Called to Witness

PROFILES OF CANADIAN PRESBYTERIANS

A Supplement to Enduring Witness

EDITED BY W. STANFORD REID

VOLUME TWO

Called to Witness

Called to Witness

PROFILES OF CANADIAN PRESBYTERIANS

A Supplement to Enduring Witness

EDITED BY W. STANFORD REID

VOLUME TWO

COMMITTEE ON HISTORY
The Presbyterian Church in Canada
1980

Published by the Committee on History, 81 Cloverhill Road, Hamilton L9C 3L8, Ontario.

Designed by Tim Inkster, printed and bound by The Porcupine's Quill, Inc. (Erin) in May of 1980. The type is Garamond and the stock, Zephyr Antique Laid.

Table of Contents

Mark Young Stark ALLAN L. FARRIS 11

Michael Willis D.R. NICHOLSON 23

Robert Thornton WALTER JACKSON 31

George Brown JOHN MOIR 39

Oliver Mowat A. MARGARET EVANS 47

Donald Harvey MacVicar JOHN A. JOHNSTON 57

George Leslie Mackay GEORGE L. DOUGLAS 65

Goforth of China A. DONALD MACLEOD 75

James Basnett Cropper ZANDER DUNN 85

The Quebec Trio W. STANFORD REID 93

Frank Baird EVERETT H. BEAN 107

Walter Bryden JOSEPH C. MCLELLAND 119

Introduction

WITH THIS VOLUME, the Committee On History of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada presents a second collection of profiles on Canadian Presbyterians.

The gratitude of the Committee is expressed to the authors of all articles in Volume 1 and 2, with particular reference to the latter, for having waited so patiently for the publication of their papers.

Noteworthy, also, is the work of the Editor, W. Stanford Reid, and the following people who helped in its preparation for printing: Nancy Beattie, Margaret Evans, Edith Firth, Hartley Beattie, John Johnston, Hugh MacMillan and T.M. Bailey.

It is the prayer that all who read these biographies may be stimulated to "consider the outcome of their way of life and imitate their faith: Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and today and forever." (Hebrews 13:7,8)

THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY

Mark Young Stark

ALLAN L. FARRIS

MARK YOUNG STARK was born November 9th, 1799 in Dunfermline, Scotland. His father was a linen merchant and his mother was Elizabeth Young of Cleish Castle. His mother died in his infancy and young Mark was raised by his stepmother, the former Mary Bannatyne of Glasgow. (Many of the letters which are extant were written to, and received from his stepmother for whom he had a very high regard. His next most frequent correspondent was his mother's sister, Miss Grace Young of Cleish Castle.)

Since Stark's father died when he was but fourteen years of age he was raised in the warm, cultural context of the Bannatyne family. The Bannatyne family was intelligent, wealthy and socially prominent. They operated the Glasgow to Stirling Railway, and were involved in the building of a railway down the West Coast from Glasgow to London. Dugald Bannatyne, Mark's stepmother's father had also published learned works in the area of political economy and related subjects.

Stark was privately educated in Essex, England, under the tutelage of an Anglican clergyman, a certain Rev. Mr. Jay. Returning to Scotland he took an M.A. in Classics at the University of Glasgow, graduating with high honours in 1821.Since he had decided to enter the ministry of the Church of Scotland he continued his studies in the theological faculty of the same institution. Completing the required studies he was licensed to preach the gospel by the Presbytery of Glasgow in 1824. But alas he was not to hold a pastoral charge until he settled in 1834 in Dundas in Upper Canada. Stark was a "stickit minister".

To understand his difficulty I must explain two practices that were then current in the Church of Scotland:

1. To be licensed gave the candidate only the right to preach for a call. Until a call was issued by a congregation no ordination was possible.

2. In the Church of Scotland at that time the patron, a landed proprietor, the Town Councillor, or a representative of the Crown, had the right to present the names of a suitable candidate to the congregation. Unfortunately according to a strict interpretation of the law of patronage passed in 1712 the congregation could not refuse to call such a nominee. This system was open to serious abuses, and often the favorites of wealthy landlords were intruded upon unwilling congregations.Although the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland sought to relieve this intolerable situation by passing the Veto Act, which gave to congregations the right to veto, this enactment was declared null and void by the Civil Courts because it contravened the law of patronage. This was to lead inevitably to the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843 and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland.

Now Stark in spite of illustrious friends could not get a patron to nominate him to a vacant charge. Without such nomination his coveted ordination was denied him. Prof. Dugald Stewart, the ranking philosopher of Scotland, whose wife was a Bannatyne, worked tirelessly on Stark's behalf. Sir George Napier, a very prominent friend and also a relative of the Bannatynes, wrote the following to Mark Stark on May 19, 1831.

> I have this day received yours of the 6th instant from Clifton and have written off to the Duke of Richmond to beg he will apply immediately to the Duke of Argyle as by so doing he will confer a great obligation on me. I have recalled his gracious recollection that he had formerly got the Duke of Argyle to place your name on his list of candidates for a Lowland Church, and I referred him to Lord Lansdowne to tell him how hardly you have been used about Maybole. In short my dear Mark it shall not be my fault if you are unsuccessful in this.

No success!

His cousin John Miller Bannatyne wrote to Stark January 20, 1833, regarding his failure to be considered for a vacant congregation at Kilpatrick:

> To change the subject from myself to yourself, I'm sorry to find your prospects for success in getting the Church at Kilpatrick are not improving ... really those patrons of churches are the

most slippery dogs under the sun. They certainly have much need of reform!

I have purposely laboured this point because it is significant in assessing his later decision to throw in his lot with the Free Church in Canada. By suffering the indignities of the iniquitous patronage system he was prepared for his role of reformer.

Unable to secure a call under the oppressive patronage system young Stark acted for a time as a private tutor to the children of Sir James Halkett, I would conjecture from correspondence, a high ranking executive in the Hudson's Bay Co. Thereafter he spent several years studying on the Continent where he became proficient in French, German and Italian. He studied Art in Rome for several months and some of his excellent drawings and watercolours are still extant from this period of his life. He also found time to study botany and became so proficient in this science that he developed a close friendship with Sir William Hooker, a leading botanist in Britain. After his arrival in Canada he frequently hunted out rare botanical specimens for Hooker's collection in the University of Glasgow.

At last despairing of an ecclesiastical settlement in Scotland, Stark offered his services to the Glasgow Colonial Society which was concerned with sending missionaries to various parts of British North America. On February 19, 1833, he was appointed to Canada West but without the usual guarantee of financial support.

> This last gentleman, records the minutes of the Society, has gone out entirely on his own resources, but with the recommendation of the society, and a promise of future encouragement.

Prior to leaving for Canada, however, he was offered a living in the Church of England but refused the offer expressing his preference for service within the Church of Scotland. William Erskine, another prominent Scottish friend, who, I would gather, had himself made the pilgrimage into the Church of England, wrote to him urging him to accept the living in England and not to go to Canada where he would be throwing away his not inconsiderable gifts:

> Let me beg you to do nothing hurriedly, to consult your

impartial friends and not be led away by your first hurried impulses. I would much rather see you in the west of England than in the wilds of Canada. Your talents and acquirements are suited to the one and would be thrown away on the other.

Stark arrived in Canada with letters of introduction from his prominent friends to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir John Colborne, with whom he was to establish a close friendship. He was soon called to the recently established and struggling two-point charge of Dundas and Ancaster — a parish area he describes in a letter to his step-mother "covering a rectangle of 10 miles by 20 miles". Here he received his long coveted ordination on September 26, 1833.

Writing to Miss Grace Young (Aunt Grace) at Cleish Castle a few weeks later in a letter dated November 8, 1833, he tells her:

If I manage to make myself popular here there is no doubt that my prospects will improve as this is, and is likely to continue, a very flourishing place. It is situated in a beautiful country about three miles from the head of Burlington Bay and the head of Lake Ontario, and it is connected with it by a canal which is in process of being constructed, when it (Dundas) will become the great point of communication between the Lower Provinces and all the fine country to Westward in the Gore and London district.

In another letter to "Aunt Grace" dated April 8, 1834, he tells of building a house on a newly purchased farm:

even as it is I do not expect to finish my house and office for less than 200 pounds-250 pounds currency but I found I could not make anything comfortable for less — bye the bye I am building on a property of 50 acres, the Ewart Estate, as my friend Racey calls it, which I purchased lately from Mr. Ewart for 250 pounds. It is a mile and a quarter from the village so will be very convenient and it is on the road to Ancaster.
On my farm there are about 25 acres cleared and nearly free from stumps — at least I shall get most of them out this season. The situation is high with a fine view, well watered in all parts of it and a stream running through it — a considerable part of it fenced — and a great deal of good timber which will more than serve me for fire wood all my life.

In June of 1835 Stark married Agatha Georgiana Street, daughter of Col.Street of Ancaster. The Streets were Anglican, and prominent in financial affairs in Upper Canada. Five children were born of this joyful union: Robert, who became a pharmacist in Woodstock, who married the Anglican rector's daughter at Ingersoll and became an Anglican; Mary Ann who never married; Elizabeth Mary who married Andrew Middlemiss; Willis Geddes who settled in Hamilton; and Mark Dugald who became a highly educated medical practitioner in England. It is interesting to note that the Stark children played with the children of Canon Osler, rector of the Anglican Church. Later Canon Osler's son William (Sir William Osler) and Mark Dugald Stark interned together and were close friends, although the fathers were never on cordial terms.

During these early years involving preaching, pastoral visitation, presbytery work and farming, Stark also gave leadership in a building program for his tiny flock at Dundas, at first numbering only twenty members. The building of St. Andrew's Church was begun in 1835 but the building was not opened for worship until 1837. It is not difficult to guess the reason for this. Money was scarce and the new settlers were busy with the hard task of establishing themselves in a rugged and primitive community. The fact that Stark had to depend in part for a living on the produce of his farm plus some private investments tells an eloquent tale about the economic situation at the time.

Dundas, in the early part of Stark's ministry, was the weaker of the two congregations numerically speaking, but Ancaster seemed to be always encountering serious financial problems. Stark's correspondence makes frequent reference to the pecuniary difficulties of Ancaster. Economic deprivation was partly responsible but internal dissension within the congregation was even more responsible for the trouble. The trustees of the congregation had lost the confidence of the members, so the members would not give. The trustees on the other hand, stubbornly resisted the conditions laid down by the congregation for support. At one point the trustees were the object of a civil suit and the congregation would not let them off the hook. Stark tried his best to play the role of the peacemaker but finally gave up remarking wearily to his step-mother "They would just have to fight out their own battles."

Meanwhile his work at Dundas was growing. He was able to report that his mid-week meeting at which he was lecturing on Matthew's Gospel was well attended. But increasing congregational

demands on his time made the work on the farm more difficult. On September 7, 1840, he wrote to his half-brother, Dugald Stark:

> We have got some interesting books lately but I have so very little time for reading and get on but slowly and it would be one great inducement for me to leave the farm that I might have time to study.

