

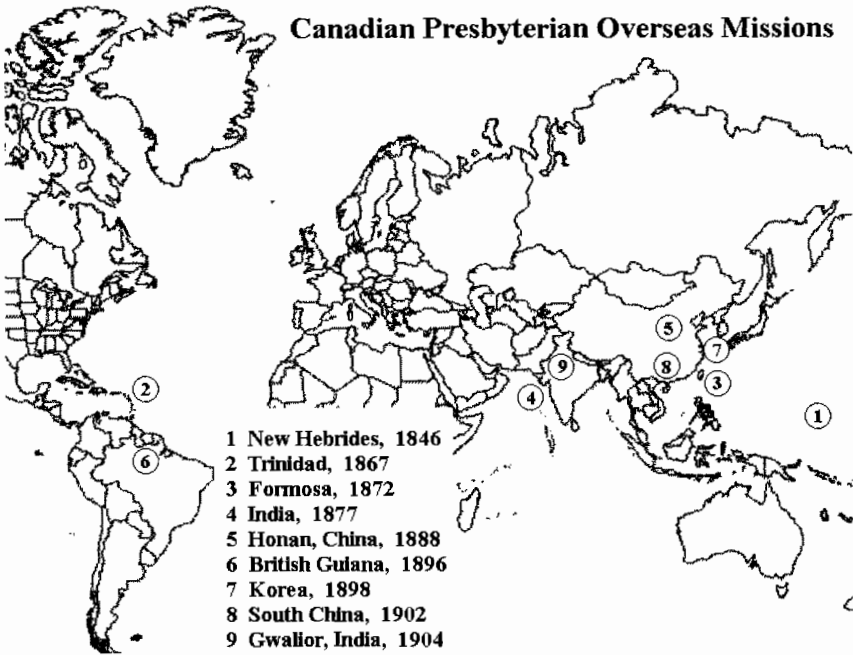
## 8

# The Great Age of Missions

## The Early Years of Overseas Missions

The nineteenth century was unquestionably the greatest period of Christian mission. Great Britain, workshop and shopkeeper of the world, imposed her Pax Britannica — peace and order after the European model — in Africa and Asia by diplomacy and trade where possible, by force of arms when necessary. Behind, beside, and often before the legions of redcoats and the hordes of merchants marched the men of the cloth, called to Christianizing, and hence civilizing, the pagan world. Frequently the message of the church was met with hostility, sometimes with violence, and all too often the missionaries had also to struggle against the worst aspects of western culture — greed, exploitation, dishonesty and debauchery — carried abroad by unworthy representatives of the European tradition. Even within British colonial territories Christian missionaries often found themselves forced to assume the role of defenders of native rights against oppressive policies and inhuman administrators. Nevertheless the tide of mission rolled inexorably on to the remotest corners of the globe. Evangelism and imperialism were inextricably interwoven in the Victorian Age and the Presbyterian churches of Canada never doubted that they too were destined to bear with gladness a share of that God-given task, “the white man’s burden,” which served to divert some attention from the traditional colonial pre-occupation with Scottishness.

The first and most remarkable of all the foreign missions established by



them to give Canadian Presbyterianism arose out of the small Secession Synod of Nova Scotia which had barely five thousand members. In 1846 that body sent the Rev. John Geddie, his wife, and one other missionary to the New Hebrides archipelago in the South Pacific Ocean. Early in his life Geddie had been inspired by his Scottish parents with the desire to preach the Gospel to the heathen and he was largely responsible for the synod's decision to start this mission. This distant and unknown field was chosen in response to requests from the Secession Church in Scotland and from the London Missionary Society for aid to a faltering mission which they had begun in the islands several years earlier.<sup>1</sup> The small Nova Scotian party travelled to Hawaii on an American whaler and then to Samoa where they were joined by another missionary and seven native teachers from the London Missionary Society. It was 1848 before they reached their goal, Aneityum, a beautiful, mountainous, coral-reefed island in the New Hebrides. The savage and cannibalistic natives greeted the group by stealing everything they could.

Despite this unfavourable beginning, natives were converted one at a time,

a chapel was built and a congregation of one hundred organized within a decade. Gradually under the influence of the missionaries' teaching, the natives abandoned their practices of polygamy and infanticide. The programme on Aneityum did not end with evangelization — handicrafts and skills were taught in the mission schools and Geddie doubled as doctor to the population. The improvement in personal hygiene produced, as Mrs. Geddie noted as early as 1853, a population explosion among the inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The success of the Aneityum mission encouraged the Synod of Nova Scotia to send three more men. George W. Gordon and his wife began work on nearby Erromanga Island in 1857, but within four years they were murdered by natives who blamed them for a measles epidemic. The other two missionaries, J. W. Matheson and S. F. Johnston, came with their wives in 1859 and 1860 to begin a mission on Tanna Island. The natives there had already driven away other missionaries and the Mathesons, Johnstons and two workers from the Reformed Presbyterian Church lived in constant danger of violent death. Johnston died of natural causes in 1861 and the survivors fled soon after to Aneityum in the face of native hostility, only to lose both of the Mathesons in a matter of months, apparently the victims of tropical diseases.

Despite these reverses the Geddies persisted with their mission. More volunteers came forward to fill the gaps, including Gordon's brother who suffered the same fate as his brother in 1872. The Geddies came home on furlough in 1864 and toured all the British North American colonies to encourage support for the New Hebrides mission and for Geddie's special project of translating the Bible into the native tongue. Already the Geddies' descriptive letters had been widely reprinted in the colonial religious press, and their speaking tour did more than increase public interest in the South Pacific — it sparked enthusiasm for undertaking other missions to foreign lands. Geddie returned to his chosen labours but died in Australia in 1872, less than a year after retirement. In memory of his pioneering work a grateful congregation at Aneityum erected a memorial table in his church with the following inscription: "When he landed, in 1848, there were no Christians here, and when he left, in 1872, there were no heathen."

Like the mission to the New Hebrides, Trinidad, the second field of Nova Scotian Presbyterian missionary endeavour, was opened as the result of one man's particular interest. In 1865 the Rev. John Morton of Bridgewater visited the island for his health and was so deeply moved by the condition of the East Indian indentured workers that he asked the Synod of the Lower Provinces to send him back as a missionary. He reached Trinidad in 1867 and within thirteen years established four stations to serve every part of the island. The Trinidad mission grew rapidly because of the early creation of a

native staff, and by 1914 it possessed sixty-six day schools, two theological colleges, two ordained East Indians and fifty catechists. Almost from its earliest days East Indian workers in this mission outnumbered Canadians and this self-reliance made possible the establishment of a branch mission in British Guiana. In 1885 the Presbyterian Missionary Society of Demerara offered to pay half the salary of a missionary, but the first Canadian to arrive, the Rev. John Gibson, died of fever just three years later and the station was unoccupied until J. B. Cropper, a former civil servant in the colony, returned in 1896 from studying theology at Halifax. Cropper was soon joined by other missionaries from Canada and by 1914 the mission had twenty-two stations occupied by five missionaries and twenty-one East Indian workers, serving three thousand Christians.<sup>3</sup>

Neither in the Maritimes nor in the Province of Canada did the local Church of Scotland synods support foreign missions of their own, and the Free Church of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick only entered the work after uniting with the Secession Church in 1860. The Free Church in the Canadas was, however, not far behind the Secession Synod of Nova Scotia in responding to this new challenge. The very creation of the Free Church in Scotland had reflected that evangelical and missionary commitment which arose in the Church of Scotland after the Napoleonic wars but which the dominance of the Moderates had circumscribed and frustrated. It was not surprising that the new body quickly embarked into the field of foreign missions, supported morally and financially by its colonial sister church in the Province of Canada. At its meeting in 1845 the new Canadian Free Church Synod had passed a resolution in favour of "promoting the enlargement of Messiah's kingdom amongst Jews and Gentiles" and of an annual collection for the foreign missions of the Free Church of Scotland. During the next ten years an average of \$750 was donated to this cause, but the real turning point in the story of Canadian Presbyterianism came in 1854.

