St. James' Anglican Church

Ingersoll, Ontario

A History

by

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THE BEGINNING: MISSIONARIES

The first two Anglican ministers to take up permanent residence in Oxford County arrived in 1834. They were missionaries, sent by Great Britain's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPGFP) as part of a concerted effort to increase the Anglican presence in the still sparsely settled colony of Upper Canada.[1]

The SPGFP was the oldest and most influential missionary society in Great Britain. It had been established in 1701, with a royal charter and a powerful membership.[2] The two new missionaries to Oxford County were receiving their salaries directly from the Society, of course. In its turn, the SPGFP was receiving most of its funding directly from the British government. It was, in effect, an outreach arm of government.

These new charges must have seemed exceedingly remote to the two missionaries. This was the age of sail. King William IV was still on the throne of England: the beginning of the long Victorian era was still three years in the future. It would have taken them months of travel to cross the Atlantic by sailing ship, and then to make their way up the long St. Lawrence River from Quebec City to Kingston. From there they would have sailed across Lake Ontario to Ancaster at the western end of the lake. And from there a long and tedious stagecoach ride would have taken them to their destinations.[3]

Once they arrived, these missionaries were very much on their own. Their Bishop, the only Anglican Bishop for all of Upper and Lower Canada (i.e. Ontario and Quebec) was located far away in Quebec City.

On the other hand, this remote and sparsely populated land could not have seemed that foreign. These were hardly the "foreign parts" of the Society's name. From the beginning the British government had done its very best to ensure that this far-away colony was, in fact, an exact replica of England. The missionaries' very presence was a part of that effort.

The effort had begun with the Constitutional Act (often called the Canada Act) of 1791. The British government at the time was still smarting from the loss of the thirteen American colonies, which had broken away (it felt) because they had lost their essentially English character. It was very determined that this wouldn't happen again in the frontier colony of Upper Canada. But how does one define "essentially English"? The government's analysis was very clear on this. There were four essential elements: the crown, an aristocracy, a parliament, and the established Church of England – the Anglican Church.

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1 It was also called Canada West and, after Confederation, it would become the province of Ontario.

2 The Archbishop of Canterbury was president, and the ranks were full of bishops and peers.

3 That stagecoach ride, slow and ponderous though it may have been, was still a significant – and recent – advance in speed and comfort. In 1834 it had only been in existence for six years.

Accordingly, the Act had placed a Lieutenant-Governor in charge of the colony, as the representative of royal power. That was the first step. Since there was no hereditary aristocracy, one had to be created. So the Act decreed that a key group of legislators, the Executive Council, were to be chosen for life from among the wealthiest and most socially prominent citizens of the colony.[4] That was the second step. Next, the Act had created a Legislative Council – an equivalent of the House of Commons, whose elected members could represent public opinion and thus ensure popular support for tax bills.[5] That completed the first three of the essential elements.

Finally – and this was thought to be crucially important – the Act had provided for an "official" or "established" church, financially supported by the government. This would be the firm moral foundation on which the entire social structure could rest. As Britain's leaders at the time saw it, the Church of England was the basis of England's social stability: an established church in Upper Canada would make its society just as stable. In order to provide the funds to support this established church indefinitely, the Act set aside a seventh of the land in the province as "Clergy Reserves." Revenues from this land were meant to provide ample funds to support the ongoing work of the established church into the indefinite future.

In other words, the missionaries had traveled far, but they were still in England. They were there to help the government in its determination to give this young colony a firmly Anglican character. They could expect a society, an established church, and a privileged style of life, very similar to what they had always known. They could count on the full support – financial and moral – of the British government, the local colonial government, and the SPGFP.

THE OXFORD MISSION

One of the two Anglican missionaries, the Reverend William Bettridge, began his work in Woodstock, which was then a very new settlement. The other, the Reverend John M. Rothwell (an Irishman) was assigned to the much older, and somewhat larger, village of Oxford.

The little settlement of Oxford was nearly as old as Upper Canada itself. The first Lieutenant-Governor, John Graves Simcoe, had arrived in 1793 with a very clear vision of how he was going to develop his infant, practically unpopulated colony. He was sure that vast numbers of the citizens of the still new United States of America were secret Loyalists, eagerly awaiting an opportunity to return to their former allegiance. If offered land, they would come. Accordingly, one of his first acts after his arrival had been to issue a proclamation, offering vast tracts of land to anyone who would bring in these

[4] There was even the suggestion that membership in this group could become hereditary, making it exactly the same as the House of Lords.

[5] But its power was carefully limited so that democratic leanings would not get out of control. In the British government's analysis, the primary cause of the American Revolutionary War had been an "excess of democracy" in the Thirteen Colonies.

eager settlers, build bridges and roads, and develop towns. One man who had taken him up on his offer was Thomas Ingersoll, a fifth generation American from Massachusetts. Ingersoll had set out to build his settlement at the place where the old Indian trail running west from Ancaster to Detroit met the Thames River. The settlement-to-be had been given the name "Oxford".

Alas, the settlers hadn't come – or at least, not in any significant numbers. By 1796 Simcoe had resigned and gone home, in ill health and bitterly disappointed by the failure of his plan. Thomas Ingersoll, in his turn, had lost his huge land grant because of failure to fulfill the terms of his contract. He even lost his own 200 acre home farm. But a tiny settlement survived. Thomas Ingersoll's sons, Charles and James, later bought back their father's farm at a sheriff's sale, and continued his work.

By 1834 Oxford had been growing for 41 years, but very slowly. It still contained fewer than 1,000 people. To the west the much younger London had only recently attained the 1,000 people needed to be made a separate parliamentary riding.[6] To the east the tiny settlement of Woodstock had just become large enough to be given the dignity of its own post office. In fact, all of Oxford County had a mere 2,500 residents. This was still an unpopulated land.

In 1835, writing a bold "Missionary, SPGFP" on the title page, the Reverend Rothwell opened a "Registry of Births Marriages and Deaths" for his "Mission of Oxford W.C. [i.e. West Canada]". The first entry in his Registry is both professional and personal. It records the birth on May 23, 1835 of a son, Hugh, to John Rothwell, Missionary, and his wife Elizabeth.

Reverend Rothwell's home base was the little Oxford settlement, but his area of responsibility encompassed all of the surrounding country. Since there was no church building, he began to hold Anglican services in the local school house, situated on a site that is now the extreme north-east corner of the present Victory Memorial school grounds on Thames Street.

THE END OF ENTITLEMENT

In the England of the early nineteenth century Anglican ministers were gentlemen of the upper class, financially supported by the state and therefore independent in their actions. As representatives of an established church they were entitled to a standard of living, and a freedom from congregational influence or control, which ministers of other denominations did not have. They could expect to direct – rather than merely guide, influence, or work with – their parishioners. It was an attitude, a management style, which could cause grave problems if the state of entitlement were to be lost. And it was lost.

[6] London had grown rapidly because it had been chosen as the administrative center for the vast London District, which then covered most of central Western Ontario.

For a little while after their arrival it must have seemed to the Reverend John M. Rothwell and his family that all was well. He was granted 200 acres of farm land to the north-east of Oxford Village by the provincial authorities.[7] The long voyage was over, his farm land was free, his salary from the SPGFP was assured, and a local government endowment for his rectory was in the offing.[8]

Yet these were changing, and deeply unsettling, times. Two years before, the British government had passed an act which provided religious equality for Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters. It was the thin edge of a transforming wedge. In 1834, even as the Reverend Rothwell was en route to his new charge, the British government was negotiating an end to its annual financial grant to the SPGFP, the missionary society which was paying his salary. At the same time, in Upper Canada a weekly newspaper (the *Christian Guardian*) was editorially demanding a complete separation between church and state, and an organization known as the Friends of Religious Liberty was passionately arguing that all clergymen, of every denomination, should be supported voluntarily by their adherents. The social climate that had allowed and supported an established church – both in Great Britain and in Upper Canada – was changing fast.

Government support for the SPGFP did not end right away, but it was scaled back. The immediate result of declining governmental support was that, virtually overnight, the salaries of all SPGFP missionaries dropped by 50 percent, to £100 per year. The Anglican clergymen of Upper Canada, quite understandably, reacted with shock and horror. Banding together, they sent an appeal (or "memorial") to the British Colonial Secretary, complaining bitterly that they would never have come to Upper Canada if they had realized their livelihood was to be so precarious. They also warned that the new financial arrangements would destroy their social status by forcing them to dismiss their servants and by making them dependent on the laity.

It was all too true. Here, in stark terms, was the great issue to be faced by the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century. It had to make the difficult transition from an established church – which meant government support, government funding, financial independence and social status – to a self-sustaining church, dependent on the financial contributions of its members, in a society which insisted upon a clear separation between church and state. The process would take decades to fully develop, and would be resisted tenaciously by church leaders, but it proved to be unstoppable.

The transition was complicated, rather than eased, by the fact that there was a simultaneous population explosion in Upper Canada. Beginning slowly in the 1820s, and building steadily into massive waves throughout the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, a variety of government-supported schemes for assisted emigration were divesting the British Isles of

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[7] This was the standard allotment of land to a new settler. As an Anglican minister, however, he would have received the land free of charge out of the Clergy Reserves.

[8] In 1836 the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada set up fifty-four rectories as endowments for Anglican churchmen. Since there were no more than 68 Anglican clergymen in the province at the time, it is highly probable that he received one of these endowments.

their surplus population. It has been called "the western world's greatest folk movement of modern times." By 1839 Britain was sending out 20,000 to 60,000 emigrants annually. They were heading for a variety of colonial destinations, of course, but Upper Canada was receiving its fair share.

For the Anglican Church in Upper Canada, the results were mixed. The sudden influx of British people provided ready-made congregations, and a strong impetus for the building of churches and new dioceses. But Anglican immigrants also took it for granted that their church, with its long history of establishment and entitlement, had abundant financial resources without their voluntary contributions. Although government support was steadily shrinking, it was hard to convince church members of the need to accept a financial burden which had never been theirs in the past. Simultaneously, it was hard for Anglican ministers to adapt to a new management style in which much of their freedom of action – in financial matters, at least – was curtailed. As a result there were misunderstandings and financial crises. Certainly there would be problems within the parish of Oxford.

THE DIOCESE OF TORONTO, AND THE FIRST ST. JAMES'

In 1839, responding to the needs of this growing population, a new Anglican Diocese of Toronto was formed. The first Bishop, John Strachan, was a deeply conservative man, and a member of the privileged "Family Compact" clique which was then ruling the province. For decades he fiercely and tenaciously fought the gradual disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Upper Canada which was then taking place.

Yet he also was capable of facing up to the realities of a changing situation. One of his first actions was to make it clear that in the future no clergyman would be assigned to a parish in his diocese until the congregation of that parish had agreed to build a parsonage, to set aside four to six acres for a church site and cemetery, and to supplement the basic SPGFP stipend of £100 per year with at least £50 in voluntary contributions. Oxford was one of the areas in his charge. Strachan was pushing it – and his other parishes – toward the building of a church and the acceptance of some financial responsibilities.