Small wonder he had little time to read. Listen to this description of his farm responsibilities from a letter to Aunt Grace dated December 14, 1840:

> I have kept on my man and I have got a good deal of work done this Autumn. We have increased our stock this year having got 10 sheep. We have besides another yoke of oxen, 3 cows — a heifer — 3 calves and 5 pigs — besides 13 which we have killed. I sold 9 but produce is so low I got little for them — not quite 10 pounds although they weigh 124 cwt. And now having given account of the other livestock I must say something of Agatha and the children who are well and thriving.

It is indicative of the character of Stark, who, although nourished in comfort, wealth, and high culture, was nevertheless capable of surviving the culture shock of immigration, and adapting himself to the rigours and stringent demands of the life of an early Presbyterian missionary.

But other deeper problems faced Stark and he was soon to be thrust out of the local parish life, on to the broader stage of church life in the Canadas.

Back in Scotland the patronage issue had become intolerable. In spite of numerous appeals to the government in London and one appeal to Queen Victoria herself, nothing was done on the one hand, to remove the inequities of the patronage system within the church in Scotland, and on the other hand, to give to the congregations the right to call their own ministers. So on May 18, 1843, almost half of the ministers, elders, and members withdrew from the Church of Scotland to form the Free Church of Scotland — free of government interference, free to determine its own destiny — with congregations free to call their own ministers. It is important to note that the Free Church did not disavow the establishment principle, that is, the recognition by the state of a national religion and the granting of state

support to maintain religious ordinances. They did not believe in the voluntary position, as did the Secessionist branch of Presbyterianism, which held for a complete separation of Church and State; they simply denied the right of the State to intrude ministers on unwilling congregations, and affirmed that in the area of doctrine, polity and practice they were under obligation to obey the "Crown rights of the Redeemer."

Here in Canada the disruption created a great furore. Church of Scotland ministers expressed support for one side or the other, and the *Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland*, to which Stark belonged, was threatened with disruption following the Scottish pattern even though patronage was no real problem in this country.

Stark was a peacemaker and counselled moderation. Although he personally had suffered much at the hands of the patronage system and consequently was sympathetic to the protest of the Free Church of Scotland, yet his soul abhorred schism. Furthermore his sense of missionary obligation made him anxious about the future mission of the Presbyterians in Canada if the Synod divided. He was also wise enough to realize that Government grants in support of religious ordinances would be jeopardized by such disunion.

Writing to his step-mother on March 13, 1844, he displayed his irenic spirit,

> It is truly lamentable the bad feeling which has been generated of late between the different parties and which I fear is not likely to subside. I feel very anxious about our position here and have been doing all in my power to keep down the excitement. The conduct both of the establishment and the Free Church towards us has been very inconsiderate — they are both manifestly anxious by any means to hook us onto their respective parties, and have been tampering with individuals rather than corresponding through official channels — with us as a Church — apparently unconcerned about us farther than that they may attach us as adherents to their own side of the question.

It can be seen from correspondence of this time that Stark was urging his fellow ministers not to break fellowship with one another over Scotland's quarrel. It was sufficient for the Synod to require a disavowal of State interference in the affairs of the Church. Ministers who were prepared to make such a disavowal would, whether they

came from the Auld Kirk or the Free Kirk, be welcome.

Two problems confronted the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland as it convened in Kingston in July, 1844.

1. Did retaining cordial relations with the Church of Scotland involve the Canadian Synod in a tacit approval of patronage, or State interference in affairs of the Church? Some said, Yes! others said, No!
2. Would a disavowal of a connection with the Church of Scotland mean the loss of goverment grants which had been negotiated for the Church of Scotland ministers in Canada? Again there was a division of opinion.

When the Synod opened, a valiant attempt was made to bring peace and overcome the discord which had been largely roused by delegates who had crossed the stormy Atlantic to curry support for either the Auld Kirk or Free Church. Mark Young Stark was elected moderator without a dissenting vote. The hopes for an undivided Church rested on his statesmanship. But alas, the division could not be averted. Too many men had already committed themselves to a policy of separation. Led by men like the irascible Dr. John Bayne of Galt, and fiery George Brown of the Globe, a group broke off from the parent body renaming themselves simply *The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.*

Stark, once the divisions became inevitable, sided with the Free Church. He knew too well from experience the evils of state intrusion in the affairs of the Church. Writing from the Synod to his step-mother on July 23, 1844, he tells her:

> I was certainly in great hopes before I went (that is to Synod) that a disruption would have been avoided, but every day of my stay diminished the hopes of uniting the extreme parties in any common ground. I went prepared to make great concessions, but after the necessity for disruption was evident, I felt it to be a relief to my conscience that I was no longer called upon to do so, but could give full expression not only in words, but practically, to the principles I maintained.

Stark interestingly enough was elected moderator of the newly constituted Synod of the Presbyterian Church, popularly known as the Free Church. The reasons for this are perhaps obvious!

1. He had already won the respect and affection of his fellow ministers.
2. Some cherished the hope that the disruption in Canada would be short lived. Stark in playing the role of the peacemaker retained the confidence of both parties.
3. Stark had solid connections with the leaders of government in Canada, and influential friends in Britain who could perhaps exercise influence on the Colonial office; and the Free Church hoped to retain the same government grants that had previously been paid to them.

Upon his return from Kingston, Stark recommended to his own congregation that they throw in their lot with the Free Church. Although the majority of the congregation were prepared to follow him, his support was not unanimous. At Dundas, for example, 4 of his 6 elders refused to follow him, he and his followers eventually being forced to leave church buildings both at Dundas and Ancaster. Knox Church was built at Dundas and accommodation arranged at Ancaster for the Free Church sympathizers. Stark showed that he was prepared to put his pocketbook where his mouth was by giving sacrificially towards defraying the costs of the new building.

Stark's outside responsibilities were multiplied because of the Disruption. He wrote the lengthy lead article in the first edition of the new Free Church magazine called *The Ecclesiastical & Missionary Record*, justifying the steps he and his colleagues had taken at Kingston. He sat on the board of Knox College and helped lay the foundation and form the curriculum of that institution. He made frequent visits to Toronto to try to persuade the goverment to continue its grants to the Free Church. But he was unsuccessful. He continued to function as clerk of Hamilton Presbytery, a post he had held in the undivided church, and was first convener and later co-convener of the Home Mission Committee charged with the responsibilities of outreach and the processing and settlement of ministers in new charges.

Meanwhile he continued to minister to a steadily enlarging congregation at Dundas. With its growth, however, the problems multiplied. At Kirkhill Cottage, as he called his farm house on Governor's Road, and later at the Manse beside the Church, he and his session wrestled with serious moral and spiritual problems. They believed that life profession and lip profession must correspond, and where they did not, they felt it incumbent on themselves to persuade the offenders to mend their ways; or, failing in that, they assessed

penalties which were calculated to underline the gravity of the fault, and perhaps even win the miscreant back to the paths of faith, sobriety and righteousness.

The range of misdemeanours that were dealt with included:

—Ante-Nuptial fornication

—Adultery

—Drunkenness

—Unethical business practices

—Marital discord (unseemly variance with each other).

Theological and ecclesiastical problems which were debated in session included:

—Non attendance at worship services, Sunday schools or prayer meetings

—Baptism of children whose parents were a disgrace to the gospel

—Baptism of the child of a man who had married his wife's sister (In this case the session was for it, the law of the church was against it)

—Desecration of the Sabbath (They were concerned with the running of trains on the Great Western Railway on Sunday)

—Failure of the minister to make sufficient pastoral calls.

I have read the session records of many congregations which cover this period. Usually the treatment of offenders was arbitrary, harsh and vengeful. Judging by the session records of Knox Church Dundas, all of which are extant, the kirk session there was an exception. They went to extraordinary lengths to get at the truth. They visited the guilty time and time again seeking to win them back to the paths of righteousness. They seemed to be genuinely sorry when severe measures had to be taken. Stark's gentleness, sympathy, graciousness and unfailing respect for a human being no matter how sinful, and his uncommon appreciation of the forgiveness of God, obviously coloured the decisions of the session.

The Knox Dundas congregation separated amicably from the Ancaster congregation in 1854 with the permission of Presbytery and Stark elected to stay with the congregation of Knox, Dundas.

Now beside the Auld Kirk and Free Church branches of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada there was a third branch, the United Presbyterian Church. It was also a Scottish import which had originally been formed out of two secessionist churches which had

separated from the Church of Scotland over the patronage issue in 1733 and 1751. The centre of this branch of Presbyterians was in London, Ontario, with enclaves in the Hamilton region. There was a tiny United Presbyterian congregation in Dundas.Since both the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church had separated from the Church of Scotland over its patronage issue it soon became apparent to all concerned that they had much in common. Thus a plan of union was worked out between the two churches which was consummated at Montreal in 1861. At first Stark was apprehensive over possible sectarian emphasis in the United Presbyterian Church due to their firm insistence on a complete separation of Church and State. Recall Stark's broad cultural training and his belief that the state had the responsibility to give financial support to religious ordinances without interfering with the doctrine, polity or practice of the church and you will appreciate his uneasiness. But having satisfied himself that his fears were probably groundless, and motivated by a sincere appreciation for the necessity of a concerted and united missionary outreach he worked diligently to make the union work at large, and to facilitate the reception of members of the United Presbyterian Church in Dundas into the congregation of Knox Church.

In failing health he resigned his charge in 1863. His name was kept on the roll of Synod by special resolution and he continued to provide ministerial assistance in Dundas until his successor was inducted. He died January 24, 1866, and is buried in Grove Cemetery in Dundas. The inscription on his tombstone reads: "In memory of the Rev. Mark Young Stark, A.M., for 31 years minister of the Presbyterian Church in Dundas. He was a faithful pastor and earnest preacher, much beloved by his flock, highly esteemed by his brethren in the Ministry, respected by all who knew him, and especially endeared to his family."

Michael Willis

D.R. NICHOLSON

ON THE EVENING of December 16, 1847, in the Divinity Hall, Ontario Terrace, in the city of Toronto, Dr. Michael Willis was inducted into the Chair of Systematic Theology of Knox's College.[1] The College Committee of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, chaired by the Rev. Wm. Rintoul, was in charge of the service. The only others present were the students of the College and a few friends. This was the official yet unassuming beginning of what was to be a very illustrious and colourful twenty-three years of ministry as professor and subsequently the first principal of Knox's College.

Dr. Willis was born in 1799 as the ninth son of the Rev. and Mrs. William Willis of Greenock, Renfrewshire, Scotland, where William Willis was the minister of the Original Associate Synod Church (Old Light Burgher). At the age of thirteen, Michael Willis entered the University of Glasgow, graduating in 1817 with high honours in Latin and Greek. Resisting the encouragement of his professors to enter a university teaching career, he decided on what he said later was a "better and higher service" and registered at the Original Associate Synod's Divinity Hall in Perth.

Ordained on January 23, 1821, at the unusually young age of twenty-one, Willis was appointed to a small extension charge in the expanding western part of Glasgow, subsequently named Renfield Street Church. For the next twenty-seven years he ministered faithfully to this congregation and the surrounding industrial community. In addition to his regular parish duties, Willis involved himself in the social activity and welfare of his neighbouring community. "Religion", he said, "was meaningless without self-denial for others." As an example of his social concern an 'almoner' was appointed by the congregation to visit the unemployed weavers of the parish with instructions to give proportional financial assistance. On another occasion the plight of a young widow in supplying the material necessities of her family was brought to the attention of the

Renfield congregation. The assistance given took a very practical form: a cow and the necessary equipment to start a dairy.