That year, at the invitation of the Free Church Synod, the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, Free Church missionary in Calcutta, toured the Province of Canada and addressed audiences in every major city on the need for foreign evangelism. At Hamilton, where Duff stayed with Isaac Buchanan, Church of Scotland clergy shared in the devotional part of a missionary meeting that collected \$250. In Toronto, as the guest of Dr. Burns, Duff spoke at several places including the Wesleyan Methodist and negro churches, and at Knox College. The largest of the Toronto meetings attracted three thousand people; a mission breakfast drew five hundred. After speaking at Cobourg and Kingston Duff cut his tour short at Montreal because of a cold he had contracted in two railway derailments near Paris, Upper Canada. Duff's message was more than

a simple call for the Christian evangelization of the heathen. To him the British conquest of India was proof that the empire was God's chosen instrument for Christianizing the world, but he insisted that the challenge to convert unbelievers demanded a union of feeling among all Christians.<sup>4</sup>

The effects of Duff's visit were startling — missionary givings to the Free Church doubled overnight and the inspired synod established its own committee on foreign missions to seek and support a Canadian missionary effort abroad.<sup>5</sup> Two years after his tour the Free Church Committee on Foreign Missions reported that two volunteers, the Rev. H. Stevenson from Scotland and the Rev. John Laing of Scarborough, had been found for India where, incidentally, every Church of Scotland missionary had defected to the Free Church at the time of the Disruption. When the Presbytery of Toronto would not release Laing for this work, Stevenson proceeded alone to Bancoorah, one hundred and twenty miles from Calcutta. Stevenson's mission lasted less than six months — the outbreak of the Indian mutiny forced him, his wife, and their native catechist to abandon the post permanently. The synod thereupon sought other locations for missionary involvement. Initially this interest turned to a neglected field closer to home — the native population of the Northwest and British Columbia — and it was only after a decade of limited success there that Canadian Presbyterians embarked once more on a programme of missions to the Orient.

### *The Flood-Tide of Overseas Missions*

When the Canada Presbyterian Church resumed mission work begun in the Orient by the Free Church, it was not India but China that attracted its attention. In 1871 the Foreign Mission Committee reported to the newly formed General Assembly that the financial and human resources were now available for undertaking the delayed entry into the field of foreign missions. The Rev. George Leslie Mackay, who had come under Duff's influence during a visit to Scotland, was the first volunteer for this work, but he was so depressed by the lack of popular enthusiasm for his undertaking that he referred bitterly to an "ice age" engulfing the Canada Presbyterian Church. Nevertheless, he proceeded to mainland China that same year, and on discovering that there was no missionary in the northern part of the island of Formosa he moved to the port city of Tamsui early in 1872. He was able to preach in Chinese within six months, directing his attention to the conversion of the local society's leading members. By 1875 Mackay had some four hundred worshippers, nine chapels, three schools, nine native helpers and the company of Dr. J. B. Fraser and his

family. Fraser withdrew two years later when his wife died, and his successor, K. F. Junor, in turn left in broken health after only four years.<sup>6</sup>

Mackay had adopted Chinese clothes and customs, and in 1878 married one of his converts who gave him invaluable aid in his field work. When he returned to Canada again in 1880, accompanied by his wife, the couple attracted great attention for their mission. Mackay was honoured with a D.D. from Queen's and his home county of Oxford, Ontario, gave him \$6,200 for the erection of Oxford College at Tamsui, and an additional \$8,000 was contributed to the building of the college and a hospital. Mackay had himself received some medical training and in response to a local need in Formosa he became so expert in removing teeth that he is reported to have pulled about forty thousand during his lifetime. Mackay's evangelical successes in Formosa can be measured by the sixty mission stations established in twenty years, but much of this progress was interrupted by a French invasion of the island in 1884 that unleashed a wave of anti-foreign feeling. Enraged mobs killed Chinese Christians and destroyed chapels, and over the rubble of one place of worship erected a sign: "Mackay, the black-bearded devil, lies here. His work is ended."<sup>7</sup>

His work was not ended — it was only beginning. As soon as the fighting was over he used an indemnity of ten thousand Mexican dollars from the Chinese to build three stone churches whose lofty spires were embellished with representations of the burning bush and "Nec tamen consumebatur" in Chinese characters.<sup>8</sup> By 1886 he could report twenty-two hundred baptized members in thirty-eight stations. In 1893 Mackay returned once more to Canada where his vivid account of the trials and victories of his mission, published under the title *From Far Formosa*, created a sensation. During his absence Formosa was annexed by Japan and the Christians again suffered at the hands of pagan natives. In the long run, however, the presence of the Japanese proved a boon to the mission because it produced a more liberal attitude towards foreigners. The ravages of this latest war were compounded by famines and cyclones, and Mackay laboured incessantly to repair all these damages until his death in 1901. The work that he had started served as the solid foundation for a new missionary generation, and by 1914 twenty-one Canadian missionaries with seventy-seven native helpers were serving over five thousand Chinese Christians in northern Formosa.

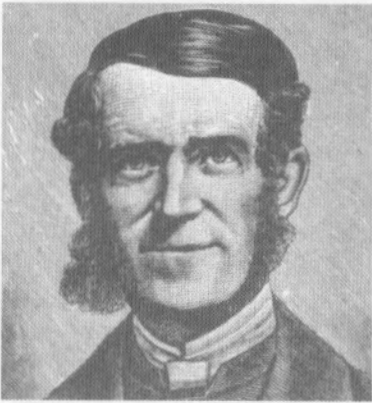
Mainland China received its first Canadian Presbyterian missionaries in 1888 when the students of Knox College sent Jonathan Goforth and Queen's sent J. Fraser Smith to work with the American Presbyterian Board. Three years later they had been joined by four other men and a nurse, and although they still had no base of operations they formed the Presbytery of Honan by

authority of the General Assembly. Two stations were obtained but the first one was looted by a mob only hours after its opening. This mission work in Honan province was still in its embryonic stage when the Boxer Rebellion erupted in 1900. Possessed by an insatiable hatred of these "foreign devils," the secret nationalist Society of Harmonious Fists, or Boxers, suddenly attacked Chinese Christians, missionaries, merchants and agents of other countries whom the imperial government of China was helpless to protect. Only an armed invasion of China by European, American and Japanese forces stopped the bloody rebellion which had taken the lives of 231 foreigners, most of them missionaries.

