although the Session had a relatively stable membership, there do occur from time to time additions or replacements in its membership. This over a period of years could change its composition considerably, and thus be responsible for a change in attitude such as the one mentioned above.

Discipline was reformatory, rather than merely punitive in character and even in the earlier period when excommunication was more prevalent, it was used only after the Session had made several attempts, individually and collectively, to persuade the offender to mend his ways. Occasionally the Session would add a rider to an excommunication to the effect that when the person truly repented he should be restored to membership. However it must be noted that there is no record of any such restoration before the end of 1866.

The Session in its administration of discipline had two basic motives in mind, the guidance of the individual church member, and the moral and spiritual welfare of the Church as a whole. Discipline was to be used to bring an offender to repentance. If, after relatively

mild measures had been taken, he reformed, then all was well; if not, then the Session had to take steps to protect the Church from his bad influence, and this it achieved by excommunication.

Other aims may have been present, but these are difficult to ascertain. The two basic motives could have easily been tainted by some vindictiveness, and one suspects that this may have been the reason for the prosecution of a few civic cases before the Session. The Session could only discipline church members for infractions of church law, it could not impose sentences or award compensation, but by acting as a court, it could seriously embarrass the accused person. Even if it did not convict a person of the offence for which he was charged, the Session could decide that he had not acted as a Christian should, and punish him for that. Whether this actually happened is difficult to establish, but one or two features in the Thomas Clarke and N.S. Whitney cases suggest that it might have.

The actual value of the Session's imposition of church discipline is very difficult to assess. The actions and sentences may have had a salutary effect on the congregation or they may not have. No evidence to support either conjecture has been found. The effect of the Session's actions on the offender, however, are sometimes visible from their subsequent behaviour. Excommunications as a punishment intended to bring the sinner to repentance were quite ineffective. As a threat it may have had a chastening effect, but this is doubtful as it was often carried out after the culprit had already left the Church. This meant little to him and it may even have appeared a little foolish to the remaining members of the Church. Its only practical end was that it officially severed the connection with the Church and thus pro-

tected that body's spiritual and moral purity. Such a punishment works well only in a society where there are no alternative institutions, and where the offender will find it difficult to survive if he does not conform. Indefinite suspension was little better than excommunication, for although it kept the culprit within the church where he could be further disciplined such discipline was usually excommunication, not restoration. In fact only one of the four indefinite suspensions resulted in restoration.

Suspensions for specific periods were imposed after the offender had made a public confession of his sin and had professed repentance. They perhaps only served to impress the offender with the heinous nature of his sin. Several such sentences were imposed and only once was the session's faith in the sincerity of the offender found unjustified. Censures were the mildest form of disapproval, and were usually issued for contumacy. This most frequently occurred when an accused person refused to appear before the Session. Sometimes it succeeded in persuading the person to appear, at other times it did not, and it is now impossible to judge their effectiveness.

This discussion does not present a true picture of the church for it lays all the emphasis on the acts of the offenders. The church records do not complete the picture with a chronicle of the church members' good deeds. It must therefore be balanced by the notation that of the 923 members accepted by the Church from 1823 to the end of 1866, the Session found it necessary to investigate only a total of 72 persons for alleged misdemeanours and that of those only 52 or slightly more than 5% of the whole membership were actually found in need of disciplinary action.

FOOTNOTES

1. ~~See~~ Chapter 3 , ~~Section 3~~.
2. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol. I, March 30, 1823. Jacob Bigelow.

Vol. II, June 14, 1860. D.P. Janes.
3. Ibid. Vol. I, March 8, 1825. Samuel Hedge and Elisha Lyman.
4. Ibid. Vol. I, March 27, 1827.
Only Hedge was invited to resume his position, as Lyman had moved to Sunderland, Massachusetts, on June 15, 1826.
5. Ibid. Vol. II, February 15, 1859. Sam Bonner.
6. Form of Government of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.
Philadelphia, 1885.
This is a book of considerable size. It consists of several sections sometimes bound together sometimes separately. With the exception of footnote # 23 therefore which is the modern version of the constitution, reference will be made to its component parts in quotation marks.
 - 1.e. 1. The Confession of Faith.
 2. The Longer Catechism.
 3. The Shorter Catechism.
 4. The Form of Government.
 5. The Book of Discipline.
 6. The Directory of Worship.
 7. General Rules for Judicatories.

Although the book actually used as a reference was published in 1885 the Presbyterian Historical Society of the United States informs me that the amendments made after 1867 do not affect the references made to it in this thesis.
7. "Form of Government", Op. Cit., Chapter IX, Section II, p. 419.
Chapter XIX, p. 455.
8. "Ibid.", Chapter XX, p. 459.
9. Volume I of the Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) has had 3 pages removed after the date October 9, 1823. The pages, which at this point are numbered, are numbered consecutively but the handwriting at the bottom of 6 is not the same as at the top of 7, and there is a gap from October 9, 1823 to July 21, 1824. This is the only place where the records may have been mutilated. But when and why remains a mystery.

10. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol. I, January 11, 1828.
11. Ibid. Vol. II, February 17, 1866.
12. Ibid. Vol. I, May 30, 1830.
13. Ibid. Vol. I, October 8, 1845.
14. Ibid. Vol. I, August 6, 1830.
15. "Form of Government", Op. Cit.
Chapter IX, Section IX.
16. W.S. Reid, The Church of Scotland in Lower Canada,
McGill University Thesis, 1936. Chapter V.
See also Chapter 4 in this thesis.
17. ~~See~~ Chapter 3, ~~section 3~~.
18. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol. I, October 15, 1839. A similar incident occurred on June 17,
1840.
19. Ibid. Vol. I, meetings from March 2 to April 2, 1844 refer to this
case. Also letters among the Session's papers dated December 31,
1840, January 2, 1841, November 1, 1843, March 4, 6, (two) 7, 24
and 28, 1844.
20. Ibid. Vol. II, May 13 and 21, 1845.
21. Ibid. Vol. II, May 21, 1866.
22. Ibid. Vol. I, October 4 and 6, November 16, 1841; also letters among
session papers, November 26 and 29, 1841.
23. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of
America, Office of the General Assembly, Philadelphia, 1955.
p. 246-7.
24. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol. II, various dates in 1866.
25. John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion,
London, 1953. Book IV, Chapter XII, p. 452.
26. T.J. Wertenbaker, The Puritan Oligarchy,
New York, 1956.
27. E. Oberholser Jr., Delinquent Saints,
New York, 1956.

28. "Form of Government", Op. Cit.,
Chapter IX especially Section 6.
29. "Ibid", Chapter VIII, p. 417.
30. The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church especially the
"Form of Government"
"Book of Discipline"
"General Rules for Judicatories"
31. "Book of Discipline", Op. Cit.,
Chapter I, Section 3, p. 461.
32. "Ibid", Chapter I, Section 4, p. 461.
33. "Ibid", Chapter IV, p. 465.
34. See footnote # 13 for specific cases.
35. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.),
Vol. I, August 6, 1830.
December 16, 1830.
36. Ibid. Vol. II, September 10, 1860; December 19, February 13,
August 20, October 15, November 6, 24, 30, 1863,
February 18, 1864, December 6, 1865.
37. Ibid. Vol. I, December 7, 1836.
38. Ibid. Vol. I, March 31, 1837.
39. Ibid. Vol. I, July 28, 1837.
40. Ibid. Vol. I, March 21 and 26, 1845.
41. Ibid. Vol. II, February 26, 1858.
42. Ibid. Vol. II, July 7, 1865.
43. Ibid. Vol. II, December 2, 1856.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid. Vol. II, November 24, 1863.
46. Ibid. Vol. I, April 14 and 16, 1840,
also 2 letters in Session papers dated April 14 and 17, 1840,
the latter is the confession.
47. Letters in Session papers dated December 25 and 28, 1861.

48. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol. I, November 10, 1832.
49. Church Register (A.P.C.)
416 Mrs. Margaret Liddle.
598 Elisha Lyman Mills.
656 Sara Jane Atwater.
722 Mrs. Francis G. Adams.
726 Charles S. Blackman.
734 Hannah Mills.
763 Herbert R. Ives.
781 Mary Mayers Fyles.
842. Charles W. Hagar.
50. Montréal Courant,
June 23, 1830.
51. Minute Book, Montreal Temperance Society.
(located in the Krakine and American United Church, Montreal)
52. Session Minute Book (A.F.C.),
Vol. I, November 10, 1832.
53. Ibid. Vol. I, Alex MacDonald, October 10, 1832.
John Mitchell, October 23, 1838.
54. Ibid. Vol. I, William Grafton, October 23, 1836.
55. Ibid. Vol. I, Thomas Bell, August 2, 6, 13, and November, 1830.
56. Ibid. Vol. I, March 23, 1842 to April 24, 1846,
encompass his appearances in the session.
57. Ibid. Vol. II, October 15, 1859,
and Church Register # 616.
58. Ibid. Vol. I, March 30, 1835.
59. Minute Book, American Presbyterian Sunday School Society,
Vol. IV, February 16, March 16, April 29, and May 18, 1835.
60. Session Minute Book (A.F.C.),
Vol. I, April 12, 21, 29, 1835.
61. Ibid. Vol. I, April 23, 24, 1836.
62. Ibid. Vol. I, September 16, 1830.
63. Ibid. Vol. II, September 10, 18, 1860, November 27, 1861.
64. Ibid. Vol. I, July 16, October 6, 12, 22, 1861,
also letters among Session papers dated July 16, October 12, 1841.

65. Ibid. Vol. I, January 13, 1835.
66. Ibid. Vol. I, July 3, 1837.
67. Ibid. Vol. II, October 30, 31, November 1, 3, 6, 20, 22, 23, 28, 29,
and December 28, 1848.
68. Church Register (A.P.C.),
752.
69. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.),
Vol. I, September 24, 1836.
70. Ibid. Vol. I, October 16, 1840.
71. Ibid. Vol. II, November 21, and December 3, 1860.
72. Three letters in the Session's papers dated April 9, May 2 and 4,
1844.
73. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.),
Vol. II, October 15, November 6, 1863.
74. Ibid. Vol. II, various dates beginning April 15, 1858 and ending
December 18, 1862.

Chapter 9.

THE CONGREGATION

The Growth of the Congregation

National Origins

Religious Origins

The Occupations of the Congregation

The people who assembled for worship on Sundays in the American Presbyterian Church constituted a diverse and interesting group. They could be divided into two main classes; the members of the Church and the members of the Society. Two other groups can be distinguished, but as these were really visitors, making no lasting contribution to the life of the Church, they can, therefore, be eliminated. The first group were those who appeared from time to time or even only once. They were of minor importance with the exception of William Lyon McKenzie. He recorded his impressions of the Church after a visit in 1831.⁽¹⁾ The second group of visitors were people of other denominations who, because there was no church of their own denomination in Montreal, worshipped at the American Presbyterian Church where they found a congenial spiritual atmosphere.⁽²⁾

A complete record of the members of the Church was kept in the Church Register. As each member joined, his or her name was added to the list in chronological order. In most cases a note was made at a later date of either the person's death or transfer to another Church. This roll from March 1823 to December 1866 contains 922 entries. Twenty-five names are listed twice, the persons involved having transferred to another church, but having returned later. Thus the total number of communicant members stood at 898. It comprised 332 men and 566 women.

Unfortunately no register of the members of the Society was kept. A record of the purchasers of pews was made up to 1852, and there is also an undated but later list of pew owners and pew occupants. In 1863 a voter's list was drawn up which probably included both the owners and renters of pews. All of these lists recorded names of

people who were not communicant members of the Church and who were therefore not listed in the Church Register. Thus the number of people connected with the Church was more extensive than the Church Register alone would indicate. The communicant roll of the Church grew from twenty-eight members at the end of 1823 to 340 at the end of 1866. This growth was by no means steady or continuous. It would be impossible to account for all the fluctuations as there are far too many factors to be taken into consideration. The number of people joining the Church in any one given year might have been affected by a variety of factors ranging from the birth rate of a few years previous to the movement of population within the city. The most marked fluctuations occurred in the decades of the 1820's and 1830's and later in 1863.

The relatively rapid growth of the Church from 1824 to 1826 can probably be attributed to the fact that the Church had only just been established and that this was its initial period of development. In 1827 the intake of new members increased enormously, this being the outcome of a revival conducted in the early part of that year by the Church's pastor, the Rev. J. S. Christmas. (3)

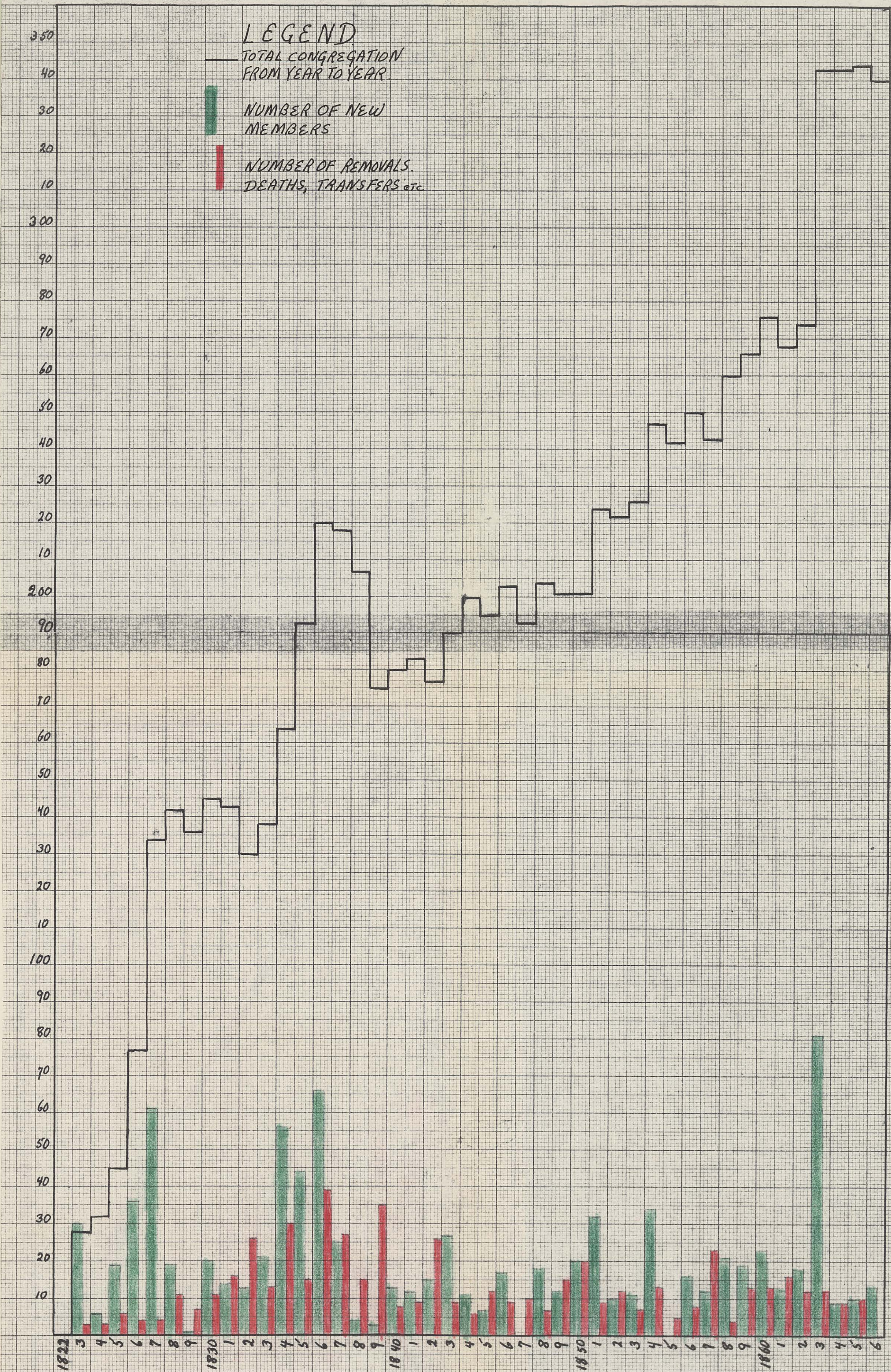
After 1827 the rate of growth of the Church decreased substantially. This was probably the result of Christmas' ill health which later forced his resignation. In 1829, possibly because the Church was without a minister, only one new member joined, and he was not a new convert, but merely a transfer from another church.