From 1835-39, while still pastoring the Renfield Congregation, Willis served as Professor of Theology at the Synod Divinity Hall, located in the Renfield Street Church. It was also during this time that Willis was married to Agnes McHaffie. The wedding took place sometime during May of 1837. In 1839 he received an honourary Doctor of Divinity degree from the University of Glasgow, not only for his previous scholarly attainments, but also for his successful efforts in leading the Original Synod into re-union with the Established Church of Scotland. Four years later, however, he reluctantly signed the Deed of Demission and joined the Free Church cause. Under appointment by the Colonial Committee and upon personal invitation from members of the Free Church Synod in Canada, Dr. Willis came to Toronto as a 'deputy' of the Free Church of Scotland and lectured at Knox's College for the 1845-46 term, returning to Glasgow in May. The Synod recognized Dr. Willis's services in the following words:

> The Synod desires to acknowledge the hand of God in the progress of (our) infant seminary and especially to advert to the very efficient services rendered to the (college) during the session of last winter by one of the deputies of the Free Church, the Rev. Dr. Willis, to whom the best wishes of the Synod are due, and are hereby tendered.

One year later, due in no small part to the efforts of Dr. John Bayne of Galt, Dr. Willis returned to Canada, convinced that herein lay "a most important field, and the training of a native ministry as the principal means of promoting its highest welfare". The Rev. J.W. Taylor, author of *A Memorial Sketch* of Dr. Willis, correctly points out that:

> His labours as a minister in Glasgow formed, in one respect, his highest qualification; for in preaching the Gospel and in his daily pastorate, he saw with a keen eye the Word of God brought into contact with human nature in all its aspects. He was thus equipped in the practice and theory of Divinity.

In his introductory lecture opening the fall session of Knox College in 1848, Dr. Willis declared what he believed to be the

purpose and objective of the College in the following terms:

> I cannot but remind you that this is a Theological College, and so identified with the cause that is most sacred. The door, indeed is open to various walks of study; yet with us these are means to one recognized end — accomplishing and qualifying the youth who resort hither for spiritual offices, as expositors of the Word of God, and missionaries of the cross of Christ.

Later in the same lecture Dr. Willis suggested that the following motto would be appropriate for the walls of the College:

> Let none enter hither, who is a stranger to the power of godliness, and who feels no ardent interest in the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, in our land and throughout the world.

Under the capable leadership of Dr. Willis, student enrollment increased rapidly during the first ten years. In comparing the College and its students to those in Britain, he said:

> I know not that the products of Knox's College are surpassed by those of like institutions in our native country. Of course our numbers have been less than those of the older ones; we have not sent out as many specimens of excellence as they; but then neither so many dunces. Take them at the average and I think any candid observer, who regards his reputation, will not rashly commit himself to a judgment against the home-trained brethren.

Although Dr. Willis had been given, for all practical purposes, the duties and the responsibilities of a principal in 1847, he was not officially appointed until 1857, when on the recommendation of the College Committee, the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada appointed him to that position. One year later Knox College was legally incorporated by the government of Upper Canada under the *Act of Incorporation* and officially named "Knox College". In 1851 the Governor General of Canada, Lord Elgin, appointed Dr. Willis to the Senate of the University of Toronto. For the next twelve years he served not only as a member of the Senate, but also as one of its Examiners. He resigned, however,

from both positions in 1863 "because of objections raised against him as an Examiner". It was not without significance that the same year Queen's University conferred on Dr. Willis an honourary Doctor of Laws degree. For the past number of years Dr. Willis had worked closely with Dr. Leitch, Principal of Queen's, as a fellow member on the Senate of the University of Toronto. It is interesting to note that the Honourable John A. Macdonald, the future first Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, also received the LL.D. from Queen's at the same convocation.

As a theologian, Dr. Willis was a tenacious and enthusiastic supporter of the Calvinist system. This was not only the tradition in which he was trained but it was the theology he voluntarily embraced. According to Dr. Wm. Caven, the successor to Dr. Willis as principal of Knox College, Willis defended the various doctrines of the reformed faith with ability and zeal, but always with discrimination. "At the same time his views were far from narrow, and he did not fail in charity towards those who conscientiously differed from him." Dr. Willis, on one occasion, stated that "he longed for the day when Calvin was read with as much ease as the English or Greek New Testament". On two of the basic reformed doctrines — the sovereignty of God and divine election — Dr. Willis stated the following:

> Sovereignty in respect to sinners of the human race, is chiefly displayed in the exercise of His mercy and grace ... God is just to all; but it is a presumption altogether unwarranted, to suppose that God must be merciful to all in pardoning and saving every sinful and miserable creature. He says, 'I will show mercy on whom I will show mercy!'

Dr. Willis was careful to point out that "election is not God's taking one and *refusing* another, of those who seek ... but rather, election is the *cause* of anyone seeking. Divine election hinders none who seek from finding".

In the personal and professional life of Dr. Willis the authority and application of Holy Scripture was given a prominent place. Whether lecturing to his students, debating a point of theology or preaching to one of the rural mission stations, the final appeal was always to the Word of God. During the closing College Lecture of 1852 Willis exhorted his students in the following terms:

> Never forget that in having the Bible itself ... you possess the

source for the most valuable knowledge, both for the Christian and the Theologian ... which constitutes in its higher measure, the primary accomplishment of the preacher ... Be mighty in the Scriptures ... How can I enlarge too much on the value of the use of the very words of the inspired volume ... How can I magnify the importance of a minute acquaintance with the very utterances of the Holy Ghost.

In addition to being an ardent advocate of the reformed faith, Dr. Willis was well read in the post-Reformation scholastic Calvinists of the 17th century, such as Maestrict, Turrettine, Ames and Witsius. In the Patristic literature his learning far surpassed that of most Presbyterian divines and was rarely equalled by any of the class whose reading is supposed to lie more in the early centuries of the Church. As an example of his Patristic inclinations, he edited *Collectanea Graeca et Latina — Selections from the Greek and Latin Fathers*. In an editorial review, published in the December edition of the Home and Foreign Record, 1865, the following words of praise are stated:

We cannot think, however, that the use of these *Collectanea* will be confined to the classroom, and we know that their introduction is contemplated into some of the Colleges of the United States. They are of too great value for such a limited sphere. We believe they should be in the hands not only of our Students, but of our Ministers, that they may render themselves conversant with the thoughts of these great men ... We know of no publication in which they will find a specimen of so many of the Fathers.

In Scotland as well as in Canada, Dr. Willis was interested and actively involved in the application of the Gospel in the social arena of life. As a member and vice-chairman of the Glasgow Emancipation Society he demonstrated his concern for the abolition of slavery. So numerous were his sermon references to this social injustice from the Renfield Street Church pulpit, it prompted one parishioner to remark "their minister seemed to see negroes on every page of his Bible".

From the beginning of his professorship at Knox College, Dr. Willis took up the abolitionist cause. At the conclusion of his 1848 opening Lecture, Willis described the slavery system as one which

...intercepts the light of Heaven's saving truth from a portion of

God's rational offspring; and annihilates and dissolves relationships which the law of Christ and of nature has made inviolate.

He also took an active part in the organization of the Buxton Mission, becoming chairman of the initial Organizing Committee and serving as one of the vice-presidents of the Elgin Association which governed and controlled the affairs of the Mission. Established in 1851 upon the request of the Rev. William King, the mission was located at Buxton, south of Chatham in Raleigh Township, County of Kent. As a self-sustaining settlement, it was designed to provide a place where refugee slaves, arriving from the United States via the Underground Railroad, could begin a new life of self-support. (See *Look to the North Star* by Victor Ullman, Beacon Press, 1969.)

During the month of September, 1851, Dr. Willis had the privilege of conducting the first communion service at the Mission. He described his experience in the following terms:

> There at the Lord's Table, I had the delight of seeing the children of Japhet and of Ham surround the same table in brotherly confidence, professing their common hope and joy in one Saviour and one Lord ... I value not a little the ears of Indian corn which they sent with me, as specimens of their first ingathering. I may do worse than put them in our museum.

In addition to being involved in the Mission, Dr. Willis was the first and only president of the *Anti-Slavery Society of Canada*, with his wife as the treasurer of the Ladies Association. Included in the membership of the executive were such notables as George Brown and Oliver Mowat. Organized in February of 1851, this Society continued to promote the abolition of slavery until the *Emancipation Proclamation* was passed by the government of the United States on January 1, 1863. The purpose of the Society was

> ...to aid in the extinction of Slavery not only in the United States but all over the world, such as the diffusing of useful information and argument by tracts, newspapers, lectures and correspondence and by manifesting sympathy with the houseless and homeless victims of Slavery flying to our soil.

Dr. Willis was a personal friend of the disadvantaged, the downtrodden and the slave. He was genuinely interested in man's physical,

intellectual and spiritual welfare. To this end he devoted much of his time and his own personal means. According to one of his biographers, Dr. Willis's "heart was readily touched by the cry of distress and suffering and he was willing, wherever he heard it, to spend and to speak for its relief".

In June of 1870, Dr. Willis submitted his resignation as professor and principal of Knox College to the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church. Knowing for some time that the resignation of Willis was pending, the Synod had previously elected him as the Moderator of the First General Assembly of the Canada Presbyterian Church.

The closing remarks to the Synod exemplify Dr. Willis's concern for the gospel minstry. He exhorted the commissioners as follows:

> ...let me remind you, Fathers and Brethren, that your great business lies in the everyday work of proclaiming the gospel of Christ and as faithful shepherds of the flock ... regard yourselves also as guardians of sacred truth, the precious inheritance of Scripture, and an inheritance of pure and Scriptural order which had been transmitted to us.

On August 26, 1870, he and Mrs. Willis sailed for London, England, where they lived for their remaining years. During these years of 'retirement', Dr. Willis visited the Holy Land; took part in the St. Martin's Scoto-French Mission located near Auxerre in the centre of France; compiled a book entitled *Pulpit Discourses: Expository and Practical and College Addresses*; represented the Presbyterian Church in Canada at the First General Presbyterian Council held in Edinburgh in 1877 and travelled throughout Britain on various preaching tours.

It was while on one of his preaching engagements in August of 1879 that he became seriously ill. A few days later, on August 19, he died in the manse of Arberlour, Banffshire, Scotland, in his 80th year. The funeral service was conducted from Free St. Matthews, Glasgow, with interment in the Necropolis behind Glasgow Cathedral.

The Presbyterian Record of October 1879 stated that "few men have done so much for the advancement of Presbyterianism in Canada as our friend, Dr. Willis". The prophetic words written by Dr. Wm. Caven in the January issue of the Knox College Monthly, 1886, stated that the Presbyterian Church in Canada would place Dr. Willis's name "high on the roll of her eminent men". He justly deserves this position in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Caven, William. "The Rev. Michael Willis, D.D. LL.D.", Knox College Monthly, Vol. IV, 1886.