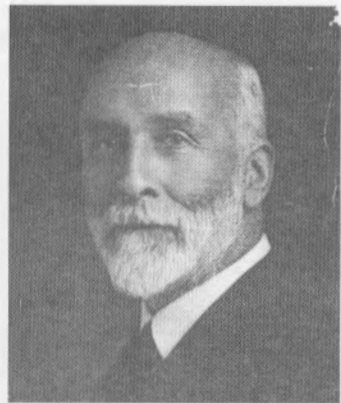
At the very moment when the Boxer atrocities began some of the Canadian Presbyterian missionaries were en route to a seaside holiday. Warned of impending danger, they escaped overland with the aid of a military escort provided by a friendly provincial governor. Those missionaries who had remained at the interior posts traversed fourteen hundred miles on land and by river boats to avoid the Boxers' fury. Once during their flight five members of the party were seriously wounded by sword-wielding rebels but the only fatality was a child who died of exhaustion.<sup>9</sup> When the storm of violence had passed, the missionaries returned to their posts where they received a warm welcome from their flocks. Destructive as the Boxer Rebellion had been, it served to clear the air of hostility towards the foreigners and the mission work developed even more rapidly than before. Two new stations were soon opened, bringing the total to six, and by 1914 seventy-four Canadian Presbyterian missionaries and 112 Chinese workers were employed in serving a Christian community of almost four thousand.<sup>10</sup>

The work in Honan led the Canadians into two more missionary endeavours in China. In 1899 the Rev. Donald MacGillivray joined the staff of the Christian Literature Society at Shanghai and subsequently three other Canadians aided in the translation and publishing work of that interdenominational body.<sup>11</sup> In Shantung province a Christian university had been established in 1904 and thirteen years later Dr. William McClure was added to the faculty as professor of medicine. Two years later another Canadian, I. D. MacRae, became professor of theology. A mission of a rather different origin was that at Macao where a native minister had been supported for some time by Christian Chinese in Canada before the Foreign Mission Committee answered a request for further aid by appointing the Rev. W. R. MacKay in 1902. By 1914 the home church was represented in China by eighty-eight Canadians and 140 native workers, operating on a total budget of \$95,000.

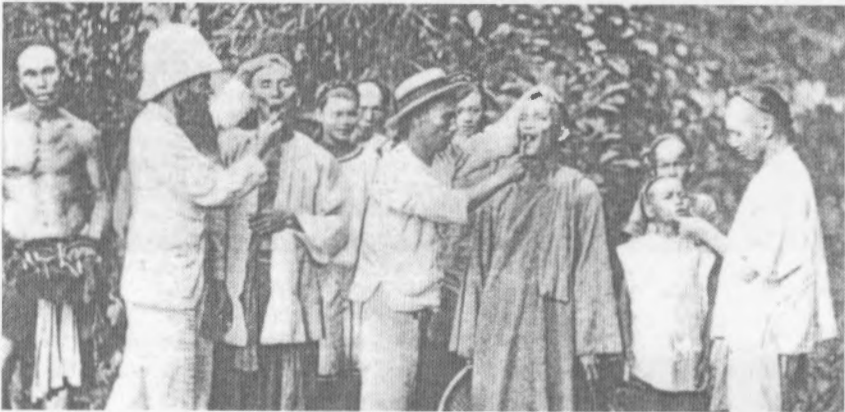
After Stevenson's abortive mission to India in the 1850s that Canadian Presbyterian mission lay fallow for twenty years. An oblique re-entry into that



John Geddie



Jonathan Goforth



George Leslie Mackay



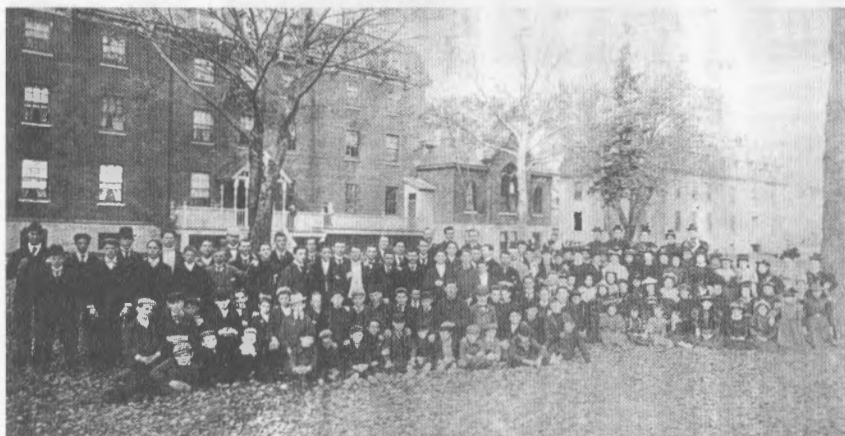
### John Morton

John Morton, a Nova Scotian minister, went to Trinidad in search of health, 1865. There he found illiterate Hindi and Moslem indentured immigrants, in need of religious care. John Geddie invited Morton to help in the South Seas. Instead, he chose Trinidad, 1868. Education for children was a pressing need, and when K.J. and Mrs. Grant arrived in 1870 schools were planned. Miss Annie Blackadder arrived as a teacher, 1876. Naparima College was founded. Morton and Grant taught theology. By 1925, 82 schools were operating, and 101 places of worship erected.





Father Chiniquy



French Canadian Missionary Society

vast field had been made in 1873 by Misses Margaret Rodger and Marion Fairweather who, with support from the General Assembly of the Free Church, went to the Ganges valley as teachers under the Presbyterian Church of the United States.<sup>12</sup> Another pioneer woman missionary, a Miss Johns, went to Madras in 1874 from the Presbyterian Church Synod of the Lower Provinces, supported entirely by St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, but she soon returned with a mortal disease. The effective beginnings of Canadian Presbyterian missions in India date from the union of 1875. The new church opened a new mission in Indore late in 1876 and within a year its staff had grown to seven persons. Soon the missionaries were reporting spectacular results from their preaching and teaching. By 1886 a Presbytery of Indore was organized with five stations, a printing establishment, four mission houses, a dispensary, a high school, a girls' school, a medical school for women, and a college affiliated to Calcutta University.<sup>13</sup> The march of missionary work in India seemed irresistible — within six years the total staff of schools, stations and hospitals had grown to ninety-three and included five Canadian women doctors. The annual expenditure on Indian missions alone had passed \$31,000 in a total mission budget of \$100,000 although the missionaries in the field reported few conversions.

In all the fields the mission work was normally divided into three parts — evangelistic, educational and medical — but in Trinidad and British Guiana all medical services were provided from outside sources. The Presbyterian Church's first medical missionary had been I. B. Fraser who joined Mackay in Formosa in 1875. Although the majority of missionary doctors were men, a surprisingly large number were women, beginning with Elizabeth Beatty who was in fact the second medical missionary to be appointed when she went to Indore in 1884. A notable characteristic among these healers was the length of service abroad — twenty-five years' duty was not unusual and some spent over thirty-five years in the field.<sup>14</sup> In every mission, hospitals were built and frequently these developed affiliated medical schools to train native doctors and nurses. The medical work proved to be particularly important as a means of contacting local populations and of impressing them with the unselfish intentions of the missionaries.

Evangelism and education in the missions went hand in hand, for the missionaries were frequently also teachers. Mission school facilities, designed to roll back the illiteracy, ignorance, and superstition found in underdeveloped countries, were modelled on Canadian institutions and provided a pyramid structure from elementary grades through the secondary level to college education. Since the development of a native ministry, like the training of native doctors and nurses, was essential for the ultimate success of these

Christianizing endeavours, theological seminaries were established as the coping stones of missionary educational systems. These schools and colleges provided the models and the high standards copied by the particular state systems of education which developed later.

A common element in the founding and success of these missions, particularly the early ones in the New Hebrides, Trinidad, Guiana and Formosa, was the presence of a dynamic, even dominating, personality. Mackay, “the blackbearded barbarian” of Formosa is the most obvious example of how a mission field could grow from the total dedication, the seemingly boundless energy, and the unconquerable spirit of one person who, as it were, succeeded in inspiring a whole church with his own enthusiasm for a particular foreign mission. The Rev. W. J. MacKenzie of Cape Breton began a mission in Korea supported solely by friends, and five years after his death in 1893 the field was officially adopted and supplied by the Church.<sup>15</sup> This identification of one individual with a given mission field — “Mackay of Formosa” or “Goforth of China” — tends to overshadow two other essential elements in the spectacular story of Canadian Presbyterian missions abroad. In the first place such a tradition does less than justice to the many other missionaries who shared in the work but whose contributions cannot be adequately recorded in such a general history as this. A fuller appreciation of the contribution those men and women, and in fact an appreciation of the total programme of Canadian Presbyterian foreign missions, awaits the deserved attention of future historians.