The decade of the 1830's was a period of turmoil in Montreal's history and the large numbers that joined the Church in the early 1830's may have been the result of the searching for spiritual refuge that

often attends such periods. This, and the growth of the Protestant population probably account for the fact that between 1831 and 1834 six new
 (4)
 Protestant churches were founded in Montreal. This spate of church establishment had a noticeable impact on the American Presbyterian Church. Up to this time many persons of other denominations had worshipped with the American Presbyterians. With the establishment of churches of their denomination, many, not unnaturally, decided to support the church to
 (5)
 which they owed allegiance. This is perhaps the explanation for the decrease in church membership after 1837.

The Church grew gradually and fairly steadily between 1839 and 1863 with two minor exceptions. These arose in 1847 and 1855 when no new members were received by the Church. They were probably caused by the absence of a permanent minister for considerable periods during those years. The Rev. Caleb Strong died early in January 1847 and was not replaced
 (6)
 until November of the same year. Later in 1854 the Rev. John McLeod had been granted a leave of absence to help restore his health with the
 (7)
 result that he was absent during part of 1855.

In 1863 the visiting evangelist, Rev. L.P. Hammond, conducted an interdenominational revival in Montreal. This was responsible for the
 (8)
 addition of 430 new members to seven Montreal churches in that year. The success of this revival was reflected in the number of persons who joined the American Presbyterian Church at that time, for of the eighty-one persons enrolled during 1863, sixty-nine joined by profession of faith. This represented a sizable increase over any previous year. The gradual drop in the total number on the roll after 1865 may have been the outcome of the Church's move to a site in the west end of the city. The smaller



numbers of new church members could perhaps be ascribed to the depletion of potential members who because of the revival joined earlier than they would have otherwise.

National Origins

The people who founded the American Presbyterian Church and Society in the winter of 1822-23 were very largely American in origin. The name of the Church itself is indicative of this fact. Various statements by persons living at the time and the Preamble of the Society's constitution also emphasize the American character of the new Church. (9) To establish the national origins of those persons connected with the Church in its initial period would be difficult if not impossible, for there are only a few scattered statements, and short lists of persons known to be Americans living in Montreal at that time. However, records of the birthplaces of a few of the Church's first officers have survived. Among these are Jacob De Witt, moderator of the formation meeting of the Society, who was born at Windham, Conn. (10) Two of the three original (11) elders were also American born, Samuel Hedge being born in Warwick, Mass. and his brother-in-law Elisha Lyman being a native of Northampton in the (12) same state.

It would be impossible to make a complete survey of the national origins of the congregation because of its rather indefinable nature and the lack of adequate sources. The Church records, however, do give some indication in later years of the origins of communicant members. The Session Minute Book often records the acceptance of a "letter of dismission" (transfer) from another church. Many of these letters were kept in the Church's papers. Beginning in 1839 the Church Register

indicated whether a new member had joined the Church by profession of faith or by letter of transfer from another church. A comparison of these three sources discloses that not one is complete or absolutely accurate. There are about 162 transfers for which a sufficient amount of information can be derived for analysis, and these suggest the general pattern of the origins of the Church's members.

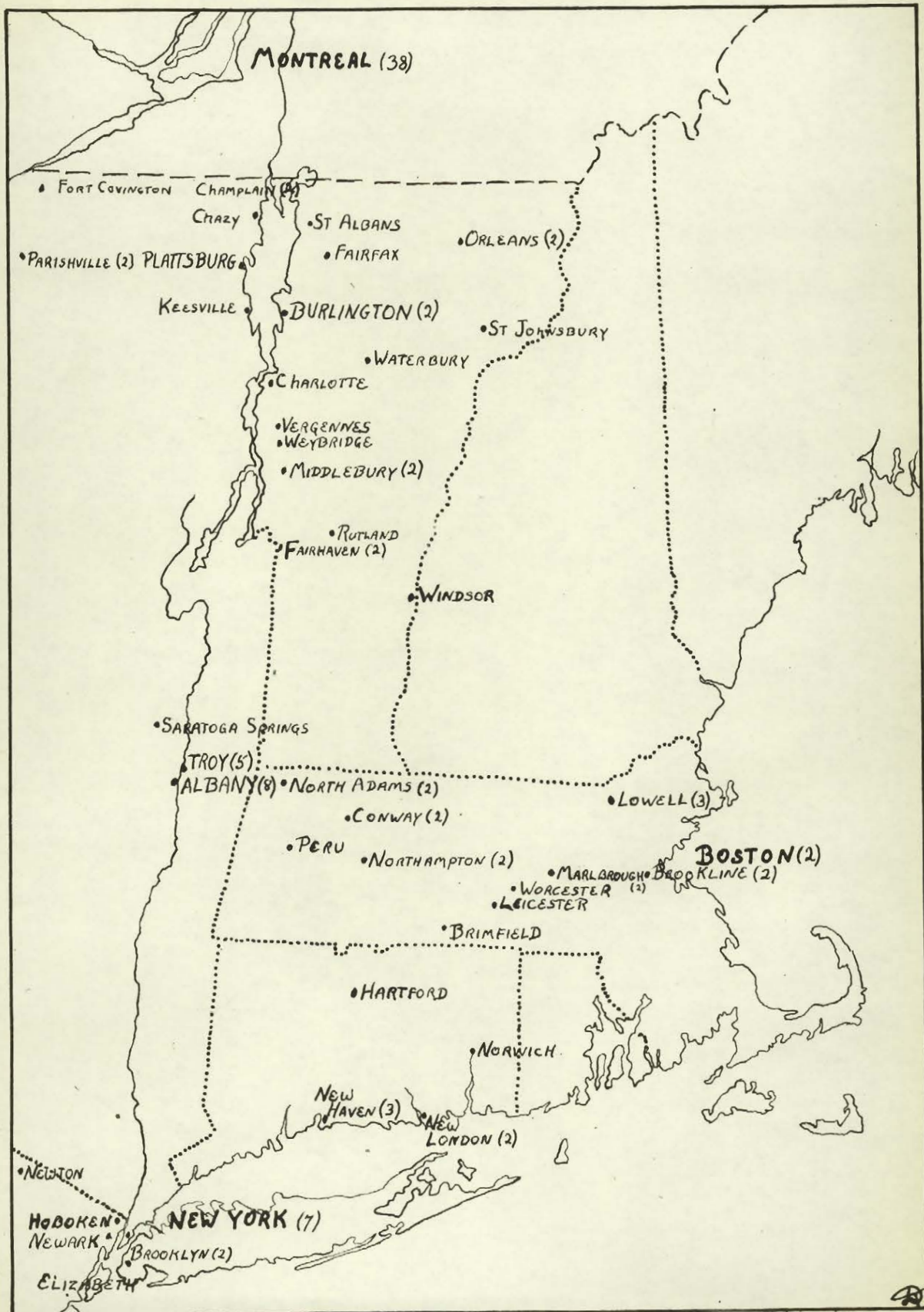
The accompanying map indicates the towns from which these transfers came in the Eastern New York, New Jersey and New England areas. Also from this region, but not included on the map are thirteen people from western New York and one from Bangor, Maine. It is interesting to note the complete absence from the list of any transfers from either New Hampshire or Rhode Island, but no reasons for this can be stated.

Although the map indicates the major area from which the transfers originated, the Church had members from other states as well.

Illinois	3
Indiana	1
Michigan	3
Minnesota	2
Missouri	2
Pennsylvania	2
Wisconsin	1
	14

The membership of the Church was not limited to Americans as there were considerable numbers of transfers to the Church from other parts of Canada, although some of these may have been Americans who settled elsewhere in Canada before moving to Montreal. Of the forty-three transfers from Lower Canada, thirty-eight originated in other Montreal Churches. The other five were from Quebec, Hemmingford and St. Andrews, (3). Upper Canadian towns granted transfers to six people.

Where the town named contributed only one member, the figure (1) has been omitted



Transfers from the British Isles were but few in number.

England	3
Scotland	1
Ireland	<u>4</u>
	8

The general areas of origins of the Church members as indicated by the letters of dismissal received are,

New England	44
New York and New Jersey	33
The rest of the United States	14
The Canadas	49
The British Isles	<u>8</u>
	162

If these are any indication of the whole picture, then the majority of the Congregation appears to have originated in the Northeastern United States.

The picture presented by these transfers is definitely deficient in one major respect, for it does not take into consideration the Canadian born element in the Church. This, of course, would include children of parents of all origins, their proportion being very difficult to ascertain. Between 1825 and 1866 the Church lists 677 baptisms. Here two facts must be remembered. This number includes both infant and adult baptisms. It may also include children who were baptized at the American Presbyterian Church rather than in their parents' church. This was because the American Presbyterian Church was for a while one of the few "dissenting" churches in Montreal legally authorized to record baptisms. "Dissenting" parents preferred to have their children baptized at a "dissenting" rather than at an "established" church. Also to be considered is the possibility of the child's death or removal from Montreal before the time came for him to join the Church. Another consideration

is, of course, the age at which a person became a member of the Church. The average age at that time for such a step is not known, but assuming it to be at least eleven or twelve, this would automatically cut close to two hundred people from the figure 677.

The number of those who joined by profession of faith might give a more accurate figure of those born in Canada. But this figure of 307⁽¹⁴⁾ persons is also subject to question especially since no specific record of this manner of joining the Church was kept before 1839. It also undoubtedly included people born elsewhere, but who first joined a Christian Church in Montreal. By 1866, however, it is probable that a substantial number of the Church's members had been born and raised in Canada. This would have altered the character of the Church considerably and probably moderated its American flavour.

Despite the high proportion of American born members the Church was loyal to its adopted country. Several members were elected to various offices in the municipal and provincial governments and some of these held office for considerable periods. This re-election in those times when politics were very touchy is an indication of the confidence in their loyalty by the electors. (See **Chapter IV**) The American influence, however, was always strong and as late as 1857 an officer of the Church wrote "Our Church and congregation being mostly Americans...." in an official letter to Presbytery.⁽¹⁵⁾

In 1826 the Church admitted a coloured woman to communicant membership,⁽¹⁶⁾ and a few years later the Sunday School attempted to gather Montreal negroes for a branch school.⁽¹⁷⁾ No other mention of coloured people as such is made by Church records. Although The Church was anti-slavery, it does not seem to have been a center for the various southern

refugees that gathered in Montreal during the American Civil War. From 1860 to 1866 all the transfers can be checked and only two came from below the Mason-Dixon line. In fact these two are the only recorded transfers from below that line at any time in the Church's history up to 1866. It also seems unlikely that any southern refugees attended the Church as visitors, for the majority of the Church's congregation had originated in abolitionist New England and it is doubtful if the southerners would have found the atmosphere congenial.

The Religious Origins

The religious background of the founders of the Church and Society has already been discussed as has the effect of the two major denominational traditions on the Church community. The pattern of the religious origins of the later congregation is also indicated by the "letters of dismission" received, for these transfers also gave the Church and its denomination from which the people came. For the same reasons stated in the section on national origins, this survey is not complete, but it probably indicates the general lines which religious origins took in the Church.

Denominational ties do not appear to have been rigidly adhered to at this time. This is especially the case with regard to the Congregational and Presbyterian churches, where the 1801 Plan of Union encouraged an interdenominationalism that did not disappear, despite the repudiations of the Plan in 1837 and 1852. (18) Other denominations were represented in the Church's congregation as well, this being partially explained by the absence of churches of their own in Montreal. Another explanation is suggested by Mr. & Mrs. M.C. Utley who were actually

members of different denominations in Milwaukee. When they moved to Montreal in 1860 they used the opportunity to switch their allegiance to the same church.

The 162 letters of dismissal received can be classified by denomination.

Congregational	46
Presbyterian	60
" , Free	8
" , United	4
Dutch Reformed	2
Calvinistic	1
Methodist, Wesleyan	3
" , New Connexion	2
" , Episcopal (U.S.)	1
Baptist	7
Episcopal (U.S.)	1
Undesignated	<u>31</u>
	162

Of these, thirty-eight were from churches in the Montreal Area. The American Presbyterian and other Montreal churches seem to have granted and accepted transfers to other denominations as a matter of course. The exceptions to this statement have been noted in Chapter 8. This suggests that the churches co-operated rather than competed on such matters. The thirty-eight dismissals received can be divided as follows:

Zion Congregational	9
Baptist (St. Helen Street)	4
Methodist, New Connexion	2
Wesleyan Methodist	3
Presbyterian	
St. Gabriel Street	1
St. Gabriel Street Free	2
Cote St. Free	6
St. Pauls	2
United	4
St. Andrews	1
St. Henry	<u>4</u>
	20
	<u>20</u>
	38

This list is not a complete record of transfers for the Zion Congregational Church Register lists thirty-nine people as having trans-

ferred either from or to the American Presbyterian Church. The total number listed by the American Presbyterian Church Records is sixteen (nine from, seven to). This list does not include the converts that were made from the Roman Catholic Church (i.e. Mary Lafleur) or people who may have joined from the Church of England. Nevertheless, despite its incomplete character, the survey indicates the wide religious background from which the communicant members of the Church came.

The list of dismissals from the Church, as noted in the Church Register, totals 403 people. Unfortunately this listing only records the granting of the dismissals. Further information is available for only thirty-four, with the result that no conclusions can be drawn about the destinations of these people who left the Church. The figures available do tend to show a similar pattern to the transfers to the Church.

United States	21
Canada, East	4
Montreal	8
Scotland	1
	34

The Occupations of the Congregation

The occupations in which the various members of the Congregation were engaged were widely divergent in character, ranging all the way from farmers to bankers. A complete survey of the occupations of all those connected with the Church is impossible, and thus this section is limited very largely to those who were members of the Church. This puts severe limitations on the survey as only 332 members of the 898 communicants were men. During the forty years under examination women were for the most part restricted to domestic jobs, either as servants or housewives. Thus the predominant occupation of the female Church members was

undoubtedly domestic in character. Such jobs were taken for granted and few records of women's occupations remain. One notable exception in this field was Miss Hannah Lyman, a member of the Church, who conducted a girl's school for several years in Montreal before becoming President of Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York. (19)

Fortunately records of the occupations of some of the Church's male members have survived. As in the other sections of this chapter the information is incomplete. It will, however, serve to indicate the general range of occupations followed by Church members. Surveys of occupations were made for the years 1819, 1842 and 1865. A fourth survey of the occupations of the officers of the Church and Society was also made. These indicate that the Church community was engaged largely in commercial pursuits.

Although the Church was not formed until 1823, it is necessary to use the year 1819, for this is the year in which Daige's "Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers residing in Montreal" was published. The lists which were used for this first survey are those names appended to the Society's constitution, those at the Society's initial meeting, and the first names on the Church Register. The names used for the 1842 and 1865 surveys were taken solely from the Church Register, as there are no contemporary lists of the Society's membership. These latter two years were chosen because no new directory for Montreal was published until 1842 when the first of the annual series was issued. (20) (21) The year 1865 was the last of the period under study and was picked for this reason. Broad occupational classifications have been adopted in order to facilitate a reconstruction of the general rather than the individual occupations.

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>1819</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1865</u>
Merchants (Wholesale and Retail)	17	16	14
Manufacturers (mostly small businesses)	2	16	20
Skilled Trades and Craftsmen	8	10	8
Tavern (hotel) and boarding house keepers	8	2	
Bankers, Brokers, and Commercial Agents		4	4
Doctors - Dentists	2	1	3
Teachers		3	1
Lawyer - Minister	1	1	
Clerks			5
Farmers	2		
Others	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
TOTAL	45	56	58

The 1819 list, it should be noted, shows a marked preponderance in favour of those occupations which predominated among the early American immigrants to Lower Canada. As a complement to these three horizontal surveys, a vertical survey of occupations was also made. This was based on the forty-six men who held office in either the Church or in the Society. Many held offices in both organizations, occasionally at different times but sometimes concurrently. It should be pointed out that because these were probably the more capable members of the Church and Society, they do not really form a cross section of the Congregation.