Farris, Allan L. "Willis, Michael, Presbyterian Minister, Educator and Abolitionist," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. X, 1871-80, p. 707-8. Toronto University Press, 1972.

Nicholson, D.R., *Michael Willis: Missionary Statesman, Social Activist, Christian Educator and Reformed Theologian.* A Master of Theology Thesis located in Knox College Library, 1973.

Taylor, J.W. *The Late Rev. Michael Willis,* D.D., LL.D. — *A Memorial Sketch.* Edinburgh: 1880.

Willis, Michael, *Pulpit Discourses: Expository and Practical and College Addresses.* London: James Nisbet and Co. 1873. *Slavery — Indefensible: An Essay.* Glasgow: 1847. *A Discourse on National Establishment of Christianity.* Glasgow: 1833.

[1] The Free Presbyterian Church College in Toronto was called Knox's College until 1857, when the College was officially named "Knox College" in the *Act of Incorporation.*

Robert Thornton (1806-1875) The Indefatigable Churchman

WALTER JACKSON

"EAST WHITBY was the residence of one of the greatest, best and most useful of men the Province has produced, the Rev. Dr. R.H. Thornton, a Presbyterian minister ...." The man who wrote this tribute to Robert Thornton thirty-five years after his death, was not a Presbyterian. In his youth he had heard Thornton preach and lecture, and as a teacher he had profited from Thornton's work in education. Thornton was one of those men who shine brightly in memory, their strengths remembered, their weaknesses forgotten.

Proudfoot, Christie and Robertson, were sent to the Canadas by the Secessionist Church in 1832. Three more men were sent out the next year, Taylor, Murray and Thornton. Robert Thornton had just graduated and was 27 years of age. Taylor went to Montreal; Proudfoot was in London; Christie in the Flamboroughs, and Thornton had the vast area between Toronto and Belleville all to himself. "His ministrations were extended fifty miles along the lakeshore and northwards so far as there were settlers in the country" (Gregg).

These men, except for Robertson who died of cholera, formed the basis for the first Secessionist Presbytery, which was constituted Christmas Day, 1834. Following an old tradition, the most recently ordained minister, Robert Thornton, preached the first sermon to the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas. All his life he would be active in the Church courts. In the early years he served on most of the major committees: Church Union with the Free Church; establishing a Theological College; publishing a Church Magazine; establishing a Fund for the schemes of the Synod, among others. Along with Proudfoot of London, and Jennings of Toronto, he represented the Secession Church at the first Free Church Synod. He attended Lord Durham's investigation at Kingston after the Mackenzie rebellion, representing the Secession Church point of view. In 1861 he was the presiding moderator at the union which formed the Canada Presbyterian Church.

When he was sent to Canada he was under definite orders from the home Church "a town or populous village should have preference ... Wherever you settle, your labours are not to be confined to your stated place of worship but you are to preach and exhort as often as possible at stations in the vicinity". Robert Thornton interpreted 'vicinity' in broad terms, visiting settlements throughout the Durham region and beyond, "he may be regarded as the main founder of Presbyterianism in the whole region now known as South Ontario. Far and wide did his labours extend". He continued his missionary tours for almost thirty years until 1862. Contrary to orders he did not settle in a village, not even in a hamlet, but in a central place in a township , the Township of Whitby. In 1833 the settlement there was a strip about four miles wide along the Kingston Road. Within ten years all the usable land would be taken up and there would be hamlets at Whitby and Oshawa. It is likely that Thornton foresaw a three-point charge, a congregation in each of the Townships of Pickering, Whitby and Darlington, with eventually a city or a large town on the lakeshore in each Township. If so, he was disappointed.

In 1830 the cheapest and quickest way to come to Upper Canada was to sail to New York then overland to Oswego on Lake Ontario and across the lake to Cobourg. The St. Lawrence-Montreal route was longer, more expensive and because of the rapids, more difficult. The New York route was the one that Thornton took. His first task was to find the hamlets and the settlers in the Cobourg district. The settlement in Whitby Township heard from Scotland that Thornton had been sent to Upper Canada. The families there were expecting his visit. Twenty-five of them called him to be their minister. In October, 1833, he and his young bride, then nineteen, moved to Whitby which would be his home and headquarters until his death forty-two years later.

When he arrived the area was almost wholly a Yankee settlement. There were no United Empire Loyalists and many families had come with the hope of getting rich quick. It was considered an unsavory, Godless frontier settlement. By 1830, the first trickle of "Old Country" settlers had arrived, followed by a stream of would-be farmers. Most of the families who had signed the Call were recent arrivals, and Thornton's life-long ministry was mainly to such Old Country people.

At first the Congregation met in a newly built Yankee Baptist Church, but in the surprisingly short time of four years they had purchased nineteen acres of land, built a brick church and a frame

manse. Their 'brick chapel' was the first non-wooden public building in the County. Made of home-burnt brick, seating five hundred people, it was a large project indeed! They were credited with having a brick parochial school-house before 1840 manned by an Old Country school teacher. Within two years, by 1835, as the congregation grew, elders were elected and regular session meetings were being held, but this brought difficulties. An Old Country parish system fitted uneasily into a frontier community, and Thornton's ideas of strict discipline were not always acceptable.

With the Whitby congregation off to a good start, Thornton was busy 'preaching in the vicinity'. By 1835 he had established a three-point charge, Whitby (Township), Pickering (Township) and the Back Station (near Columbus). He had organized congregations in Toronto (Bay St.), Port Hope, Clarke, and had preached in most of the settled areas, at a time when future roads were at best trails and the only real road was the Kingston Road. Thornton tells about it "we had to wend our way through the forest paths and from clearing to clearing, where the only mode of locomotion was foot. We proceeded in search of Presbyterian settlers without direct information as to where they might be found or whether we would be welcome". Often he conducted services in the settlers' homes. "... in the new settler's log house, by the open fire in the winter or in the summer in the rude barn, he proclaimed with great faithfulness the unsearchable riches of the grace of God. He often cheerfully shared a single-roomed cabin of the hardy settler".

Today we like to think that the pioneers were just waiting for the gospel and that churches grew bigger and bigger and better and better. This was not so. In many areas only a small minority was interested in church and often the congregations when formed were divided. Thornton's congregations ran into difficulties. In his own words "the membership (by 1834) had increased to 76 (from the original 25). Ten years later (by 1844) no more than six or seven were found in connection, the great majority having removed to other localities". The Pickering congregation disbanded and the Whitby congregation was divided. Only the Back Station remained stable.

As the Secession Church was a small, strict sect, many of the Presbyterian settlers were unsympathetic with its point of view but the Mackenzie Rebellion of 1837 was the wedge driven in to the potential divisions already in the congregations. The Secessionists were conservative in their church services and reformist in their social concern. As reform sympathizers, most of their ministers were

identified as Mackenzie radicals. Thornton was implicated as was his near neighbour, Dr. James Hunter, one of Mackenzie's chief lieutenants. One old story tells how one night Thornton was shot at by soldiers watching his home. Some of his congregation were Loyalists and some Reformers. So deeply was Pickering divided that the congregation collapsed. A few years later they made a new beginning at Dunbarton. The Whitby congregation was split, the Clerk of the Session resigned, and the congregation divided. Both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church moved into the Whitby area and took some of the Secessionist members. It was almost ten years before Thornton could again count on support and elect new elders and form a new Session.

Thornton stayed through the bleak 1838-56 period because Whitby was the centre of his missionary work. When the U.P. Church organized a separate Presbytery of Durham, he was appointed the first Moderator and Clerk and accepted responsibility for the Mission Fields. He saw that they were supplied, visited the students on the field and organized the congregations. He is credited with founding the congregations from Smith's Falls to Lindsay to Uxbridge and in most of the communities to the south. For most of the congregations in what is now the Durham Region, he was the founding father. He was Clerk of Durham Presbytery until it went into the Union of 1861. When the Synod of the Secessionist Church was organized, he was elected the first Moderator and had the unusual honour of being elected a second time, serving as the last Moderator and presiding at the Union of 1861. With this Union, which formed the Canada Presbyterian Church, he was appointed first Moderator and Clerk of the new Presbytery of Ontario. He was the C.P. Synod's first Missions Convener, travelling as far as Lake Superior to visit a potential congregation.

He was primarily a missionary-churchman but outside the church his major work was in education. Through all the years of the 'Common School' System, from 1846-1871, he served as a Township Superintendent of Education ... an unbeatable record! Before 1846 he had served as a Commissioner of Education and on the Home District's Board of Education. Whitby Township, under his leadership, had more schools, better buildings, and better paid teachers than other Townships, and more effective graduates. "Fully a third of the Third Class Teacher's Certificates have come from Whitby Grammar School" of which he was a trustee. As the British settlers were unhappy with the Yankee text-books which the first settlers had used,

Thornton wrote a replacement "The Instructive Reader". He was a strong advocate of 'Free Education for All' when most of the proudly independent settlers thought this a radical idea. They thought that anyone who wanted an education for his children should pay for it.

True to his Secessionist training, he was a reformer. Because he saw cheap whiskey as the great evil of a frontier community he campaigned for Temperance, lecturing throughout the area for the Temperance Societies. In community campaign, he was elected to the Town Council. As a sign of his concern for the underprivileged, when the old churchyard, now Union Cemetery, was being enlarged, he succeeded in having land set aside "for graves for the poor".

In 1858 when he had served Whitby (Township) for twenty-five years he was honoured by the community. This was also the year that East Whitby withdrew from Whitby Township to form a separate Township and limiting Thornton's work as Superintendent for East Whitby. The Teachers' Association of the original Township held a special night for him presenting a purse in recognition of all he had done for them. His congregation marked the anniversary with a celebration called "Twenty-five Years the Watchman" at which six ministers were present representing neighbouring congregations which he had founded. The same year Princeton University granted him an honourary D.D. recognizing his contributions to the pioneer community.

Thornton became a strong advocate for Presbyterian union. He had been one of the three Secessionist Church (U.P.) official delegates sent to sound out the possibility of a union with the Free Church and was a member of the committee to draft the basis of amalgamation. He had arranged for laymen of the various Presbyterian churches in the Township to meet in his Brick Chapel to draft a statement supporting such a move. After the Union was effected in 1861, as early as 1866, his Oshawa session advocated the next step, proposing a union between the Canada Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland Synod "unanimous in the importance of union among Presbyterians upon scriptural principles". Three years later William Ormiston, who had gone from Thornton's congregation into the Secession Church ministry, took the first steps towards such a union. When Ormiston was moderator of the C.P. Church he wrote the moderator of the Church of Scotland Synod suggesting that official steps be taken to form a union of the Presbyterian churches.

Thornton's ministry produced a number of community leaders. He had given as his aim in education to train ... "not only the teachers

of Ontario, but the professors of the colleges, enlightened judges, large-hearted legislators, and Christian ministers" and he succeeded. The Rev. William Ormiston, who lived with the Thorntons to prepare for his university entrance, was one of the outstanding ministers of his age. The Rev. J.H. Ratcliffe, who was a son of Thornton's elders and friends, served as a Synod Clerk for twenty-five years. The Rev. J.M. King, who was ordained at the 'Back Station' as successor to Robert Thornton and had served under his oversight, became Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the first Principal of Manitoba College. His son-in-law, Thomas Kirkland, was Principal of the Toronto Normal School and a leading elder. His son the Rev. Robert M. Thornton was an outstanding minister in Scotland and England. His grandson, the Rev. Robert Thornton, III, was minister of a Glasgow Church for more than twenty-five years. Canada's outstanding cartoonist, John Bengough, founder of 'The Grip' grew up in Whitby in a Presbyterian family and was an ardent 'Churchman and abolitionist'. Descendants of John's aunts attend the Presbyterian Church in Whitby today.