### *French and Indian Work in Canada*

Perhaps less alluring because less romantic than missions to places with such exotic names as Tamsui, Erromanga, Honan, or Indore, missions in Canada nevertheless played a prominent and important role in the expansion of Presbyterianism during the great age of outreach. The major effort in Presbyterian home mission work in Canada came at the end of the nineteenth century and was concerned with European immigrants and settlers in the West; less spectacular and less successful work was carried on with French Canadians and native Indians.

During the 1830s French Swiss Baptists had begun colportage, schools, preaching and training of missionaries in Lower Canada, in an effort to win French Canadians from the Church of Rome. Support for this ambitious programme came from the nondenominational French Canadian Missionary Society. By 1858 a French Canadian Reformed Church with ten congregations and some three thousand adherents had been established, but when its synod

dissolved eighteen years later the remnants were absorbed by other Protestant denominations. In 1841 the Church of Scotland ordained Emile Lapelletrie, colporteur for the nondenominational London Missionary Society, as a missionary to the French Canadians and provided him with a small church in Montreal. Ten years later he was succeeded by two Swiss ministers, and in 1861 the inclusion in the mission of the pastor and twenty-six communicants of Montreal's French Reformed Church necessitated the construction of a larger house of worship. The mission failed to expand, however, and lack of financial support was given as a major reason. In 1866 fifty-four Kirk congregations gave a total of \$810 — the other seventy-two gave nothing. Small wonder then that the Mission's sponsors called it "a record of disappointments and discouragements."<sup>16</sup>

The major Presbyterian participation in these conversion efforts was left to the Free Church. In 1847 the Students' Missionary Society of Knox College had offered to support John Black, the first student enrolled in the College and its first graduate, as a missionary to the French Canadians and synod quickly gave the project its blessing. Black served as secretary to the French Canadian Missionary Society until in 1851 he was sent to minister to the Presbyterians of the Red River settlement with which his name will always be connected. The Free Church continued to give financial and moral support to the Society until 1869 when it decided that the French work could be more effectively carried on under exclusively denominational auspices.<sup>17</sup> Professor D. Coussirat was therefore engaged to teach in Presbyterian College, Montreal, and a Committee on French Canadian Evangelization was created by the General Assembly. In 1863 Presbyterianism had gained a famous convert in Father Charles Chiniqy, former Roman Catholic priest, renowned preacher and temperance worker since 1845. Thereafter much of the church campaign for French-Canadian conversions revolved around Chiniqy's dynamic but unstable personality.<sup>18</sup>

In January, 1875, Chiniqy was placed in Craig Street Church, Montreal, where his French services soon attracted overflow audiences of upwards of eight hundred persons.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, militant Roman Catholicism was then at the height of its influence in the Province of Quebec, and within two months Chiniqy's provocative sermons also attracted hostile French Canadians. Angry mobs smashed the church's windows and drove the preacher and his congregation out of the building. Fearful of receiving similar treatment from fanatical Roman Catholics, other churches closed their doors to Chiniqy. The congregation of Côté Street Church was not so easily intimidated and a convoy of sleighs accompanied by three hundred "ablebodied" Protestants and students of Presbyterian College escorted Chiniqy through the streets of Montreal to

install him in their pulpit. The withdrawal of these defenders was the signal for further mob attacks. Finally twelve hundred Protestant “volunteers” armed with “serviceable weapons” vanquished the attackers. Thereafter Chiniquy was left unmolested and he claimed to have converted seven thousand Catholics. In later years he returned to the French-Canadian colony he had established in Illinois, went on world preaching tours, and finally settled at Montreal where he died in 1899 in his ninetieth year. Chiniquy wrote several lurid *exposés* of life in the Roman Catholic church that were widely read and translated into several languages, but French-Canadian Catholics greeted his public appearances with shouts of “Judas.”

The French-Canadian mission of the Canadian Presbyterian Church was at its height about 1892 when the Board of French Evangelization reported twenty-eight workers in thirty-six congregations and ninety-five stations were serving nearly twelve hundred families in New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario.<sup>20</sup> The church also operated two preparatory schools but the number of church members in the Mission had ceased to increase a decade earlier. Of Montreal, where there were no less than three congregations, the Board commented pessimistically, “Filling Mission Churches here is almost as hard a task as filling a sieve with water. Nor is it to be wondered at. There is no comfort here for French Protestants. They receive but scant sympathy from many of their English brethren, and they are branded by their fellow-countrymen of French descent as traitors and apostates. With Protestant Ontario in the west, and the great Protestant United States south of them, why should they remain among fanatical image worshippers? And thus, year after year, the exodus goes on, and the communion rolls of our French churches show such emigration sufficient to change the membership almost totally in a very few years.”<sup>21</sup>

This seemed a small return for a generation of enthusiastic effort if measured against the one and a half million French-Canadian Catholics in those three provinces, or if judged by an annual average expenditure equal to a quarter of the funds spent on all other aspects of Presbyterian mission in Canada. For 1894 only one hundred and fifty conversions were recorded although the church had spent over \$38,000 on French-Canadian missions — nearly as much as the Baptists, Anglicans and Methodists combined. From this time forward the work of the Board declined rapidly and by 1904 French evangelization had been placed under Home Mission Board control. A new philosophy of French-Canadian missions was reflected in the Home Mission report of 1914 which stated that “the greatest danger in Quebec is not in Roman Catholicism, but in the incredulity and religious indifference that react from it” “Our aim is not to make proselytes by emphasizing abuses in the Church of Rome, but to forestall and counteract the drift towards infidelity.”<sup>22</sup> A year later, when World War I

had started, the number of mission stations was down to seventy-four and the number of workers only twenty. The Home Mission Board noted regretfully, “[The missionaries] work in communities where the citizens generally do not understand them. They are looked upon by the great mass of the people as the enemies of the cross, turning the world upside down and destroying religion.”<sup>23</sup>

In contrast to the interest shown in this French mission, Presbyterianism in all its branches and in all the colonies was, for a communion of its size and wealth, tardy in taking up the task of missionary work among the native peoples of North America. Where other denominations, particularly the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Methodists, had extensive missions operating by the 1830s, it was not until the 1860s that Presbyterians, specifically the Free Church in Canada, took the first small steps in that direction. As early as 1857 the Presbytery of Toronto had addressed Synod regarding a mission to the North American Indians, “that interesting and perishing race,” and Synod had assigned to the presbytery a job of gathering relevant information. Year after year presbytery reported little progress and Synod showed equal interest.

In 1860 Synod advised the presbytery to consider only the feasibility of sending a single missionary to the Red River, where John Black had already arrived in 1851 and was in incidental contact with the natives, adding the warning “it being understood that the Synod shall not incur any pecuniary responsibility.”<sup>24</sup> At last in 1864 the synod advised its Foreign Mission Committee to establish such a mission if funds were available and two years later the Rev. James Nisbet, Black’s assistant, was detached to serve as missionary to the Crees. After a sixty-six day trek across the prairies, Nisbet and his convoy of eleven Red River wagons arrived at Prince Albert on the North Saskatchewan River.<sup>25</sup> From that base he travelled as far afield as Edmonton on missionary journeys until his death eight years later. Nisbet’s place was filled by the Rev. Hugh McKellar who had come west as a catechist for the Students’ Missionary Society of Knox College, but already the Crees were moving away as the region filled up with European settlers and McKellar found much of his time was occupied by these new arrivals.