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number</u>
Merchants (Wholesale and Retail)	17
Manufacturers	9
Skilled Trades and Craftsmen	3
Bankers	3
Farmers	2
Tavernkeeper	1
Minister (retired)	1
Stage proprietor	1
Others and undesignated	<u>9</u>
TOTAL	46

From these surveys it can be seen that the Congregation was largely of a commercial character, merchants and manufacturers predominating. In the early period, innkeepers were numerous, but in later

years these gave way to specialized commercial positions such as bankers and brokers. Professional occupations have their representatives, their number remaining relatively stable throughout the period. Humbler callings such as farmers and clerks are also found among the Congregation, the farmers in its early years and clerks in latter times. Thus while the congregation had representatives of all walks of life its major element during the period under investigation came from the city's commercial community.

FOOT-NOTES

1. See Appendix *C*
2. Rev. George Wells, Historical Sermon preached at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the American Presbyterian Church.
Montreal, 1873 p.19
3. Ibid. p.14
4. Ibid. p.19
5. Ibid.
6. Session Minute Book (American Presbyterian Church)
Vol.1, January 4, 1847.

Trustees Minute Book (American Presbyterian Society)
Vol.1, September 4, 1847.
7. Ibid. Vol.1, October 5, 1824.
8. Minute Book, Montreal Ministerial Association
December 1, 1863.
9. "The Constitution of the American Presbyterian Society"
Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol.1.

Rev. John Wood, Memoir of Henry Wilkes, D.D., LL.D.
Montreal, 1887, p.37

J. H. Dorwin, "Montreal in 1816)
The Montreal Daily Star
February 5, 1881.
10. Baptismal Register, American Presbyterian Church
1827-8, kept by Rev. J.S. Christmas
11. Canadian Courant, January 9, 1830.
12. Lyman Coleman, Genealogy of the Lyman Family
Albany, N.Y. 1872. p.98
13. Total number of baptisms performed at the Church as recorded
in its registers (unofficial to 1832, official after 1832).
14. Church Register, (A.P.C.)
15. Session Minute Book, (A.P.C.)
Vol.11, February 4, 1857.

16. Ibid. January 11, 1826,
17. See Chapter 12
18. W. W. Sweet, The Story of Religions in America
New York, 1930 p.375-7 & 487.
19. L.Coleman, Op.Crt.
20. R.W.S. MacKay, Montreal Directory
Montreal, 1842.
21. MacKay's Montreal Directory for 1865-66
Montreal, 1865.

Chapter 10.

THE CHURCH'S MINISTERS

The Minister's Duties

The Rev. Joseph Stibbs Christmas

The Rev. George W. Perkins

The Rev. Caleb Strong

The Rev. John McLeod

The Rev. James Bonar

Although the Session of the American Presbyterian Church was the official organ of church government, a great deal of the day by day administration of the Church's affairs fell upon the shoulders of the Minister. This was partly because he was the moderator, or chairman of the Session, ex officio; and partly because he had been specifically educated to lead the Church and was in fact employed for that purpose. Thus, while the Session made the decisions, it often looked to the Minister to carry them out.

As the Pastor was the full time spiritual leader of the Church community, the people looked to him for guidance, both individually and collectively. This guidance was of a personal, moral and spiritual character. The Pastor, of course, was expected to conduct the regular Sunday worship services as well as the prayer meetings and classes of instruction during the week. The administration of the two sacraments, baptism and communion, was a specific charge of the Minister. As the authorized representative of the Church, the law of the land assigned⁽¹⁾ the performance of the marriage and burial ceremonies to his care. The legal right to register births was also assigned to him under the word "baptism", but the American Presbyterian Church did not recognize the State's right to control this ceremony, for reasons noted above. It was also the Minister's duty to visit and comfort the sick and grief stricken. In matters beyond the walls of the Church, the Minister was often chosen to represent the Church. These included such things as the meetings of Presbytery and the numerous temporal and interdenominational religious functions held in the City.

The Minister of the American Presbyterian Church does not appear as a member or participant in the affairs of the American

Presbyterian Society. This meant that he could not have any official voice in the handling of the temporal affairs of the Church which were under the control of the Society. It seems likely, however, that his advice was sought unofficially. The Minister was in actual fact the employee of the Society and this also may have prevented his participation in its affairs. No record of any of the Church's ministers purchasing a pew was made, but the Society set one aside for the use of his family.⁽²⁾ There is no indication as to whether he paid rent on this pew, but as it was specifically earmarked for his use, it seems unlikely. Therefore, by being neither a tenant nor an owner of a pew, he would not have the right to participate in the Society's affairs on the same basis as regular members.

The Minister was an essential part of the Church, and his personality often decided the character of the Church's life while he held office. There were several periods when no permanent minister was attached to the Church and these were difficult times despite the efforts of the temporary "supplies" to bridge the period between ministers.

The American Presbyterians had decided views on the type of person they wanted as a pastor and took pains to see that they procured the best available. The qualifications they desired are stated in a letter sent to various people in the United States in 1822 asking them to recommend candidates.

It is essential that he should be a man of unblemished character, and a scholar of high attainments; his style should be chaste, and his talents brilliant, he should be a popular preacher and should have that dignity of deportment which results from sound principles and true piety. (3)

The same letter states that:

Montreal is a place of considerable refinement and it is peculiarly desirable that he should possess that urbanity of manner that might be less needful in a different place.

By 1857 time had somewhat moderated their demands, but their standards were still quite high. In a letter to the Third Presbytery of New York it is stated that:

Our Church and congregation, being mostly Americans, and located in this city, it is of the highest importance to have a clergyman that will attract and secure the attention of newcomers, and be able to take a prominent part in the religious operations with the Evangelical Ministers of other denominations of this city. (4)

The same letter rejected a candidate recommended by the Presbytery because the:

Rev. I.M. Ely is held in much esteem here, but his voice is not strong enough to be heard but a little distance from the Pulpit.

The five men who served the Church as its pastors during the period under study were

Rev. J.S.Christmas	installed August 1, 1824	resigned October 1828
Rev. G.w.Perkins	" May 30, 1830	" June 30, 1839
Rev. C. Strong	" September 27, 1839	died January 4, 1847
Rev. J. McLeod	" November 7, 1849	resigned April 3, 1857
Rev. J.B. Bonar	" July 5, 1857	" February 1, 1870 (5)

In the intervals between these men various ministers came and preached as temporary supplies. These were often on trial. When the Church and Society found a suitable candidate, a call was issued offering him the vacancy. Few of these visiting ministers made any lasting mark on the Church and only in a few cases were their names recorded.

The two who did make a deep impression on the Church were the Rev. Samuel Whelply and the Rev. Joseph Sanford. Whelply was actually

the minister of a church at Plattsburg, New York, but that congregation loaned him to the Montreal Church from February 23 to April 20, 1823. During this eight week period he lent valuable aid in organizing the Church formally, setting up the first Session and administering the first Communion. The denomination of the Church that lent him to the Montreal Church is not recorded, neither is his own allegiance mentioned. (6)

The first official call went to the Rev. Joseph Sanford in 1823. This was rejected as was a second call to him the same year. The Church had been so impressed by him, however, that after Christmas left in 1827, it again made an attempt to secure his services. This third attempt also failed. Sanford died three years later in Philadelphia, ~~so no further attempts were initiated.~~ (7)

The Church offered Sanford a salary of £300 a year with an increase of £100 when the church building was finished, and the use of a parsonage when necessary. This and the second similar offer were both refused. He declined the second offer because he had learned that another minister had been assured that he would be called if Sanford again refused. This assurance was contained in a letter to the Rev. S. Woodbridge from some members of the Session and was completely unauthorized. This action was alleged to have been the real reason behind the Society's claim that the first elders had not been properly elected. (8)

After Sanford's rejection, a call was not extended to Woodbridge, and in fact it was not until June 1, 1824 that the Church and Society again extended a call.

The Rev. Joseph Stibbs Christmas

The Rev. Joseph Christmas accepted the call issued June 1, 1824, on the same terms that had been offered to Sanford, but with the addition of one month's holiday yearly. Christmas was the son of an English emigrant and was born April 10, 1803 in Georgetown, Pennsylvania. He graduated from Washington College in 1819 at which time he considered entering the ministry, but this was discouraged by his family.

After studying medicine for two years, he gave it up and entered the Presbyterian College at Wooster, Ohio. He finished his studies at Princeton in 1824 and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Although he wished to go to France as a missionary, he accepted an invitation to preach in the Montreal Church. He received a call to the American Presbyterian Church's pulpit three weeks after his arrival on May 15, 1824. He accepted this call and on August 1 was inducted into the Church.

In August 1827 ill health forced him to submit his resignation. When his health improved, he was persuaded to withdraw it. His health, however, again deteriorated and he was forced to resign and leave Montreal the next year. In January 1827 he went to New Orleans as an agent of the American Bible Society, but as the climate there failed to improve his health he returned to New York in April. Within five months his wife and two daughters died, and, after serving as pastor of the Bowery Church in Brooklyn for a few months, he also died on March 14, 1830.

Christmas was an active man during his years in Montreal. In addition to his regular duties as pastor, he carried on several other act-

ivities. He wrote extensively on various religious topics and several of these articles were printed as pamphlets by the American Tract Society. He took an active part in the campaign against alcohol and is credited with having originated the first temperance society in Montreal. He was also a pioneer in adopting an aggressive attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church.

When he was inducted, fully a year after the foundation of the Church, the communicant membership numbered only thirty odd members. This number grew slowly, being forty-five at the end of 1825 and seventy-seven a year later. In the early part of 1827 Christmas conducted revivals at Montreal and St. Andrews. It is claimed that as a result he converted 130 people at the two places. This figure was probably accurate for the Church Register listed a total of sixty-one new members between March and December 1827. Other notable features of his pastorate were the occupancy of the Church's first building and the start of the struggle for legal recognition. Christmas came to a new and small church, still in the process of organization. He left it considerably enlarged and firmly established. Much of this growth can be attributed to his
(9)
vigour and personality.

Rev. George W. Perkins

The Rev. George Perkins came to Montreal originally as a temporary supply minister for the Church. On January 7, 1830 he was called to the pulpit with a salary of £250 per annum and the promise of an increase to £300 per annum at the end of two years. Perkins, a recent graduate from New Haven, was inducted on May 30, 1830. Like Christmas, Perkins' health failed and a supply had to be found to help him. By

May 1839 his health had become so bad that he offered to resign. The Society refused this, but employed an assistant pastor at \$1,000 a year to take his place while he tried to regain his health. In June his health forced his resignation and he retired to Meridion, Connecticut. There he regained his health and worked for thirteen years before leaving to become Pastor of the First Congregational Church of Chicago in 1854. He died two years later on November 13, 1856.

Perkins' pastorate was an important one for it saw the successful completion of the struggle for legal recognition. This enabled the Church to hold many privileges previously denied it, such as the right to hold land and the right to perform marriages and burials. It also witnessed the settlement of George Gregory's claim against the site of the Church.

In terms of Church growth, these nine years produced a peculiar problem. For although the Church received 266 new communicant members during the period, the actual increase stood at thirty. This was largely accounted for by the establishment of six new protestant churches during this period, some of which drew members from the American Presbyterian Church. Despite much opposition from his own and other churches, he defended the Roman Catholic Church against the charges of a supposedly apostate nun, Maria Monk, because he believed the charges untrue.

Perkins worked long and ceaselessly during the cholera epidemic of 1832 although he himself was ill at the time. The rest of his ministry was a difficult time in Montreal's history and of the Church itself, and it was probably the demands made upon his time and strength by the (10) times that caused the breakdown in his health that forced him to resign.

Rev. Caleb Strong

The assistant minister employed to aid Perkins was the Rev. Caleb Strong. After Perkins' resignation he received and accepted a call to fill the vacancy.

Strong, the grandson of a former governor of Massachusetts, was born at Northampton in that State on January 31, 1816. He was a distant relative of the Montreal branch of the Lyman family, and like some of them, was a Congregationalist. Educated at Yale, he also attended the theological schools at Andover, Princeton and Harvard. He served the Montreal Church for seven years, dying on January 4, 1847, after an illness of three days, and while still in office.

His period of office was a particularly trying one, for during that time the conflict over the mode of electing elders came to a head. This dispute was at times very bitter and as a result of it some members (11) left the Church. Nevertheless the Church continued to grow steadily.

Rev. John McLeod

The Rev. John McLeod was also a Yale graduate and was installed in the American Presbyterian Church on November 9, 1847. His pastorate, like all the others, was terminated by ill health. The Church granted him a leave of absence in 1854 in an effort to help him regain his health, but it failed, and in April 1857 he retired.

During the decade in which McLeod was connected with the Church it continued to grow reaching a total of 243 members. Some other events of importance that occurred during his period of office were: the liquidation of the church debt and the utilization of the basement for the Sunday School. At his insistence the Church Psalmist replaced

(12)

Watts and Select Hymns as the Church's Hymn Book.

The Rev. James Bonar

The fifth minister of the Church was a Scot, the Rev. James Bonar. Born near Dumfries on May 21, 1826, he emigrated to the United States at the age of twenty-two. He attended Wabash College in Indiana and the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Bonar's induction took place in the American Presbyterian Church on July 5, 1857. His pastorate, which lasted until 1869, was the longest to that time. After he left the Montreal Church he went to a Congregational Church in Connecticut.

Bonar's incumbency was an extremely important one in the history of the Church for it was during this period that the old building and site was abandoned and the new Church was built on Dorchester Street. The Act of Incorporation that was secured at this time considerably simplified the internal organization of the Church. On the spiritual side the Church took over the support of a City Missioner (see below) and also took part in the revival conducted by the Rev. E.P. Hammond in the
(13)
early part of 1863.

An evaluation of a minister's work is always difficult unless pious and stereotyped phrases are used. No one factor can be used as a basis of comparison, or of assessment, of a minister's contributions to his church. One may increase the membership by vivid preaching, but lack the qualities necessary for pastoral counselling. Another may be a leader in theological thought, but lacking in any administrative capacity. Often a pastor's most important contributions to church life go unrecorded because they are measured only in terms of the spiritual well being

of the congregation he serves.

If the vigour of a Church's life reflects the Minister's capabilities, then the American Presbyterian Church had a series of able and vigorous men. This vigour, coupled with the epidemics of illness common in Montreal during that time, was probably the reason that all but one, although still young men, had to end their terms of office due to ill health.

The Ministers were, with one exception, American born, and all of them were educated at well known and reputable universities in the United States. The absence of men educated at Princeton after Strong's death may be partially explained by the fact that Princeton was Old School and the Church New School in allegiance. The main centre of theological training for the New School was Union Theological Seminary in
(14)
New York.

The Ministers included men of both Congregational and Presbyterian backgrounds, a probable outcome of the 1801 Plan of Union and the New School connection.

The relations between the Ministers and their congregations were cordial. The Church helped the Ministers when they fell ill, granting them leaves of absence and underwriting some of the costs of regaining their health. It also gave them gifts of cash when they left the Church. The congregation even sent the Rev. James Bonar on a pleasure trip to Scotland as a token of their appreciation.

The American birth, and education of these Ministers, and their denominational allegiances formed one of the strongest ties between the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal and the United States. They all

came to Montreal fresh from American universities and returned thence when they left. Thus their own private and public connections with the United States would tend to strengthen rather than weaken the bond that bound the Church to the United States.

FOOT-NOTES

1. 1 William IV, Chapter 56 (1832).
2. This was pew 72.
Trustees Minute Book (American Presbyterian Society)
April 5, 1827.
3. Ibid. January 7, 1823.
4. Session Minute Book (American Presbyterian Church) Vol 11,
February 14, 1857.
5. George R. Lighthall, A Short History of the American Presbyterian
Church of Montreal
Montreal, 1923, p.36
6. Session Minute Book (A.P.C.)
Vol 1, March 8, 1823 to April 20, 1823.

