The Central Canada Presbytery: Prospects, Perplexities, Problems¹

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In spite of its name, the Central Canada Presbytery was largely situated in what we now know as Western Canada. It was set up in 1917 by the American Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church to embrace congregations in Delburne, Alberta; Regina, Saskatchewan; Winnipeg, Manitoba and Lake Reno (Glenwood), Minnesota. The presbytery was meant to solidify the Reformed Presbyterian witness in the constituent congregations, and to enhance the growth of the denomination. The Central Canada Presbytery is the third geographical grouping, and the last, that Reformed Presbyterians (or Covenanters) established in Canada.

The first cluster of Reformed Presbyterian congregations was established in the Maritime Provinces in the 1830s by the Irish Synod Mission Board. In 1832, the New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Presbytery was formed.² Very slightly later, Covenanter congregations were being formed in Ontario (and unsuccessful attempts to do so in Quebec³), at Ramsey/Almonte in Lanark and Lochiel in Glengary counties.⁴ These congregations were formed under the aegis of the Scottish Synod Mission Board, though there was never a separate Canadian-based presbytery in Ontario-Quebec. At one time, therefore, Covenanter congregations were found in three parts of Canada – the Maritimes, Ontario, and Western Canada. Historically, there was slight interchange between them,⁵ though one clergyman served in all three regions.⁶ The few Canadian Covenanter congregations today are found in Ontario,⁷ though there is a mission station in Ouebec.⁸

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The Central Canada Presbytery (1917-34) contained four congregations, as already indicated. Of these, Lake Reno, Minnesota, was not of course in Canada, though it was the oldest congregation, named for a beautiful lake by the same name, "five miles from Glenwood [Minnesota], and about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of St. Paul." It had been organized into a congregation in 1869. Ulster-born Campbell and Ewing families were among the organizers. Content (later Delburne), Alberta, was the scene of Covenanter missionary activity in the early 1900s, the congregation was formally established in 1910. Here again the Campbells, one of the families who had helped organize Lake Reno, were prominent among the few organizers – the family of Clark Campbell (1848-1917) being most prominent. Both Lake Reno and Delburne were essentially rural congregations.

The Regina congregation was formally organized on 20 May 1911, under Rev. Thomas Melville Slater (1869-1951), acting as a commissioner of Colorado Presbytery.¹² In Regina, "transplanted Iowans made up the original congregation."13 Regina was more a town than Lake Reno and Delburne, but its original chief lay Covenanter was a farmer, from Iowa, James Smith Bell (1848-1912). "It was his earnest desire to see the Banner of the Covenant planted at Regina, and for this he never ceased to labour and to pray until he saw his desire fulfilled in the organization of the Regina congregation . . . when he was made a member of the session. The interests of the congregation were continually on his heart, and to its support and its work he gave liberally of his time, his service and his money."14 Unfortunately, farmer Bell died in an accident, 15 shortly after the "Regina [congregation] became self-supporting" in 1912. 16 The congregation formed a vibrant Covenanter community before the formation of the presbytery.¹⁷ Originally and throughout its history, this congregation was strongly American; in 1924, pastor James McCune wrote that "unlike Eastern Canada, Americans are very much in evidence here . . . Perhaps the half of this congregation is American."18

"The congregation at Winnipeg, MB was organized 23 October 1914." It had originated chiefly out of the witness of one man, Samuel Richard McKelvey (ca. 1876-1950). He had come to Canada "from Ireland when a young man, and soon after began seeking out Covenanters from the 'Old Country,' bringing them together for a service of worship. He felt the number and opportunity warranted the services of a minister, and soon a congregation was formed, and later a church erected. Until the close of his

[long] life, he led the singing, was superintendent of the Sabbath School, taught an adult class, and during periods without a minister, conducted worship services both morning and evening." McKelvey was also a frequent and consistent reporter of matters Winnipeg in Covenanter papers. The Winnipeg congregation had few American members. Indeed, the first American clergyman visitor to the city, in 1910, reported that "I think it very strange that I did not find one Covenanter from the States." A much later clergyman indicated that "the Winnipeg Covenanter Church congregation were mostly immigrants from Ireland and their families."