The fact was that the Presbyterian Church had entered the field so late that most western Indians were already attached to other denominations — the future missionary needs of the Canadian West were being created by the great migration of settlers, not by the native inhabitants. “New Columbia or Vancouver’s Island” was one region that offered the promising prospect of combining a mission to “the Pagan Aborigines of those regions,” with work among the small body of English-speaking settlers; accordingly money was voted to the Scottish Free Church and the Irish Presbyterian Church missions

on the Pacific Coast.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps because of the economic recession which began in Canada about 1857 no missionary was designated to this field until early in 1862 when the Rev. Robert Jamieson went to Victoria. Jamieson, formerly of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, found that a missionary of that church had already arrived there and so he abandoned hope of working with the Indians and tried instead to establish congregations at New Westminster and Nanaimo with the aid of two other Canadians who served with him briefly.

Indian missions had been the reason for the first entry of the Roman Catholic church into the Pacific coast area in the 1840s, and the Anglican and Methodist churches started similar missions soon after their first preachers arrived there. The first Presbyterian missionary began to work among the native tribes of British Columbia arriving as late as 1890, and this field never expanded outside of Vancouver Island. Although some preaching was done in Indian villages, most of the Presbyterian missionary effort was devoted to three day schools for children.<sup>27</sup> By that date the Presbyterian Church had only thirteen Indian mission fields in the whole of the prairie lands and employed only eight ministers and twenty assistants from a church that boasted over one thousand clergy at home and abroad. Addressing the Fifth General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, the Rev. Hugh McKay of the Northwest Territories noted in 1892 that only forty per cent of Canada's Indians had been converted. Why, he asked, should the Presbyterian Church seek to civilize and Christianize these people? "*Because they live in our country, and our prosperity is influenced by them....Because of the inheritance we have received from the Indian....Because of his poverty,*" and because of the Church's commission to preach the Gospel to every creature.<sup>28</sup> Despite such appeals, the contrast between the efforts expended on Indian missions and the large amounts devoted to foreign mission is a mute commentary on the priorities of a church which viewed evangelization in imperialistic terms. Writing his history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1925, John McNeill mentioned its work among "the first Canadians" in one sentence.

### *Missions in Canada's West and North*

The Dominion of Canada formed in 1867 was rounded out territorially "from sea to sea" by adding Manitoba and the Northwest in 1871, British Columbia in 1872, and Prince Edward Island in 1873; but a world-wide depression during the 1870s and the lack of adequate transportation

discouraged any mass migration to Canada's newly opened West. A steady trickle of settlers did make their way westward, although the extent of this population growth can be judged by the fact that less than five hundred Presbyterians in the area of Saskatchewan and Alberta and only 13,900 in Manitoba were recorded in the census of 1881. That year, however, was the turning-point in the history of the west and in the outreach of the Presbyterian Church. The C.P.R. reached Winnipeg and the Presbytery of Manitoba reported one hundred and sixteen preaching points serving almost a thousand families. The Presbytery now requested the appointment of a mission superintendent and General Assembly responded by appointing the Rev. James Robertson to this challenging position.<sup>29</sup>

A forty-three year old native of Scotland, Robertson had moved with his family to Oxford County, Ontario, while he was still a youth. After a brief teaching career he had joined several Canadian candidates for the ministry at Princeton, because of the low standards at Knox College. He returned to preach in Ontario in 1869 and four years later accepted a call to the Free Church congregation in the frontier metropolis of Winnipeg. There Robertson found a Church of Scotland missionary occupying, and reluctant to vacate, Robertson's church, so Robertson spent the next few months touring the more remote areas of the province. This temporary arrangement proved to be providential for the future of the Church in the West — Robertson not only became acquainted with the land and people but he developed an unbridled enthusiasm for the region as a new land of promise. "To all sober industrious men this land will be a boon." "Here a hardy race must spring up, a race to play an important part in future."<sup>30</sup>

During his next seven years with the Winnipeg congregation, Robertson acquired a high reputation for preaching and administration; he also taught occasionally at Manitoba College which had opened in 1871, and he continued his missionary tours of the West. His knowledge of the country and its needs, his proven energy and ability, made his choice as first superintendent of Western missions a natural one, although such a position was unprecedented in Canadian Presbyterianism. Already thousands of railway workers and settlers were beginning to fill the land and untold thousands more would arrive in their wake as the steel ribbon of railway pushed westward. Robertson was required to supervise and visit all mission stations in the prairie region, distribute Home Mission funds, report regularly to General Assembly and co-operate with the Presbytery of Manitoba and any new presbyteries established. These duties were, however, but one side of the superintendent's coin — he was also ordered to spend part of each year "in other Provinces with a view to enlist the sympathies and evoke the liberality of the Church"



for this great undertaking.<sup>31</sup> General Assembly described his limitless task simply as “oversight,” yet that word itself was opposed by some who felt it smacked of episcopacy!

From 1881 until his death in 1902, Robertson’s enthusiasm for the western missions never flagged. The addition of British Columbia to his charge in 1890 extended his responsibility to two-thirds of Canada. By buggy or cutter over prairie tracks, on passenger or on freight trains, he traversed the Canadian prairies helping, encouraging, and admonishing the scattered congregations and his missionaries. By 1885 the number of families had more than doubled to 4,350 and the number of churches had grown from eighteen to sixty-six, yet the years of greatest expansion still lay ahead. Addressing the Fifth General Council of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, Robertson boasted in 1892, “Eight years ago we had 1 Presbytery; now 2 Synods and 10 Presbyteries. Eleven years ago we had 2 congregations; now 73; then 28 ministers; now 141; in 1881, we held services at 116 points; now at 667. Our communicants have risen from 1,153 to over 14,000, and the revenue from \$15,000 to \$203,000. Eleven years ago, we contributed one-hundredth part of the revenues of the Church, and last year one-tenth.”<sup>32</sup>

Between 1891 and 1902, 438,000 immigrants came to Canada and the population of Robertson’s vast mission field rose from 150,000 to 420,000. In 1886 he estimated that a third of all settlers in the Northwest were Presbyterians but the census reports of 1901 and 1911 show less than twenty per cent of the population in Alberta and Saskatchewan and only twenty-five per cent in Manitoba. After 1896 an increasing proportion of the newcomers were “foreigners,” but by far the largest part of the funds allocated for Home Missions was still devoted to English-speaking immigrants. Despite this limitation in the Church’s outreach, the achievements of Robertson were impressive by any standard. Part of Robertson’s success was due to his deliberate policy of recruiting only young, robust and practical clergy as missionaries. “I would far rather have a man know less Latin and more horse,” he told his wife.<sup>33</sup> “Men with large families, and in the decline of their physical powers are not the best-suited for the North-west,” he had written to the General Assembly in 1882. The following year he had asked for twenty-five more workers and got twenty, but he was critical of those who could find no jobs in foreign missions yet refused to serve in the West.<sup>34</sup> Another reason for the success of the mission was, in Robertson’s opinion, the willingness of westerners to make financial sacrifices for their faith. In 1889 the General Assembly reported the average giving of each Canadian communicant was just over \$11 but the prairie pioneers gave almost fifty per cent more per person.

Robertson has sometimes been called the Presbyterian bishop and the title is not inappropriate. He possessed such tremendous authority that his mission seemed at times to be a one-man operation. His strident demands for more men and more money were resented by some who felt that this dynamic personality paid too little attention to his original instructions regarding co-operation and accountability. When death at last removed his firm and guiding hand from the helm of western missions the extent of his work and influence was more readily visible. Thereafter the annual reports from the west became perfunctory and uninspiring, lacking the comprehensive overview that Robertson had invariably provided. Nevertheless, the tide of mission rolled on with the huge wave of immigration that was reaching unprecedented and undreamed of proportions in the decade before World War I. Saskatchewan and Alberta, established as provinces in 1905 with populations of 91,000 and 73,000 inhabitants respectively, had grown to 492,000 and 374,000 by 1911. Such growth had not, however, been limited to the prairie provinces. British Columbia received its share of settlers somewhat later — in 1891 it had contained slightly less than 100,000 people: twenty years later it had four times that number and the proportion of Presbyterians had risen from fifteen percent to twenty.