Rev. Geo. Wells, Historical Sermon preached at the Semi-
Centennial Celebration of the American
Presbyterian Church
Montreal, 1873, p.8
7. Wells, Op.Cit. p.10

Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.)
May 15, 1823.
November 1, 1823.
December 26, 1823.
8. See Chapter 3
and Document placed in the front pocket of the
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol. 1.
9. Main Biographical sources:
E. Lord, Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Stibbs Christmas
Montreal, 1868.
Lighthall, Op.Cit. p.7-9
Wells, Op.Cit. p. 10-17

Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol.1.
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol.1.
10. Lighthall Op.Cit. p.11
Wells Op.Cit. p-18-22
Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol.1
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol.1

11. Lighthall, Op.Cit. p.12
 Wells, Op.Cit. p.22-25
Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol.1.
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol. 1.
12. Lighthall, Op.Cit. p.13
 Wells, Op.Cit. p.26
Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol. I.
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol. I & II.
13. Lighthall, Op.Cit. p.13
 Wells, Op.Cit. p.26
Trustees Minute Book (A.P.S.) Vol, I.&II.
Session Minute Book (A.P.C.) Vol. II.
14. W.W.Sweet, The Story of Religions in America
 New York, 1930 p.377

Chapter 11.

THE CHURCH IN BEING

The Sunday Services

The Choir and Organ

The Prayer Meetings

Baptisms, Marriages and Burials

Revivals

American (Presbyterian) Ladies' Society

The City Mission

Throughout the period under consideration and despite the many difficulties that beset it, the Church served its Congregation as a center of spiritual life. Each Sunday the Congregation as a whole would meet for worship in the Church, and the children would be gathered for instruction in the Sunday School. During the week, meetings of various groups interested in particular phases of the Church's life would meet in order to promote their causes. Some of these meetings were held in the Church building and some in the homes of a member of the group.

The Church was the scene of many of the important ceremonies of an individual's life. Baptism, marriage and burial had civil as well as religious significance and were performed by the pastor as required. The communion service, purely a religious ceremony, was held regularly but infrequently.

The Sunday Services

The time at which the Sunday services were held varied considerably during the forty years under study. The agreement reached with the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church in February 1824 allowed the American Presbyterians the use of that Church on Sundays between 1 and 2.30 p.m. and after 5 p.m. (1) In later years an evening service was added to the day's activities and services were held at 11 a.m., 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. (2) By the end of the period the afternoon service had been dropped and services were being held at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. only. (3)

Little about the actual form of worship used for the services has survived, William Lyon MacKenzie's description of a service in 1831 (4) being the only source of information available. The service appears to have been built around the Minister's sermon much as it is today. These

pose such as that to pray for colleges and universities held on February
 (13)
 23, 1859. Sometimes the Church was the scene of a series of inter-
 denominational prayer meetings sponsored by the Ministerial Association of
 (14)
 Montreal. One of these series was a week of noonday prayer meetings to
 (15)
 attract business people. It seems likely that the American Presbyterian
 Church was chosen because by that time (1859) Montreal's commercial dis-
 trict had extended to the Church's immediate vicinity.

Baptisms, Marriages & Burials

The supervision of both the religious and civil aspect of these
 other important ceremonies was also under the Church's oversight. The
 struggle to have custody of Registers of baptism, marriages and burials
 has been related in Chapter 4 and need not be repeated here. The civil
 authorities considered the three ceremonies as state functions. The
 Church recognized the partial validity of the claim and did not perform
 marriages and burials until after ~~they~~^{it} had won the legal right to do so.
 Baptism, however, was purely a religious function and not merely the re-
 gistration of a child's birth. Thus the Church denied the government's
 right to control it and, from its inception, the Church kept a register and
 performed baptisms. Baptisms were performed for both infants and adults
 as it was a prior requirement to the admission of a person to communion.

Little can be said about the marriage and burial services beyond
 the fact that they were performed as required, after the legal right to
 do so had been acquired by the Church. A numerical listing of these cere-
 monies can be found in Appendix K

work, and the choice fell upon the Rev. Samuel Massey. Massey had for some years been engaged upon similar work for the Montreal Young Men's
(21)
Christian Association before he took this job. This work was eventually developed into the Inspector Street Mission.

The life of the Church was active and varied. It served its congregation in many fields, but as so much was taken for granted and not recorded, little has survived that enables the complete reconstruction of the numerous facets it displayed.

Chapter 12.

THE AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN SUNDAY SCHOOL
SOCIETY

Origins of the Sunday School Society

The American Presbyterian Sunday School

Finance; Income and Expenditure

Accommodation

Relations with the Church

The Student Body

The Student Societies

The Library

The Branch Schools

The Agency

The Singing Classes

Special Occasions

Adult and Infant Classes

The Sunday School and Secular Education

The Sunday School Union

The credit for the creation of the Sunday School Movement is usually assigned to Robert Raikes of Gloucester, England, who started
(1)
a Sunday School in 1780, although even he had his predecessors.

Raikes' school was originally planned as a place for secular education, but religious subjects soon found their way into the curriculum. Religious instruction on Sundays had been tried in early Puritan New England, but this was not a common feature of their church life. The first regular Sunday Schools in the United States seem to have been
(2)
established under Methodist auspices. In 1737 John Wesley established one at Savannah, Georgia and in 1786 Francis Asbury formed another in Hanover City, Virginia. The ten years between 1780 and 1790 witnessed the birth of Sunday Schools in the United States. The Sunday Schools, however, cannot be said to have become an integral part of church life until the third or fourth decade of the nineteenth century.

The origins of Sunday Schools in British North America are equally obscure. Certainly one of the first to be established was
(3)
that of James Davidson at Lyon's Brook, Pictou County, Nova Scotia. This school, which was in operation prior to 1776, antedates a Church of England school established at Halifax in 1783. In the Canadas, the first Sunday School appears to have been operated in 1781 by the Rev.
(4)
William Smart near what is now Brockville, Ontario.

The earliest Sunday School in Lower Canada may well have been
(5)
the one established in Montreal by Miss Lucy Hedge in 1816. Its first class was held at her father's house in Fortification Lane, and

chiefly, however, from the donations of its members and friends. Sometimes these gifts had unusual origins. On April 16, 1827, for example, the Society's minutes record its thanks to Jonathan Alger, a blacksmith, who donated "one half the proceeds of horseshoeing for the present year". Once or twice a year the Pastor would be asked to preach a sermon "in aid of the Society" and in conjunction with this the Session would be asked to grant permission to the Society to take up a special collection on the same day. The collections taken up among the scholars, seem to have been devoted to their own missionary society, and not placed in the Society's coffers, for the maintenance of the schools. Occasionally a subscription book would be started with the object of wiping out a specific debt, or perhaps of financing a special project.

Although no specific mention is made of the scholars making regular Sunday contributions, one or two brief allusions suggest this possibility. If this was the case, then the funds collected probably helped to finance the Student organizations mentioned below.

2. Expenditure.

In connection with its work the Society had many expenses. Unfortunately, little has survived among the records except the occasional report. The nature of the work does, however, give some indications of what were probably the major expenditures. The Branch schools of the Society were usually in the poorer areas of town and thus unable to support themselves fully, if at all. The rent for accommodation, or the upkeep of the buildings used, was one item in this field; another was the transport of teachers from the town to the various schools and

home again. The Library would also be a major item on the budget. The books wore out quickly, their replacement, and the expansion of the various branch libraries proved a heavy drain on the income.

The Society also provided clothing for the destitute children of the school that they might be able to attend the schools. One wonders just how many children were inveigled into attendance by the promise of good warm clothing.

The Sunday School, from time to time, purchased teaching aids such as Bibles and Hymn Books, as well as series of lessons prepared by various Tract, Bible, and Sunday School Unions. Prizes for diligent students were also a small but necessary expenditure for the good of the school. Occasionally the Society would have some things specially printed such as report forms on which the teachers could record the class statistics. Catalogues of the books in the Library, and the Constitution of the Society, which were both printed, were then given to the parents and scholars for their edification.

Accommodation

The Sunday School, as indicated earlier, was begun before the church was formed it being held in Miss Lucy Hedge's home on the corner of Fortification Lane and McGill Street. (15) Before the church building was erected, it was held in a variety of places, including rented schoolrooms. After the new church was occupied the Session granted the Society the right to use various parts of the building as circumstances required. The Session room, the body of the church and the gallery all accommodated classes for different lengths of time.

In 1250, the ~~Branch~~ decided to lease the basement of the church to the Sunday School Society. The terms were to be a sum equal to the interest on the outstanding debt of the church. (16) Unfortunately there is no indication of just how big this sum was. The ladies of the church then held a bazaar to raise the funds necessary to finish and equip the basement in a manner suitable for the Sunday School. This was a very necessary expenditure as the basement had for some time (17) been used as a pork packing plant.

The branch schools also had varied accommodation. Unfortunately this is not always recorded. In 1849 a shed was built for the school at the Cross, (18) and in 1865 this was replaced by a new shed. (19) The Cross was about a mile downstream from Montreal, where the crossing to Longueuil was begun. In 1852, the Society approved the leasing of a school at the Tanneries des Rollands (St. Henry), but no definite information about the exact location of any of these buildings is available.

Relations With the Church.

Although considered part of the life and work of the Church, the Sunday School Society seems to have been a completely independent body throughout the years considered. The records of the Church and of the Sunday School reveal little interference on the part of the Church with the latter's affairs. The only recorded interference began on March 19, 1866 when the Session set up a committee to look after the spiritual interests of the Branch Sunday School at the Tanneries des Rollands (St. Henry). In May the same year a subcommittee of the

Session was set up under the name American Presbyterian Church Home Mission Committee to look after the work of the City Missioner. The Session also assigned to it the oversight of the Sunday School but that is a separate consideration that does not enter this story as it occurs after the Church's move to its new building.

The support received from the Church was largely of a moral and only occasionally of a monetary nature, but the School was always granted extensive privileges in the use of the church's facilities. This aid was granted on a group to group basis, support on the level of the individual being a different story. Although a large number of persons, passed through its ranks over the years, the Sunday School Society was always a relatively small body. The constant appeals to Minister, Session and Congregation for more teachers to swell the ranks had little effect. The result was that the supply of teachers was only sometimes sufficient, never abundant and often in fact deficient.

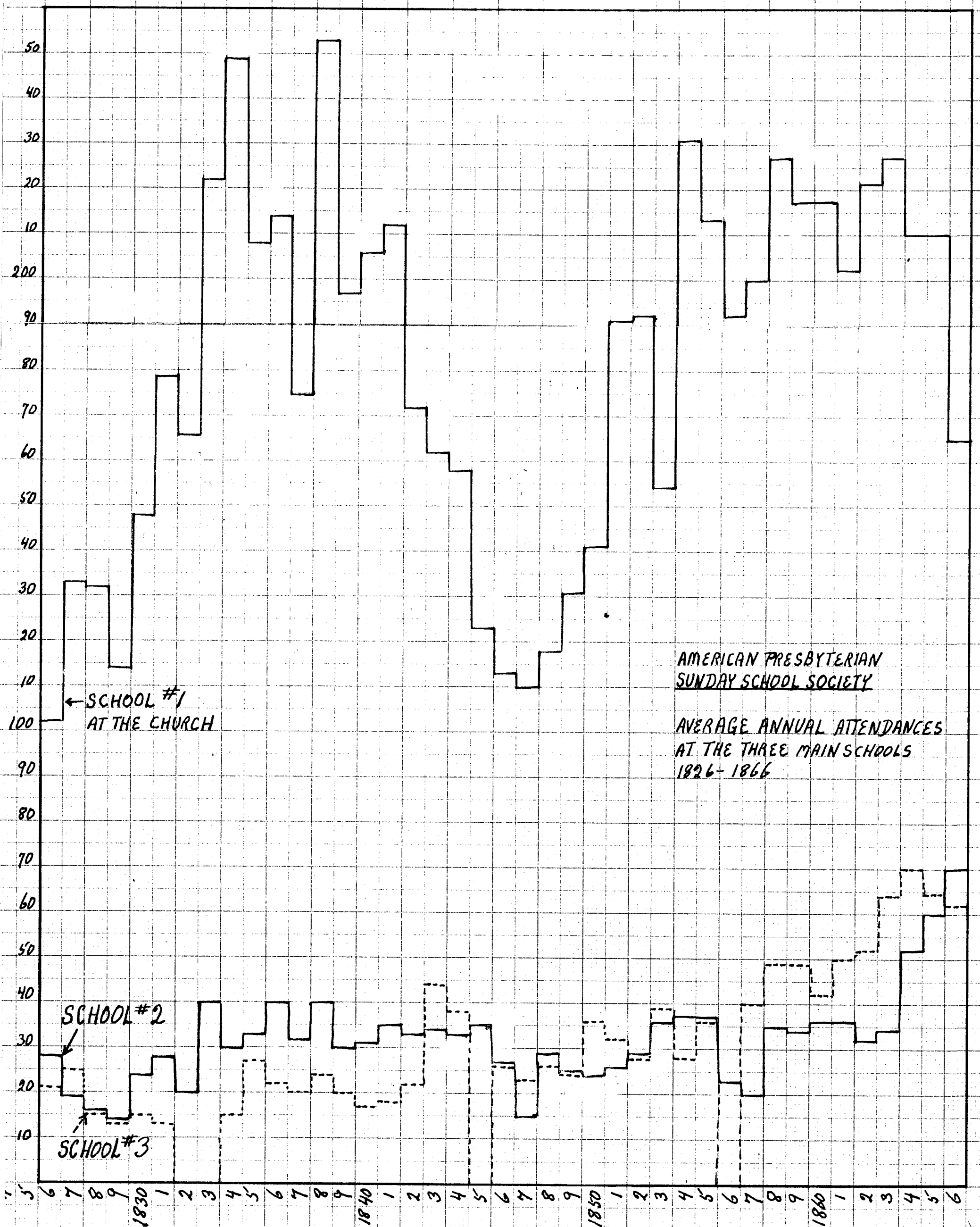
The Student Body.

The "youth of this city and neighbourhood" which the Society wished to train "in the fear of God and their duty to man" were by no means a homogenous group. Starting with the more obvious distinction, it should be pointed out that the schools of the Society taught both boys and girls. The appointment of a girls' superintendent at the Church school suggests that at least there the classes were divided on the basis of sex as well as knowledge. The situation in the branch schools is not indicated, but from the small numbers involved, and from the fact that records do not consistently report attendance in terms of

so many boys and so many girls, it seems likely that the two sexes received instruction together.

The general character of the different schools varied with their locations; as a result cross sections of the three most important schools (i.e. the Church, the Cross, and the Tanneries) would reveal completely different pictures. The branch schools as a rule were established in the less prosperous areas of Montreal and the pupils were thus likely to be the children of the working classes. At the Church school the majority of the scholars were undoubtedly the progeny of the church's members and adherents. As these were definitely of a commercial background, the character of the school would reflect this. No one was excluded from attendance on social or economic grounds; in fact the Society tended to encourage attendance by the distribution of clothing to destitute children. Nor were there any exclusions on the grounds of race, for when its numbers could no longer justify a separate existence, the African branch was absorbed into the main school. (see below).

The archives of the Sunday School Society contain extensive records of the attendance at the various schools. Unfortunately none of these are complete, but some are more so than others. The most complete record is that of the school at the Church, those of the other two more or less continuous branches not being as full. From the figures available a graph of the average monthly attendance for each year has been drawn up, but these averages are based on reports for a constantly varying number of different months and thus no really accurate picture can be depicted. The patterns for the two branch schools are fairly stable



throughout the forty odd years represented. The Cross School graph (# 2) shows a fairly steady pattern throughout the middle period with only one sharp drop in 1847. After 1860 it discloses a strong increase. The Tanneries School (# 3) has a much more violent pattern chiefly due to the absence in some years of any reports whatsoever. Despite this, its overall trend is one of growth.