In 1917, it was the sessions of Regina and Winnipeg which memorialized the Synod for the formation of a new presbytery. Synod granted the request, the name to be "the Presbytery of Central Canada and its territory to include the Provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, Manitoba, also the State of Minnesota . . . The Rev. J[ohn] C[alvin] [Boyd] French [1858-1921] is appointed Moderator . . . The Lake Reno Congregation is hereby transferred from the Iowa to this new Presbytery."²⁴ The other three – Delburne, Regina and Winnipeg – were transferred from the Pacific Coast Presbytery.²⁵

"Representatives and delegates of those congregations appointed by Synod to organize the Presbytery of Central Canada met in the Regina Church²⁶ [Tuesday] 9 October 1917 at 10 o'clock to carry out the action of Synod. It was found that the representatives of Content/Delburne and Lake Reno could not reach the place of meeting at [that] time and adjournment was taken until Wednesday 10 October at 10 o'clock a.m."²⁷ Rev. J.C. French, then serving Regina, was confirmed as moderator and Rev. Howard George McConaughy (1882-1951), stated supply at Content /Delburne, as clerk.

In spite of its somewhat uncertain beginning, the early days of the presbytery appeared promising. "Although our congregations are far separated from one another, they are vitally interested in each other's growth and welfare. Their very isolation and remoteness from the rest of the church makes them more concerned about the upholding of Covenanter principles in their respective fields and more anxious for the fellowship and co-operation to which our Master is calling us." And, "the formation of the Presbytery is already being abundantly justified by the increased amount of enthusiasm and enterprise shown by the churches under its care. They are becoming more aroused about their own needs and that of the whole church as a result of the bonds which have lately been made. Great

credit is due the Moderator (J.C. French), to whose able and untiring efforts it owes its success."²⁸

Nonetheless, from its earliest days, the vast geographical area made a cohesive presbytery very difficult. Quite often, the presbytery functioned by way of interim commissions; a sort of sub-presbytery set up locally or regionally partially to overcome the long distances. But such strategies, particularly when so often utilized, did not contribute towards a coherent Covenanter court.

Strong, long-term clergy leadership was another scarcity making for presbytery problems. J.C. French and H.G. McConaughy were respectively moderator and clerk when the presbytery was formed in 1917; yet by the end of 1919, both had left the presbytery.²⁹ Pastors came and went in the four congregations, there was little long-term consistency. When James McCune came to Regina in September 1923, he noted that "our congregation here has had only seven Sabbaths' preaching during the 15 months preceding our coming."³⁰

The congregations were not consistently vital nor financially viable. Delburne was perennially marginal, never emerging from Mission Station status. Lake Reno, though long-lasting, was far distant, had short term pastorates and was no bastion of numerical and financial prowess. Regina flourished in pre-World War I, during the war, and immediately after; but it was soon to wither to Mission Station status, in the late 1920s. Winnipeg, the newest of the Canadian congregations was the strongest and longest lasting of those in Canada. It had an established core of committed Covenanters, of whom S.R. McKelvey was the chief. Sabbath Schools were emphasized in all Covenanter congregations, Ladies Missionary Societies were also important, 31 as were congregational Young People's Societies. 32

Attempts were made to enlarge the membership of congregations and to increase the number of Covenanter communities. In the early days of the presbytery, in 1917/8, an enthusiastic Rev. J.C. French visited Edmonton and Provost (a town south-east of Edmonton, close to the Saskatchewan border), but without success.³³ Later, in the early 1930s, renewed attempts were made to contact Reformed Presbyterians in Edmonton, Provost and Calgary, Alberta; and to revive the work in Regina and commence in other unnamed Saskatchewan locales³⁴ – Covenanters were living in these places, but in insufficient numbers and/or interest to found or form mission stations.³⁵

Could existing Covenanter congregations increase their member-ship? Under Synod urging, presbyteries established a phenomenon known as "budget of souls." In 1930, "a budget of souls, of 15 converts, was set as the goal for our Presbytery this year. The suggested proportion for each congregation was – Lake Reno 4; Delburne 3; Regina 4; Winnipeg 4." A year later, the clerk indicated that "two congregations reported that efforts are being made, through the Sabbath School particularly, although no tangible results can be reported at the present time. A budget of 15 was adopted for this [upcoming 1931] year, apportioned as follows: Delburne 4; Lake Reno 5; Winnipeg 6." There is no evidence to suggest that this schema resulted in any appreciable additional members.