The parish of Oxford responded. On September 3, 1840 James Ingersoll, younger son of the founder of Oxford Village, deeded the parcel of land between the present Frances, King, Albert and Earl Streets to John Rothwell, William Holcroft, Peter Carroll, and George Walker Marsh for the token sum of five shillings. This would be the property for the first St. James church, with its adjacent cemetery. George Walker Marsh, who was later a minister in the parish, was probably acting as the Diocesan representative for the transaction. John Rothwell was the parish's resident minister, of course, and almost certainly William Holcroft and Peter Carroll were his church wardens.

There is no record of how the money was raised to pay for a church building. Following the usual custom of the time, it is likely that there were a variety of sources for the funds

– the SPGFP and other missionary societies in Great Britain, the local government (using funds from the Clergy Reserves as well as other government sources) and even the British government. Possibly some money came from the Church Society, a service organization introduced in 1842 by Bishop Strachan.[9] It is extremely unlikely that the local congregation contributed more than a small portion of the total building cost. At the time, for the colony's missionary churches, that just wasn't financially possible.

Neither is there a record of who designed and built the church, or when it was opened. However, "in an extremely short time" (to quote from the history written for the fiftieth anniversary of the parish) a wood frame church was constructed on the brow of a hill, facing north toward King Street. There were sheds on the east side, burying grounds on the west side, and wooden steps leading up to the entrance. Inside there were three aisles, box pews, and a very large box stove for heating purposes. The Vestry was at the south end of the church. A melodeon, which had been donated by Mrs. Thomas Brown and her daughter, provided music from the gallery or organ-loft. The name "Thomas Brown" plays a large part in the history of the parish for the next forty years or so.

Many years later, in 1952, minutes for a Board of Management meeting mention the donation (by Mrs. E.C. Grimes) of "a beautiful framed painting of the first St. James' church". This painting is now hanging in an entrance hall at the back of the church.

THE EARLY VESTRY MEETINGS

The Anglican Vestry, which has something of the character of a representative legislature, is a very ancient body reaching far back into English history. But the need for each colonial parish to have an annual Vestry meeting, and the Vestry's responsibilities as they were to apply in the Anglican Church of Upper Canada, were unclear until first spelled out in detail in a provincial act of 1841.

The Act said that in Upper Canada a parish's Vestry would handle all of the parish's financial and administrative matters. It had to raise money for maintenance of the church buildings, for cleaning and heating, for prayer books and sacramental wine. Membership in the Vestry was restricted to men, of course,[10] and among men to pew-holders – which implied a financial qualification, for the principal means of raising money in the colonial church was through pew rents. [11]

In spite of the 1841 legal requirement, there is no record of a meeting for St. James' church before 1847. Possibly the records for meetings between 1841 and 1847 were

[9] The Church Society was composed of wealthy and prominent citizens of the province. Its sole purpose was to support the work of the Anglican Church.

[10] Women didn't have the vote. In fact, they had no legal status at all.

[11] Several rows at the back of a church were always kept free for visitors and for those in the congregation who could not pay for a pew.

informally kept, or simply lost. But in the first surviving minutes, for the Annual Vestry of 1847, it is recorded that James Ingersoll, son of the village's founder, is one of the wardens, and the Reverend Henry Revell has succeeded John Rothwell as minister.

The minutes for all of the early Annual Vestries are exceedingly brief. For the first few years only six or seven men were annually in attendance. This pattern was typical for churches throughout the province, in spite of the fact that *all* pew-holders were eligible to attend. It is a curious fact, reflecting a very English class-consciousness, that parishes were content to leave all financial and business affairs in the hands of a few prominent members. Nobody seems to have protested about a lack of representation in the decision-making process.

Until shortly after World War I, the Annual Vestry meeting was always held on Easter Monday. This made it virtually impossible to complete all of the necessary business of the parish during a single meeting. One of the principal items of business each year was to elect auditors for the church's financial records. Since the financial year did not end until the end of April, there was usually one – and often two or more – Special Vestry meetings held a week or two after the Annual Vestry before the financial records had been audited and approved, a budget had been set, and any other necessary business matters were complete.

FINANCIAL WOES

In 1852 the Oxford settlement was officially incorporated as a village, under the name "Ingersoll" in honour of its founder. The population at incorporation had only increased to about 1,200 people.[12]

A year later, everything changed. The Great Western Railway reached Ingersoll, giving it an efficient means of communication with the outside world and turning it almost overnight into a busy center for shipping lumber and agricultural products. Over the next eighteen years Ingersoll's population almost quadrupled, to 4,022 in 1871. In the midst of this population boom, in 1867, Confederation turned a collection of separate British colonies in North America into a nation, Canada. It must have been a time of great optimism. Prosperity was either present, or in sight.

Yet 1853, the year of the railroad, is also the year in which an important theme first appears in the Annual Vestry minutes of St. James' parish. "Pews for which the past year's rent still remains unpaid are to be declared vacant" state the minutes emphatically. This signaled financial troubles, because pew rents were the principle means of raising revenue for the expenses of the church. But it's clear, from the frequent reiteration of this decision in subsequent years, that they *weren't* declared vacant, either then or later.

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[12] John Galliford, an active member of St. James' parish, became the first reeve. Two others of the five-member Council (W.A Rumsey and Thomas Brown) were also Anglicans.

The church was running a deficit. An apparent remedy was introduced in the following year. The minutes of the Annual Vestry confidently proclaimed that the deficit in church revenues would be made up by "voluntary subscription". That is, those who were willing and able to do so would contribute the necessary funds. This too would be tried over and over again in years to come. Unfortunately this remedy didn't work either, and so in 1855 a third theme was introduced. Pew rents would be raised. That year the cost for renting any of the pews in the three rows at the front of the church was set at fourteen dollars per year. This went down in two dollar increments, as sections of rows ran back through the church, ending at eight dollars per year for the rows immediately in front of the free rows at the very back of the church.

The wardens were facing a social dilemma. In the class-conscious English society that the local church was emulating, where one sat in church mirrored one's long established social status. But in a frontier society, social status was more fluid, and subject to the twists and turns of financial fortune. No doubt ambitions were high, and parishioners wanted to be seen to be more successful than they really were. In spite of their good intentions, the money was probably hard to find when the time came to pay. And also, the Anglican Church – still "semi-established" – didn't need the money all that badly, did it? In the end, it always proved to be too difficult a task for wardens to insist that fellow churchgoers pay up, or move back, or even suffer the embarrassment of being moved all the way back to the unallocated free rows. The money didn't come in.

The parish of St. James', in the growing village of Ingersoll, struggled with its money problems throughout the 1850s. Then, in 1861, the second problem of the disestablishment years – a clergy accustomed to independent decision-making – pushed the financial status of the parish to the breaking point.

The parish's fourth minister, the Reverend Johnstone Vicars, had been appointed just the year before. He was almost certainly English, and accustomed to running his own show. Probably he took the actions that he did in all innocence. But in his first year he rashly authorized a whole series of expenditures without the knowledge or support of his wardens.

The minutes of the Annual Vestry for 1861 breathe alarm – even panic. There are references to work that has been done on the church, and to a fence for the churchyard and – most bitterly resented – to money spent on the Rectory. "The Vestry disapproves of the manner in which debts have been incurred without the authority of Vestry." There is a flurry of motions – some withdrawn – all designed to cut the expenses of the parish to the bone. A committee is appointed to examine all debts, and determine which ones are legitimate.

It is here that the name of Thomas Brown begins to stand out. Like Thomas Ingersoll, the town's founder, he was a Massachusetts man. Unlike Thomas Ingersoll, all of his business ventures had prospered. He was the owner of both a tannery and a foundry, and a member of the village Council. Clearly he was highly respected as a man of influence, with considerable financial resources at his personal command. As subsequent events

would show, he had drive, determination, abundant self-confidence, and perhaps a hint of deviousness. He now begins to play an important role in all of the parish's financial affairs. He is the first person named to the committee which is set up to review the parish's financial records. His name is prominent in every financial matter over the next several years.

THE DIOCESE OF HURON

The Diocese of Huron had been created just a few years before, in 1857, with the Right Reverend Benjamin Cronyn as its first bishop. The financial woes of St. James' parish in Ingersoll must have been among the first crises that he had to address. Between 1861 and 1864, as the situation dragged on without significant improvement, considerable animosity developed between Reverend Johnstone Vicars and at least some of his parishioners. There were several attempts by Annual Vestries to cut his salary, and just as frequently appeals for intervention were made to the Bishop by both the minister and his wardens.

By the time that the Annual Vestry meeting was held on Easter Monday of 1864 affairs had reached a boiling point. Remarkably, about 50 men (instead of the usual 6 or 7) turned out for what was obviously going to be an explosive meeting. After all of the correspondence to and from the Bishop had been produced and read, a shattering motion was put on the floor for debate. It proposed that "in consequence of so great a feeling of dissatisfaction existing in this vestry with the present incumbent of St. James' Church Ingersoll, and with a view for the harmony hereafter and prosperity of the Church, the Rev. Mr. Vicars be requested to exercise his Christian disposition and feeling by resigning his charge as such incumbent." The debate must have been hot and heavy. The vote was close. A total of 24 people voted for the motion, while 22 voted against.

The Reverend Mr. Vicars, placed in an impossible position, resigned. At a flurry of subsequent meetings there were motions to declare the mission vacant, to rent out the Rectory, and to shut up the church building until a successor had been appointed by the Bishop. But it never quite came to that. Someone – perhaps the unhappy Reverend Vicars – continued to keep things going for the next several months. Finally, in mid June 1864, Bishop Cronyn himself arrived to conduct a service at St. James'. Thereafter the emotional turmoil, as reflected in the minutes of the continuing sequence of Special Vestry meetings, suddenly ceased. Yet the situation was still full of difficulties, and the future must have seemed bleak at best.

On June 28, 1864 – only a week after the Bishop's visit – Thomas Brown suddenly put forward a radical motion. Here was a Vestry struggling in a morass of financial woes. The church building was in poor repair. The parish was in some danger of closing down completely. Yet, to a discouraged group of men at still another Special Vestry, Thomas Brown suddenly proposed that a Building Committee should be asked to investigate "the propriety of removing this [wood frame church] building and erecting in its place a good

permanent brick building, thereby saving a large outlay in repairs on this [building] which would be necessary in order to make it comfortable."

He must have been a very influential man to be able to gather support for such a forward looking idea at such a difficult time. The motion passed, but the building of a new church must have seemed like a forlorn hope. Certainly the long series of meetings which tried to cope with the ongoing financial problems, throughout the following fall and winter, ignored the issue entirely.