At the time of Robertson's death, western Canada had two synods, eighteen presbyteries and 258 mission fields and two superintendents had to be appointed — J. C. Herdman for Alberta and British Columbia, J. A. Carmichael for Saskatchewan and Manitoba.<sup>35</sup> Such spectacular growth owed much to the solid organizational foundations laid by Robertson during his score of years as superintendent. By 1914 the four western provinces contained four synods, twenty-eight presbyteries and half of all the Church's preaching stations. Since the turn of the century the number of families had increased from 16,000 to 55,000 and the number of communicants from 22,000 to almost 77,000. This represented almost a third of all Presbyterian families, but less than a quarter of the national total of communicants. The adolescent state of that region was also reflected in the fact that almost three-quarters of all monies raised came from the five older provinces in the east. The old problem of insufficient funds for home mission expansion still plagued the Church in the West. On the eve of World War I, General Assembly resolved to co-operate with other denominations and particularly the Methodists in that field by ending every duplication of missions and by joint planning of "all new work to be undertaken so as to prevent the possibility of overlapping in the future." Moreover, in Southern Saskatchewan alone twelve independent union congregations had already been formed on local initiative.<sup>36</sup>

Just as the Church had responded enthusiastically to the opening of the

West, so it met with courage and imagination the challenge on Canada's "last frontier," the Yukon Territory, when the discovery of gold at Bonanza Creek in 1896 produced one of the last great gold rushes in modern times. As thousands of hopeful prospectors from every corner of the earth struggled northward over the mountains and through trackless forests in pursuit of dreams of wealth, the Presbyterian Church moved quickly to meet their spiritual needs. Under the general supervision of Robertson, the Rev. R. M. Dickey opened a mission at the gateway town of Skagway in October, 1897, and within six months he had built a church there and welcomed three more men who fanned out into the mining camps of the interior.<sup>37</sup>

The labours of these "Yukon Pioneers" forms an epic chapter in the history of the Presbyterian church and of Canada. Life in the camps was rough, violent and lawless, and the Rev. John Pringle was convinced that these miners needed the gospel message more than any men he had ever met. They were surrounded by professional criminals, gamblers, whisky-runners and prostitutes. "There are the reckless, the indifferent, the professing Christians without backbone, the earnest Christians, the discouraged, the despairing, good and bad men who have spent all and are at their wits end."<sup>38</sup> To reach such persons Pringle made a three-week winter trek to Fort Wrangell, tramping through slush up to his knees, covering only four miles in one six-hour period and eating the netting of his snow shoes to stay alive. His Christmas dinner on this journey consisted of bacon, beans and hard tack. By the time he reached his destination his hands were so torn by thorn bushes that for three days he could not hold a pen. Another missionary, J. A. Sinclair, qualified as a "sourdough-stiff" in 1900 by mushing nearly five hundred miles with his dog team in the midst of the spring break-up.<sup>39</sup> It was small wonder that a few of these men were forced to withdraw in broken health.

By the summer of 1899 the mission, supported by the "Klondike Fund," had taken on two added dimensions. Dickey had early recommended the sending of medical aid. "What is to become of the sick and wounded if we do not do something for them? If trained nurses, with the love of Christ in their hearts, could be sent there would be a great work for them to do. The people are mostly too eager after gold to care for the sick."<sup>40</sup> Later that year Pringle, who was ministering to twelve hundred miners at Atlin, B.C., called for the immediate dispatch of nurses. Two volunteers, Misses E. H. Mitchell and Helen Bone arrived in the summer of 1899, sponsored by the "Atlin Nurses Committee." "The government agent gave us a cabin for a hospital," reported Miss Mitchell. "It had a roof of mud, a floor of sawdust, and only two small panes of glass for a window. It held four cots; the pillows were made of packing that came around our cots and filled with the hay in which



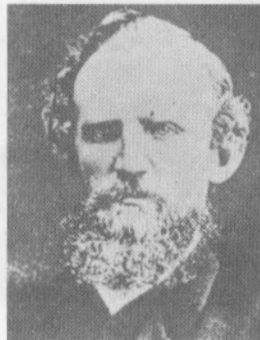
**John Black,  
1818-1882**

At Knox College he began city mission work, and became a teacher at Point-aux-Trembles School. Urged to go west, after many adventures he reached Kildonan, 1851. Over 300 thirsty Presbyterians came to the first service in the manse. Ravaging floods delayed building of a church. Besides his work among a large

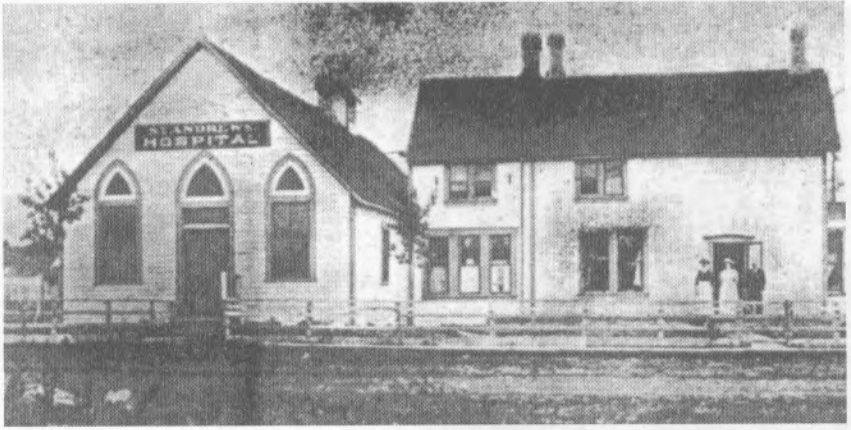
congregation, Black preached to the Indians, and converted the newly formed committee on home missions responsible for men on the frontier. He pioneered in teaching leading up to theology. Overtaxed physically, he died revered by natives, factors, churchmen and educators.



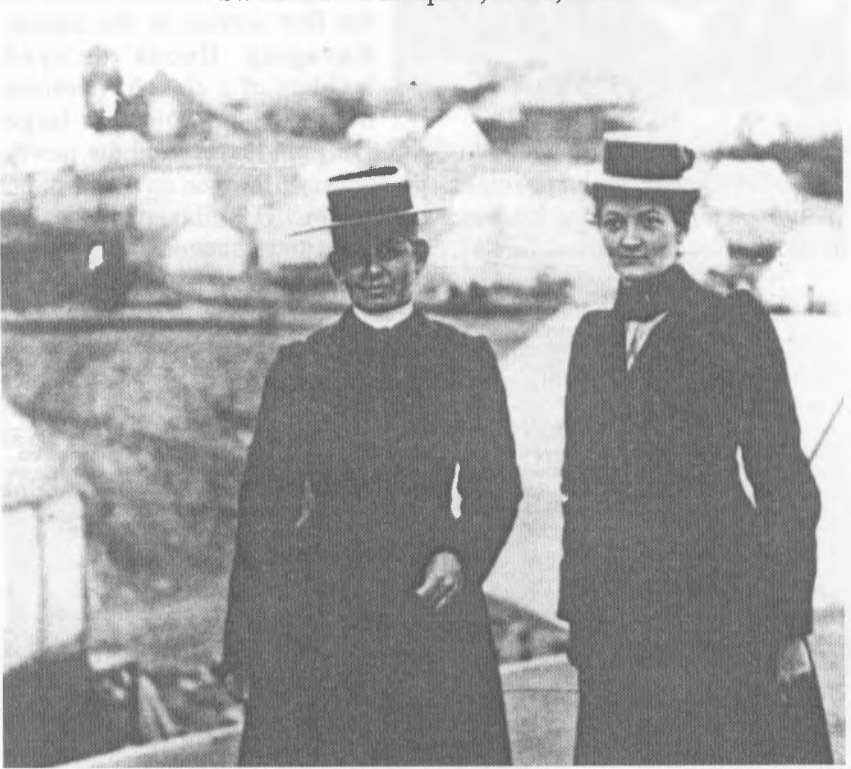
Nisbet Hall,  
built 1864.  
Early College and  
Elementary Classes  
met here.