In 1918, the presbytery had 4 ministers, 10 elders, 217 Sabbath School enrolments, 173 communicant members.³⁸ In 1928, there were 3 ministers, 9 elders, 224 Sabbath School enrolments, 126 communicant members.³⁹

Budgets, not of souls, but of dollars? Lake Reno, Regina and Winnipeg were financially self-sufficient in 1917, when the presbytery began, Delburne alone being aid-receiving. A decade later, in 1927, all congregations were requesting aid: "the application for aid to the Mission Conference from our aid-receiving congregations were approved as follows: Delburne, \$900; Lake Reno, \$600; Regina \$1300; Winnipeg, \$1100."

Church-state relations came to the fore, in three areas, in the Central Canada presbytery. Firstly, becoming a homesteader; secondly, becoming a soldier; and thirdly, serving in (municipal) government. In all of these contexts, an oath of allegiance was normally required. Taking such an oath was against Covenanter principles.

Homesteading

"Can a Covenanter who is not a British subject, take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader in Canada without disregard of his church vows?" That was the question of a Regina session memorial referred to the Synod, transferred by the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1914. The decision of the Synod's Committee on Discipline seems quite clear: "In view of the information before us, which we believe to be correct, that the homestead law requires an alien to be naturalized before he can obtain a patent for land in Canada, and that an oath of allegiance to the British

crown is required for naturalization, a Covenanter not a British subject cannot take up and perform the required duties of a homesteader without violation of his church vows." Yet there is not a single surviving Canadian instance exemplifying a Covenanter clash because of this principle. James Smith Bell, a founding father of the Regina congregation, and a farmer, had come from the United States; so had the Campbell families to Delburne.

Soldiering

A Winnipeg deacon, A.A. Boone, was conscripted to serve in the army, in 1917. "He claimed exemption as a conscientious objector, refusing to take the oath of allegiance. His claim was rejected by the local tribunal, and the case was by him appealed to the supreme court at Ottawa." The session (with Rev. David Bruce Elsey [1877-1950] as moderator and S.R. McKelvey, clerk) expressed its admiration for Boone's stand. The session took up Boone's case: what effect would "the military service act have on members of the church in their conscientious refusal to swear the oath of allegiance"? The session decided "to defend the historic testimony of the Church." Their method? "To submit to the military authorities a substitute oath which could be taken by Covenanters instead of the regular oath of allegiance and, in the event of the authorities refusal to sanction the substitute oath, to claim exemption for all members of the Covenanter Church." In compliance with the law, a letter was drawn up containing the substitute oath of allegiance:

I, A.B., make oath that I acknowledge Almighty God as the source of all authority and power in civil government, and Jesus Christ as King of all nations, and exclusive head of the Church, in the supreme authority of his moral laws to decide moral issues in national life. Believing also in the justice of the cause for war of Great Britain and her allies, against Germany and her allies, I hereby promise to serve in the army of Canada until the close of this present war, and shall defend his Majesty King George the fifth, and his successors as supreme representatives of this commonwealth against all enemies, and will observe and obey all orders of the generals and officers set over me in the Lord.

Accompanying this was a letter sent by the solicitor. The session had drawn a line in the sand.

The answer received from the military authorities wiped out the line. We "beg to point out that no oath at all need be taken by any man who is drafted under the military service act, 1917 . . . The act itself makes the man a soldier, and the form which he is required to sign is different from the attestation paper used in the case of volunteers. The new form called 'Particulars of Recruit,' does not contain any oath whatever."

The case of the Winnipeg volunteer, A.A. Boone, ⁴³ is the only one which surfaces which mentions any difficulty with the oath of allegiance. Fellow Winnipegger, a deacon, W.J. Hemphill, "soon after the outbreak of the war . . . heard his country's call and volunteered for active service . . he died at Vimy Ridge, in 1917." Alexander Muirhead, a member of the Regina congregation, enlisted when the war broke out, died in Ypres, in 1916. ⁴⁵ Nor are any difficulties recorded in the situations of three soldiers from Delburne, ⁴⁶ and four others from Regina. ⁴⁷

Voting in municipal elections

Regina was the source of a memorial to Synod on this matter, transferred by the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1914. Can a Covenanter vote "in municipal elections, where conditions of voting differ materially from the dominion elections?" "In Saskatchewan for instance, the candidate for certain municipal offices is not required to take an oath of allegiance." The Committee on Discipline delivered: "In all cases in which voting requires an oath of allegiance to the British crown on the part of the voter or officer, as in Dominion and Provincial elections, voting is contrary to the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; but in cases where no such oath is required, as in municipal elections in part of the Dominion at least, where we are informed no oath of allegiance is required of the officer, and even an alien can participate, we see nothing inconsistent with the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in voting." ⁵⁰