BUILDING THE NEW ST. JAMES' CHURCH

Finally the dark period ended. Sometime in late 1864 or early 1865 the Reverend Canon J. Perrott Hincks became temporary Rector at St. James'. His presence made a huge and immediate difference. The panic in the Special Vestry minutes subsided. The despondency disappeared. Obviously he was a man who could inspire confidence. The minutes from his first Annual Vestry meeting expressed the congregation's "high appreciation of his labours and ministrations amongst them" and requested that he apply to the Bishop for a permanent appointment. He did so, and would be the Rector at St. James' for the next twelve years.

The Reverend Canon Hincks was an Irishman from Killyleigh, Ireland, with architectural training in his background. That made him the perfect person to further Thomas Brown's dream of a new church building. The two became instant partners in a building campaign. On October 18, 1865, just half a year after that first Annual Vestry, Reverend Canon Hincks called a Special Vestry "to take into consideration the building of a new church". After such a turbulent time it still must have seemed like a pipe dream to most of the congregation. But Thomas Brown and the minister were obviously a persuasive team. Brown successfully put forward a motion establishing a committee of six persons (of which he was one) "to question what means can be obtained and the next steps to be taken as to the building of a new church." This topic would dominate all Vestry meetings for the next several years.

It is at least arguable that Thomas Brown personally chose the site for the new St. James' Church. The obvious site would have been at or near the site of the existing church, on the hill, facing King Street. Yet he – and perhaps others – had other ideas. At still another Special Vestry meeting he put forward a motion that the site of the new church should be decided by a vote, to be carried out under special rules. Every person who contributed money toward the building of the new church would be entitled to one vote for every five dollars contributed. In effect, a very large contributor could more or less make the decision. Was anyone else in a position to dominate with dollars? At any rate, a vote carried out at the Annual Vestry of 1867, using these rules, decided that the site for the new church would be "off the hill" – i.e. the new church would not be in the existing church's location.

At a follow-up meeting, Thomas Brown moved the establishment of a Building Committee "for the purpose of procuring an eligible site for the Church [and] to take all necessary steps for building the same." The committee had eight members, with the minister and the wardens being *ex officio* additions. Once again, Thomas Brown was one of the members.

At the Annual Vestry of 1868 there were motions approving the plans for the new church building, which were modeled on those of "Christ Church London", and directing the Building Committee "to proceed with the building of the new church with as little delay as possible."[13] The brief history which was written for the fiftieth anniversary of the parish says that the church was largely planned by the Rev. Canon Hincks himself, that his design was for "an imposing structure of Gothic and Norman architecture", and that the contractors for the church were the Christopher Brothers.

The following year Thomas Brown, treasurer for the Building Committee, presented his accounts for the building of the church. About $2,300 had been raised for the building fund. The total cost had been a little over $4,900 – including $345 for a new organ. The difference had been picked up by Thomas Brown himself, as a loan to the church.

The amounts are deceptive, because they mean so little in contemporary, twenty-first century terms. The fact is that almost half of the money required to build a large new church building had been raised by a little parish which had recently been in deep financial trouble. That is a remarkable achievement in any era. Even more remarkably one man, Thomas Brown, had paid for the other half. It takes a man with very deep pockets to pay half of the cost of a large church building.

At the Annual Vestry on April 18, 1870 the wardens congratulated the entire congregation, "on this their first meeting in their new church" for their success in completing this "beautiful and symmetrical edifice". The entire Building Committee was thanked for its efforts, but special thanks were extended "to Mr. Thomas Brown whose unwearied exertions and pecuniary assistance have under God been the means of carrying it on to its present state of almost completion."

PAYING FOR A NEW CHURCH

Of course, the portion of the total cost which had been picked up by Thomas Brown had been a loan, not a gift. So the final reckoning was yet to come. The building was opened in 1870, but all of the work – and all of the bills – weren't finalized for another two years. At the Annual Vestry on Easter Monday of 1872 the Building Committee, "having closed its labors, and submitted to the Vestry a statement of the monies received and expended in the purchase of land, erection of building, fencing, etc.", reported that the outstanding debt on the construction was $3,918.62. The Vestry then approved a motion that it would assume this debt, which was being carried by Thomas Brown, and that it would pay him

[13] Christ Church in London Ontario was built in 1863. It is almost certainly the model for St. James'.

interest at the rate of 8 percent. A committee was established to solicit funds, in the cheerful expectation "that the whole debt will, in a short time be discharged".

But it wasn't. The following January Reverend Hincks reported sorrowfully to a Special Vestry that, because pew rents were coming in so slowly, "his stipend had been but irregularly paid, thereby embarrassing him considerably". Church finances had returned to the same troubled state they had shown before the euphoria of the building years.

Reverend Hincks had a solution to propose. Since it seemed clear that pew rentals were not the answer to the problem of church finances, he wanted the Vestry to consider "the free pew system, which was being so generally adopted throughout this continent and in England". He was stating his confidence in a system of total dependence on free will offerings, collected at church services. The Vestry ignored him. Its own short term answer to the money problem was to raise pew rents by twenty percent. That achieved nothing. The debt continued to increase. It went on increasing for another three years, slowly eroding confidence once again. Then, suddenly, everything changed.

In 1874 Mr. William H. Eakins was in his second year of service as one of the churchwardens. By then his wife, Agnes F. Eakins, had no doubt listened patiently to many worried reports from him on the church's financial problems. Like the other men of the parish, he was already fully employed just earning a living. There was little enough time to devote to the church's business affairs. Similarly, there was little that she could do but listen. Or was that all?

Sometime early in 1874 this remarkable woman decided that it was time for her to take charge. She became, in effect, a self-appointed, one-woman, fund-raising committee. And, as a result of her efforts, the money started to come in. The Annual Vestry minutes for the Easter Monday meeting of 1874 note, with pleased surprise, that her efforts "have been attended with most signal success". They thank her "for her noble and spirited conduct in volunteering, with much painstaking and persevering efforts, to collect funds for the liquidation of the debt", and beg her to continue her good work.

She did. In 1875 she informed the Annual Vestry, by letter, that over half of the debt had been paid, and in the following year a second letter informed the Annual Vestry that "the Church debt is now reduced to $194.51." (Actually, between the time that she wrote the letter and the meeting itself, the debt went down to $19.57.) In effect, it was eliminated.

She must have done it by a determined campaign of personal visits to members of the congregation. This was an age before the automobile, and before the telephone.[14] So it is necessary to picture her setting out each morning, on foot or by horse-drawn carriage, to make a round of morning calls in support of her cause. All of the men would have been at work, of course, so her fundraising campaign must have begun with their wives. Having enlisted the support of the ladies, she may have had to return in the evenings or on weekends to speak directly with their husbands. However it was done, it was surely

[14] Alexander Graham Bell obtained his first patent for the invention of the telephone in 1876. It didn't become common place in the largest of the big American cities until the 1880s.

exhausting work. For over two years she kept up her lone crusade. She must have been both passionately committed and eloquent, for pledges were made and the money came in.

The men of the Vestry were overcome with gratitude. It is also highly likely that they were astonished. This was still the age when men ran everything, including the affairs of the church. Women didn't handle business affairs – but this woman did. The men of the Annual Vestry of 1876, wishing to acknowledge their indebtedness, voted a sum of $100 to be spent on a suitable testimonial to thank Mrs. Eakins for her efforts. At a time when a house and lot could be purchased for one thousand dollars, a gift of one hundred dollars represented a significant amount of money.

In a dignified written reply which was read to an auditing meeting of the Vestry, a week later, Agnes F. Eakins gracefully declined the proposed gift, saying she appreciated "the grateful spirit which prompted that wish; but inasmuch as many of my fellow members in the church were not present on that occasion [i.e. the Annual Vestry], I cannot receive it as their gift." The wording is interesting. There had been seventeen men present at the Annual Vestry, which was actually a pretty good, and pretty representative, turnout for meetings held at the time. But of course there had been no women present, and it must have been through contacts with the women of the church that she had conducted much of her campaign. Was Mrs. Eakins an early feminist, subtly protesting the absence of women in the business affairs of the church?[15]

She remained a highly respected member of the church – indeed, a heroine – for the rest of her days. Sixteen years later, in 1892, the Annual Vestry passed the following motion: "The congregation of St. James church do tender to Mr. Wm. Eakins their heartfelt sympathy in the great loss he has sustained by the death of his beloved wife – for a great many years an ardent worker in the church, always taking a very prominent part in any thing pertaining to its welfare, especially the debt on the church which was successfully carried through by her." The motion had been seconded by Thomas Brown.

With the payment of the debt, the parish went from a missionary status to a full-fledged status. The Deed of Consecration for the church of St. James', Ingersoll, was signed by the Right Reverend Isaac Helmuth, second Bishop of Huron, on the first day of November, 1876.

At this point the Reverend Canon J. Perrott Hincks must have felt that his work in Ingersoll was completed. He tendered his resignation in October, 1877, and early in the following year he moved on to serve elsewhere. But there was now a special link between him and the St. James' parish, because of the church that he had designed and that together they had built. Indeed, the Special Vestry which accepted his resignation noted sadly that it "deeply regrets the severance of the bond that existed between the Rev.

[15] This is the era of the women's suffrage movement in Great Britain. The movement's first petition demanding votes for women had been presented in parliament by John Stuart Mill in 1866. It received scant attention, and less support.

Canon Hincks and the congregation of St. James' Church, as Pastor and people, and they beg to assure him that he carries with him their best wishes for his future welfare". When the Rev. Canon Hincks retired, he and his family returned to Ingersoll. In 1905 pew no. 78 was set apart for the use of Canon Hincks and his family. In 1908 he is listed in the Annual Vestry minutes as the supply preacher for the parish. In the minutes for 1911 it is noted that "a memorial is to be erected to the late Canon Hincks." The parish installed a stained glass window, at the front of the church near the pulpit, in his honour.

Thomas Brown remained a highly respected member of the parish for the rest of his life. When he died in 1901 the Board of Management established a memorial fund in his name.

RELIGIOUS WARS

The parish's next Rector, the Reverend Edward M. Bland, was a High Churchman from England. The parish of St. James' in Ingersoll was definitely Low Church. In fact, the entire diocese was Low Church.[16] This was a recipe for serious trouble. A clash of religious cultures was almost inevitable.

It is somewhat difficult now, in the early twenty-first century, to understand the deeply felt "High Church" and "Low Church" sensibilities of nineteenth century Anglicans. From its beginning in the Protestant Reformation the Church of England had given space to a wide range of belief and practice. However, over the years two general outlooks or parties had emerged. "High" churchmen emphasized the church as such, with its bishops, sacraments, ritual and role as an intermediary between individual humans and their God. For them the liturgy was the essential focus of each service. "Low" churchmen stressed the Bible as religious guide, justification by faith, and personal conversion. For them the center of each service was the sermon. The prayer book was flexible enough to accommodate both points of view. The prescribed form of service left room for many options – for example, on what was to be said or sung, on the presence of a cross or candles, on vestments, and on many points of procedure. Individual churches could accommodate clergymen with either "high" or "low" preferences without undue difficulty.