The attendance figures for the church school are more nearly complete, and thus provide the most accurate graph of the three. An analysis is ~~however~~ difficult as so many factors are involved, however, in some cases, the fluctuations are matched by events in Montreal's history. The cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834 and the ship fever of 1847 probably caused the noticeable drops in attendance in those years. Similar decreases accompanied the political unrest of 1837 and the removal of the church to its new site in 1866. The disastrous fires which swept Montreal in 1852 and caused serious dislocations of population were probably the cause of the decline of the following year. The overall pattern can however be very closely linked to the assessment of the Society's life that serves as a conclusion to this chapter.

Attendance was an important feature of the school and the Society had a standing committee related to this question. This was the Visiting Committee. As first conceived, it was to act as a truant commission to visit absentee scholars and to ascertain their reasons for absence. Later its nature gradually changed. As a result of this change it became a committee to visit the homes in the neighbourhood of the school to persuade children not attending to come. Although the results of this

committee varied greatly from year to year, the final outcome seems to have been that a considerable number of children were persuaded to attend who otherwise would not have appeared. The chief difficulty that faced this committee was that they were often called on to replace regular teachers who were absent, thus forcing the postponement of their excursions beyond the walls of the Church.

Student Societies

Within the Society there were several special organizations. The first of these was the Scholars' Benevolent Association. It disappeared, or was merged into the Scholars' Missionary Society whose function was to collect funds for benevolent or missionary purposes. Usually these funds were given to such worthy causes as the Canada Sunday School Union, or the French Canadian Missionary Society. Occasionally, however, the Sunday School Society would appropriate the funds, at a duly constituted meeting of the Scholars' Missionary Society, to aid one of its own projects. Another group of societies was that dealing with temperance. The first of these was begun in 1831 and both teachers and scholars were encouraged to sign the pledge. By 1834 stronger measures were thought necessary and a Total Abstinence Society was created. All were urged strongly to sign the pledge, although it was not a requirement for membership. In 1851 a revival of these sentiments led to the foundation of the Juvenile Temperance Society. All these groups had a separate existence and the Sunday School Records contain only brief references to their creation and successes for short periods. Here again, it is difficult to assess their worth and success,

especially, in the temperance field.

The object of the Society was to raise children in the Christian faith. The chief instrument that they used to achieve this was the Sunday School class. The course of study in these classes often is noted in the Schools' records and it appears that all classes studied the same thing simultaneously. Sometimes a single book of the Bible was studied, at others a series of books. Occasionally, however, the course of study would be arranged as a study of doctrinal beliefs. Although the regular Sunday classes were the chief mode of achieving its aims, the Society utilized other methods as well, to instruct the "youth of this city and neighbourhood" and these although secondary, are worthy of note.

The Library

The first of these secondary methods to be established was the Library (February 10, 1824). This had small beginnings but gradual and steady growth led to the point where the catalogues of the Library listed over a thousand volumes. As the Society later expanded into branch schools at various points, so auxiliary libraries were set up to serve them. The Library was built and maintained by donations of money and books with occasionally a special appeal being made to the "friends of the society" to help in an expansion program, or to aid in the replacement of worn out volumes. The frequency with which the Library Committee reported to the Society, that replacements were needed, suggests

that the Library was well patronized by the students through the years. Although many books were donations, in later years it became the practice to buy books en masse from such organizations as the New York or Massachusetts Sunday School Unions and Tract Societies. In fact, it appears that most of the books were of United States origin.

An examination of the two printed catalogues of the Library that have survived in the records (20) reveals little. Only the names of the books appear and their call numbers. The titles, as might be expected, show a predominantly religious theme, but few of the books are familiar to the modern reader.

A Librarian and a Library Committee were integral parts of the Society and were appointed each year at the annual meeting, at the same time as the Society's other officers and committees. The Librarian and Committee examined each book and passed on its fitness to be placed in the Library before its inclusion, a task which was taken very seriously as the rejections from time to time indicate. Occasionally a re-examination of the whole Library would be undertaken in order to check both the fitness and physical condition of the books.

The Branch Sunday Schools

The American Presbyterian Sunday School Society was not content solely with the instruction of the children of the Congregation and those in the more immediate neighbourhood of the church itself. Several experiments to expand its fields of operation were thus carried out. In the middle of May, 1826, it established its first branch school; this was located at the Cross. Before the month was out a second school had

(21)
 been established at Les Tanneries des Rollands. These two schools were the first of several others established by the Society throughout its history. These branches, located in various parts of the island, rarely lasted very long. Opposition from the Roman Catholics, and competition from other denominations as well as apathy on the part of children, parents and potential teachers usually led to their abandonment. Several more schools were proposed, but for like reasons were never brought into existence. In 1866, a third school of a permanent nature was added to the first two mentioned, which alone had survived the passage of years. This was the Chaboillez Square Mission School. (22)

Even the two schools which survived had their difficulties through the years. They too, had to face opposition, competition and apathy. During the early years of their existence they were often closed for the winter, as travel on the poor roads of the day made it far too difficult for even the hardest teacher to travel from town to the school. The children close at hand also found it difficult to reach the schools when the first attempts were made to continue through the winter.

Of the experimental schools, one in particular should be noticed. This was # 4 (African) School. Established in March 1827, (23) it had a membership of from fourteen to twenty-five negroes during the winter. When spring came, however, the attendance dropped off rapidly, as most of them were employed on the river steamboats. Of the fourteen (apparently adults) at the first meeting, only three could read fluently, four tolerably, and the rest only a little or not at all. Attendance

did not increase after the cessation of river traffic in 1827, as had been hoped, and as a result in February 1828, the school was discontinued and the two or three remaining scholars incorporated into the main school. (24) The important fact here is that even as early as the eighteen-twenties people in Montreal were seriously concerned about (25) "the condition of the Blacks" in the vicinity.

The Agency

The Society, however, did not even limit its operations to Montreal and vicinity. It constantly granted donations of new and old Bibles and books from its own libraries to less fortunate Sunday Schools throughout the province. Its records list schools in Rawdon, New Glasgow, Lacolle, Granby and Chateauguy as recipients of such gifts as well as many others. A much more direct type of mission was also attempted for a few years in the mid-eighteen-thirties.

In 1833, the Society authorized a Mr. Hoyt to act as its agent. This gentleman had been active in the Eastern Townships endeavouring to set up Sunday Schools in the various communities there. The Society employed him at a salary of \$ 400 per annum to continue his efforts. (26) First they sent him to the United States, where, despite "the depressed state of business" (1834) he collected a total of \$ 1695.39 in donations of cash and books for his work. He and an assistant, employed by a grant to the Society from the Young Men's Society of Providence, Rhode Island, toured the Province between the St. Lawrence and the American border that year. Their reports are however, vague and uninformative as to the actual success of their efforts. A rift developed between

Hoyt and the Society late in 1834. This may have been over Hoyt's handling of his accounts as one or two documents seem to imply. The final result was a severance of the connection between the two and an end of the Society's endeavours in that particular field. The settlement of the affairs of the Agency, as it was known, dragged on for several years, but the Society finally managed to obtain possession of the remaining donations of books which it then turned over to the Canada Sunday School Union for use wherever the Union felt was best. Despite the unfortunate results the attempt shows that the Society was still (27) vigorous and attempting to find new fields of endeavour.

The Singing Classes

From time to time the school inaugurated singing classes to teach the children the hymns and songs then in use. Sometimes these classes were successful and were only brought to a close when the children had become sufficiently proficient. A few years later, with the influx of a new generation, the effort would have to be begun all over again. Sometimes the classes were less successful and petered out within a few weeks of their creation, because of a lack in interest on the part of scholars and teachers. On the whole, these classes had a very chequered existence in the history of this Sunday School.

Special Occasions

Every year, one or two special meetings were held. For the first few years the School held an anniversary service during the summer but this practice died out. Christmas Day was the occasion, weather permit-

ting, for all the Society's schools to gather to worship together.

This and the annual New Year's Day meeting of the different Montreal Sunday Schools were important events in the Sunday School calendar.

This rally of the various denominational Sunday Schools was frequently noted in the newspapers of the day. These articles noted the Rally's location as it moved from year to year, the Sunday Schools attending it as well as the various ministers participating in the service. Another special event that occurred occasionally was the Sunday School picnic, begun in the 1860's they were very popular but were held only infrequently.
(28)

Visitors to the main Sunday School and its branches were numerous and the scholars were quite often addressed by them. The records of the Society note visits from many Canadians of both the Upper and Lower provinces. Also frequent were visits by Americans, the greater majority of these were from the states and cities close at hand, like Boston and New York. Occasionally however, the school would receive a visitor from one of the frontier states such as Kansas.

Overseas visitors nearly always addressed the children and through the years the children must have heard of many different lands. Several times they heard of the British Isles, but it was probably the missionaries from heathen lands who most caught the children's attention. In 1857 they heard of "darkest" Africa from the Rev. Mr. Bushnell of the Gaboon Mission there, and on the same day Mr. Bingham of Honolulu in the Sandwich Islands spoke to them.
(29)

The next year the American Sunday School joined the other Montreal Sunday Schools to listen to the Rev.

Dr. Scudder of India and Dr. Schouffler of Constantinople, in the
(30)

Wesleyan Church. A year after that the Rev. Mr. Webb told them
about India and they also heard a second talk by a man from the
(31)

Sandwich Islands. In 1861 Mr. Clark, a missionary from Constan-
(32)

tinople, addressed them. Thus the visits of missionaries and
others were used to broaden the children's knowledge of other lands.

Adult and Infant Classes.

At first the Society refused to undertake adult classes, al-
though it called a meeting which set up a committee to work on the
(33)

problem in 1826. In later years, however, adult classes appeared
from time to time in the branch schools, but as the only indication of
these are the attendance reports of the individual schools, nothing
further can be said about them.

The Annual Report made in January 1828 states that during the
previous year the Visiting Committee and others of the Society had dis-
tributed religious tracts to raftsmen and the crews of Durham boats.
They had also delivered packets of tracts, addressed to the sailors, to
the officers of thirty-three of the ships in port during that year.
As no other report of such work was ever made it may safely be inferred
that the experiment was not an unqualified success, and therefore not
repeated.

The Infant Schools were also associated with the Society
occasionally, but again nothing can be inferred about them as little
beyond notes of their establishment or the procurement of a library for
them ever appear in the records.

The Sunday School and Secular Education.

The field of secular education enters this account only briefly, as unlike the Sunday Schools which Robert Raikes established in Britain, North American practice was to concentrate on religious instruction. No concrete evidence either way can be found in the Society's records concerning secular instruction in the Sunday School, although one of the first classifications of the scholars was made on a basis of their reading knowledge. This field of education was in all likelihood left to the American Presbyterian Free School, which is mentioned elsewhere in this work. One definite and rather interesting connection can be found in this area however. On August 18, 1828, Joseph Lancaster addressed the Society. (34) Lancaster was a noted experimenter in the field of education and through his work in the British and Foreign School Society did much to make education available to the masses in Britain and America. This was chiefly through his advocacy of the monitorial system. On November 16th of the following year the Society received a letter from Lancaster requesting them to secure for him three illiterate children, and to help supervise an experiment by which he hoped to verify the results of a previous experiment. (35) The Society agreed to do this, and to try to persuade the children's parents to cooperate as well. As a footnote to this episode, the Canadian Courant of December 16, 1829 carried an advertisement announcing an experiment had had successful results, and therefore Mr. Lancaster was now ready to receive pupils for instruction.

The only other venture into adult education taken by the Society

was on a limited scale and for a specific purpose. It made efforts to prepare its teachers for their tasks, and from time to time organized Bible classes for them. Unfortunately these classes achieved little until it became the custom for the pastor to conduct them as part of his regular duties.

The Sunday School Union.

One of the earliest projects of the Society was the attempted establishment of a Sunday School Union in 1823. ⁽³⁶⁾ This failed because the other denominations were not interested. (Sunday School Unions at this time were usually interdenominational in character.) This attempt is indicative of the foresighted thinking of the Montreal Society as the American Sunday School Society (U.S.A.) was not formed until the following year, 1824. ⁽³⁷⁾ In 1836 the Canada Sunday School Union was formed. ⁽³⁸⁾ No indication of whether the American Presbyterian Sunday School Society joined this body is evident, but it did purchase some of its supplies from their depository. In 1841, a city Sunday School Union ⁽³⁹⁾ was formed and the Society became an early member of that body.

The picture presented by the Society is one of vigorous endeavour. The people connected with it seem to have been intelligent and by no means lacking in imagination. Witness the early attempts to establish a Sunday School Union and the branch schools. Wherever they thought they might do some good, they went, even to the toughs who formed the boat crews on the river and oceans. The enthusiasm that carried them through

the 1820's and 30's was directed towards the new ventures. The rather *tedious* task of Sunday teaching rather cooled their ardour and often it was difficult to secure enough class teachers.

The 1840's and '50's were the periods during which the Society found its feet and began to concentrate on the major task, that of teaching the Gospel. The '60's showed a tendency to grow along lines that the earlier experiments had proved were valid ones.

The Society was continually conscious of its obligations to its own people and to others beyond the more immediate limits of the Society's work. The difficulties that it faced are similar in many respects to those that plague today's Sunday Schools and therefore they cannot be criticized for failing to find answers to them. Apathy on the part of students and scholars is always difficult to defeat. The Society showed extraordinary persistence in attempting time and time again to establish activities that were needed but not always wanted, the Bible and Singing classes to name only two.

The number of experiments that failed is not a condemnation of the Society, rather it is a testimony to its imagination and persistence. It was pioneering and often had no precedents for its actions. However, despite the many experiments and failures that beset the Society it never lost sight of the fact that its chief task was to teach the coming generation the glory of the Christian Gospel, and thus give the future members of the Church a firm Christian background.

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PART 3.

THE CHURCH IN THE
COMMUNITY

Chapter 13.

THE CHURCH IN THE
MONTREAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

Relations with other Churches

Non-Protestant Groups

Protestant Groups

Interdenominational Societies

The Montreal Bible Society

The Religious Tract Society

The Sunday School Union

The Evangelical Union

The French Canadian Missionary Society

The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society

The Ministerial Association of Montreal

The Young Men's Christian Association

Throughout its history the American Presbyterian Church was a part of the Montreal religious scene. The growth of the city's population from 1822 to 1866 was paralleled by a similar growth of its religious community. Some idea of this increase can be gained from the following table.

Religion	1825		1860	
	People	churches	People	Churches
Roman Catholics	18,133	6 (Approx.)	65,896	11
Church of England	4,156	1	9,739	5
All Presbyterians	3,429	3	7,824	10
All Methodists	332	2	3,774	5
Baptists	27	-	604	1
Quakers	2	-	6	-
Jews	56	-	403	1
Unitarians	-	-	475	1
Universalists	-	-	35	-
Congregationalists	-	-	768	1
Lutherans	-	-	207	-
Protestants	-	-	420	-
Others	19	-	130	-
TOTAL	26,154	12	90,323	35 (1)

No group can exist completely isolated from its neighbours, and contacts of various types were made by the American Presbyterian Church with the other religious groups in Montreal. These contacts varied greatly and the nature of some of them has already been described in the chapters on the Congregation and the Session. These relationships fall into two categories, those with other Protestant churches, and those with non-Protestant religious groups.

The Roman Catholic Church in the early period after the conquest of 1760 maintained a helpful attitude towards the newly-introduced Protestant churches. As a result the early services of both Church of England and Presbyterian Churches were held in buildings owned and in use

by the Catholic Church. ⁽²⁾ In later years this attitude changed, and so there were no official contacts between the Roman Catholic Church and the American Presbyterian Church. There were, however, unofficial brushes between the two groups. The Rev. J. S. Christmas is said to have adopted ⁽³⁾ an aggressive attitude towards that church but his reasons are not given. He also conducted a religious dispute in "public print" with a Catholic ⁽⁴⁾ priest. The Sunday School records contain references to Roman Catholic priests forbidding the children of their members to attend the American ⁽⁵⁾ Presbyterian Sunday School.