The formation of the Canada Presbyterian Church in 1861 marked the beginning of the end of Thornton's Whitby Township church. The Oshawa townspeople felt that they should have a church of their own. This divided the congregation into those who lived in East Whitby and those who lived in West Whitby, along the lines of the political division which had taken place three years earlier. A new church was built near the Four Corners of Oshawa in 1862, using some material from the old brick chapel. Later, a separate Whitby town congregation was organized. Upset by the changes, Thornton resigned and served briefly as a Bible Society agent before returning to his congregation. He returned at age 56 to become a minister of a one-point charge in Oshawa, his ties with Whitby Township severed and his missionary days ended. His interest in education and reform never waned. Significantly, the last report he presented to the General Assembly was as convener of the Temperance Committee. The General Assembly of the C.P. Church meeting in the fall of 1874 accepted the report and "returned thanks to the committee and especially to the convener and hereby renew the testimony ... against the enormous evils of intemperance. It is the chief cause of poverty and crime ..."

Through many of his forty-two years in Whitby, he had served as a Presbytery Clerk, rarely missing a Presbytery meeting. On February 4th, 1875, he missed the regular meeting of the Presbytery of Ontario

and within a week he was dead. His congregation wore black arm bands, the stores, the schools and businesses in Oshawa closed for his funeral. This was only four months before the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for which he had worked.

Over the forty years of his ministry, all in the Whitby Township area, he had mellowed from a young reformer to a 'father' figure although he would have been horrified to hear himself referred to as 'father'. The Oshawa Session wrote of his "excellence as a Christian minister, his remarkable diffidence to human applause, wise in counsel, faithful in duty, of deep piety, ever devising plans for the furtherance of the gospel and always ready to minister to the necessities of the flock. Our beloved Father and Pastor has after a life of noble self-denial and labour attained the Saints' everlasting rest".

Although a man with many faults, particularly the knack of alienating potential friends, he was respected if not always loved. Those who look back on him as the minister of their childhood tended to remember his strong points. J.E. Farewell wrote that "he was the greatest, best and most useful of men". Dr. Hoig wrote "his door hung on the latch, and no decent traveller was denied food or lodging, particularly the poor travellers of his own profession. The long dining table was hardly ever without a guest ... his character was Christ-like". Fifty years after his death, a newspaper quoted an old-timer as saying "his throne was his pulpit; his series on Ecclesiastes showed the power of the man to declare a message that reached the deep things of the spirit and sent men and women forward ..." In 1901, the Twentieth Century Fund Committee prepared a booklet reporting the great success of their campaign. In their historic sketch they named a minister from each of the churches forming the Presbyterian Church in Canada, as a key figure in their church's development. Robert Thornton was named as the key minister for the U.P. Church.

On the old Kingston Road, between Whitby and Oshawa, there is today a Thornton's Corners, a Thornton Road, a memorial cairn marking the site of the Baptist Church where the first services were held and nearby a new school named the Dr. Robert Thornton Public School. But only a handful of people in Oshawa and in Whitby Township know the significance of the Thornton name and fewer still in the Presbyterian Church in Canada know anything of his contribution to the Church.

Minutes of the Synod of the U.P. Church (Knox Archives)

Minutes of the Presbytery of Durham (Victoria Archives)

Minutes of the Presbytery of Ontario (Victoria Archives)

The Proudfoot Papers (The Ontario Historical Society)

The U.P. and C.P. Church Magazines (Knox and Victoria Archives)

Minutes of the Whitby Presbyterian Church Session, 1835-1844 and the Presbyterian Church Session, Oshawa from 1862-1875 (Archives of St. Andrew's United Church, Oshawa).

William Gregg — History and Short History of the Presbyterian Church

T.E. Kaiser — Historic Sketches of Oshawa

D.S. Hoig — Reminiscences and Recollections

W.L.Woods — Past Years in Pickering

Newspaper accounts ... Whitby Chronicle, etc. (the Whitby Library). The opening quotation is from J.E. Farewell, Short Notes on Ontario County, (1911) Quotation, page 6, the Ontario County Atlas (1877).

George Brown Christian Statesman

JOHN MOIR

IN THE WARMING DAYS of early May, 1880, the long, lean body of George Brown lay on his death bed in Toronto. Six weeks earlier, a half-crazed ex-employee named George Bennett had shot the famous founder of the *Globe*. The wound in Brown's thigh, although superficial, had become infected, and now his care-worn frame was racked with pain. Between the recurrent periods of delirium, he recognized that death was near. Thirty-eight years had passed since fate had brought him to Canada. In that time he had become an almost legendary figure in the fields of journalism and politics. Turning to his sister, Marianne, the dying giant of a man confided, "It's a grand thing to try to do one's duty — I have tried to do my duty in the sight of God". There succinctly, was the essence of the faith that had sustained George Brown in so many battles, so many adversities, and so many victories during his long career as a Christian statesman.

Born at Alloa on November 29, 1818, George was the third child and the first son in the family of six children surviving to Peter Brown and Marianne MacKenzie. The Browns were typical members of Edinburgh's comfortable merchant middle class, and in that warm and close-knit family George grew to manhood, imbued with deep religious convictions, liberal political leanings, a passionate temper, and an idealistic but generous nature. With characteristic self-determination George had decided on a business career, only to have it cut short when a financial crisis revealed that Peter had foolishly mixed personal funds with municipal in bad investments. Together father and son set sail for the new world in 1837 to make a new life and redeem the family name and fortune.

From the vantage point of New York, Peter and George watched in sorrow the disruption of the Church of Scotland in May, 1843. It was just one year since they had founded the *British Chronicle* to provide emigrant Scots with the latest news of affairs at home, with the progress of reform under Britain's Whig-Liberal goverment, and

with the crisis in the Church of Scotland. The sympathies of the Browns lay with the evangelical party of Thomas Chalmers which was founding the Free Church. Only a few weeks earlier while visiting the united provinces of Upper and Lower Canada in search of new subscribers for the *Chronicle*, George had been approached by Free Church supporters at Toronto. Many Scottish settlers in the Canadas had made the evangelical cause their own, even though the issue of political interference with their church could never arise in these colonies where the Kirk was not legally the established religion. Would the Browns move their newspaper to Canada, to be a voice for the Free Church?

George was quickly convinced that Canada offered a promising home for their publishing enterprise. Peter spent longer considering, but in the end he agreed to the move, and so, in August, 1843, the *Banner* made its appearance on Toronto's streets, ready to support the Free Church cause and the separation of church and state. During that autumn and the winter of 1844, the religious columns on the front page of the *Banner* hammered home two points — the virtue of the Free Church cause against the Auld Kirk, and the need of evangelical vigilance in the face of militant Roman Catholicism. By July of 1844 when the Synod of the Canadian Kirk in Canada met at Kingston, a Canadian Disruption had become unavoidable. The formal protest of nineteen ministers and five elders who withdrew to form the Presbyterian Church of Canada was countersigned by George Brown, "Witness".

George Brown's role at the birth of the Free Church in Canada was, however, one of his last official acts on behalf of the new church for several years. Already in March, 1844, he had entered the provincial political arena which would occupy most of his time from then until his death. The Reform cabinet of Robert Baldwin and L.H. Lafontaine had resigned after a confrontation with the governor general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the Reform party engaged George to publish a new political journal, the *Globe*, to popularize their case with the voters. Peter continued to produce the weekly *Banner*, using the same presses as the *Globe* and reprinting some *Globe* editorials in the *Banner's* "Secular Department" pages. The same political opinions — in favour of the Reform party — that the *Banner* had espoused, now found a wider field of expression in the *Globe*. George's biting style of editorial writing and his paper's excellent coverage of international and local news soon made the *Globe* Canada's most read, most influential, but not necessarily most loved,

newspaper. Even those who could not abide its politics could never resist the temptation, or necessity, of reading George Brown's latest scathing denunciation of corruption, nepotism or incompetence in high places.

Although no longer prominent members of the Free Church, George and Peter Brown did play an influential role in one episode of their church's history. The Scottish Free Church, founded because of state-interference in church affairs, never accepted the principle of voluntarism or separation of church and state. Most Scottish and some Canadian Free Churchmen believed that the church must be supported by the state, even though "he who pays the piper does not call the tune". In Canada, indeed in North America, the very atmosphere seemed opposed to any state-church connection, yet in 1848, the government announced that Clergy Reserves money was available for any church that cared to apply. In the succeeding discussion the Browns and their two newspapers were instrumental in convincing their branch of the Free Church that the adoption of the voluntary principle was the only way to avoid mixing the things of Christ and Caesar. Not all the Canadian Free Church ministers accepted this decision gladly, since it cost them their only chance of obtaining a guaranteed if small income from the public purse.

As the *Globe's* importance and circulation increased the involvement of the Browns, father and son, with the life and fortunes of the Free Church declined proportionately. Until expansion of the *Globe* required abandonment of the *Banner* in 1848, both papers still espoused Reform politics in general, and religious equality in particular. One major issue of the late forties was the "university question" — should denominational colleges like Queen's, Victoria, and King's be supported by public funds? The Browns were convinced that higher education should be secularized — let the various churches maintain their seminaries at their own expense. Knox College, the Free Church's new institution at Toronto, did not ask for public funds — let other seminaries do likewise and leave the teaching of the arts and sciences to a provincial university. The election victory of the Reformers in 1848 was followed a year later by the secularization of the University of Toronto which the Browns had advocated.

With a reform government in power Brown and the *Globe* awaited impatiently other laws to inaugurate religious equality in the provinces of Canada — free and nonsectarian elementary education, an end to separate Roman Catholic schools, secularization of these troublesome Clergy Reserves and their related endowed Anglican

rectories, and finally the total separation of church and state. Yet the reform government of Baldwin and Lafontaine remained silent about these objectives because French members who supported the government would not allow any further interference with vested religious interest. In disgust the more radical Reformers created a new party, the Clear Grits, to finish the liberalization of the Province. In the *Globe* George Brown described renegade Reformers as "a miserable clique of office-seeking, bunkum-talking cormorants", yet their basic political aims were similar to his own — cheap, efficient and democratic government, and religious equality.

Brown's loyalty to the Reform party lasted until Baldwin's retirement from public life in 1851, but the similarity of Brown's ideals and those of the Clear Grits drew him to the leadership of the Grits by the mid 1850s. He had entered Parliament in 1851 to promote the separation of church and state, and had made two powerful enemies in the process. In 1850 Pope Pius IX's action in re-establishing a Roman Catholic hierarchy in Britain had sparked an outburst of violent resentment among Protestants that was felt even in the British American colonies. Although this "papal aggression controversy" did not involve Canada directly, George Brown had accepted a challenge to reprint in his *Globe* certain statements made by Catholics in England, but took this opportunity to criticize the undue influence of the Roman church in Canadian politics. Harsh words followed and Brown's equally sharp replies, "blow for blow", branded him as a Protestant bigot in the eyes of the Catholics. In fact Brown was not simply opposing the power of the Roman Church — he was the dedicated foe of all clericalism, whether Catholic or Protestant. In his mind there was never room for doubt about the justice and soundness of the principles and policies he espoused.