However, at a later synod, Andrew Alexander (d. 1951)⁵¹, a Regina elder made a major statement, carried in its entirely in the Covenanter newspaper.⁵² Alexander strongly the softening of the Synod's stand in the face of municipal elections; believing it betrayed essential Covenanter convictions. "It is now [some time] since this question [of voting in municipal elections] came before this Synod from Regina. Synod has had ample time to investigate and give a definite answer. It can and should be

answered by either yes or no. There is no middle ground. It is either a duty to take an active part in civil affairs or it is a sin . . ." To those who argue that "when no oath to support the Constitution is required there is no incorporation, we ask who then is in the governing political body or do we have no such body in the municipalities of Saskatchewan? Or if it is contended that municipal officers are not incorporated with and a part of the British government, we answer, is the hand not a part of the body? Such ideas are repugnant to our intelligence." Finally, Alexander asked rhetorically, "Can a church repudiate her Covenant obligation and expect either the favour of God or the respect of men?"⁵³

It is to be assumed that, in general, Covenanters did not vote. In Delburne, discipline was imposed on at least one occasion: "on motion, the session asked [Reverend] Mr. McConaughy to speak to that member of the congregation who had attempted to vote at the last Dominion election: remind him of his promise, and warn him not to do it again." Moreover, a version of James Reid Lawson's 1878 work, the abridged title being The Elective Franchise or Why Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) Do Not Vote at Political Elections, was published in Winnipeg, date uncertain. It concluded with the published sentence: "Free on request [from] S.R. McKelvie . . . Winnipeg, MB." MB."

There was one longer term clergyman in the presbytery – Rev. Frederick Francis Reade (1882-1981). English-born, he came to Winnipeg in 1926, as minister of the Winnipeg congregation. After a relative calm of four or five years, Reade and the congregation became involved in deep difficulties, surfacing in 1932. The pre-1932 Winnipeg session minutes are lost, so the details evade us. The whole matter of the difficulty in Winnipeg with Reade arises – out of the blue as it were – in the records of a Central Presbytery meeting on 24 December 1931.⁵⁷ The Winnipeg congregation was deeply divided; the presbytery's weakness is illustrated by the fact that the Synod took over supervision of the congregation.⁵⁸ Reade was asked to relinquish the pastorate of the main congregation. The congregation was reconstituted, though Reade stayed on as leader of the smaller faction in the Winnipeg Mission from 1932 until 1939. 59 At the reconstitution of the main congregation, the "provisional session instructed the clerk to write to Rev. F.F. Reade, asking him for the communion service, the table cloth, the Sabbath School records, the financial records, and the communion tokens."60

In all this turmoil, Winnipeg elder S.R. McKelvey kept on keeping

on, though not without his own problems. At the same Christmas eve presbytery meeting where Reade's difficulties came to light, a case of discipline was brought against McKelvey. McKelvey agreed "1. To confess that he has sinned. 2. to confess that he is truly sorry." And "3. To promise that in the future, with God's help, he will abstain from the use of liquor and tobacco." Put it down to a stressful situation – the Winnipeg controversy driving the poor man to a double case of substance abuse – perhaps a cross-addiction – to tobacco and liquor. If for that short time, McKelvey did not always maintain his equilibrium; in the long run he seems to have maintained his integrity, continuing to be a tower of strength. The weaknesses were never again the subject of Central Canada presbytery or Winnipeg session discussions.

The Covenanter cause in Western Canada ultimately failed. There were too few Covenanters; they seemed unable to proselytize beyond their own numbers; and there were not enough American or Scottish or Irish immigrants. Perhaps its strict discipline and the prohibition of organs and other musical instruments in worship hurt the movement. Its peculiar church-state stance never became sharply articulated in Western Canada. Other Christian congregations crowded the Covenanters – stole their own sheep, in 1929, "Regina became disorganized through the removal of one of its elders who united with another denomination."

In 1934, the Central Canada Presbytery petitioned for its own dissolution, giving three reasons: "1) fewness of numbers; 2) great [geographical] distances; and 3) aid-receiving congregations." The Synod concurred. Regina having already disappeared, 65 the Synod approved the congregation of Delburne placed under the care of the Pacific Coast Presbytery, Lake Reno and Winnipeg under Iowa Presbytery. The seventeen-year history of Central Canada Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery was ended.