Then, in the first half of the nineteenth century, the balance was upset. In the early 1830s a group of Oxford University divines, led by John Henry Newman and Richard Hurrell Froude, began publication of the "Tracts for the Times", a series of pamphlets on theological issues. Their Oxford (or Tractarian) Movement was an attempt to purify the established Church of England, taking it back to what they thought were its "authentic" beginnings. For a while it gained enormous popularity, providing a strong impetus toward the High Church point of view. The movement lost much of its impetus when its

[16] Huron College in London Ontario had been founded by Bishop Cronyn in 1863 because he found the teaching at the theological seminary of Trinity College, Toronto, to be unacceptably High Church. He needed his own seminary to provide ministers with Low Church training for the churches in the Huron Diocese.

principal exponent, John Henry Newman, eventually converted to Roman Catholicism, but in the 1870s it was still a potent force.

The problem was that nineteenth century supporters of the High and Low Church positions viewed each other with considerable suspicion. High Churchmen, with their emphasis on ritual within services, were suspected by their opposite numbers of harbouring secret "popish" leanings – perhaps because of Newman's conversion to Roman Catholicism. Low Churchmen, on the other hand, with their emphasis on the sermon as the centerpiece of each service, were disdainfully dismissed as "Evangelicals" – radical Protestants. Unfortunately, the differences caused spats in individual congregations that may seem trivial and irresponsible today, but were taken very seriously by those involved. St. James' wasn't immune from this, and it wasn't alone. Many churches experienced similar problems. In nearly every recorded case the problems appeared as Low Church objections to what were regarded as improper High Church practices, centering on symbols, ceremonies, words, and vestments. Something as simple as the presence of candlesticks could cause a serious rift in a congregation.

In Ontario, support for the two factions was split mainly on geographical lines. East of Toronto, and particularly in the Kingston area, support for the High Church party was strong. West of Toronto, in the Huron diocese, there was a definite preference for the Low Church. Somehow the Reverend Edward Bland, an ardent High Churchman who should have been somewhere east of the Toronto theological boundary, had found himself assigned to a distinctly Low Church parish in the Huron diocese.

The first sign of a lack of understanding between the new Rector and his congregation came at the end of his second full year in the parish. In the minutes for the Annual Vestry of 1880 the Rector reported that there had been a steep decline in total annual attendance at Sunday services, from 26,217 in 1879 to 21,860 in 1880. This was a decrease of close to 17%. Clearly something was troubling the congregation.

The decline in attendance translated into other problems as well. When the Reverend Bland arrived in 1878 the parish was in the midst of plans for the building or purchase of a new Rectory. Now that the church itself had been built and paid for, that was clearly the next step. But the money needed for the building fund wasn't coming in. A temporary Rectory had been acquired, but there weren't even enough funds coming in to cover its needed repairs.

The situation slowly deteriorated. By 1881 the wardens were reporting that the church building itself was not being maintained properly. New steps were needed at the side entrance, and the tower needed a new roof. They unsuccessfully tried to introduce a new funding formula. In 1882 the respected Thomas Brown was put in charge of a fund-raising committee and (with a bow to the former work of the redoubtable Agnes Eakins) it was suggested that the ladies of the church should be petitioned "to devise and undertake means for retiring the outstanding liabilities for repairs upon the parsonage". Nothing worked. Tensions were building.

The explosion came at a Special Vestry held in February 1883. A remarkable 40 people (almost twice the number who attended a typical Annual Vestry) turned out to hear a "memorial" – or statement of concerns – which had been signed by fifteen members of the congregation. Prominent among the signatories were two respected businessmen, Thomas Brown and James Noxon.[17]

The memorial must have been circulated in advance, for it appears in its entirety – along with the full text of the Reverend Bland's reply – in the minutes of the meeting. In a carefully worded, restrained fashion, the memorial noted "a lack of vitality in our midst", which it attributed to "a sense of uneasiness" arising from the fact that services were being conducted "in a manner distasteful to many of the congregation and different from what they have ever been accustomed to." It asked that the minister return to the style of service which he had conducted during his first year among them, refrain from any further innovations, and make himself better known to his congregation by a system of pastoral visits.

The Reverend Bland defended himself with passion and vigour. He acknowledged that dissatisfaction had been building for several years, peaking around the time of Easter services.[18] He disputed the "lack of vitality" statement with the claim, "even at risk of being contradicted", that services were now "improved, more lively and [more] frequent". He noted that returning to the style of service of his first year wouldn't help, because it was during his first year that some 12 or so members had sent a petition to the Bishop "asking his interference because I was teaching you a more fervent mode of worship than you had been accustomed to." Amid a host of detailed responses to minor matters, including the lack of visitations to members of the congregation, he proclaimed that "I cannot and will not pledge myself to abstain either now or at any time from teaching this congregation, however varied their views may be, according to the rites and usages of the Church of England my venerable Mother to whom I am bound by the tenderest ties of a lifelong attachment and solemn vows of obedience … I am a High Churchman anxious to obey every part & sentence of the Book of Common Prayer, and of the spirit & instruction of the famous traditions of the Church. By this I will stand or fall …"

It was a highly charged, uncompromising oration, ending with a "here I stand" worthy of Martin Luther. Nevertheless, the minister and his rebellious congregation *did* manage to reach a compromise, however difficult the negotiation may have been. At the end of the minutes of the Special Vestry a motion was passed "that this congregation in Vestry assembled, having heard the clergyman in reply to the memorial presented to him and he having signified his willingness to present without elevating the offertory or extending the three fingers in pronouncing the benediction, or without bowing in the Gloria and to abstain from introducing any other innovation, hereby declare that we desire to place on

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[17] James Noxon was a co-owner of the *Ingersoll Agricultural Works and Iron Foundry*, a very successful maker of agricultural implements. He, like Thomas Brown, was one of the richest and most influential men in Oxford County.

[18] Yet he failed to take the obvious next step, which would have been to analyze what it was in those Easter services which might be especially troubling to the congregation.

record our confidence in him as a Christian man and our Minister and we hereby pledge ourselves to give him our hearty cooperation and support in the prosecution of his work among us for our spiritual welfare and we further pledge ourselves as far as possible to place our financial affairs on a satisfactory footing and remove all debts from off the Parsonage." In other words, he promised to make some minor alterations in his style of conducting a service, and they promised in return to support him.

But it didn't work out. Either the terms of the compromise were just too hard to keep, or they were insufficient to quell the "sense of uneasiness" that the congregation felt. The money troubles continued. Annual and Special Vestries continued to struggle, without success, to find a way of paying down the mortgage on the Rectory.

In January 1885 the stand off between the minister and his congregation became a very real crisis. A Special Vestry was hastily called to hear that Reverend Bland had been served with a "writ of ejectment" on the parsonage "for arrears of interest". In other words, the bank was about to throw him out of his home because payments on the Rectory mortgage were not even covering the interest charges.

The meeting was historic for reasons beyond the desperate subject matter. A total of 54 people turned out – about double the normal attendance at Vestry meetings. Amazingly, 24 of those attending the meeting were women.[19] Such a thing had never happened before. It would be fascinating to know who decided that this matter was too important to be left solely to the men of the congregation. It would be equally fascinating to know how the female turnout was organized, and by whom it was organized, and how the men reacted. Regardless of how it happened, it set an important precedent. From this point on, there are usually at least a few women's names listed among those in attendance at Vestry meetings, either Annual or Special.[20]

A "special subscription list" (i.e. an emergency collection) averted the immediate crisis, and Reverend Bland remained in his home, but it was only a temporary lessening of the tension. In March another Special Vestry passed a motion requesting that the Bishop "appoint a Commission under the Provisions of Canon XX to enquire into the unsatisfactory state of affairs at present existing in the congregation of St. James Church Ingersoll." Reverend Bland may not even have been informed of this meeting. It was chaired by a minister from outside the parish.

Fifty-eight men and "several ladies" (their names were not listed, and they did not vote) turned out for the Annual Vestry on April 7, 1885, which was chaired by Reverend Bland. The atmosphere must have been electric. A relatively innocuous motion was placed before the congregation for debate: "This Vestry deeply regrets the present unsatisfactory relations existing between the Rector and the members of this

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19 Their names are listed separately in the minutes, after the list of men in attendance.

20 Nevertheless, for the next thirty-six years the women's names are always listed after the men's names. Finally, in 1921, a profound change occurred. The names of men and women attending that Annual Vestry meeting are intermingled.

congregation and [we] hereby express our conviction that such relations are not conducive to the spiritual and temporal welfare of the parish". There followed a pair of complicated amendments in which the opponents and the supporters of the minister tried to state their case and muster support for their respective sides. The discussion must have been acrimonious and intense. Both amendments lost. The original motion passed by a vote of 32 to 25. (Presumably the one abstention was the Reverend Bland himself.) The meeting adjourned.

It was enough. The situation had become intolerable, even for a passionately committed minister sure of himself, and of the rightness of his cause. Reverend Bland resigned.

PICKING UP THE PIECES

Two weeks after Reverend Bland's resignation a Special Vestry, with 44 people present, set up a new standing committee, the "Finance and Consultation Committee." Its purpose was clearly to regain control over a situation which had spiraled out of control. A week after that another Special Vestry, again with 44 people present, heard the committee's recommendations. All salaries would be temporarily lowered, until the finances of the church permitted their reinstatement. There would be (yet again) an attempt made to collect overdue pew rents. At the same time, it was recommended that the envelope system be adopted "as fully as possible." Henceforth no financial commitments were to be made, and no bills were to be paid, "without the consent of the churchwardens". To ensure that this happened, all funds collected "for all purposes in connection with Church and Rectory" were to be placed in the hands of the Churchwardens. They, in their turn, would maintain "accounts of such receipts and expenditures to be presented at Easter in each year and audited with the other accounts." There was one final interesting recommendation. The committee felt that it should be "no part of the new rector's duty to hold services in the Chapel in West Oxford unless paid by those attending those services."

The impression emerges that there was far more to the congregation's unhappiness than a High Church/Low Church theological disagreement. Behind that was a deep dislike of Reverend Bland's management style. In fact, he had run the parish with an imperious hand. The "Chapel in West Oxford" was a perfect example. The minutes of subsequent meetings make it clear that nobody quite knew how that chapel had come into being, or how it was being run. Eventually the Finance and Consultation Committee, trying to put the parish's financial books in order, had to appeal to Reverend Bland for information. It turned out that he had created the chapel entirely on his own. The deed of sale showed that he had personally purchased, from a parishioner, a third of an acre of land in West Oxford "for the sum of $5." On that land he had built the "Chapel of St. Michael and All Angels" as a satellite church of St. James', and was holding services there. There was no record of how the bills were paid. The best that the Committee could do was to note that the minister had spent, somewhere, "considerably more than there is any authorization for."