Brown's "no popery" campaign actually caused his defeat when he ran for Parliament in 1851, but, when he did win in another election that year, he acquired a second enemy in the person of another Canadianized Scot, John A. Macdonald. Macdonald, the aspiring young Conservative, accused Brown of perverting justice when he was a Penitentiary Commissioner in 1848. For the next thirty years Brown and Macdonald were implacable rivals in and out of Parliament. Brown was convinced that Macdonald was "the Artful Dodger" — devious, time-serving, unprincipled and politically immoral. In the pages of the *Globe* and on the floor of the House of Commons Brown denounced Macdonald in thundering tones of righteous indignation. Macdonald was just as certain that Brown was

hypocritical, priggish and a pompous liar. With obvious relish Macdonald publicized the story of Peter Brown's financial disgrace years ago in Edinburgh. With equal joy Macdonald used George Brown's impatient temper and outspoken opinions for his own political advantage with the Catholic voters. George Brown's rigid devotion to the principles of honesty and moral rectitude was unquestionable, but at times his idealism seemed ill-suited to the rough-and-tumble of Canadian politics. In 1854 it was Macdonald who secularized the Clergy Reserves after Brown had worked to that end for years, and again, in 1858, Macdonald played on Brown's impetuousness when he allowed "the old covenanting fellow" (Brown was actually his junior by three years) to rush to form a Liberal government with Catholic support, which the Conservatives defeated two days later!

Brown's battles in the *Globe* and in Parliament were far from being the sum total of the dynamic young bachelor's public interests. Before he had ever witnessed the "sinful" slave-holding system of the United States, George Brown had become a dedicated fighter against that "monstrous iniquity". His hatred of slavery, that "question of humanity . . . of Christianity", made him a founding member of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada in 1851 and fervent supporter of his idol, Abraham Lincoln, throughout the American Civil War. Both Browns were strong advocates of a Presbyterian church union, based on voluntarism of course, and Peter Brown rejoiced at the union of the Free Church and the Secessionist United Presbyterian Church in 1861, two years before his death. Thereafter George continued to promote the union of all branches of Presbyterianism in Canada, until, in 1875, protracted negotiations culminated in the creation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Journalism provided George Brown with a sounding board for church union, for his anti-slavery crusade, and for his campaigns in support of prohibition and sabbath observance in Canada. Journalism also made him a wealthy man, and his investments in such enterprises as farming, lumbering, manufacturing and land development at Bothwell in Lambton County returned even greater profits when the discovery of oil in the neighbourhood made Bothwell into a boom town in 1861. In political life, however, even the idealistic Brown was being worn down by the pettiness of provincial affairs and his defeat in an election in 1861 allowed him to recoup body and spirit with a holiday in Scotland. Free from the grinding and thankless task of being a political leader perpetually in Opposition, George courted

and wed Anne Nelson of Edinburgh. When their marriage was blessed with an adored daughter early in 1864, Brown began to regret his re-entry into Parliament the previous year and to begrudge his public involvement and his political avocation that kept him from his young family. Only that deep and possessive sense of the Christian's duty to be a politician kept him from throwing up the whole sordid mess of factional parties, petty issues and personal animosities in the provincial Parliament.

In 1863 Brown was re-elected to Parliament, just in time to play the central role in the long expected crisis of sectional deadlock in the United Canadas. Since 1841 the two colonies, one predominantly Catholic and French, the other Protestant and English, had been hitched in double harness, but each passing year had seemed to intensify their differing interests. Upper Canada, aggressive, expansive, industrializing, was tied to the conservative, agricultural population of Lower Canada in equal union. Religious and "racial" tensions between Protestant and Catholic, English and French, had played their part in the impasse which produced three general elections and four governments in only two years — without any improvement in the political situation. Now Upper Canada's deep sense of frustration and Lower Canada's defensiveness had reached a climax.

Brown had insisted that the real cause of Canada's political problem was the equal parliamentary representation accorded to Upper and Lower Canada in the union, despite Upper Canada's larger population. Relentlessly he had urged representation by population as the only solution. Yet "rep by pop" within the existing union would never be acceptable to the solid French Catholic element and therefore, after his reconciliation with Catholic Liberals, he had begun in 1859 to press for a federation of the two Canadas, with the possibility of extending the federal principle to include the other British North American colonies and the vast unoccupied Prairies. The crisis of June, 1864, provided George Brown with the opportunity to make his dream of a British North American confederation come true.

At this crucial moment George Brown held the balance of power in that parliament of minorities, and he would give his support to any party which would work for confederation, even to Macdonald's Conservatives. Macdonald accepted Brown's magnanimous offer but insisted that Brown himself must enter a coalition government. Reluctantly George Brown agreed that it was his duty to lay aside his

distrust of and distaste for Macdonald, to sacrifice his own interests and pride for the cause. For George Brown, the Christian statesman, "conscientious convictions and the interests of the country" must always come before personal ambitions or party advantage. Thus the "Great Coalition" was born in June, 1864, with a mission to seek a confederation of British North America that would bring "liberty, and justice, and Christianity throughout the land".

In the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences and in the confederation debates in the Canadian Parliament, it was George Brown who expounded the constitution of the new Dominion. He was the philosopher-architect of federation — Macdonald was the politician who worked out the necessary compromises. A year and a half after his great personal sacrifice, however, Brown could no longer work with the ambitious and conniving Macdonald. Brown had forced the Conservatives to accept his ideal of a greater Canada and now felt free to resign from a government which a sense of duty alone had forced him to enter. He would be only a spectator at the birth of the confederation he had designed, but he felt relief, not regret, at this development. "I am a free man once more", he telegraphed to his "darling Anne". He had never enjoyed the game of politics and he would now have more time to spend with his adoring family. Almost reluctantly he agreed to stand again for election when the first Parliament of the new Dominion was chosen in 1867. His defeat at the polls was both a shock and a relief — shock at the voters' ingratitude for all his past efforts, relief that he was now completely free to enjoy his growing family and his newest enterprise, Bow Park, a stock-breeding estate near Brantford.

The achievement of Confederation was almost, but not quite, the end of Brown's political career. In 1873 the Liberal Party which he had moulded in the fiery fifties appointed him to the Canadian senate and a year later sent him to Washington in a long but futile campaign for a reciprocity treaty with the United States. These years should have been happy ones for George and Anne as two more children were born to them, but dark financial clouds were gathering. In the midst of the world-wide depression of the late 1870's the *Globe* required ever increasing investments of time and money, and then, in December, 1879, the extensive buildings of Bow Park were destroyed by two mysterious fires. George Brown was already a tired, worried man that day in March, 1880, when he was wounded by George Bennett's pistol.

Memorial addresses poured in from all directions and from all types of people at the death of George Brown. From political clubs,

from the Buffalo City Council, from the "coloured citizens of Toronto", from government and church bodies and from fraternal societies came eulogies hailing the memory of "Canada's greatest statesman", a "great champion of civil and religious liberty", "leader of public opinion", "architect" of the Dominion of Canada, "great journalist", "distinguished patriot", and "sincere and devout Christian". It was the funeral sermon delivered by Dr. John King in St. James' Presbyterian Church, however, that caught the essence of George Brown's life:

> 'Erect before men, on his knees before God' — that is the description which a gifted writer has given us of the Christian. You who have seen the departed in public life do not need to be told how fully he was the one; those who knew him in the home ... can testify how completely he was the other.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE

George Brown's semi-official biography, by his long time political lieutenant, Alexander Mackenzie, was published in 1882. It presented only an incomplete account of his political career, and is mainly useful today for the speeches and letters it contains. A second biography, by John Lewis, appeared in 1902 and incorporated material from *The Globe*. Not until the recovery in 1955 of Brown's private papers was a definitive biography possible. That biography, *Brown of the Globe*, (2 vols., Toronto, 1959, 1963) by J.M.S. Careless, can be supplemented by the same author's briefer biography of Brown in *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 1972, and by his interpretive essay, "George Brown', in *Our Living Tradition* (Second Series), edited by R.L. McDougall, Toronto, 1959.

Oliver Mowat
Christian Statesman of Ontario

A. MARGARET EVANS

OLIVER MOWAT — lawyer, judge, a Father of Confederation, attorney-general, premier and lieutenant-governor of Ontario, senator and federal minister of justice under Wilfrid Laurier, Knight Commander of the Order of St. Michael and St. George — ranks as one of the outstanding Presbyterian laymen in Canadian public life in the nineteenth century. He demonstrated through his long career that a Christian gentleman could be a highly successful political leader and statesman.

When Mowat was born in Kingston in 1820, Upper Canada was but a frontier colony. In 1893, as an elderly man opening the impressive new Parliament Buildings at Queen's Park, Toronto, he reminisced:

> I remember when our provincial politics were not conducted by the elected representatives of the people ... I knew the province when it had no municipal institutions ... I knew the province when the various Churches amongst which its people were distributed were not equal before the Law ... I remember the province when there was in it not one university, not one college, and no system of public schools. I remember when at every election there was but one polling place for the whole county, no matter how extensive; when the election lasted for a week, and when (except in towns) the only voters were freeholders. I remember when the province had not one mile of railway, nor, I believe, a mile of macadamized road. I remember when the principal cities of the present day were but villages; when this great city of Toronto was "Little York", and its population three or four thousand.

When Mowat died in 1903 in the Government House in Toronto, Ontario was the foremost province in the Dominion. To

much of the political, economic and social transformation of those years he had contributed.

Oliver was the eldest son of Helen Levack and John Mowat, both from the misty moors of Caithness in the far north of Scotland. The Levacks were Huguenots who had fled from France around 1690. The Mowats were one of the ancient Scottish families. Their crest bore the inscription *De Monte Alto* and the motto "Commit thy works unto God." John Mowat, in coming to the new world, did not leave behind the family tradition of vigorous endeavor. While Oliver, his two brothers and two sisters were growing up, their father had become a leading citizen in Kingston. He was a successful businessman, a founder of the Midland Commercial Bank, a magistrate and briefly an alderman, a founding trustee of Queen's University which was modelled on Edinburgh, and an elder in St. Andrew's Church which under the Rev. John Machar was the intellectual and spiritual home of the Presbyterian Scots of the town. The large and prosperous congregation of St. Andrew's, as Arthur R.M. Lower wrote in *Historic Kingston* in 1972, was "Tory to a man".