Endnotes

Primary sources for this article include: Central Canada Presbytery minutes
[hereafter "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes"], 9 October 1917-9 August
1934 (original held at the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary
archives, Pittsburgh); Content/Delburne Reformed Presbyterian Church
Session Minutes [hereafter "Delburne Session Minutes"], 16 March 1910-1
October 1937 (original held at Anthony Henday Museum, Delburne, AB);
Regina Reformed Presbyterian Session minutes are not extant; Winnipeg
Reformed Presbyterian Church Session Minutes [hereafter "Winnipeg

- Session Minutes"] congregation formed 23 October 1914, reconstituted 6 October 1932, Minutes extant from the reconstitution until 6 May 1957 (original held at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary archives, Pittsburgh [Minutes of the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church [Pittsburgh], [hereafter Synod RPCNA Minutes].
- A schismatic Eastern Presbytery was formed in 1859. For these two presbyteries, see Eldon Hay, The Chignecto Covenanters: A Regional History of Reformed Presbyterianism in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 1827-1905 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).
- 3. Eldon Hay, "The Reformed Presbyterians of Quebec," *The Canadian Society of Presbyterian History* (1996): 10-33.
- 4. Eldon Hay, "Ottawa Valley Covenanters," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1993): 57-79.
- 5. A couple of families came from Ontario to the Content/Delburne, Alberta, congregation. The Waddells came from the Ramsey/Almonte congregation: "My dad and mother [Robert and Mary Waddell] decided to come to this area [Delburne in 1907] because several residents were planning to establish a Reform[ed] Presbyterian Church... which they were members of in Ontario" (Ken Waddell, "Waddell, Robert and Mary," in *Through the Years: A Sociological History of Ardley, Delburne and Lousana Districts*, eds. Diane Lewis and John Pengelly [Delburne, AB: History Book Committee, Anthony Henday Historical Society, 1980], 958). The Brodies, from the Lochiel congregation, came to Delburne at approximately the same time ("Brodie, Andrew and Alice," *Through the Years*, 902.) There was also a link between the Winnipeg congregation and a New Brunswick Covenanter pastor-author (see notes 55 and 56 below).
- 6. Rev. James McCune (1871-1924) "was installed over the Barnesville, New Brunswick, congregation July 7, 1910, remaining in the charge only until 28 November 1911 . . . He was installed pastor of the Almonte, ON, congregation on 10 December 1914, and released 14 September 1920 . . . " (Owen F. Thompson, Sketches of the Ministers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America 1888-1930 [Blanchard, Ohio: By the author, 1920], 200-201). For several months before his death, McCune "had served as stated supply at Regina." He was buried in Canada: "soon after the conclusion of the [funeral] services, the widow, Mrs. Grace Morrow McCune . . . left with the body to lay it away in St. John, NB, the home city of Mrs. McCune, and twenty miles from Barnesville, where James McCune was pastor for some years (James Burt Wilson, "The Home-Coming and the Home-Going of James McCune," Christian Nation, 27 August 1924, 4-5).

7. See "From Sea to Sea: The R[eformed] P[resbyterian] C[hurch of N[orth] A[merica] at Work in Canada," *Covenanter Witness* 104 (November 1988): 1-9.