⁽⁶⁾ The Church was quite willing to receive converts from Catholicism, but anyone who left the Church to attend a Roman Catholic church was promptly ⁽⁷⁾ excommunicated. The Church was definitely anti-Catholic throughout its history but how strong this antagonism was, is difficult to estimate. Although there was a Jewish community in Montreal from 1825 to 1866, there is no record of any official or unofficial contacts with the American Presbyterian Church.

The American Presbyterian Church's relations with its sister Protestant churches were for the most part amicable. The American Presbyterian Church and the Church of England appeared to have existed side by side in relative peace on the ^{plane} of spiritual affairs. Tacit recognition of the Anglican Church as a valid Christian communion by the American Presbyterian Church is indicated by the Session's action in removing the names of people who left to join the Church of England from the Church Register, rather than by excommunicating them, as was the case with ⁽⁸⁾ those who joined the Roman Catholics. The Anglicans did not encourage closer relations, but were occasionally willing to cooperate. In 1865,

for example, the Rev. William B. Bond of St. George's (Anglican) Church participated in the Memorial Service for Abraham Lincoln held in the American Presbyterian Church. His part in the proceedings included the reading of the Anglican Burial Service.⁽⁹⁾ Thus relations in the religious field were friendly but distant. Where the interest of the two churches touched secular affairs, however, their views were often opposed. The American Church had a long struggle to achieve legal recognition, due in part to Anglican demands for recognition as the "established" Church in Canada. Anglican attempts to control university education in Canada were also stoutly resisted by the American Presbyterian Church.⁽¹⁰⁾

The Church's attitude towards the more radical Protestant sects is perhaps indicated by the case of Abby and Ira Gould. In 1863 the Session refused to grant them dismissions to the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) because it did not think that that church was really a Christian Church. As well as expressing its disapproval, it also removed their names from the Church Register, but did not excommunicate them for their new beliefs.⁽¹¹⁾

The evangelical Protestant churches of Montreal, which included the various branches of the Presbyterian and Methodist churches as well as the Congregationalist, and the Baptists enjoyed a warm mutual friendship. They cooperated in many interdenominational efforts such as the Bible Society and the Sunday School Union. They recognized the validity of each others' communions, and transfers from one denomination to another were accepted by both sides. The various churches also allowed ministers of other denominations to address them from the pulpit from time to time. At the dedication of a new church building ministers of other denominations were often invited to participate.⁽¹²⁾ Many of these activities were

sponsored by the Ministerial Association of Montreal and will be dealt with more fully in the section on its activities.

Although the American Presbyterian Church was not a member of any branch of Presbyterianism in Canada its sympathies lay with the Free and Secession branches rather than with the Church of Scotland. ⁽¹³⁾ The Church had always followed the voluntary principle of church finance, and in fact it owed its foundation to the importance that its founders placed ⁽¹⁴⁾ on not being connected with the Church of Scotland. Nevertheless relations with both branches of Presbyterianism were cordial.

The most cordial relations between any other Montreal church and the American Presbyterian Church was that with Zion Congregational Church. The two churches cooperated in many areas and the interchange of pulpits between the two was quite common. This friendship probably stemmed from several factors. The strong element of New England Congregationalism in the American Presbyterian Church provided a strong tie, for when Zion was founded in 1831, some old Congregationalists left the American to join Zion. This division divided the allegiance of some families, notably the Lymans. ⁽¹⁵⁾ The division, however, was an amicable one and so served to unite rather than to divide the two churches. Another element in this friendship was the Rev. Henry Wilkes. Wilkes was for many years the minister of Zion, but, he had, in his youth, been a member of the American Presbyterian Church and it was the Rev. J.S. Christmas who ⁽¹⁶⁾ influenced his decision to enter the ministry. Thus it can be seen that the bonds of friendship that joined the two churches were quite strong.

Montreal's Protestant community was enhanced by the existence

of several interdenominational groups which were designed to further particular aspects of Christianity. Members of the American Presbyterian Church were active in various capacities in these Societies and many of the annual meetings were held in the Church building. In later years it was the custom for most of these societies to hold their annual meetings on succeeding nights in one week, sometime in January. This "anniversary week" as it came to be known, was an important part of the life of Montreal's Protestant community. A typical schedule for such a week was that of 1847. This series was held at the Wesleyan Methodist Church on Great St. James Street at 6.30 p.m.

Monday,	January 25 -	Montreal Religious Tract Society
Tuesday,	January 26 -	French Canadian Missionary Society
Wednesday,	January 27 -	Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society
Thursday,	January 28 -	Canada Sunday School Union
Friday,	January 29 -	Canadian Evangelical Alliance.

This list does not include all the societies in which members of the Church were active participants. It would be difficult to estimate the contribution that these members made to the Societies in question as there is not always a great deal of information available about them, their members and activities, so the brief sketches that follow indicate the field of their activities, and when possible just where the American Presbyterian influence on them lay.

The Montreal Bible Society

(17)

The Montreal Bible Society first came into existence in 1820. It was an auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and its purpose was to distribute the Old and New Testaments in the Montreal area. The Society existed throughout the forty-four years under study and indeed for a while its headquarters stood right beside the Church on St.

(18)
 James Street. The Society was an extremely active group and by 1857 it had 134 branches, and its agent travelled some 4,186 miles in connection with his work that year. (19)
 A special charge of the Montreal Auxiliary was the distribution of French Bibles to the French Canadian population. Between 1855 and 1884 the Society distributed 421,000 copies of the Bible (20)
 in various languages to individuals and groups in the vicinity of Montreal. The Society donated Bibles as prizes to the Sunday School each year, and its 1826 report was composed by the Rev. J.S. Christmas. The newspaper accounts of its annual meetings often contain the names of the minister and members of the Church as being active in the Society's affairs.

The Religious Tract Society

This Society founded in 1836, was preceded by a less successful organization which became defunct due to a lack of support. Its purpose was to distribute the numerous tracts on religious topics that were popular at that time. It was an auxiliary of the Religious Tract Society of London (England). (23)
 Here again it is not possible to link the Church to the Society directly except that in 1860 it held its annual meeting in (24)
 the Church building.

The Sunday School Union

The activities of the Union were devoted to increasing the number of Sunday Schools in Montreal and vicinity. As the connections between it and the American Presbyterian Sunday School Society have already (25)
 been discussed, there is little point in repeating them here.

The Evangelical Alliance

Formed in late 1845, the Evangelical Alliance's purpose was to resist the encroachments of High Church Anglicanism, and Unitarianism. It sponsored a series of addresses given once a week by ministers of different denominations in the St. James Street Wesleyan Church against these dangers to evangelical protestantism. Resisting sectarian control of universities was another project in which it was engaged. It lasted (26) but a few years, before internal disputes brought about disintegration. Among the men active in this organization was the Rev. Caleb Strong, then (27) minister of the American Presbyterian Church.

The French Canadian Missionary Society

The conversion of the French Canadian population was the object of this organization. Begun in 1839 as an interdenominational effort it survived for approximately forty years. Among the founders were the Rev. (28) G. W. Perkins and William Lyman of the American Presbyterian Church. The Society grew and, as well as sending missionaries out into the province, (29) it established a school at Pointe aux Trembles in 1846. Its efforts were strongly resisted by the Roman Catholics, but it was denominational rivalry among the Protestants that finally brought the Society's (30) work to an end. American Presbyterian support for this was more than just moral, and both the Minute Books of the Ladies' Society and the (31) Sunday School indicate that donations of money to support it were made.

The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society

Established in 1827 the object of this organization was twofold, the education of young men for the ministry, and the provision of ministers for destitute regions.

Under its auspices ministers were sent out to charges in the
 (32)
 Ottawa and St. Lawrence River valleys, and the Eastern Townships. The
 Missionary aspect of its affairs survived until the 1850's, but the edu-
 cation side was much more short lived. The Society attempted to estab-
 lish an interdenominational theological college at Kingston in the early
 1830's, but financial and administrative difficulties proved insurmount-
 able and this part of the programme had to be abandoned.

The organization received support from the Presbyterian, Congre-
 gational and Baptist Churches, and in particular the American Presbyterian
 Church of Montreal. The cessation of its activities was also due to the
 growing interdenominational rivalry between Protestant Churches.

The Ministerial Association of Montreal

The ministers of the American Presbyterian Church, with the
 exception of Christmas, were all members of the Ministerial Association of
 Montreal. This was an association that was begun in the late 1830's.
 Although quite small at first, it eventually included all the non-
 Anglican evangelical clergymen of the city. Formed to keep an eye on all
 public movements affecting the moral and spiritual welfare of the city,
 (34)
 it pursued this end vigorously.

First indications of its existence occur on a list in the Minute
 Book of the Association which indicates the membership. The first date
 on this list is May 4, 1837 and the five names listed include the Rev.
 G. W. Perkins. The association seems to have been active down to
 December 27, 1842. It then became dormant until January 4, 1853 when it
 was revived with six members, one of whom was the Rev. John McLeod. This
 list is found in the earliest Minute Book still extant, which is dated

(35)
1854-1876. It does not fall within the scope of this thesis to discuss the association at length, but a few excerpts from the minutes show the tenor of the times and the events that interested and affected the ministers of Montreal.

The ministers met more or less regularly every two weeks during the winter and discussed a variety of subjects. These topics ranged from the mechanics of preaching to the moral problems facing their congregations. The Association also provided a clearing house for interdenominational affairs. Often they would arrange a series of prayer meetings to be held by the ministers and their churches in rotation. Another device was that each minister would preach a sermon on the same topic on the same Sunday. Such an event was the series of addresses delivered on "Christian Liberality" in February, 1855. (36)

The Association kept close watch on the public morals and vigorously protested against the large number of liquor outlets in the City, (37) and the operation of streetcars on Sunday. (38) It did not approve of dancing except at family parties, (39) and on December 16, 1856 it is noted that all the ministers had preached on this subject the previous Sunday. The texts they used for this assault on "Promiscuous Dancing" were:

Dr. Taylor, United Presbyterian Church	Ecclesiastes 3, v.4
Dr. Wilkes, Zion Congregational Church	Romans 12, v.2
Dr. Burpee	1 Corinthians 10, v.31
Mr. McLeod, American Presbyterian Church	11 Corinthians 2, v.11
Mr. Fraser, Cote St. Free Presbyterian Church	11 Timothy 3, v.4
Mr. Kemp, St. Gabriel St. Free Presbyterian	Romans 8, v.12
Mr. Jefferies	Job 21, v.11-15

They also disapproved strongly of fictitious literature, and passed the following minute:

"That as fictitious literature is now so popular and pertains to almost every branch of knowledge it cannot be altogether prohibited; nevertheless, as its tendency is to weaken the intellectual powers and to waste the affections it should as a general rule be discouraged and wherever the reading of more fiction than may be regarded as allowable, gives a distaste for valid literature or for the perusal of the Bible such reading should at once be given up." (40)

The association was interested in education and encouraged the establishment of a normal school. Once established it supported it by setting up a rotation system of the ministers to teach in it. The Association also petitioned the Government for the appointment of a Thanksgiving Day in the autumn, and observed it ^{there} after when the Government complied.

They were an intelligent group and little of interest escaped their notice. The existence of the organization did much to promote good relations between the various denominations and the ministers of the American Presbyterian Church undoubtedly gained much from their association with it.

The Young Men's Christian Association

The Montreal Y.M.C.A. has the distinction of being the first Y.M.C.A. to be organized in North America. The organizational meeting was held on November 19, 1851 in the St. Helen Street Baptist Church, one month before the establishment of the Boston Y.M.C.A. ⁽⁴¹⁾ For eight years during the 1830's a similar organization had existed, known as the Young Men's Society. ⁽⁴²⁾ The activities of this first organization included the distribution of tracts and hymn books. At its regular monthly meetings it was addressed by various local ministers, including the ministers of ⁽⁴³⁾ the American Presbyterian Church. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ This group disappeared in 1839.

The Y.M.C.A. was formed to direct the energies of young men into Christian channels. It was an organization of lay Christians and its work reached into many fields. The Association operated a Sunday School and City Mission in Montreal. But its main task was the extension of Christian ideals among the young men of the day.

The connections between the Y.M.C.A. and the Church were very strong. Many men who were or later became connected with the Church can be found among the Association's officers. In fact between 1851 and 1865 three of the Association's twelve presidents were members of the Church, - George Childs, 1853 and 1854; George S. Brush, 1857 and 1858; and Alexander Milloy, 1859.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Several of the annual meetings of the Association were held in the Church.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In 1856, the Church building was the scene of the third annual convention of the Confederation of Y.M.C.A.s of the British Provinces and the United States. At this convention the Rev. John McLeod of the Church delivered one of the main speeches to the eighty-seven delegates and observers.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Thus it can be seen that although the Church was not connected officially with any denomination in Canada, it did not remain aloof from Canadian religious life. In fact its members entered into many of the interdenominational organizations of the day as active participants in their projects.

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Montreal, N.D. p.28

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Census of Canada
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Montreal, 1941, p.24.

Rev. Robert Campbell, History of the St. Gabriel Street Church
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Montreal, 1873. p.14.
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Chapter 14

THE CHURCH IN THE SECULAR
LIFE OF MONTREAL

The Temperance Movement

The Free School

The General Picture

The New England Society

The American Presbyterian Church did not restrict its activities to the field of religious affairs. Although it did not often enter into the secular life of the Montreal community as a group, the various individuals who comprised the congregation often had an important influence on the course of events in Montreal's history.

There were two fields where the members of the Church affected the life of Montreal solely as members of the Church rather than as members of the Montreal Community. These were their support of the temperance movement and a secular school in Griffintown.

The Temperance Movement

Drinking and intoxication were major social problems in nineteenth century Montreal. The exact extent and nature of the problem has not been studied, but some indication of its size can be gained from the report of the Montreal Temperance Society for 1845. The following table of people arrested was presented to emphasize the necessity of temperance in the city, whose population then stood at 43,595, (20,404 males, 23,191 females):-
(1)

	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Total</u>	
Drunk	1,553	377	9	1,939	
Drunk and Disorderly	1,125	152	5	1,282	
Breach of the Peace	<u>513</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>620</u>	
TOTAL	<u>3,191</u>	<u>577</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>3,841</u>	(2)

The American Presbyterian Church had begun the fight against alcohol some seventeen years previously. Under the direction of the Rev. J. S. Christmas the first Temperance Society in Montreal was formed on June 9, 1828 in the St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church. A constitution and a pledge were adopted for the Society at that time. The pledge read as follows:
(3)

"We, the subscribers, in view of the many evils resulting from the use of distilled spirits, do hereby promise that we will entirely abstain from their use except as a medicine; that we will banish them from our families; that we will not give them to any person employed by us and that we will use our influence in discouraging their use among our friends." (4)

Of the twenty-nine men who subscribed their names to the pledge, fifteen were members of the Church. (5) The Society lapsed after the departure of Christmas, but was revived in 1830. The eleven officers elected at this time were, with two exceptions, all members of the Church. (6) The name and form of the Temperance movement varied through the years between 1830 and 1866, and the pledge was expanded to include all intoxicating liquor. (7) The interest of the American Presbyterians in this subject was continuous, and, through the years, the Church members continued to take an active part in temperance activities. The Church building was often used for temperance meetings. (8) The temperance societies were not officially sponsored by the Church, but the attitude of the Session towards alcohol gave strong support to the individual members in their temperance crusade. (9)

The American Presbyterian Free School

The American Presbyterian Free School was not a part of the Church but it was closely connected with it. (10) Situated in Griffintown, (St. Ann's suburb) it was founded in 1830 by a group of the congregation to provide weekday instruction (secular) for the poor children who attended the Church's Sunday School. (11) These children who were either of British or Canadian origin, not American, were taught the "elementary part of a thorough English education". The school was organized on the monitorial system, where the teacher taught a group of the older chil-

(12)
 dren who in turn taught the younger ones. This system was relatively effective and was quite economical. The number of pupils ranged from 90 to 150 through the years, and to help support the school, the government first granted a subsidy of approximately £100, or later from \$300 to (13) \$400 a year. This subsidy did not cover the costs of the school and the school's supporters had to sponsor such things as oratorios and (14) bazaars, to raise the necessary funds. The concern felt for the education of the poor is one indication of the Congregation's interest in the social conditions of the day.