Rev. James and Mrs. Nisbet



St. Andrew's Hospital, Atlin, B.C.



Elizabeth Mitchell (left) and Helen Bone (right)  
Atlin Nurses

our dishes were packed.”<sup>41</sup> Appalled at these working and living conditions, Pringle organized a building bee to which every one in Atlin contributed free labour or materials, and the result was St. Andrew’s Hospital, the first Presbyterian hospital in Canada.

The second dimension of the Klondike experience was plans for a permanent mission. Early reports from the field suggested that the gold mining would continue for a century — the Church must therefore consider long-range planning for its future in the Yukon. After 1900, however, the great “rush” was petering out and the mission was abandoned when its high purpose had been served. In its day the Klondike mission had added a story of heroism and self-sacrifice in the face of incredible hardships to the annals of Presbyterianism in Canada.

In its westward course the tide of settlement leap-frogged past the forest-covered Canadian Shield whose rocky hills characterize northern Ontario and separate the fertile lands of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes basin from those of the prairies. Before Confederation logging operations had pushed into the upper Ottawa Valley. During the 1870s a mission to the lumbermen in the Ottawa Valley had been undertaken which continued to operate on a modest scale until the turn of the century. Travelling missionaries, often students, visited the shanties distributing literature in English, French and Gaelic, and conducting religious services.<sup>42</sup> The exploitation of the resources of “New Ontario” however, had to await the coming of the railways and, more important, the discovery of the rich mineral resources of the Shield. Although Presbyterian mission work had started at Sault Ste. Marie, at Gravenhurst and Parry Sound, and on Manitoulin Island in the 1860s and 1870s, the real beginning of concentrated effort in the Ontario north must be dated from the appointment of the Rev. Allan Findlay as superintendent of Missions in 1884, the year that the C.P.R.’s main line from Montreal reached Schreiber. The previous year nickel had been found near Sudbury and by 1889 the smelting of ore at Sudbury and Copper Cliff signalled the opening of the industrial age in that region and consequently the beginning of permanent settlement. Where early missionaries, usually divinity students, had trekked along forest trails to reach isolated logging or mining camps, the new era demanded the creation of urban churches with fixed pastorates to serve a settled population.

By the late 1890s yet another economic element had entered the northern Ontario scene as lumbermen and farmers flocked to the Little Clay Belt around New Liskeard, eighty miles beyond North Bay. After a survey of the religious needs of this newest pocket of settlement by the Rev. John Sharp (later a professor at Morrin College and at Queen’s), a number of missions to be supplied during the summers by students were opened in the area.

The discovery of silver at Cobalt in 1903 and of gold at Timmins six years later meant that the "Little Clay Belt" became in its turn the centre for mining towns that also required permanent churches. When Findlay died in 1908 after a quarter century of busy mission activity in the north, he was succeeded as superintendent by the Rev. Stephen Childerhose. Childerhose's work was cut short just two years later when he was killed in a railway accident, and the choice for a superintendent of missions fell on J. D. Byrnes who, at the age of twenty-three, had been the first Presbyterian missionary to Cobalt in 1906.

Life in these burgeoning mining towns was rough and irreligious. "My first impression of the camp," the pioneer missionary minister to Porcupine recalled afterwards, "was that we had somehow landed on another planet." "The habits of men were so different. The old conventional restraints were gone. Here in the heart of a northern forest a young and rugged city was springing into being. Life was being made over with a vengeance, and reality was being faced afresh. Lucky were they who were well anchored to the tested truths of a living faith. Here was a great aggregation of humans, alive and on the march. Hotels, theatres and saloons with the raucous blare of gramophones, drug stores with 'Pills and Things,' trading companies and most of the banking institutions of the country — all were on the ground seeking business. What a cosmopolitan throng it was! Men from Mexico and Peru, from Dawson and the Rand, men from everywhere, with the wanderlust and the wonderlust, men from the schools and universities of the world and men who were in the process of training in the common school of 'Hard Knocks'. It was a great challenge to adequately represent the Church of Christ as the basic need of this frontier community."<sup>43</sup> Byrnes had already gained wide first-hand experience in such surroundings and he was gravely concerned by the inadequate supply of ministers for this work. The Temiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway (now the Ontario Northland) had already reached Cochrane and the rush of gold seekers into the region was at full tide. Byrnes believed that interdenominational missionary co-operation was the only practical solution to the challenges facing the Church. Childerhose had already signed an agreement with the Methodists for the sharing of mission responsibilities in the area and his successor lost no time in extending this arrangement which soon provided the basis of a strong local church union movement. By 1914 the Presbyterian Church had 247 preaching stations and forty-two ministers in four presbyteries of northern Ontario.<sup>44</sup>

### *Missions to New Canadians*

The rush of European immigrants to Canada, which had contributed so

much to the building of the West, slackened somewhat in the 1890s but resumed again after the turn of the century. Thereafter, except for 1908, the number of arrivals mounted steadily each year until it reached a peak of over 400,000 in 1913 — as many as had come in the eleven-year period, 1891-1902 — and most of them found their way to new homes in the prairie provinces. This great influx of new Canadians was due to several factors — unrest in Europe and the filling up of good lands in the United States and Australia; but in no small measure it resulted from the massive publicity campaign mounted in Britain and Europe by the Canadian government to attract new settlers. As in the 1880s the bulk of these immigrants still came from Britain or the United States, but after 1904 an increasing and substantial proportion came from central and eastern Europe, creating the ethnic pluralism so evident in modern Canadian society.

This flood of humanity raised questions in the minds of Canadians — how could the newcomers be assimilated to the Canadian way-of-life, by which was meant assimilation to an idealized model of Anglo-Saxon society. British attitudes and institutions would be understood by Britishers, and perhaps by Americans, but how could Scandinavians, Ruthenians, Germans, Poles, Hungarians, Russians, and the multitude of other national, linguistic, and religious traditions — immigrants in 1912 came from fifty-nine countries — be molded into “good Canadians”? No one had an answer, and the Christian churches for the most part reacted negatively to this challenge of cultural pluralism. Missions to foreign lands were well understood by Canadian Christians but missions to “foreigners” in Canada was a new and disturbing idea. In 1892 Robertson had written, “To be a Presbyterian a man must not of necessity talk Gaelic or broad Scotch, or hail from Ulster; the time has come for broadening the scope of our work, and so showing that Presbyterianism is not a creed of race or locality, but adapted for all nationalities and races.”<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, mission to “these strangers” always presupposed a double objective, to Canadianize and to Christianize, on terms dictated by the older Canadians, an approach that too often engendered a type of defensive nativism.

This attitude was reflected in books such as R. G. MacBeth’s *Our Task in Canada*, commissioned and published by the Home Mission Board in 1912. “Generally speaking,” he wrote, “the foreigners that come to this country menace...the welfare of our labouring class.” “A great many foreign immigrants do not consider pauperism discreditable, and this is something new on Canadian soil. Then the statistics show that foreigners of certain classes furnish the criminal list beyond all proportion to their numbers.” “When these foreigners reside in blocks as they unfortunately do in some cases... their presence is a menace of



a very deadly kind to the body politic.”<sup>46</sup> “Our hope is to evangelize the constituent elements of the coming blend before it is too late.”