- 8. St. Lazare, QC: "Report of St. Lawrence Presbytery," *RPCNA Synod Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1997), 28.
- W.M. Glasgow, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America (Baltimore: Hill and Harvey, 1888), 349.
- 10. See Mary Morrow, "Lake Reno R.P. Church: And Our Fathers Have Told," n.d.; Joseph Clark Ewing, "Covenanter History in Pope County, Minnesota," 1949; "Charter Members [and others] of Lake Reno Congregation," n.d. (originals in Pope County Historical Society and Museum, Glenwood, MN).
- 11. See Eldon Hay, "The Covenanters in Alberta," *Historical Papers: Canadian Society of Church History* (1994): 165-191. This article deals chiefly with the Content/Delburne congregation.
- 12. T.M. Slater, "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 5 July 1911, 10. Slater spent a short time in Regina in early 1911.
- 13. Robert M. More, Jr., *Aurora Borealis: A History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Canada (Covenanter) 1820-1967* (Pittsburgh: Board of Education and Publication, 1967), 47.
- 14. "In Memoriam. Minute on the Death of James Smith Bell, adopted by Regina Session 13 May 1912," *Christian Nation*, 29 May 1912, 15.
- 15. He was fatally injured by a bull ("[Death of James Bell]," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1912, 10).
- 16. "Report of the Pacific Coast Presbytery," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1913), 32.
- 17. Rev. James Gray Reed (1869-1959) "was installed pastor over the Regina, SK, Canada, congregation 9 May 1913, and released from Regina 1 May 1915 . . . From May 1915, to December 1918, he was in Condie, SK, Canada" (Thompson, *Sketches*, 270). Rev. John Calvin Boyd French (1858-1921) "was installed on 4 August 1916; on 27 May 1919, he resigned from this [Regina] charge" (Thompson, *Sketches*, 119). Although visited by many ministers, French was the last duly installed pastor in Regina; though James McCune served as Stated Supply for several months before his death in 1924.
- 18. James McCune, "Regina, Canada," Christian Nation, 28 November 1923, 11.

- 19. "Report of the Pacific Presbytery," Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1915), 44.
- 20. "[Death of] S.R. McKelvey," Covenanter Witness, 26 April 1950, 271.
- For instance, the opening of the new church building in Winnipeg in 1917 (S.R. M[cKelvey], "Winnipeg, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 28 March 1917, 8).
- William Cochran Allen, "Winnipeg, Man.," Christian Nation, 9 November 1910, 11.
- 23. Letter to author, 24 May 1994, by Rev. J. Harvey Bishop. Bishop (ca. 1909) conducted services in the Winnipeg RP church from "the autumn of 1847 to April of 1949." Living in Winnipeg, Bishop is now a minister of The Presbyterian Church in Canada.
- 24. "Report of the Committee on Discipline," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1917), 127.
- 25. Content/Delburne and Regina had belonged to the Colorado Presbytery, until the establishing of the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1912.
- 26. Henderson's City of Regina Directory has the following listing for the "Reformed Presbyterian Mission":
 - 1911-1912: west side of Robinson St. N. near corner of 9th Avenue. The Reverend B.M. Sharp, pastor.
 - 1913-1916/1917: same location, The Reverend J.G. Reed, pastor.
 - 1918-1920: same location, The Reverend J.C. French, pastor.
 - 1921-1922: same location, no pastor is listed.
 - 1923-1925: same location, The Reverend John [sic: James] McCune, pastor.
 - 1926-1927: no listing.
 - 1928-1931: address as 1580 Robinson St. N; no pastor listed.
- 27. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," Regina, 9 and 10 October 1917.
- 28. "[Report of] The Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1918), 24.
- "J.C. French and H.G. McConaughy were transferred to Ohio Presbytery, Mr. French on December 15th, and Mr. McConaughy on November 20th, 1919" ("Report of the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh: 1920], 34).
- 30. "Regina, Canada," Christian Nation, 28 November 1923, 11.

31. See the account of the one in Regina: "Regina, Canada," *Christian Nation*, 12 January 1921, 9.

- 32. "Winnipeg, C.Y.P.U.," Covenanter Witness, 4 February 1931, 76.
- 33. J.C. French, "In the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Christian Nation*, 8 May 1918, 10. Before the founding of the presbytery, "Covenanter church services" had been held in Edmonton "during the month of December [1916]" and "were well attended by all our members there. There were also a number of other interested ones present" ("Edmonton, Alberta," *Christian Nation*, 10 January 1917, 10.
- 34. In pre-presbytery times, Rev. William John McKnight (1865-1951) had successfully conducted services at Tyvan: see W.J. McKnight, "The Work in Canada," *Christian Nation*, 29 June 1910, 6. And Rev. James Gray Reed (1869-1959) was in Condie, Saskatchewan, "from May 1915 to December 1918" (Thompson, *Sketches*, 270).
- 35. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 20 May 1931.
- 36. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 27 May 1930.
- 37. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 20 May 1931.
- 38. "Statistics of Central Canada Presbytery for the year ending April, 1918," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1918), 109.
- 39. "Statistics of Central Canada Presbytery for Year Ending March 31, 1928," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1928), 149.
- 40. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 9 June 1927.
- 41. Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1914), 167.
- 42. For this entire section, I am indebted to S.R. McKelvey, "An Appeal by the Winnipeg Session to have the Oath of Allegiance Changed," *Christian Nation*, 29 May 1918, 10.
- 43. Boone is not mentioned in John W. Pritchard's *Soldiers of the [Covenanter] Church* (New York: Christian Nation Publishing Co., 1919).
- 44. Pritchard, Soldiers, 67.
- 45. Pritchard, Soldiers, 68-69.
- 46. Andrew Brody [sic: Brodie] (Pritchard, Soldiers, 35); Alva L. Taylor (Pritchard, Soldiers, 49) and Lester T. Taylor (Pritchard, Soldiers, 50).