The General Picture

The years from 1822 to 1866 were years of growth and progress for the city of Montreal, but this thesis is not the place for the story of that development. The events that took place during this period involved both the Church and its members from time to time. It would be impossible to detail all the events that affected the members of the Church, but a fairly broad picture can be presented so as to indicate the general lines of the congregation's place in the secular history of Montreal.

Many of the major events of Montreal's history in the 1820's centered around transportation and finance. In the field of transportation, Montrealers were endeavouring to improve their communications with the rest of Canada. The first Lachine Canal was built, and the merchants were petitioning the Government to improve the river channel between Montreal and Quebec. Some of the members of the Church were active in this field. Horace Dickinson was the proprietor of one of (15) Montreal's stage lines, connecting the city with Upper Canada. The three Ward brothers, John, Libbeus and Samuel, who owned the Eagle

Foundry, were engaged in making steam engines for the boats which plied the St. Lawrence. The firm established the first steamboat ferry service to the south shore, the boat being captained by George Brush, another Church member, ⁽¹⁶⁾ and later a part-owner of the Foundry. The engine for what was probably the world's first tugboat, the "Hercules", was built by the Wards. But it was their competitors, Bennet and Henderson, who had the distinction of constructing the engines for the "Royal William" in ⁽¹⁷⁾ 1833. One interesting note is that on September 9, 1829, Horace Dickinson's daughter, Dimmis, married Libbeus Ward. ⁽¹⁸⁾ The marriage did not inspire any joint projects between the two family firms and no attempts to power Dickinson's stages with the Ward's steam engines appear to have been made.

Two Church members were engaged in finance. Jacob De Witt was one of the directors of the Bank of Canada ⁽¹⁹⁾ and Jacob Bigelow was its clerk. ⁽²⁰⁾ One of the men connected with the Church was Nahum Mower, the proprietor of the Canadian Courant. This newspaper was the most widely read of the three then extant in Montreal. Founded in 1807 it survived until 1834, but in 1829 Mower transferred his rights and interest in the paper to Ariel Bowman and Benjamin Workman. ⁽²¹⁾

The decade from 1830 to 1839 was an extremely turbulent one in Canadian history and Montreal was at the hub of much of the distress. In 1830 Jacob DeWitt, a prominent member of the Church, was elected to the Provincial House of Assembly for the Beauharnois constituency. He held this seat for twenty years both in the House of Assembly for Lower Canada and later in the Provincial Parliament of Canada. ⁽²²⁾ DeWitt was born in Windham, Connecticut, in 1786. He moved to Montreal and became

a member of the St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church. In 1803 he joined the seceders from that church to form the St. Peter Street Church. Later in 1822, he became one of the leaders of the movement to establish the (23) American Presbyterian Church. He was an elder of the Church and held many offices in the Society. In fact he might well be termed the "Grand Old Man of the Church". DeWitt was a prominent man in the Montreal business community. He was co-founder in 1835, with D.B. Viger, of La Banque (24) du Peuple, and after the latter's death, became its president. He also served on the Board of Directors of the Montreal City and District Savings (25) Bank.

DeWitt was appointed one of the Justices of the Peace in 1836, when the Montreal City Charter lapsed. At that time the municipal govern- (26) ment of the city reverted to the Justices of the Peace for the area. He was a member of many Montreal societies and took an active interest in (27) their affairs, serving on their executives and committees. His death at the age of 73 years and 6 months on March 23, 1859 was a source of (28) regret to both French and English speaking communities in Montreal.

In 1832, the Church vestibule was used as the polling booth for (29) the West Ward election which was one of the roughest ever held in (30) Montreal. The election which lasted from April 28 to May 23 became so disorderly that on May 2, the Prudential Committee of the American Presbyterian Society refused to let it continue in the vestibule, and the poll was moved. Fought between Dr. Tracey, editor of the Vindicator, and Stanley Bagg, an American who had the support of 193 of the 200 American-born in the Ward, the election resulted in the injury of at least two members of the Church, J. E. Mills and Alexander Murphy. On

May 23 Bagg withdrew from the contest protesting the violence used by Dr. Tracey's supporters. A mob which had gathered round the closing poll in the Place d'Armes refused to disperse after the Riot Act had been read. As a result troops were called in, a *melée* resulted and several people (31) were killed by the soldiers' bullets.

Public indignation over this "massacre" had not died down when a second tragedy struck Montreal. The cholera epidemic that swept through (32) the city that summer took 1,904 lives between June 16 and September 22. Several American Presbyterians fell victims to the disease including (33) Horace Dickinson. The Asiatic cholera returned again in 1834, but no members of the Church appear to have fallen before this renewed onslaught.

The Rebellion of 1837 rent both Upper and Lower Canada asunder. Discontent had been growing for some time and early in November this flared into open revolt. In Montreal, a riot began on November 6, at Bonacina's (34) tavern which faced the American Presbyterian Church on St. James Street. Eighteen days later eighty-five Montrealers of American origin called a meeting to indicate to the "disaffected in this Province" that the United States was unlikely to aid the rebels and that they, the convenors of the meeting, would support "the authority of Her Majesty's Government and the maintainance of the Laws". The list of eighty-five names includes twenty-nine men connected with the Church. The meeting was held and the Montreal Transcript noted a few days later that one did not expect to find people (35) of American origin to be "anti-patriot".

The 1830's, however, saw other developments in Montreal. In 1830 an act was passed for the enlargement of Montreal harbour, and work was begun (36) on the stone piers and wharves. In 1836 the Champlain and St. Lawrence

(37)

Railway Company, of which J. E. Mills was the secretary, opened its line from Montreal to St. John's. The next year the first gas lights hissed
(38)
on in the city's dusk.

The 1840's opened with the grant of a new city charter and Peter (McCutcheon) McGill became Mayor. The early years of the decade were relatively peaceful. Montreal's first Board of Trade was established in 1841 and incorporated the next year. The Railway fever hit Montreal, and the Montreal to Lachine railroad was opened in 1846. On August 10, a mass public meeting was held on Champ de Mars. This was organized by a large number of prominent business men to promote the interests of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad, among whom were George Savage, D.P. Janes, Edwin Atwater and Benjamin and William Lyman, members of the
(39)
Church.

Toward the end of the year a member of the Church was appointed Mayor. There was some dispute about his appointment, but this was cleared
(40)
up and John E. Mills assumed the duties of his office. Mills was born at Tolland, Connecticut, in 1796, and arrived in Montreal in the autumn
(41)
of 1816. He was a director of the Montreal City and District Savings
(42)
Bank and active in Montreal affairs. In June 1847, Mills, as Mayor, signed a petition to the King, asking that Irish immigration to Canada be
(43)
stopped. The petition had no effect and the tide of immigration that reached Montreal in 1847 brought with it "ship fever". This was believed to be a type of typhus and in the one month between June 23 and July 25, the deaths from the disease totalled 2,044 people.
(44)

Residents
(of Montreal)

596

Immigrants
(in town)

316

Immigrants
(at the sheds)

1,134

Mills worked ceaselessly in the immigrant sheds at Point St. Charles trying to aid the stricken. On November 4, he himself came down with the disease and on the twelfth he died. The funeral was conducted by the Church's new minister the Rev. John McLeod and he was assisted by Rev. (45)
Henry Wilkes.

In January, 1848, the St. Lawrence overflowed its banks. The floods began on the 14th of the month and the water continued to rise until the 17th. It remained at its peak level for three days before beginning to recede. This flood inundated a large part of the Griffintown- (46)
Point St. Charles area and disrupted a great deal of Montreal's life. It caused the postponement of at least one Church meeting and probably (47)
more, as some of the members lived in the flooded area.

The year 1849 was a turbulent year in Montreal's history and it produced two major events. The first was the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill by Parliament, which was then in session in Montreal. The Bill was strongly opposed by the Tory opposition in Parliament because it felt that the Bill would compensate a rebel as much as it would compensate a loyal citizen for the damage done to his property during the rebellion. Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, ignored the pleas of the opposition to "reserve" the bill, as this would have been a denial of the principle of responsible government. On April 25, the Bill received Royal Assent and became law. This action sparked off rioting that swept Montreal and resulted in the destruction of the Parliament Buildings.

W. R. Seaver, a member of the Church, has left a first hand account of these riots. He noted that Jacob DeWitt supported the passage of the Rebellion Losses Bill in Parliament and that in retaliation the rioters intended to burn his home. Seaver, who was against the Bill,

deplored DeWitt's action, but did not want to see the "old man" burnt out. (48)
 Unfortunately he does not record whether or not DeWitt was dispossessed.

Prior to this, the British Government's adoption of the free trade principle had swept away the preferential tariffs upon which much of Montreal's commerce depended. This, and the sustension of Elgin's actions on the Rebellion Losses Bill made many Montrealers feel that Britain had deserted them. It was a result of this belief that they had been deserted that Montrealers drafted the Annexation Manifesto. This document advocating the peaceful severance of British connections and annexation to the United States appeared in October 1849.

(49)
 The Manifesto bore the signatures of 993 men, many of them prominent and influential people in the Montreal community. The document was the expression of indignation by a city which felt that it had been betrayed. As time passed this indignation disappeared and the Annexation (50)
 Movement faded into obscurity. This action which had the support of (51)
 fifty men connected with the American Presbyterian Church, some of whom were American born, cannot be considered as an act of disloyalty. In fact to a certain extent it indicates that those of the Congregation involved, indentified themselves closely with the best interests of Montreal, which had been ignored by the Imperial Government, when it abolished preferential tariffs for Canadian goods.

The opening years of the 1850's were notable for a series of conflagrations that left a great deal of the city in blackened ruins. Two (52)
 of these occurred in 1850 and they destroyed over 357 buildings. Two years later a second series of fires again destroyed large areas of the city. The first broke out on June 16; one of the buildings it destroy-

ed was the old St. Peter Street Church building. This was the Church from which the American Presbyterians had seceded in 1822 and in which they had worshipped before their own building had been finished. (53) One month later a second fire broke out. This was a major disaster for it destroyed from eleven to twelve hundred buildings of all types and left eight to ten thousand homeless. The glare of the fire was so intense that it was visible at Burlington, Vermont, 100 miles away. (54) The effect of these fires upon the Church cannot be definitely ascertained. They did not touch the Church building, but they did destroy some of the business premises of the church members among them those of M.H. Seymour and N.S. Whitney. (55) As it was about this time that discussion of a new site began (see Chapter 5) it seems probable that the fires directly or indirectly forced many members to move westwards. Edwin Atwater, a church member, was a prominent person on the City Council at this time but efforts to elect him acting mayor failed. In later years it was due to his efforts that the water system, that had proved so inadequate during the fires, was improved. (57)

In June 1853, an Italian apostate monk, ^{GAVAZZI,} who was touring Canada giving anti-Catholic lectures, spoke in Montreal. His address at Zion Congregational Church sparked a riot. The Riot Act was read and approximately forty people were killed or wounded by the troops when the mob failed to disperse. (58) One church member, E.C. Tuttle, was a member of the coroner's jury called to investigate the deaths. (59)

Canadian railways were expanding rapidly during the 1850's and Montreal became the center of the growing network that was connecting the various parts of Canada. In 1851, the St. Lawrence and Atlantic was opened to Richmond, Quebec, and in 1853 to Portland, Maine. (60) In 1856, the

Grand Trunk Railway was officially opened from Montreal to Brockville. The occasion was one of much festivity and many visitors flocked to Montreal to join the celebrations. In a special issue designed to acquaint the many visitors to Montreal with the city, the Montreal Witness said:

"On the corner of this square (i.e. Haymarket) and St. James Streets stands the American Presbyterian Church, a building of unpretending exterior belonging to a congregation which has been of great service to Montreal on account of the religious, temperance and missionary influence which it has exerted." (61)

Three years later in November 1859, the first Victoria Bridge was opened for use. This was of great importance, for the interior of Canada was now directly connected with the Atlantic seaboard at all times of the year.

The Prince of Wales visited Montreal in 1860; his visit was short but festive, and it included the official opening of the Victoria Bridge. After his departure the city renamed Commissioners' Square and the Haymarket, which bordered the American Presbyterian Church, as Victoria Square. (62)

The extensive flooding that occurred in April 1861 through the river's rising twenty-four feet over its normal level, brought the water's edge within two blocks (McGill and St. Maurice Streets) of the Church building. By this time, however, most of the Church members had moved away from the Point St. Charles-Griffintown area. (See Chapter 5) and there were no indications that the floods directly affected the Church. (63)

The American Presbyterian Church was not greatly affected by the Civil War in the United States. The Church was strongly anti-slavery, and consequently few refugees from the Confederacy would be likely to

attend. As far as can be ascertained only one member of the Church joined the struggle, and he was under suspension from the Church at the time. (64)
The War forced a change in the manner of disposing of the old Church building (see Chapter) but despite this the transaction was completed successfully.

Probably the last major public meeting to be held in the Church building before the congregation vacated it was the Lincoln Memorial Service. This was one of several held in the city at the time. The service which was well attended, was interdenominational in character and several Montreal clergymen assisted the Church's minister, the Rev. James (65)
Bonar.

The New England Society

The New England Society which was composed of Americans living in Montreal was formed about this time. (66) Its first president was Jacob DeWitt and in subsequent years many of its officers and members were connected with the Church. This was a society akin in purpose to the other national societies in Montreal. Each year in the last week of December, Montreal newspapers would record the Society's annual meeting and summarize the addresses given. Occasionally the editor would add a few general remarks about the Society and Americans in Montreal. Typical is the comment in the Montreal Witness of January 2, 1856:

"Americans in this city are on account of their excellent training, their enterprize and their wealth influential far beyond their numbers. They are as a city set on a hill which cannot be hid, and it is of great importance that their influence should continue to be as it has hitherto for the most part has been for good. We throw out these reflections in no hostile spirit, and earnestly ask their consideration of them."

The slightly condemnatory tone of the quotation was because the

Witness did not approve of the use of champagne at the Society's annual meeting. The Society was active well into the 1860's although the distrust of Americans engendered by the Civil War in the United States produced a few unpleasant periods in the early 1860's. (67)

From this brief survey, it can be seen that the Church and its individual members made important contributions to Montreal life. Although proud of their American origin, they were Montrealers first. They served the city and country well and deserved the esteem in which they were held by the community.

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Chapter 15.

CONCLUSIONS

The American Presbyterian Church of Montreal was the sixth Protestant church to be established in the city. The nature of the Church was quite unique, especially among the contemporary Protestant churches in Montreal. The major aspect of this difference was the American character of the Church. Founded largely by people of United States origin, it retained much of its American character throughout the forty-four years under discussion.

The official connection with the United States was through the Church's membership in the "Presbyterian Church of the United States". This resulted in the Church's procuring its ministers from that country rather than from Great Britain or Canada. Trained in American universities, these men furnished a strong link with American ideas and institutions. The Presbytery to which the Church was connected was located in New York City and thus the advice and guidance that it supplied was based on American rather than on Canadian experience. The unofficial links with the United States were quite as strong, if not stronger than the official links. The flow of people from below the border to the Church, throughout the period under investigation helped to maintain the American character of the Church. The influence of this human influx was strengthened by the importation of American publications for the Church and Sunday School. Another source of influence were the ties which many members maintained with relatives, friends and business connections in the United States whom they visited or communicated with from time to time.

The Church did not use this connection with the United States as an excuse to set up an isolated expatriate community in Montreal. Indeed, both collectively and individually, the members of the Church

made extensive contributions to the life of Montreal. Even in the field of religious work, where there might perhaps have been some justification for remaining aloof, the Church participated fully in the co-operative, interdenominational organizations that were typical of that time.

The Church contributed much to Canadian life in the fields of education and social reform, but its greatest contribution to Canadian life lay in the realm of religious freedom. The Church played a significant role in obtaining legal equality at law for religious denominations.