Missions to ethnic groups was not, however, entirely new to Canadian Presbyterianism. As early as 1840 the Synod in connection with the Church of Scotland became interested in its mother church’s mission for the conversion of the Jews. A committee of synod was appointed in 1853 to promote collections for this purpose and two years later it reported receiving \$200. With this encouragement a new committee was established to cooperate with its opposite number in Scotland and almost immediately Dr. Aiton visited Canada soliciting funds for a mission to Jerusalem. When Dr. Aiton was able to raise nearly \$1,400 in the provinces the synod proposed to participate directly in his project. A missionary candidate was found in Ephraim M. Epstein, a licensed American preacher, “Israelite by descent,”<sup>47</sup> who completed a medical course at Queen’s and went to Salonika, Greece, in 1859. Salonika was chosen as a Canadian field because there was no room at the Jerusalem mission, and the £340 collected for Dr. Aiton were placed in a trust where the money remained at least until 1900.

Dr. Epstein soon moved from Salonika to Monastir, sixty miles distant, but after two years of unrewarding labour he asked to be released from his mission. The Canadian Synod thereupon reverted to its original plan of financial support for the missions of the Church of Scotland, as the Synod of the Lower Provinces had agreed to do in the late 1850s. No other Presbyterian bodies in British North America were concerned with missions to the Jews, but for a short time around 1860 the Free Church in Nova Scotia maintained the Rev. Petros Constantinides in an unsuccessful mission to the Turks.<sup>48</sup> The end of the nineteenth century saw renewed Presbyterian interest in missions to the Jews, but this was awakened by the arrival of Jewish immigrants in Canada rather than by a revival of work in the Near East. The first of these domestic missions to the Jews was started in 1908 among the 25,000 Jews of Toronto, under the auspices of Foreign Missions, and three years later a mission was established in the Jewish community at Winnipeg. In 1913, with ten workers in the field, financial responsibility was transferred from the Foreign Missions to the Board of Home Missions.<sup>49</sup>

There were now some 150,000 Jews in Canada and it was estimated that an additional 7,500 arrived from Europe each year. The Church was concerned about the drift to infidelity among these immigrants. “In this free country Judaism has entirely lost its influence. True, the people hold tenaciously together on national grounds. It is the racial sentiment rather than that of religious interest, that keeps the Jews united in the new land.”<sup>50</sup> A “Christian Synagogue” had been opened in Toronto in 1913 in the new three storey

inner-city mission called the Scott Institute, and a “Hebrew Christian Congregation” formed under presbytery; a building was badly needed for the mission in Winnipeg, but no services were being provided to Montreal’s 55,000 Jews for lack of “suitable agents.” On the eve of World War I, the Society reported a mixed reception for its efforts to “bring a ray of true light to illuminate Israel’s gross darkness”. “Many do not welcome missionary effort, but this does not relieve the Christian Church of the responsibility of giving them the Gospel.”<sup>51</sup>

An even less successful mission was one begun in 1892 to convert the five thousand-odd Chinese of British Columbia. An ambitious programme of evangelization was started in Victoria and quickly spread to centres on the mainland, thanks to the free English courses offered to attract men to the mission centres. Head of the mission, the Rev. A. B. Winchester, who had learned Cantonese in China, reported the baptism of the first convert in 1896 and the formation of a congregation at Victoria in 1898. Unfortunately, the desire for salvation fell off rapidly once the Chinese immigrants learned enough English to ensure them of good jobs, and in any case only about one per cent of all Chinese Canadians were attracted to this mission.<sup>52</sup> By 1915 only five Chinese missions were operating in Canada.

Despite such missions to Christianize and Canadianize the “foreigner” based on an unquestioning faith in Anglo-Saxon superiority, the Presbyterian Church in Canada still concentrated most of its attention and funds on Presbyterian immigrants arriving at Canadian ports. There were of course several additional practical reasons for this approach — American immigrants entered the Dominion at numerous points along the undefended border where individual contact with them was simply not possible, and European immigrants were naturally attracted to those branches of the Christian church with which they had been acquainted at home. “Children who have been ‘reared on oatmeal and the Shorter Catechism’, make excellent settlers,” James Robertson had announced in 1892, but, he hastened to ask, “Why should the Church confine her labours to those who may show a Presbyterian pedigree?”<sup>53</sup>

The first response by the General Assembly to the immigration problem did not come until 1907 when an “Immigration Chaplain” was appointed following an overture from Saint John Presbytery in New Brunswick. Two years later Immigration Chaplains were at work in Halifax and Saint John, and the Home Mission Committee appointed a sub-committee to direct this part of its work. Subsequently this operation was placed under the Eastern Section of the Committee and monies were raised specifically for this purpose. Behind the scenes a comprehensive and detailed policy towards immigration was being hammered out and by 1911 a full report was ready for the General

Assembly. "Large numbers of Presbyterians are arriving from year to year," the report said. "It is true that some of these people are not only intelligent but religious and will connect themselves with our Church in the community in which they locate, but a very large proportion of them belong to the class who have lapsed from the Presbyterian Church and have no connection with this or any other Church." The chaplains could not deal adequately "with the Church interests of people to whom only a few moments can be devoted in the rush from the steamer to the railway train." Therefore a "Secretary of information of the Immigration Bureau of the Presbyterian Church in Canada" should be appointed in Britain to serve as "something more than a chaplain and something less than an immigration agent."<sup>54</sup>

The man chosen for this post was the Rev. Thomas Hunter Boyd, an Englishman educated at Manitoba College and at Chicago and Yale, who had accepted a call to Glasgow in 1910. Armed with timetables, circulars, books, pamphlets, a free shipping pass to Londonderry and an immense amount of energy, Boyd quickly displayed a genius for organization as forward contact man for the church's immigration service. From a modest office on the Glasgow waterfront he collected the names of immigrants from passenger lines, despatched advance literature to the travellers, arranged follow-up interviews at embarkation, and sent notice of arrivals to appropriate Canadian ministers wherever the final destination of the settler was known. In between this heavy round of routine, Boyd found time to visit general assemblies and synods in Britain, recruit personnel for the Canadian church, co-operate with other social agencies, and answer a flood of enquiries about the price of land, job opportunities, and living conditions in the new land. He gave special attention to the needs of young women travelling unaccompanied and urged the church to attend closely to their welfare after their arrival in Canada.<sup>55</sup>

Reporting on the Canadian end of this operation (which now included Quebec and Montreal), Chaplain A. Patterson described the immigration service as "applied Christianity." He was particularly concerned about the "foreigners" who made up twenty per cent of the immigrants coming to Canada. Their insufficient literacy, "virtue and intelligence," posed, he believed, a threat to the democratic way-of-life, and he recommended a more stringent immigration policy that would limit numbers, stress education in "English only, as the National language," and examine more carefully "the moral character of immigrants, especially of domestics."<sup>56</sup> The success of this service spurred the General Assembly of 1912 to establish the work as a separate "Department of the Stranger" connected to the Home Mission Board. This recognition seemed justified when the chaplains reported a year

later that 62,000 settlers had been greeted, of whom one third were Presbyterians, and that the Women's Missionary Society in many congregations had created "Stranger's Committees" to maintain these initial contacts.

The second Great Migration to Canada had, however, reached its peak by this time. Wars in Eastern Europe during 1913 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914 so reduced the flow of new Canadians that by 1917 only one hundred and forty-five were cared for by the Department of the Stranger. Belated as its inception had been, the Department had shown clearly in a few short years how the needs of Presbyterians and others coming to Canada could be met by the Canadian church, and the postwar years would see this work revived and expanded to new heights of service.