- Charles Chambers (Pritchard, Soldiers, 36); John Lowry French (Pritchard, Soldiers, 39); Howard McA. Reed (Pritchard, Soldiers, 47 and 182); and James Robinson (Pritchard, Soldiers, 48).
- 48. Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1914), 167.
- 49. Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1916), 124.
- 50. Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1914), 167.
- 51. "I knew . . . Andrew Alexander, as he was my father. We moved from Iowa to Regina in March 1912. He became an elder in 1914 and continued in that capacity till we moved to Greeley, Colorado in 1919. He lived here till his decease . . . [16] April 1951" (letter to author, 30 May 1994, from Mrs. Geneva E. Elliott, Greeley, CO).
- 52. "In reporting speeches we do not attempt to do more than give key sentences, striking statements, and as accurately as possible the speaker's meaning. But we noticed that Mr. Alexander had ably prepared a written address, and for this reason and because of the importance of the subject, we requested the manuscript of his talk, which is here produced in full" (Editor's introduction, "Our Position on Voting in Canada," *Christian Nation*, 4 July 1917, 5).
- 53. "Our Position on Voting in Canada," Christian Nation, 4 July 1917, 5-6.
- 54. "Delburne Session Minutes," 27 December 1917.
- 55. James Reid Lawson (1820-1891), had been pastor of the Barnesville, NB, congregation. The first edition of his book, Elective Franchise; or, Why Reformed Presbyterians Do Not Vote At Parliamentary And Municipal Elections was published in Saint John, NB, 1878, CIHM 28415. The second edition, The British Elective Franchise: Or, Why Reformed Presbyterians Do Not Vote At Political Elections was published by the authority of the Reformed Presbytery of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia in Saint John, NB, 1884, CIHM 25598.
- 56. This third, abridged edition (probably shortened from the first edition), published in Winnipeg, is undated, but must come some time between 1914, when McKelvey is known to be in Winnipeg, and 1950, when McKelvey died.
- 57. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 24 December 1931.
- 58. The matter first surfaced at the Synod in 1932 where it took up a great deal of time (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1932], 117-121).

 Alvin W. Smith, Covenanter Ministers 1930-1963 (Pittsburgh: By the author, 1964), 175.

- 60. "Winnipeg Session Minutes," 7 October 1932. Perhaps Reade also held the pre-1932 session minutes, which are now lost.
- 61. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 24 December 1931.
- 62. "Report of the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* (Pittsburgh, 1929), 25.
- 63. "Central Canada Presbytery Minutes," 2 August 1934.
- 64. Synod RPCNA Minutes (Pittsburgh, 1934), 40.
- 65. Regina had become a Mission Station in 1929 ("Report of the Presbytery of Central Canada," *Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1929], 29); it is listed for the last time in the statistics of the Central Canada Presbytery in 1933 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1933], 163).
- 66. Delburne last appeared in the statistical rolls of the Pacific Coast Presbytery in 1941 (*Synod RPCNA Minutes* [Pittsburgh, 1941], 155).
- 67. Lake Reno became a Mission Station in 1978, and was disorganized in 1980 (Synod RPCNA Minutes [Pittsburgh, 1980], 80).
- 68. When the Central Canada presbytery dissolved, Winnipeg had both a Reformed Presbyterian congregation and a Mission Station. In 1944, the Winnipeg Mission Station was dissolved at the meeting of [Iowa] Presbytery (Synod RPCNA Minutes [Pittsburgh, 1944], 76-77). The Winnipeg congregation lingered longer, itself becoming a Mission Station in 1957 (Synod RPCNA Minutes [Pittsburgh 1957], 112). It finally disappeared completely in the mid-1960s, being listed for the last time in the statistics of Iowa Presbytery in 1967 (Synod RPCNA Minutes [Pittsburgh, 1967], 163).