Individually the members of the Church can be credited with playing a major part in the commercial expansion of Montreal. Some of these were active in politics both on the municipal and national levels. In short, the American Presbyterians and their Church were an integral part of the Montreal community.

The internal history of the Church itself is interesting, for the Church had to solve some problems that were peculiar to its own situation. The major difficulty was presented by the development of a system of church government from two different traditions. The attempted synthesis of the Congregational and Presbyterian organs of government that was evolved to satisfy the two major denominational elements among the Church's founders was quite unique. Unfortunately, the two systems could not be completely reconciled and the Church suffered from this incompatibility. The Church was an active and far-sighted group and turned its energies to many fields of Christian endeavour. One of the most interesting of these was the disciplinary control it exercised over its members. Others were the missionary and educational efforts made within the Church and in conjunction with the interdenominational societies and other Montreal churches.

The Church throughout the period under study was an active and vigorous body. Because of its unique origins, the problems it found were often difficult and sometimes unprecedented. None proved completely insurmountable when approached with Christian courage and fortitude. The result was that the American Presbyterian Church made valuable contributions, in both religious and secular fields, to the lives of its individual members and to the community in which it existed.

The Church remained connected to the "Presbyterian Church of the United States" until 1925 when it severed that bond in order to join the United Church of Canada which was formed in that year. In 1934, the American Presbyterian (United) Church and the Erskine Presbyterian (United) Church united to form a single congregation, the Erskine and American United Church. The site of the original building on St. James and McGill Streets is now occupied by a branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia, an appropriate successor when one remembers that some of the founders of the Church were also founders of Montreal's second bank, the Bank of Canada. The second site at Dorchester and Drummond has an equally appropriate occupant for it is the major bus terminal for Montreal, thus harking back to the days when Horace Dickinson's stagecoaches left Montreal from Elisha Lyman's hotel for points in Upper Canada. The present united congregation occupies the former Erskine Presbyterian Church on Sherbrooke Street. Here it is but two doors from the Presbyterian Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul, which is the modern descendant of the St. Peter Street Presbyterian Church from which the American Presbyterians seceded in 1822.

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1832 - 1839 (kept by Rev. G. W. Perkins)

1839 - 1846 (kept by Rev. C. Strong)

1846 - 1857 (kept by Rev. J. McLeod)

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(b) The American Presbyterian Society

Trustees Minute Books

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(c) The American Presbyterian Sunday School Society

Minute Books

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Vol. 11, 1826 - 1827.

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Sunday by Sunday Record Books

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1862 - 1865

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(2) Papers and Records

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APPENDICES

- A. The Covenant
- B. The Confession of Faith
- C. The Building Committee Report
- D. Lucius Winchester's Account
- E. Noah Shaw's Account
- F. Expenses for the New Church 1866
- G. W.L.MacKenzie's Description of the Church
- H. Joseph Lancaster's Letter
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- J. Church Members signatory to the Annexation Manifesto
- K. Statistical Table

APPENDIX ²/_{if} A

American Presbyterian Church, Session Minute Book
Vol. I March 15, 1823.

THE COVENANT

Acting as we trust, in the fear of God and with a ...[?]...
eye to his glory, we do hereby, for our mutual edification and for the
edification of the church enter into the following covenant. We
hereby devote ourselves to the service of God in church, fellowship
and Communion avouching the Lord Jehovah to be our God, the Lord Jesus
to be our Redeemer and the Holy Ghost to be our Sanctifier - resolving
and promising by divine assistance, to obey Christ in all things, to
observe all the institutions and ordinances of religion (viz) Baptism,
the Lords² Supper, the reading and preaching of the word of prayer -
promising to seek and pray for the prosperity of this church and
cheerfully to submit to the government and discipline of it as pres-
cribed, in the form of government and discipline of the Presbyterian
Church in the United States. we adopt and resolving by divine
grace to walk worthy the high vocation wherewith we are called and in
all lowliness of mind to keep the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of
peace.

APPENDIX # **B**

American Presbyterian Church
Vol. I March 15, 1823

Session Minute Book

CONFESSION OF FAITH

- Art. 1. We believe in the being and perfections of God.
- Art. 2. We believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the word of God and the only infallible of faith and practice.
- Art. 3. For the more explicit declaration of our faith we receive the Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster as a just summary of Christian doctrine.
- Art. 4. We believe in the doctrine of the Trinity, the real and proper divinity of Christ, the depravity of man, the atonement made by Christ, the fulness of the Gospel provision, the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit to apply the benefits of redemption, the necessity of the new birth, repentance and faith, in order, to salvation, the doctrine of justification solely by the merits and righteousness of Christ, the sovereignty of God, the perseverance of Saints and a future judgement.
- Art. 5. We believe that Christ has a church on earth comprising all true believers and that, these are bound in all things to believe what he has taught in the Scriptures, to practice what he has enjoined, to abstain from what he has forbidden and that they only have a right to the ordinances of his house and to baptism for their children.

APPENDIX #C

Records and Papers of the American Presbyterian Church and Society.

Building Committee Report.

Statement of Expenditure by Herman Seaver, Jacob DeWitt, William Forbes, Horace Dickinson, Daniel Ward Eager, John Dodd Ward, Jonathan Alger, Francis Leonard, Thomas Hastings in erecting their church for public worship on the corner of McGill and St. James Streets in this city.

Henry Griffon, Notary public; deeds and contracts	£ 12	0	0
Moses Marshall, architect; for plans and patterns	36	5	0
Digging the cellar and preparing for the foundation)	67	4	5
of the edifice, paid labors)			
William Riley, on contract for Mason work	550	0	0
Lucius Winchester, for Masons and Laborers	1421	0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Noah Shaw (carpenter)	1116	1	10
William J. Richardson, Bill Sundries	9	0	9
Moses Marshall, for building the front of the Gallery	50	5	0
D.W. Johnson, for building Stairs and furnishing the Upper)	90	4	6
Room 67, plastering the said room 23/4/6)			
Craig and Foley, fir plastering the Worshipping Room	153	0	0
Cut stone for the front and fitting	12	0	0
Herman Seaver for overseeing the work	35	4	11
W. and J. Forbes for Shaw's planks	66	9	7
W. Nelson for water spouts and conductors (tin)	11	0	0
William Moore for filling the basement story	196	15	3
Bronson and Cliff, for Pulpit	10	0	0
Painting and glazing	54	0	0
Jonathan Alger for Iron Work	139	18	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
	£ 4030	10	2

APPENDIX #D

Records and Papers of the American Presbyterian Church and Society.

Lucius Winchester's Account.

1st page.

Messers Herman Seaver, Wm. Forbes, Jacob DeWitt, Horace Dickinson and others.

On Act. of Building A.P. Church.

to L. Winchester Dr.

1825 from)	Cash paid Labour	£ 711	15	11½
8th to)				
Nov. 26	Fullum's act. for lime	35	6	8
	" for 20 Bars @ 1/	1	0	0
	266 lds. sand @ 1½	14	19	3
	583 lds. Mortar @ 2d	4	17	2
Aug. 9	1 Grindstone 1/3 Cement 2/		3	3
22	Boy for labour 1/3 Hand Barrows	4	6	3
	Withs for Scaffolds	1	10	0
Sept.	4 Mortar subs @ 7/2d		2	6
Oct. 6	9 Carts @ 1/ Hand Barrow 10		9	10
10	Withs for Scaffolds		9	0
Nov. 10	Straw to cover walls		11	8
28	Doyon act. for cut stone	12	10	7½
	Rutherford & Ross act. for stone	190	15	5
		am't. carried over		
		£ 974	17	7

2nd page.

	Am't carried over	£ 974	17	7
1826 from)	Cash paid for Labour	123	19	10½
April 17th)	Doyon Act. for cut stone	23		
to Sept. 8th	Fullum's Act. for lime	9	11	3
	Rutherford & Ross for stone	23	16	½
	Sundrys as for Book	6	11	6½
	Gibeaus act. for Cutstone	1	6	8
	Superintending the building of church in 1825 & 1826	275	10	0
		£ 1421	0	6½

APPENDIX #8

Records and Papers of the American Presbyterian Church and Society.

Noah Shaw's Bills.

Details

a Scaffold in St. Peter St. Ch. (1824)	£ 1 0 0
2 double frames in division wall	2 10 0
scaffold for Masonic procession	1 6 0
Level & Rule for Lucius Winchester	6 3
lentils furnished a 2nd time	9 4
2 large ladders for gangways	1 17 6
Blocks & lentils in division wall	2 11 3
lettering lentin	4 0
all of Seters for outside of Chch.	9 15 0
1 set of patrons for window	10 0
loss of time in attempting to raise roof	4 2 6
finding nails and boarding up opening in base	15
making patrons and seters for opening in base	15
finding stuff and enclosing gable end	5 0 0
raising floors of wall pews	6 0 0
curving 2 angles of Rm below Gallery	3 10 0
dressings of floor before setting of pews	2 10 0
Curving angles of pew ranges	5 0 0
Building 100 pews in Ch. C 40/	200 0 0
" 22 " " " C 40/	44 0 0
Extra work curving angle of wall pews	3 0 0
furring and preparing the body of Ch. for plastering,)	125 0 0
laying Gallery floor & fitting doors that enter Wall)	
per. agree.)	
Timbering the Ch. covering the Roof fitting windows)	628 0 0
& doors to same & flooring)	
Cash paid L. Winchester	25 0 0
4 columns in Ch. measuring 140 ft. C3/6	22 0 0
40 ft. of circular under Gallery 1/6	3 0 0
Making gallery front (part)	6 10 0
partition at each end of stairs at entrance with	3 0 0
small door to cellar	

 £ 1116 1 10

APPENDIX # F

Annual Report of the Trustees of the American Presbyterian Society
of Montreal.
Montreal, 1866, p.10.

Summary of Resources and Expenditure for Building New Church.

Dr.

paid Stone Mason	\$ 21,913.50
" Carpenter	17,517.60
" Brick Mason	1,997.54
" Plasterer	1,832.37
" For Roofing and Heating	4,438.95
" " Painting and Glazing	3,052.25
" " Gas Fixtures and Plumbing	1,245.44
" " Plans and Superintendence	704.73
" " Grading and Fencing	455.33
" " Sundry small bills	716.46
	53,904.23
" " Land	12,507.00
Interest and Expenses on land	1,727.98
	14,234.98
	\$ 68,139.21

Cr.

Received from Subscriptions	\$ 15,812.49
Sale of old Church	27,563.37
Interest and Profit on Silver & Col.	848.64
Balance on sale of Pews	489.85
	44,714.35
Heins Gale Mortgage	12,500.00
Miss Hoyle "	10,507.00
	23,007.00
due the treasurer	417.86
	\$ 68,139.21

APPENDIX #6

W.L.MacKenzie, Sketches of Canada and the United States
 London, 1833. Page 147.

Montreal, April 10
 1831.

The Scots Presbyterian church is shut up at present owing to a difference between the Ministers. I went this forenoon to the American Presbyterian church, the clergyman of which is greatly celebrated here as a preacher.⁽¹⁾ The house is a large commodious stone building, handsomely finished inside and outside. The pulpit is of the most costly mahogany with crimson cushion, very splendid. The windows are all made double, to keep out the cold. The congregation sit while singing as in Scotland, but the organist⁽²⁾ and band of musicians alone join in the melody; at least I did not observe that any others of the congregation opened their lips to sing. The Music is very pleasing; some of the choristers, male and female, having fine powerful voices. The congregation is numerous, and the people generally very well dressed, forming evidently an important and influential part of the citizens of Montreal. Yet the minister because he was born in the United States,⁽³⁾ is forbidden to marry even the members of his own congregation. Mr. Perkins delivered an excellent discourse from Isaiah "Woe unto the wicked, it shall be ill with him, for the reward of his hand shall be given him."

Notes

- (1) The Rev. G.W.Perkins was preacher at this time.
- (2) No mention is made of this organ elsewhere
- (3) This was not wholly correct. See Chapter #

APPENDIX #H

Copy of a letter among the papers of the American Presbyterian
Sunday School Society for 1829-30.

Montreal 14th of 10th
month
1829.

Respected Friends.

I have happily succeeded in an experiment made during the last five weeks by myself - with eight boys who were ignorant of reading even words of two and three letters, but are now able to read the 18 chap. of John - some of them more fluently than others and two or three of them in any part of the Testament or Bible -

During this experiment - I have seen, but too late to try these ideas by practice, several things which makes me wish to try the experiment again with six boys of about six years of age whose qualifications requisite for admission - are ignorance of everything but their alphabet or small words of two letters - regular attendance - docility cleanliness and good behaviour -

No expense will attach to the parents the education given I should give for ten Dollars each - for it would be worth more but as it is for the public good that the experiment should be carried to the highest perfection and have respectable witnesses to the ignorance of the children and their progress - I make this request that the conductor - or superintendent of the American Sabbath School will furnish me with three children of this number from their own selection of pupils and be witnesses of the progress made giving fair

play to the full experiment and leaving it to rest impartially on facts neither believing nor countenancing anything, but what their own eyes and the evidence of their own senses is fact and truth.

I am satisfied that if teachers could be found - the instruction of the whole world would be an easy matter - on my part nothing shall be left undone which can be attempted - to enable every child of the family of man to attain the art of reading in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

I remain

My highly esteemed friends

Yours truly

Joseph Lancaster

To the superintendent
and teachers of the
American Presbyterian
Sabbath School.

APPENDIX I

During this period from 1822-66 the Church produced several ministers from among its members. The most outstanding of these was the Rev. Henry Wilkes, D.D. Wilkes, a member of the Church although a staunch Congregationalist, was encouraged to enter the ministry by the Rev. J. S. Christmas. This he did, receiving his training in Scotland. He returned to Montreal and became the minister of Zion Congregational Church. He became a prominent member of the Montreal Evangelical Church community and later had great influence in the foundation of the Congregational College. He was occasionally found in the American Church pulpit, especially on special occasions.

On the same date that Wilkes joined the Church, March, 1827, R. G. Cooke also joined. He later became a chaplain at the Auburn, New York State Penitentiary. During the American Civil War he served as a regimental chaplain. In after years he lived in Buffalo, New York.

William Rufus Seaver, a son of one of the Church's first members, became a Congregationalist minister. He held churches both in Canada and the United States. Other members of the Church who entered the ministry were the Rev. James D. Moore who served largely in Connecticut. The Rev. J. D. Dickinson, a missionary in China, and the Rev. W. Addy who held a church in Mariette, Ohio.

Rev. George Wells, Historical Sermon preached at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the American Presbyterian Church Montreal, 1873, p.

Josephine Foster, "The Montreal Riot of 1849"
 Canadian Historical Review
 Vol. XXXII, 1951, p.61-5.

APPENDIX J

Members of the American Presbyterian Church and Society who were
signatory to the Annexation Manifesto of 1849: -

Edwin Atwater	Henry Lyman
Robert Adams	John Long
P. D. Brown	William Muir
John Bridges	Alexander Murphy
Benjamin Brewster	Alexander P. Murphy
James C. Beers	John Murphy
George Brush	E. Lyman Mills
M. Babcock	Cephas Mills
Henry Benson	James Moore
Norton B. Corse	John Mitchell
R. Corse	John McWaters, Jr.
J. Cushing	Robert Nicholson
Z. B. Clark	Noah Shaw
George Childs	Charles Seymour
Jacob DeWitt, M.P.P.	C. E. Seymour
J. H. DeWitt	M. H. Seymour
F. Duclos	H. Seymour
D. W. Eager	Joseph Savage
Samuel English	W. R. Seaver
Norman S. Frosst	George Stacey
Thomas Green	E.C. Little
L. H. Holton	Thomas Wilson
George Hagar	Sam Wardley
Benjamin Hutchins	Hugh Warnock
Ashley Hibbard	Charles Warren
Benjamin Lyman	N. S. Whitney

Church Register (American Presbyterian Church

A. Doughty	<u>Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-52</u> Ottawa 1937 Vol.IV p.1492-4
W. Weir	<u>Sixty Years in Canada</u> Montreal, 1903. p.63-79