Years later, in 1892, the Diocese of Huron regularized the chapel transaction by buying the land from Reverend Bland, then a minister in Hamilton, again for the sum of five dollars. The following year the Bishop, assisted by both Reverend Bland and the Rector then at St. James', Reverend Moorhouse, conducted a ceremony of dedication and consecration at the chapel. According to a newspaper report, "Rev. Mr. Bland preached a most excellent discourse and referred briefly to the causes which led to the erection of St. Michael's Chapel. Messrs. John Worth and A.B. Choate, as church wardens, were put in full possession of the church and grounds, according to the rights of the Church of England."

But the Diocese never accepted full responsibility for the chapel. Almost forty years later the Chapel burned to the ground. There was no insurance on it. The Rector of St. James' church at the time, Reverend McMillen, reported the loss to the diocesan Executive Committee, and asked for instructions on what to do next. The Executive Committee's minutes for May 12, 1930 duly reported the loss of "the Chapel of St. Michael and All Angels, situated on a lot on a side road on part of a farm about two and one-half miles from the centre of the town of Ingersoll" but the Committee refused to get involved. "No action was taken as the property is not vested in the Synod."

The next Rector, the Reverend Ernest T. Saunders, walked without a misstep through the minefield of relations with his now divided and disgruntled congregation. Attention was paid to the deteriorating condition of the church building. In the summer of 1886 the church was closed for several weeks while the walls were calcimined and the ceiling received its beautiful chestnut wood lining. Thomas Brown donated a new oak communion table for the reopening. Harmony reigned.

SOCIAL CONSERVATISM

The much-loved Anglican hymn "All Things Bright and Beautiful" first appeared in a collection of *Hymns for Children* which was published in 1848. At the time the first verse (which has now disappeared out of Anglican hymn books) said:

> The rich man in his castle,
> The poor man at his gate,
> He made them high or lowly,
> And ordered their estate.

That accurately reflected contemporary attitudes. In the middle of the nineteenth century it seemed natural to a class-conscious British society that some were destined by God for wealth and power, while others were meant for a humble life of poverty and obedience to the orders of their social superiors.

It is questionable whether those attitudes ever translated well into the ambitious, mobile society of pioneer North America. Certainly the colony's founding Act had tried to make it so. But by the year of the hymn's publication, 1848, Upper Canada had already seen a

decade of political changes designed to increase democracy and lessen privilege.[21] England remained a class-conscious society until well into the twentieth century, and Ontario held on to some of the attitudes of its parent society, but it also felt the social tug of the large, egalitarian society of the United States of America, to its south. It is therefore somewhat surprising to see how long some very conservative attitudes, with their hints of class-consciousness, managed to survive within the parish of St. James' in Ingersoll.

The traditional way of meeting expenses, from the founding of the parish, had been the pew rental system. Different costs for different pews implied a social hierarchy – those near the front of the church "outranked" those farther back. By the late years of the nineteenth century this system was becoming increasingly out of fashion. In 1873, just three years after the opening of the newly constructed St. James' church, the Rector (Reverend Hincks) had advocated adoption of the free pew system and a switch to envelope giving as the source of parish funds. That was evidently a progressive reform which was sweeping through the Anglican world at the time. The parish of St. James' had ignored his suggestion, preferring to rely on the tried, true – and ineffective – system of pew rentals.

Over the next fifteen years there were repeated attempts to make the pew rental system work, all centering on threats to evict pew holders who were in arrears of rent. From the repetition, it is evident that the threats – and the system – just didn't work.

Finally, in 1888, the Annual Vestry (apparently) bowed to the inevitable and adopted the envelope system as its source of funds. But old habits die hard, and the resolution wasn't followed. Fifteen years later, in 1903, after several more attempts to "adopt the special envelope system" the Annual Vestry was still in the business of approving a new schedule of pew rents.[22]

In fact, the minutes of the Annual Vestry meetings give no clear indication of when the pew rental system finally died out. All that can be said for certain is that in 1913 the duplex envelope system, allowing side-by-side collections for the parish and for missions, was adopted one last time. So, after about forty years of discussion and on-again/off-again changes, the envelope system seems to have won out. But in 1919 the Annual Report notes that "church support includes pledges, ***pew rents*** and Harvest Thanksgiving offering." (Emphasis added.) So pew rentals in some form survived World War I.

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[21] William Lyon Mackenzie's abortive Upper Canada Rebellion took place in December, 1837. Subsequent political reforms which united the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada weakened the conservative cause by allowing Upper Canadian Reformers to join forces with their more numerous Lower Canadian counterparts. The Anglican Church, and other privileged parties, had already lost much ground by 1848.

[22] The two centre rows were worth more than the two side rows, thereby perpetuating their superior social status.

This is social conservatism to a truly impressive degree. Whatever may have been going on in the rest of the English speaking world, it is certain that the people of St. James' felt that the old ways were best.

It must have worked. Over the years the bills got paid and the repairs got made and the work of the church sailed serenely on. Indeed, by the late years of the nineteenth century, the parish was becoming a financial leader within the diocese. In 1894 the Rector, Reverend Moorhouse, noted that St. James' was now ranked sixth in diocesan contributions among non-city parishes. But it is at least possible to wonder if it would have worked a little more easily with a somewhat more open attitude toward the elimination of class distinctions. The envelope system seems to have been adopted – at least as the primary method of raising funds – in 1913. The following year's Annual Report noted that "1912-1913 was the most successful financial year on record."

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

There are no controversies in the early years of the twentieth century. Instead the minutes of Annual and Special Vestries record the steady progress of technological change. In 1908 there is the first mention of a telephone account for the Rector. Gas lighting for the church, which had been introduced in 1892, was replaced by electric lighting in 1914. Three years later a new combination gas and coal furnace was purchased. The following year, as the Great War was coming to an end, the Annual Report to the Vestry was type set and published for the first time. The year 1918 was also the year in which a new Rectory was built, and the old property on the east side of Oxford Street was sold.

The war years are scarcely reflected in the minutes of the Annual and Special Vestries. From 1914 to 1918 there are only a couple of invocations to special prayer, and a few scattered references to letters of condolence being sent to parish families. But there is one brief entry which poignantly sums up the immense social disruption that was taking place. In the minutes of the Annual Vestry for 1915 it is recorded that "we have suspended the meetings of our branch of the Anglican Young People's Association since the New Year, as nearly all of the most active male members have enlisted". At that point the war was only in its second year.

SOCIAL CONSERVATISM REVISITED

In 1919, the year that the pew rental system may finally have been drawing to a close, a new and even better method of maintaining status distinctions was introduced. In that year, apparently for the first time, the printed Annual Report has a listing of parishioners who have given money for the support of their church. Beside each name is the amount given, divided into Church Support and Outside Support.

This was an excellent way of establishing social hierarchy. Money always provides a clear, numerical rating scheme. It probably encouraged giving in a significant way,

because a few extra dollars might show an advance on the social scale. It certainly tied in well with the intent of the province's founders to build a society on the nineteenth century British model. But did it really reflect a North American reality?

This remarkable approach persisted well past the middle of the twentieth century.[23] It was not until the late date of 1963 that the Board finally passed a motion stating that the names of individuals, and the amounts that they had given, would no longer be published in the Annual Report. That probably marked the end of the practice. By then even England had lost most of its interest in class distinctions.

THE ROARING TWENTIES

The years after the First World War were full of innovation. In 1920 there were three significant events. First, the Annual Vestry was held in January for the first time. Second, the wardens were authorized to remove from pews "the names of all members of the congregation who have no objections to this being done." (Presumably pew rents were coming to an end.) And finally, a Select Vestry of eight members was appointed for the first time, "to act with the wardens and Rector" in the running of the church. This change in church governance, which succeeded the practice of holding frequent Special Vestry meetings to handle issues as they arose, has been continued ever since under a variety of names such as "Advisory Board" and "Board of Management." Most recently, it has become the Parish Council.

In 1923, for the first time, four women (as well as 10 men) were appointed to the Advisory Board. This heralded the beginning of an ever-increasing involvement, on the part of women, in the administration of the church. Two years later, in 1925, there is a motion of "sincere thanks" from the Vestry to "the ladies of the congregation who, unaided, have by their time, labour and contributions raised sufficient funds to pay for the renovation and decoration of the interior of the church". That was an acknowledgement of their ongoing success in their traditional fund-raising role. But forty years later, in 1963, the Annual Vestry considered a request from the Bishop to the parishes in his diocese that not more than fifty percent of lay delegates to Synod be women, and formally agreed to abide by it. That was an acknowledgement that women were now dominating church affairs.

A PARISH HALL

In the final years of the "Roaring Twenties" economic affairs were booming within the parish, as they were for society in general. So it was natural that thoughts of expansion to meet growing parish needs began to occur. In 1927, for the first time, there is a mention in the Vestry minutes of the "need for a parish hall for meetings and Sunday school

[23] For a few years, starting in 1930 (the Depression Years) the practice was discontinued. However, in 1935 it was decided to reverse that decision, so that "all names with amounts [will] be published in the Wardens' annual Financial Report."

work." A year later a committee of five prominent businessmen (R. Stone, C.H. Sumner, E.A. Wilson, F.A. Ackert, F. Adams, and F.G. Rich) was asked to "investigate the building of a Sunday school and parish hall, and ways and means to secure the necessary funds".

Two years later the project was completed. In March of 1930 it was possible for the congregation to assemble in the newly built hall for a special meeting "to consider resolutions and appointments in connection with the Hall and Gymnasium."

The remarkably short, three-year time period between first mention and completion is a testament to the financial prosperity and self-confidence of the parish family. So too is the final resolution taken at the 1930 meeting: "It is agreed that the hall shall not be rented to any outside organization, but be for the use of the church members only." A confident congregation felt that the new hall was a treasure that it could afford to keep to itself.

Yet the confidence was misplaced. In October of 1929, just half a year before that first meeting in the new hall, the American stock market had crashed. The Great Depression of the 1930s had begun.

The economic ripples spread outward from Wall Street in New York City with remarkable speed. In May 1930 a Special Select Vestry learned that the London Life Insurance company refused to loan the $9,000 needed "to clear off the debt on St. James Parish Hall … unless the mortgage covering the same include the Rectory property as well as the parish hall" as collateral on the loan. There was already doubt, in financial circles, that the parish could pay down its debt. By November 1931 the Select Vestry was admitting to itself that "finances are a problem." In 1932 a special committee was formed to seek ways of cutting expenditures. In 1933 the rector, Rev. McMillen, voluntarily took a cut in his stipend "for the period of the depression." At the Annual Vestry in the following year he showed deep concern over a falling church attendance, which inevitably meant falling revenue.

By the middle of the decade it had become a matter of critical importance to make as much money as possible through the renting of the hall and gymnasium. The community YMCA became the principal tenant, renting the gymnasium for four days each week.