Thus Oliver Mowat, like John A. Macdonald who was five years older, was reared in the heart of Kingston's Church of Scotland and Tory community. He received as good an education as the day afforded. John Mowat, though part of the Kingstonian Tory elite, had no fondness for the policies of the Family Compact at York including its Anglican-dominated schools. He persuaded John Cruikshank, a Scottish university graduate and Presbyterian minister, to open a school for classical and general education. Part of Oliver's early studies were in this private school, but he did not go on to university like his brothers. By the time that Queen's held its first classes, he had completed his legal training. Since there were as yet no law schools in the province, young men aspiring to be lawyers were articled to an established firm and examined by the Law Society of Upper Canada. Mowat read law under John A. Macdonald in Kingston from 1836 to 1840, and for a fifth year 1840-41 in the firm of Strachan & Burns in Toronto.

Mowat throughout his life was influenced by his background and upbringing. Like his father he was a man of kindly humour and devotion to his family; he was intelligent, dependable and upright; he had a strong sense of duty and immense capacity for sustained work. *The Canada Presbyterian* in 1884 held him up as a model.

Mr Mowat's party politics are a matter of no concern to *The*

> *Presbyterian*; but Mr. Mowat as a man, as a statesman, as a distinguished jurist, as premier of Ontario, may well be put before the young men of Canada as an example of what industry, perseverance, integrity, pluck, and a clean character all round can raise a man to ... This is the lesson we wish to enforce on the young men of Canada — integrity, industry, perseverance, plodding, honour, combined with a good humour and a kind heart, are the qualities that tell in the end.

His pride in his Presbyterian heritage and his attachment to the faith of his fathers grew as the years passed. St. James' Square Presbyterian Church, Toronto, had "no more appreciative listener than the Attorney-General," said Frank Yeigh in the *World*, May 13, 1892.

Yet Mowat had a deep respect for the great truths which all Christians, whatever their denominational preference, hold in common. Although he chose law as his vocation, he early manifested interest in comparative religion. Besides his own inclination, he was no doubt drawn to theology by his close relationship with his brother, John Bower Mowat. The latter was a graduate of both Queen's and Edinburgh with an honorary doctorate of divinity from Glasgow, who after a seven year pastorate at Niagara returned to Queen's to teach Hebrew from 1857 until his death in 1900. Toward the end of his political career, Mowat's extensive reflections on religion were organized into a lecture delivered in 1890 to the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour in his own riding. A few years later, it was published as a pamphlet with the title *Christianity and Some of Its Evidences, Popularly Stated*. Here, and in an address given in 1898 before the Young Men's Christian Association of Toronto and Trinity Medical Schools, he revealed his earnest belief in the Christianity of the Bible as "the mightiest of all powers, for purifying and humanizing and civilizing." If he had learned one lesson more than another in the course of his life, he declared, it was that "the influence of a man or a woman for good is immensely promoted by faith in Christianity." Benevolent institutions and beneficent acts "are the natural and necessary and immediate outcome of the teachings of Jesus." Christianity requires honesty, justice, humanity, in every act of life; "glad and loving service in a special sense to the friendless, the sick, the suffering, and the needy."

It was not until 1857, after Mowat had built up a prosperous practice in the capital, that he began to show a serious interest in politics. In this field, it seemed, he departed from all his previous

associations, for he sided not with the John A. Macdonald Conservatives but with the Reformers of Upper Canada led by George Brown of the *Globe*, another strong Presbyterian. Even so, the conservatism, which reflected his own canny Scots nature as well as his earlier environment, remained a strong strain in him, tempering his liberalism. It was a definite political asset when he was premier, for it kept him from venturing into radical measures which would have alarmed the conservative-minded people of Ontario. The many reforms effected by his Liberal government were progressive, but at the same time cautious and restrained like those of Gladstonian Liberalism in Great Britain. In six successive provincial elections they won the support of the essentially moderate, intensely British, Ontarians, many of whom voted for Macdonald federally.

In his several careers Mowat's ability and integrity were recognized. As a member of the legislature of the United Province of Canada, 1857-64, he quickly attained a high place in Reform ranks. Near-sighted, too short and stocky to be impressive in appearance, not gifted in the oratory which the age admired, he was nevertheless sensible, loyal and competent. At the Quebec Conference of 1864, fellow-delegates acknowledged his constructive work in helping to frame the resolutions which formed the basis of Canadian Confederation. When he left the political arena to become Vice-Chancellor of Upper Canada later in 1864, the *Upper Canada Law Journal* pronounced him "eminently the right man in the right place" by virtue of his legal attainments. The *Journal* added that Mowat as a politician had "commanded the respect of all parties." His judgment had been "generally good" and his honesty "above reproach." When, however, he left the Bench after eight years to succeed Edward Blake as the leader of the Ontario Liberal Party and the premier of the province, the *Canada Law Journal* deplored the "rude shock" to the judiciary. The Bench had been admired as a "place of permanent honour." Judges had put party sympathies behind them. The Toronto *Mail* condemned Mowat's "descent" as an "impropriety," which soiled the "ermine" and made the traditional independence of the judiciary a "sham." But the *Law Journal* admitted Mowat's probity while a judge, and Ontario opinion generally approved his acceptance of the premiership. The view of the Belleville *Daily Ontario* was that "no man could enter Canadian politics bringing with him a larger share of public confidence." The Orangeville *Advertiser* affirmed: "He stands very high as a Christian gentleman ... We are very glad, indeed, to see such as him at the head of affairs." Mowat himself said of his return to political life:

> No office in Ontario is more honourable than that of Premier, to which I have been called; and the office presents a greater field for public usefulness than that which I have left.

Thus Mowat came to the office of premier at the mature age of fifty-two. He had already proven his capacity for statesmanship. At the end of his life he would perform with dignity the duties of lieutenant-governor, 1897-1903. Yet it was, as he thought, the premiership which gave him the greatest opportunities for "public usefulness." During the twenty-four years of his regime — the longest ministry in Canada except that of E.C. Manning in Alberta — many of the foundations of present day Ontario were laid. This was the important formative generation after 1867 when, to use Macdonald's phrase, Confederation was "hardening into bone." In a series of legal disputes with Macdonald, Mowat's resolute upholding of provincial rights against encroachments from Ottawa completely dispelled the idea of the prime minister that the central government would be supreme and the provincial governments would stay "one-horse concerns." Mowat for his stand has often been represented as stubbornly parochial and lacking in Canadian vision. He, however, did not consider that in enhancing the constitutional position of Ontario he was weakening the nation. On the contrary, he believed that the success of a federal system such as Canada's rests on the acceptance of provincial autonomy. His views of the distribution of powers between central and local governments were very different from those of Macdonald. But he was not less patriotic, as he showed plainly in the early 1890's when he went into combat against the Ontario advocates of commercial and political union with the United States. In his policies within the province, Mowat was very skilful in sensing the currents of public opinion and responding to changing public needs as Ontario crossed the threshold into the modern urban-industrial era. Aided by his ministers, respectable men and capable administrators like himself, he departed from the prevailing laissez-faire of mid-nineteenth century, assuming new responsibilities in government for the advancement of the provincial economy and society.

Agriculture, which still involved the majority of the people, was given encouragement through increased grants to agricultural societies and funds appropriated for extensive drainage projects. In order to obtain an accurate picture of the industry, Mowat appointed an Agricultural Commission in 1880. Its *Report* the following year, a valuable document on the soil, climate and husbandry county by

county, led to the setting up of a Bureau of Industries, which was to publish annual statistics on weather, prices and wages and other information about the province. The government gave leadership in agricultural progress by opening the Ontario Agricultural College and Experimental Farm at Guelph, the first agricultural college in Canada, and by establishing a separate Department of Agriculture, also the first in the Dominion. Improvements in transportation benefited all segments of the economy. Though conservation of natural resources was not yet popular, at least the Mowat government took steps to protect the forests from fire and to halt the extinction of fish and game. It began, too, a policy of public parks for the province with the creation of Queen Victoria Park at Niagara Falls, Algonquin Park and Rondeau Park. Mowat's triumph in the lengthy north-west boundary dispute, which doubled the size of the province, was followed by measures for the opening of Ontario's north as an important section complementing the agriculture and industry of the southern peninsula. Immigration was stimulated by grants of Crown lands and the building of colonization roads and railways. A Pioneer Farm was set up at Dryden to discover the possibilities for agriculture. Mining was encouraged and legislation was passed to ensure safety for the mine workers. The bases of the diversified economic empire of the twentieth century were thus established before the end of Mowat's premiership. In 1890 the Winnipeg *Free Press* called Ontario the "richest ... and best-governed Province in the Dominion."

Moreover, the social legislation of the Mowat government placed Ontario in the van of the Canadian provinces with regard to the administration of justice, a democratic franchise, temperance reform, the improvement of education, public health and welfare, factory and labour regulations. The judicial and franchise reforms illustrated Mowat's tendency to turn to Victorian England for models. His Judicature Act in 1881, which united the old rival common law and equity courts in Ontario, was patterned on the British Act of 1873. He ended open voting in the province in 1874, two years after Britain adopted the secret ballot. The gradual widening of the electorate, as in Britain, was the method he used until in 1888 Ontario attained full manhood suffrage. Mowat himself was in sympathy with those who were agitating for the right of women to vote on the same plane as men. But he knew that the majority of the people were not ready for this amount of democracy. In his cabinet, in fact, there were strong objections to female suffrage as tending to "unsex" a woman and injure home life. Mowat faced another highly controversial question

in the rising movement for stiffer liquor laws. The evils of intemperance offended his Presbyterian morality. His personal abstinence was sometimes a source of perplexity to fellow-Scots, as on the occasion when the dignitaries of the Royal Burgh of Wick in Caithness conferred on him the freedom of the town but did not think to provide any refreshments suitable for a teetotaller. But again Mowat was aware that on this social question there were many different shades of opinion in Ontario, ranging from the outright prohibitionists to the licensed dealers. He sought in his several enactments on the liquor traffic to make positive regulations without letting the "temperance" cause become unduly divisive. His success in keeping to an acceptable middle course was attested by Hector Charlesworth's comment in *More Candid Chronicles* (1928) that the "old conciliator in a most extraordinary way managed to hold in common allegiance" both extremes. Mowat was more innovative in the field of education, perhaps because of the buoyant energy of George W. Ross, the Minister of Education 1883-99, another staunch Scots Presbyterian. Ross was interested in every side of education — public and separate schools, the private school — Upper Canada College, elementary and secondary education, kindergarten and university, technical education, the training of the deaf and the blind, school buildings and texts, compulsory attendance, the public library as a means of adult education. The many changes introduced by the Mowat government made Ontario's educational system the envy of the rest of Canada in the late nineteenth century.

The religious humanitarianism of the premier was especially challenged by the new demands of urban labour for regulatory legislation and by a rising concern for the unfortunate members of society. Mowat's important labour acts, advanced for the time, showed his government's willingness to intervene in the relations between employer and employee: they covered arbitration of industrial disputes, workmen's compensation, protections of earnings by liens, and regulation of working conditions in factories and shops. When the Knights of Labour at Woodstock referred to these measures in an address to Mowat in 1890, he expressed in reply his "special interest" in the workingmen:

> They have a smaller proportion of the comforts and advantages of life than the rest of the community ... Then there is our common manhood, which binds us all together. In a Christian country, one cannot help remembering that the great Saviour of

the world, when He came into the world, lived and worked with mechanics, with humble toilers, and it was for the poor as well as the rich that He laid down his life.