Yet the steps taken to decrease expenditures and increase revenues could not stem the tide of a deepening financial crisis which had begun with that $9,000 mortgage on the parish hall and the Rectory. The parish, unable to meet its budgets, borrowed money and deferred payments. In February 1938 an emergency Special Vestry learned that the bank was demanding action on the church account: "We will require $500 immediately to take care of present indebtedness". London Life was persuaded to accept a one-year deferral on mortgage principal payments, enough money was found to cover the bank's short-term requirements, and somehow financial collapse was averted. As the decade approached its end the Rector since 1934, the Rev. C.K. Masters – surely worn down, at

least in part, by the church's continuing financial woes – went on sick leave and then retired.

Yet there were some bright spots in a generally gloomy decade. In 1934, even as the depression deepened, the parish celebrated the centenary of its founding. Sometime around the middle of the decade four young men of the parish (Wm. Hills Jr., F. McMilkin, W. Gilling, and H. Cook) entered divinity school. At least two of them went on to be bishops in their subsequent careers. And finally, in spite of its internal financial woes, the parish faithfully paid its full apportionment to the diocese throughout the entire decade.

WORLD WAR II

There is no question that World War II was a monumental catastrophe on a global scale. Yet, on a purely local level, it had the effect of re-energizing every aspect of a struggling, disheartened society. Business revived as the nation armed itself for a desperate conflict. Faith revived as people struggled with the nightmarish qualities of an uncertain future. The war began in September, 1939. By the time of the Annual Vestry in January 1940 the new Rector, the Rev. H.E. Merifield, could report both increased attendance at services and increased financial support.

A year later a new approach to the staging of the Annual Vestry meeting was introduced. For the first time it was preceded by a parish supper. Attendance jumped from the fifty or so of previous years to 150 people. To this large crowd the wardens were able to report that the bank loans had been paid off, and the mortgage on the Parish Hall reduced. A prominent businessman, Mr. E.A. Wilson, had personally made possible the renovation of the Gymnasium. The Rector provided an impressive list of statistics: there were 27 currently active church organizations; 621 families were on the parish roll (of whom 300 were active); 178 individuals or families were active envelope subscribers.

In this atmosphere of growth and renewal, the Rector and wardens attacked with enthusiasm the church debt and a long list of backlogged church repairs. So successful were they that, in June of 1943, it was possible to stage a "Burning of the Mortgage Evening", to which the Bishop and Rev. McMillen (Rector at the time of the building of the parish hall) were invited.

The Annual Vestry of 1944 was a world apart from the desperate days of 1938, when the Great Depression still had the parish in its grasp. The church wardens reported that the mortgage had been paid off. All church organizations reported that they were in good financial shape. An Improvement Fund was established for renovations to the church. The Rector was given an honorarium and, for the first time, a car allowance was mentioned. Plans were under way for an enlargement of a space within the church in order to fit in a new organ, a gift of the Wilson family.

Yet the tragedy and social dislocation behind the prosperity also have their somber echoes in the minutes of meetings over the last two years of the war. In 1944 the Board wrestled with a moral dilemma unique to the war years: should it allow the Japanese [Canadians] now in town to use the gymnasium, under appropriate supervision? That same year an organization called the War Service League reported that 94 members of the church were in the armed forces. A year later it had a new role to fulfill – there were war brides to be welcomed into the church and the community. And plans had begun for an Honour Roll, to be placed on a wall within the church as a war memorial.

THE GOLDEN AGE

The Reverend Carman J. Queen became the Rector of St. James' in July, 1946. His timing was extremely fortunate. The war was over, and the troops were home. The pent up demand for consumer goods was fueling an economic boom. There was an immense desire for a return to normalcy, and for all of the social characteristics of a pre-war life.

At the same time it is clear, in retrospect, that Reverend Queen was exactly the right man for the times. It is impossible to find, in the records of meetings alone, the exact characteristics that make one person a success where others might fail, but at least two features stand out. Reverend Queen obviously had energy, and a gift for communicating a sense of urgency to his congregation. For the ten years that he was in Ingersoll, parish activities boomed. Without question, it was the parish's golden age.

Of course, Reverend Queen began his ministry on what was already a high note. At his first Annual Vestry meeting, in January 1947, the Rector's Warden reported that the financial position of the church was "splendid" and that the church properties were in good shape. There were reports from seventeen church groups, only one of which was inactive. That one inactive group, in an echo of World War I, was the Young Men's Bible Class. Of the pre-war class, forty-eight percent had enlisted, and some were war casualties. This group would need time to get back on its feet.

But otherwise, the church was in good shape and things started to happen. In 1948 there was the first mention of an "every member canvas" designed to increase the number of active participants and envelope subscribers.[24] An opportunity to make three or four annual (paid) radio broadcasts of Sunday services on CKOX Woodstock was being explored. Behind the scenes, better office equipment (a new desk, a typewriter, and a Gestetner – or copy – machine) was in the works.

By 1950 everything was going extremely well. That was the year that the Bishop cited St. James' as a "shining example" for its contribution to the diocesan campaign for the rebuilding of Huron College. Because of his local success, Rev. Queen was given a two month leave of absence from his parish duties to assist the diocesan Huron College Campaign, which was lagging badly in other parishes.

[24] These subsequently became almost an annual event, with some being carried out by personal visitations and some by mail.

In the 1950s the parish consolidated its position as a leader within the diocese of Huron. There is a revealing note in the minutes of one Board of Management meeting held during 1953: the Rector reported that St. James' had *not* headed the list of contributors in the Diocesan Report for the previous year. The very fact that he mentioned it is an indication that this was a rarity.

Church groups met frequently, and there was a steady stream of parish activities. The Parish Hall and the gymnasium were in constant use. The hall, for instance, was being used by the Ingersoll Little Theatre group for the staging of its plays, and the YMCA was still the major tenant of the gymnasium. Indeed, the number of people at their basketball games had become a problem, and alterations had to be made to allow crowds of up to 100 people.

The church property was upgraded in several significant ways. In 1953 cathedral lighting was installed in the church, and two years later the interior was extensively redecorated. Among other things, the distinctive painted effect of stone blocks around the windows was carried out throughout the church, the pews and kneeling rails were cleaned and varnished, and a number of repairs and improvements were made to the Rectory.

A total of 240 people came to the Annual Vestry held in 1956, which (following the customary practice at the time) was held on a Monday evening following a parish supper. The large attendance can partly be attributed to the fact that it was also a farewell dinner, for Reverend Queen was leaving in the following April to take up a new role as Diocesan Commissioner.[25]

Naturally there is a valedictory tone to the Rector's report to the meeting that night. He summarized an impressive list of parish accomplishments over the past decade and, as had become a part of his annual reports, he also gave a series of statistics on the previous year's activities. All of these attested to the health and vigour of the church's many groups and activities. Among the statistics was the average attendance at each Sunday's church services during the previous year: 377 people.[26]

It was an impressive average, but in fact it did not represent the attendance peak for his years of service in Ingersoll. That had come a year before, in 1954, when the average attendance at Sunday services had been 383 people. Even before Reverend Queen left a new trend, toward a slow decline in church attendance, had begun.

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[25] He would go on to become a Suffragan Bishop, and then the seventh Bishop of the Huron Diocese.

[26] This was a combined total for three Sunday services. Average attendance at the 11 a.m. service was 281 people.

THE AGE OF INDIFFERENCE

In the summer of 1963 the Anglican Church of Canada took an unusual step. It asked Pierre Berton, successful author, professed agnostic, and former Anglican, to write a critical review of the Anglican Church's contemporary performance.

The resulting book, *The Comfortable Pew*, was profoundly unsettling to many and uncomfortably accurate in its predictions. It said that the Anglican Church, along with most of the Protestant denominations, was in decline. This he attributed to the churches' irrelevance, citing a number of studies to show that they were not addressing the moral issues of the day. Since the attitudes of church members exactly paralleled the attitudes of the broader society in which they lived, he said, the churches themselves constituted little more than social clubs. "The institution of religion, which once generated its own values, now merely gives its blessing to the majority-held values of the community around it." Most people, in a busy world, were seeing little point in belonging to a particular social club which no longer conferred any particular social advantages.

Others might cite the effects of two world wars in shaking religious belief, or the youthful questioning of authority which swept North America as a result of the Viet Nam war. But whatever the cause, Berton correctly caught the trend. Gradually, church attendance began to decline. The use of the parish hall and gymnasium also declined, as outside groups found other sites for their activities or went into their own decline.

It was a slow recessional, full of attempts to reverse – or at least halt – the trend. In 1957 the annual train excursion to Port Burwell for the Sunday School picnic became a bus trip instead, since the train cost had become too high to bear. It was the beginning of the end for an annual event which had once been immensely popular. For a few years, starting in 1959, a North Side Sunday School was conducted in Princess Elizabeth public school, in order to capture the attention of children living farther away from the church. By 1962 it had been merged back into the main church Sunday School. In the late 1960s the YMCA's use of the gymnasium came to an end. For a while the facility was rented by the Public School Board. That too ended when the Board built its own gymnasium. In 1968 a Youth Director was hired to work with the youth of the parish. This was the era of folk music and coffee houses. A coffee house, "Grinkle Park", was established in the church basement. It flourished for a while, faded, was resurrected with the aid of a government grant, and then faded again.

There were some high points in the general decline. In particular, there was a full range of events and activities in 1967, Canada's centennial year.[27] But the general trend was downward.

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[27] At the Annual Vestry in 1969 a "complete and comprehensive report" on the activities of the Centennial year, including "the activities that took place, the projects by organizations, personal and individual efforts and the arrangements for the many celebrations that took place during the year" was given by Mr. John Cook, chairman of the Centennial Committee. He asked that "for the sake of posterity and future information the Centennial report ... be made a record in these minutes." A note in the minutes says that the report was placed with other church documents. Yet it is not with the Board and Vestry minutes.

The church, at various levels, made attempts at renewal and relevance in an increasingly secular age. In 1967, for instance (the year that Sunday Evensong services at St. James' were discontinued) the Bishop proposed that there should be active participation of lay people in communion services.[28] In 1973 the Rector suggested that different ministers from the town be invited to preach at St. James', among them Monsignor Grespan of the Roman Catholic Church. (Nothing seems to have come of this suggestion.) The following year two communion services per month were introduced: the service from the familiar Book of Common Prayer on the first Sunday of each month, and a service from the new Book of Alternative Services on the third Sunday. The decline continued. In that year, 1974, attendance at the Annual Vestry was down to 42 people. In the 1950s and early 1960s it had rarely dipped below 150.

THE NEW NORMAL

In 1975 a new Rector, the Reverend Tom Griffin, arrived. He would remain for sixteen years, becoming both a Canon and the longest serving Rector in the history of the parish.

In general, the minutes of Vestries and Boards of Management during Reverend Griffin's tenure convey the sense that the life of the parish has stabilized after a long period of decline. There is no longer the focus on the visible signs of a shrinking membership. In a sense, the life of the parish has returned to normal. But it is a "new normal" characterized by the combined challenges of social change and maintenance issues.

The maintenance issues posed by an aging church building dominate in the discussions of Vestries and Boards of Management. In the early 1980s the condition of the church tower began to be a concern. At about the same time considerable work had to be done on the church and parish hall to accommodate the requirements of a new fire code. In the late 1980s the organ required extensive repairs, and the parish hall required both roof repairs and work on the rain gutters. Throughout the decade an old and inefficient furnace system gave increasing amounts of trouble, until it was finally replaced in the early 1990s. In the same time period a new church sign was purchased and installed, and an "Easy Access" project – mandated by new standards for handicapped access to public buildings – provided a ramp at the side entrance to the church and wheelchair access to two washrooms. But these were only the major maintenance tasks. They were surrounded by a host of more minor maintenance work. In total, a great deal of time, effort and money went into the treadmill task of keeping the building functional and conforming to current building codes.

Yet, although the maintenance issues dominated discussion, a somewhat invisible social change posed an equally profound challenge. In the late 1970s the first affordable microcomputers, and their attendant video games, made their appearance and a revolution

[28] The proposal was accepted, with some reluctance, for implementation "on a progressive basis." Four years later the first two laymen at St. James' were licensed to assist in the distribution of elements in Holy Communion.

in youth culture began. As new interests became paramount, old patterns of youth recreation and engagement suffered. Among these traditional activities were such church mainstays as Junior Choir and Sunday School. In 1985 there was still a Junior Choir, but it was clearly struggling. A year later concerns were being expressed about the low attendance at church school, and a shortage of teachers. Other church-related youth activities were similarly affected. By 1987 enrolment in Beavers, Cubs, and Scouts was down, leaders were increasingly hard to find, and mergers with scouting groups sponsored by other churches within the town were being discussed.

Other changes in social attitudes, though clearly more positive, also had their effect. The entire Easy Access project, which involved much work and expense, was a reflection of society's increasing sensitivity to the problems of its less fortunate members. Even as that project was coming to an end, an increasing health consciousness brought an end to another long-standing social norm: in 1990 smoking was banned in all areas of St. James'.

Quietly, while these other changes were occurring, the basic pattern of Anglican worship also changed, becoming – in its own way – a "new normal". In 1974, the year before the arrival of the Reverend Canon Tom Griffin, the old familiar pattern of one communion service per month, using the Book of Common Prayer, had been altered. A second communion service had been added to each month, so that the new Book of Alternative Services could be introduced. By 1992, the last year of the Rev. Canon Griffin's tenure at St. James', the communion service from the Book of Alternative Services had become the centerpiece of each Sunday's observances. To the regret of traditionalists the Book of Common Prayer, with its eloquent but antiquated wordings, had become almost entirely a thing of the past.[29]

In the midst of the new, the parish celebrated that which was old. In 1984 St. James' marked its 150th birthday with an extensive schedule of social events and guest speakers. Among the latter was Hugh Cameron, a great-great grandson of the first Rector, the Reverend John M. Rothwell.

A DEATH IN THE FAMILY

In 1991 the Rev. Canon Tom Griffin was in the sixteenth year of his service at St. James' and looking forward to his retirement. It is evident that a close, supportive relationship had developed between this minister and his congregation over such a long period of time. So the sudden end to his ministry had all of the impact of a death in the family.

[29] The Book of Common Prayer has had a long run. It was first published in 1549, and is still in use at the occasional mid-week service.

There is no hint of trouble in the minutes of the Board of Management's meeting for May, 1991.[30] But the Board's June minutes report that the Rector is in hospital for tests. In July a Special Board meeting is addressing the need to send a letter to all parishioners, informing them of the seriousness of the Rector's illness. A month later he is gone.

"The funeral service for Canon Thomas Arthur Griffin, Rector of St. James', will be held on Wednesday August 21 at 1 pm. Bishop Percy O'Driscoll will conduct the service. The theme will be 'A Celebration' of the life of Tom. Speakers will be placed in the Parish Hall for people unable to attend the service in the Church. All choir members and persons assisting with this service are asked to be here early." In general, minutes of meetings are a dry recitation of issues addressed and decisions made. It is not often that they manage to convey deeply personal emotions, such as shock and sadness. These do.

THE INTERIM

When Canon Griffin became ill the Reverend Roger McCombe, an ordained minister working full time as a teacher at the Ingersoll District Collegiate Institute, stepped in to keep services going. He promised to continue, on an interim basis, until a new Rector could be appointed.

At the Annual Vestry in January, 1992, the Rectors and the entire Board of Management agreed to continue in office for another year, and the work of preparing for the appointment of a new Rector began. Needed repairs to the Rectory were addressed, and a selection committee began its work. As a side issue, pictures of all of the Rectors of St. James' were hung on a wall in the parish hall. A special commemorative picture of the Reverend Canon Tom Griffin was hung at the back of the church.

AN ABORTIVE NEW BEGINNING

The minutes of a Special Board of Management meeting held on May 3, 1992, report that "upon an unanimous recommendation from the Selection Committee, the Rev. Louise Peters has been appointed Rector of St. James', effective 1 July 1992."

This indeed seemed to represent a new beginning: the appointment of the first female Rector in the history of the parish. It is a long, long way – in attitudes even more than in time – from the 19th century colonial parish of the Reverend John M. Rothwell to the late 20th century parish which could – and did – unanimously recommend the appointment of a female priest.

Yet it turned out to be a continuation of the "interim" phase, rather than a new beginning, for entirely human reasons. In January of 1994, a year and a half after her arrival in the

[30] These deal with quite normal issues: there are still problems with the furnace, and Ken Cooper's research on the Rousseau window (located at the southwest side of the church) has been printed in the last issue of the newsletter "In Touch With St. James".

parish, the Reverend Louise Peters married a fellow minister. In December of 1994 she went on maternity leave. Then, in June of 1995, she went on leave of absence from Active Diocesan Ministry. So she never quite had time to establish her own identity within the parish. Her interim replacement, from December 1994 until September of 1995, was the Reverend Jim Innes.

RETURNING TO "THE NEW NORMAL"

In September 1995 the Reverend Bill Welch was installed as Rector in the parish of St. James', and the task of coping with "the new normal" was taken up once again. Over the next couple of years the stage area in the parish hall was renovated into offices and a storage area, the hall was painted and redecorated, an office computer was purchased, the organ was upgraded with a new electrical panel, and the sound system was completed.

These were all positive changes, increasing the functionality of the physical facilities. But behind them lurked the ongoing, treadmill, depressing task of simply preventing the gradual decay of an aging building. Maintenance expenses had been increasing, and dominating the discussions of Board meetings, for many years. One particular maintenance issue, the condition of the church tower, had been a major concern since the early 1980s. In the late 1990s it became a crisis.

A YEAR WITH A MIRACLE SUNDAY

The year 1998 began like any other year. There is no hint of an impending storm in the minutes of the Annual Vestry held in January. But when a Special Vestry meeting was called in May 1998 it had to address a question of key significance. What was to be done with the church tower?

The church tower was in urgent need of repair. There was the very real and imminent danger of some pedestrian being hit by falling pieces of masonry or brickwork. Something had to be done, and soon. Decisive action could not be ducked, and it could not be deferred. There were two possibilities, neither of them very palatable. The tower could be repaired, at considerable expense. What would this do to the financial viability of the parish? Or the tower could be torn down. What would such a radical alteration of the historical appearance and character of the building do to the morale of the congregation?

It was a depressing time to be facing the prospect of a major repair project. The parish was running a deficit in its current operating costs. Repairing the tower would be expensive. How could an expense of this magnitude be accommodated? The discussion at the Special Vestry meeting was very balanced between two rival futures. Hard-headed realism said that the tower had to go. Optimistic faith said that so vital a part of the church's history had to stay.

Faith won, but the vote was close. Twenty-three people voted to tender a contract (with the exact costs unknown) for repair of the tower as soon as possible. Twenty people voted against repair, and for its immediate demolition. There were three abstentions.

In mid September 1998 a second Special Vestry gave final approval for an immediate start on a project for full restoration of the tower, at a total cost of $140,000. It was agreed that all costs would be met via a capital campaign, and the use of bequest money.

There is an astounding difference in tone between the rather desperate discussions of those spring and fall meetings and the end-of-year summations prepared for the Annual Vestry meeting of January 1999. By the time that the latter were written the tower repairs were complete. (The weather had smiled on the workmen. There had been no major snowfalls until the scaffolding had come down.) A Rejoice Campaign, capped by what is frequently described as a "Miracle Sunday", had met most of the cost of the repairs. Also, work on five Sunday School rooms and the Choir Room in the Parish Hall had been completed, and the driveway on Frances Street had been paved. What had looked much like a disastrous year, as late as September, had turned into a triumph.

The "Miracle Sunday" was more like a miracle year, which actually continued well into 1999. During that year, all of the following additional projects were accomplished: restoration of the brickwork on the church itself; the removal, cleaning, restoration and replacement of five stained glass windows; work on the furnace; paving of the driveway; removal of a hazardous, unused chimney. When it was all over, the total cost had come to about $300,000. Somehow all of this expense had been covered.

At the Annual Vestry on 30 January 2000 the Reverend Bill Welch gave his valedictory address. He left the parish at the end of February 2000. Perhaps he felt that he had used up his quota of miracles.

STANDING TOO CLOSE TO AN IMPRESSIONIST PAINTING

The Reverend Drew MacDonald filled the interim period, from March to July 2000, between the departure of the Reverend Welch and the arrival of the present Rector, the Reverend James Carr.

Trying to review the events of the recent past is very much like standing too close to an impressionist painting. It is possible to pick out vivid splotches of dark and bright colours, and occasional shapes that seem to have a meaning, but it is impossible to gain any perspective on the overall scene. A boy scout troop is once again active in the parish. "Camp Hope" and "The Lunch Bunch" are enormously successful outreach activities which have been in operation for several years. Money and maintenance woes continue.

Is there an overall pattern, a trend in one direction or another? It is far too early to tell. We are so close to the impressionist painting that we are actually part of it.

INCUMBENTS OF THE PARISH OF ST. JAMES', INGERSOLL TO 1992

Rev. John Rothwell	1834-1845
Rev. Henry Revell	1846-1853
Rev. J. Walker Marsh	1853-1860
Rev. Johnston Vicars	1860-1864
Rev. Canon J. Perrott Hincks	1864-1877
Rev. Edward M. Bland	1877-1885
Rev. Ernest L. Saunders	1885-1889
Rev. Robert Kerr	1889-1890
Rev. Joseph H. Moorhouse	1890-1894
Rev. Arthur Murphy	1894-1897
Rev. James Thompson	1897-1906
Rev. R. J. M. Perkins	1906-1919
Rev. Willmott E. V. McMillen	1919-1934
Rev. C. K. Masters	1934-1938
Rev. H. E. Merifield	1938-1946
Rev. C. J. Queen	1946-1956
Rev. L. V. Pocock	1956-1963
Rev. R. R. Sadleir	1964-1974
Rev. Canon Thomas A. Griffin	1975-1991
Rev. Roger McCombe	1991-1992 (interim)
Rev. Canon Louise Peters	1992-1995
Rev. Jim Innes	1994-1995 (interim)
Rev. Bill Welch	1995-2000
Rev. Drew MacDonald	2000 (interim)
Rev. James Carr	2000-

LIST OF WARDENS

	Rector's Wardens	People's Wardens
1847	James Hamilton Ingersoll	John Chapman
1848	James Hamilton Ingersoll	Augustus Crawford
1849	G.J. Jarvis	Augustus Crawford
1850	David Canfield	James Hamilton Ingersoll
1851	Adolphus William	Henry Crotty
1852	Jacob Choate	Henry Crotty
1853	Thomas Jarvis	Henry Crotty
1854	Burton Remick	John Galliford
1855	Henry Crotty	Jacob Choate
1856	Henry Crotty	Jacob Choate
1857	Henry Crotty	John M. Chapman
1858	Henry Crotty	John M. Chapman
1859	Henry Crotty	John M. Chapman
1860	W.B. Crawford	Joseph Thirkell
1861	W.B. Crawford	John Rothwell
1862	Augustus Crawford	John Galliford
1863	Augustus Crawford	W.A. Ramsay
1864	Augustus Crawford	Thomas Wells
1865	D. Canfield	W. H. Eakins
1866	D. Canfield	Joseph Thirkell
1867	Thomas Wells	Joseph Thirkell
1868	Henry Crotty	W. H. Eakins
1869	Henry Crotty	John M. Chapman
1870	Henry Crotty	Charles H. Sorley
1871	Henry Crotty	Allan McLean
1872	Henry Crotty	Allan McLean
1873	W. H. Eakins	Allan McLean
1874	W. H. Eakins	Thomas Wells

Rector's Wardens		People's Wardens
1875	Thomas Wells	W. H. Eakins
1876	Thomas Wells	W. H. Eakins
1877	Thomas Wells	D. White
1878	Thomas Wells	D. White
1879	Thomas Wells	Jonathon Jarvis
1880	Henry Crotty	Jonathon Jarvis
		P. L. Perkins
1881	Henry Crotty	P. L. Perkins
1882	Henry Crotty	P. L. Perkins
1883	Henry Crotty	Thomas Wells
1884	Henry Crotty	C. W. Ferguson
1885	W. Robinson	S. King
1886	D. White	R. W. Woodroofe
1887	A. M. Smith	Stephen King
1888	A. M. Smith	S. King
1889	Samuel Allan	S. King
1890	Samuel Allan	S. King
		Dr. Canfield
		Thomas Pardue
1891	Samuel Allan	H. Hearn
1892	Samuel Allan	H. Hearn
1893	Samuel Allan	H. Hearn
1894	Samuel Allan	H. Hearn
1895	C.C.L. Wilson	H. Hearn
1896	C.C.L. Wilson	Stephen King
1897	C.C.L. Wilson	Stephen King
1898	C.C.L. Wilson	Stephen King
1899	C.C.L. Wilson	Stephen King
1900	H. Vann	Stephen King

	Rector's Wardens	People's Wardens
1901	H. Vann	Stephen King
		H. Richardson
1902	J. S. Cameron	C.C.L. Wilson
1903	J. S. Cameron	C.C.L. Wilson
1904	Stephen King	C.C.L. Wilson
1905	Charles White	C.C.L. Wilson
1906	Charles White	Arthur Crawford
1907	Charles White	Arthur Crawford
	John Lee	G.C. Ellis
1908	John Lee	G.C. Ellis
1909	John Lee	G.C. Ellis
1910	John Lee	George Naylor
1911	J. Fred Stone	George Naylor
1912	J. Fred Stone	George Naylor
1913	J. Fred Stone	George Naylor
1914	J. Fred Stone	W. C. Johnston
1915	Edward Lee	W. J. Elliott
1916	Edward Lee	W. J. Elliott
1917	W. E. Cragg	W. J. Elliott
1918	W. E. Cragg	F. A. Ackert
1919	John Lee	F. A. Ackert
1920	John Lee	F. A. Ackert
1921	J. Fred Stone	H. Richardson
1922	F. H. Adams	H. Richardson
1923	F. H. Adams	G. A. C. Herdman
1924	Reg. A. Stone	G. A. C. Herdman
1925	Reg. A. Stone	F. G. Rich
1926	Lt. Col. H.L. Edmonds	F.G. Rich
1927	Lt. Col. H. L. Edmonds	C.W. Riley, Jr.

	Rector's Wardens	People's Wardens
1928	V.G. Shipton	C.W. Riley, Jr.
1929	F.S. Newman	F.G. Rich
1930	F.S. Newman	F.G. Rich
1931	E.S. Allen	Chas. E. Hovey
	Frank McMulkin	
1932	Chas. E. Hovey	W.L. Nagle
1933	E.A. Wilson	C.W. Riley, Jr.
1934	E.A. Wilson	C.W. Riley, Jr.
1935	E.A. Wilson	R.A. Stone
1936	R.A. Stone	G.H. Allen
1937	R.A. Stone	G.H. Allen
1938	G.H. Allen	A.W. Burchell
1939	G.H. Allen	A.W. Burchell
1940	G.H. Allen	A.W. Burchell
1941	G.H. Allen	A.W. Burchell
1942	G.H. Allen	J. Rawlings
1943	J. Rawlings	W.H. Street
1944	W.H. Street	J.S. Barnes
1945	W.H. Street	J.S. Barnes
1946	W.H. Street	C.K. Dykman
1947	C.K. Dykman	V.G. Shipton
1948	V.G. Shipton	F.G. Brewer
		C.K. Dykman
1949	W.H. Allen	V.G. Shipton
1950	F.J. Longfield	W.H. Allen
1951	C.A. Pellow	F.J. Longfield
1952	G.K. Newell	C.A. Pellow
1953	J.A. Cole	G.K. Newell
1954	B.E. Borland	J.A. Cole

	Rector's Wardens	People's Wardens
1955	H.F. Hicklin	B.E. Borland
1956	D. MacKenzie	H.F. Hicklin
1957	J.B. Mitchell	H.F. Hicklin
1958	B.G. Sheldon	J.B. Mitchell
1959	J. Henderson	B.G. Sheldon
1960	M. Bruce	J. Henderson
1961	F. Roberts	M. Bruce
1962	M. Roberts	F. Roberts
1963	T. Johnston	M. Roberts
1964	M. Roberts	T. Johnston
1965	Morris Bruce	T. Johnston
1966	K. Hall	Wilfred Garratt
1967	Kenneth Hall	Wilfred Garratt
1968	R. A. Laver	W. G. Naisbitt
1969	R. A. Laver	W. G. Naisbitt
	Wilfred Garratt	
1970	J.B. Mitchell	Don Layton
1971	J.B. Mitchell	Don Layton
1972	J.B. Mitchell	Cameron Colbert
1973	Doss Wood	Cameron Colbert
1974	Doss Wood	Tom Taylor
1975	Bill Garratt	Tom Taylor
1976	Bill Garratt	Tom Taylor
1977	Neil Fishwick	Claude Wright
1978	Neil Fishwick	Claude Wright
1979	Neil Fishwick	Claude Wright
1980	Neil Fishwick	Peter Robinson
1981	Stuart Little	Peter Robinson
1982	Stuart Little	Peter Robinson

Rector's Wardens		People's Wardens
1983	Stuart Little	Peter Robinson
1984	Stuart Little	Michael Watson
1985	Stuart Little	Michael Watson
1986	Robert Hutchinson	Ian Blain
1987	Robert Hutchinson	Ian Blain
1988	Shirley Prouse	Dale Shaddock
1989	Shirley Prouse	Dale Shaddock
1990	Shirley Prouse	Robert Mabee
1991	James Hunt	Robert Mabee
1992	James Hunt	Robert Mabee
1993	Shirley Prowse	Scott Naisbitt
1994	Shirley Prowse	Scott Naisbitt
1995	Shirley Prowse	Scott Naisbitt
1996	Shirley Prowse	Scott Naisbitt
1997	Shirley Prowse	Dorothy Griffin
1998	Neil Fishwick	Dorothy Griffin
1999	Neil Fishwick	Dorothy Griffin
2000	Neil Fishwick	Dorothy Griffin
2001	Neil Fishwick	Dorothy Griffin
2002	Neil Fishwick	Wilson McBeath
2003	Shirley Prouse	Wilson McBeath
2004	Shirley Prouse	Wilson McBeath
2005	Shirley Prouse	Wilson McBeath
2006	Shirley Prouse	Shirley Clifford

Appendix III: A Note on Sources

A NOTE ON SOURCES

There are two earlier histories for the parish of St. James', Ingersoll:

1. *Souvenir of the Fiftieth Anniversary, St. James' Church, Ingersoll, 1869-1919.*
   This is a little four-page pamphlet, showing the photographs of three early Rectors, giving a two-page "short sketch" of the early history, and listing some information on the services for the fiftieth anniversary celebrations.

2. *St. James' Church, Ingersoll, Ontario: A Brief Historical Sketch commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Building of the Church, 1868-1968.*
   This 24 page booklet was written by Mr. F.G. Rich of the parish, and edited by the Rector at the time of the 100th anniversary, Reverend Ralph R. Sadleir. It has a picture of the Rt. Rev. G.N. Luxton, Bishop of Huron, on the back of the front cover and, in addition to its historical sketch, provides much detail (drawn from financial records) on bequests and memorials made to the church up to 1968.

I used these two histories as the starting point for my own researches.

However, my major source of information was the written and microfilm record of Vestry and Board of Management minutes held by the Archives of the Huron Diocese, located in Huron College. These are complete for the time period 1847 to 1981. I also used a file of title deeds for St. James' held by the Archives.

I used all of the following books to provide background information:

Berton, Pierre. *The comfortable pew : a critical look at Christianity and the religious establishment in the new age.* Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, c1965.

Craig, Gerald M. *Upper Canada : the formative years, 1784-1841.* Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, c1963.

Dawe, Brian. *"Old Oxford is wide awake!" : pioneer settlers and politicians in Oxford County, 1793-1853***.** [Toronto] : B. Dawe, c1980.

Emery, George Neil. *Adam Oliver of Ingersoll 1823-1882 : lumberman, mill owner, contractor, and politician.* Ingersoll, Ontario : Ingersoll & District Historical Society, 2002.

Emery, George Neil. *Noxons of Ingersoll, 1856-1918 : the family and the firm in Canada's agricultural implements industry.* Ingersoll, Ont. : Ingersoll & District Historical Society, 2001.

Fahey, Curtis. *In His name : the Anglican experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1854.* Ottawa : Carleton University Press, 1991.

Glazebrook, G. P. de T. (George Parkin de Twenebroker). *The Church of England in Upper Canada, 1785-1867*. Toronto : G.P. de T. Glazebrook, c1982.

Herbert, J. C. (John Christian). *Ingersoll : historical highlights*. Ingersoll, Ontario : Ingersoll & District Historical Society, 1999.

Wilson, A. N. *The Victorians.* London : Hutchinson, 2002.