Similarly, the Mowat government set an example for the rest of Canada in taking responsibilities for public health and welfare. It initiated a Provincial Board of Health, provided inspection for hospitals, and gave attention to the treatment of mental illness and the reformation of the wrong-doer. The Children's Act of 1893 authorizing children's aid societies was the pioneer in this form of protection for neglected or ill-treated children. Ontario by the end of Mowat's premiership had come a long distance on the road to the broad social services of the twentieth century.

Mowat's respect for the religious beliefs of others helped him in dealing with the Protestant-Catholic tensions which threatened the unity of the country in this first generation after Confederation. He aimed at justice to both the Catholics who made up one-sixth of the population of Ontario and to the Protestants, to the French-speaking minority in the province as well as to the English-speaking majority. In the 1870's, for example, he did not yield to the insistence of the Orangemen for a special act of incorporation, since in Catholic eyes this seemed the endorsement of a hostile secret society. He did, however, concede the right of Orange lodges to incorporate under a general act. Although he would have preferred that children of all religions be educated together, he rebuffed the strident ultra-Protestants — the Toronto *Mail*, the Equal Rights Association, the Protestant Protective Rights Association — who attacked separate schools. Accepting that these were "a fact in our Constitution," he put through a number of amendments to aid their efficient functioning. On the other hand, he did not believe that Catholic requests for an extension of the separate school system through to secondary and university levels should be granted. While he convinced most Catholics of his fair and honest treatment, he was bitterly assailed in the elections of 1886, 1890 and 1894 as an apostate to Protestantism. The charge refuted itself by its very absurdity. Mowat's Presbyterianism was unimpeachable; his re-election as president of the Evangelical Alliance of Ontario for twenty years was proof of his standing among Protestants in general. He was thus able to contain the disruptive tendencies of sectarianism in the province. Moreover, his reputation for preserving a reasonable amity between the two main creeds and races in Ontario stood him in good stead when he

went to Ottawa, where his main task while Minister of Justice 1896-97 was to find a compromise in the vexing Manitoba schools dispute.

Mowat's political opponents depicted him as the wily politician who won repeated victories at the polls by such methods as gerrymandering and lavish dispensing of patronage. It was quite true that Mowat was unusually astute in political tactics and the arts of managing a party. He raised Ontario Liberalism to its pinnacle of success. Still, the measures he carried through were of lasting value to the province. As he grew older, tributes to Canada's "Grand Old Man" mounted from opposition and independents as well as from friends. The *Christian Guardian*, the non-partisan Methodist organ, paid perhaps the finest tribute a week after his death in an editorial "A Good Man Gone":

> He carried Christian principle into all phases of his public life. He was in his character and conduct a complete refutation of the common fallacy that political life is essentially hostile to Christian ideals, that a man cannot be at one and the same time an earnest Christian and an active politician.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Biggar, C.R.W. *Sir Oliver Mowat: A Biographical Sketch.* Toronto: Musson, 1905. 2 vols.

Evans, A. Margaret. "The Mowat Era, 1872-1896: Stability and Progress," in *Profiles of a Province.* Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967. "Oliver Mowat and Ontario, 1872-1896: A Study in Political Success." PH.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967. 2. vols. "Oliver Mowat: The Pre-Premier and Post-Premier Years," *Ontario History*, LXII (1970), 137-150. "The Ontario Press on Oliver Mowat's First Six Weeks as Premier," *Ontario History*, LVI (1964), 125-141.

Kerr, Janet B. "Sir Oliver Mowat and the Campaign of 1894," *Ontario History*, LV (1963), 1-13.

Swainson, Donald, ed. *Oliver Mowat's Ontario.* Toronto: Macmillan, 1972.

Donald Harvey MacVicar Professor and First Principal, Presbyterian College, Montreal. 1831-1901

JOHN A. JOHNSTON

TO RECALL the history of the Presbyterian cause in the St. Lawrence River Valley is to honour the memory of Donald MacVicar, educator, theologian and denominational protagonist of the first order. Described by his contemporaries as both an agitator and a conservative champion of orthodoxy, this first principal of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, influenced the Presbyterian Church in ways unparalleled and, in the view of this author, unequalled by virtually any other ecclesiastic of this period.

Born in Argyllshire in 1831, and brought to Canada as a child, MacVicar helped to clear the family acreage near Chatham, Ontario where he received, in keeping with the times, a basic but meagre education from the local dominie. Following his brother to Toronto, he studied at the well-known academy of Alexander Gale where his classmates included the sons of William Lyon Mackenzie. At Knox Theological College, MacVicar was influenced by Professor George Paxton Young and Principal Michael Willis. One vacation period was spent with Professor Young in the Hamilton home of the Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Upper Canada businessman and politician, studying Plato and the Greek philosophers.

Full of energy and zeal in the discharge of his duty, MacVicar was reported to be a good looking man, blessed with both mental and physical health. Not a born public speaker and rather nervous in temperament, MacVicar greatly matured during his years at Knox. It was during this period that the name of Harvey was added, the result of a romantic character in a novel to which his girl friend and future wife had been attracted.

A teaching vocation at first seemed likely. During his Knox days, MacVicar taught at his brother's academy in Toronto and later in Georgetown. Ultimately, brother Malcolm joined the Baptist Church and became the first chancellor of McMaster College. Donald, on the other hand, developed an obvious loyalty to Presbyterianism and the Westminster Standards.

Following graduation from Knox College, MacVicar was urged to take a "foreign" missionary appointment in British Columbia but finally agreed to come to Knox Free Church, Guelph, a weak congregation in danger of closing. Ordained in 1859, he served for thirteen months in the Royal City. The congregation prospered, was soon crowded out, and plans were laid to build a more commodious structure. A seat on the Board of School Commissioners in Guelph was at this time offered to him.

After an all-too-short ministry here, MacVicar accepted a Call in 1860 to the prestigious congregation of Coté Street Free Church, Montreal, the largest and most influential body in the city. Much opposition was expressed but the call was sustained and in 1861 he was inducted into the Montreal pulpit, a place of great opportunity. In the metropolis on the St. Lawrence was the site of the Crystal Palace and Victoria Bridge, recognized as one of the world's greatest engineering feats. Montreal was headquarters for trans-Atlantic steamship lines and terminus for the Grand Trunk Railway. The Civil War in the United States had quadrupled the Montreal trade. Church union in 1861 between Free and Secession bodies in the Canadas enlarged the influence of the Coté Street Congregation.

Immediately, Donald Harvey MacVicar gathered around him a group of outstanding laymen whose talents were harnessed to the mission of the Church at home and overseas. His ministry proved both innovative and strongly conservative. Coté Street was the first congregation to substitute communion cards for tokens. Women's prayer meetings were established, and the Bible class attracted hundreds to the weekly meetings. At the same time MacVicar led a campaign in the Canada Presbyterian Church against pew rents.

On the other hand MacVicar opposed the use of organs in churches and Coté Street was one of the last congregations in Canada to admit the "kist o'whistles" to Sabbath worship. He also felt that church discipline was much too lenient and elders lax in fulfilling their responsibilities. MacVicar soon came to be recognized as a great Bible expositor: logical and thorough, his point-by-point outline of Scripture became his trademark. Never were his sermons less than threequarters of an hour in length, and audiences felt he was at his best when speaking without notes.

In 1862, the great evangelical revival of Glengarry took place. Ralph Connor, a son of the Kirkhill manse, tells in "The Man from Glengarry" how D.H. MacVicar was used of God in this awakening. During the eight year ministry at Coté Street, five additional Church

Schools were opened and the congregation actively supported various missionary projects of the denomination.

Beginning in 1865, the minister of Coté Street Church was appointed to the Protestant Board of School Commissioners, a post he held for thirty-one years, including the last fifteen as chairman. When this appointment was accepted, the Protestant population of Montreal was 40,000 but only three schools, containing three thousand pupils, existed to serve the non-Roman Catholic community. The Board was strapped for money although two-thirds of the wealth of the city was reputed to be in Protestant hands. Within five years, the budget of the Protestant School Board had multiplied by six. In 1876, MacVicar was removed from office by the provincial government on account of his outspoken views, but was re-instated two years later. MacVicar also served on the McGill University Corporation and Normal School Committee, with the life-long support of Principal William Dawson. At the university he lectured in Logic and within nine years of his coming to Montreal received an honorary LL.D. from McGill.

In 1864, nine men, including MacVicar, met to discuss the state of theological education in the country. Queen's University, Kingston had earlier been established in connection with the Church of Scotland. The Free Church in 1844 had laid the foundations for Knox College, Toronto. The St. Lawrence Valley had sought for such an institution to be established in or around Montreal. John Redpath of that city was a member of the Canada Presbyterian Church's Committee for Theological Education, and though he failed to bring the theological college to Montreal, he persuaded the church to acknowledge that:

> the Synod sympathizing with the spiritual destitution of Canada East and recognizing the duty of exercising a watchful care over young men that may be led through grace to devote themselves to the work of the ministry there, yet not contemplating at present the establishment of two distinct and separate theological institutions in Canada ... do authorize the Presbytery of Montreal to make the best arrangements they can for training promising young men residing in their bounds.

The principal of McGill, William Dawson, stated that his university was anxious to have a Presbyterian College affiliated with it. He added that "the literary and scientific education given by McGill

is quite equal to anything of this kind accessible to theological students elsewhere, and its Protestant character enables it to take a stand on the side of evangelical Christianity, while avoiding denominational contests."

One of the reasons most frequently raised in connection with the theological college in Montreal was the support it would give to evangelization in the French language. Many business men, financiers and educators were moved by this appeal to bring the gospel to the French-speaking majority in Quebec. In training a French-speaking clergy, a "cloud of darkness" in the province would be dispelled, and the "evils of popery" would be effaced.

The problems of distance and transportation also demanded a Presbyterian college in Montreal. Students were not able to travel to Toronto for their studies. Some suggested that Montreal was less "americanized" than western Ontario, implying a century-old Quebec nationalism. Montreal needed a focal point to unite the small and scattered congregations. In addition, men like the Reverend A.F. Kemp believed that Knox College had become delinquent in meeting the needs of Christ and His Church.

In June of 1864 the Presbytery of Montreal overtured the Synod, seeking the establishment of Montreal College, stating that

> the Church in this section of the Province, in seeking to maintain and disseminate scriptural and evangelical principles, has to contend against the dominant power of Popery, with all the ignorance and superstition which it entails, as well as against many other adverse influences hurtful to a sound and pure Protestantism.

The appointment of a professor and the acquisition of a charter were necessary. The petition of Montreal was approved by Synod, and Justice F.W. Torrance of Coté Street Church was entrusted with its legal form. The Rev. D.H. MacVicar and at least six of the Elders of his congregation were included as members of the body corporate of the new institution.

For the next two years the Presbytery of Montreal sought to raise sufficient funds to endow the theological chair. Twenty thousand dollars were received. George Paxton Young declined to assume the chair, but suggested that MacVicar himself be appointed. Invitations were then extended to such notables as A.B. Bruce, Marcus Dods, James McCosh etc, to no avail.

At the 1868 Synod, MacVicar was chosen to be "professor of everything" at the Presbyterian College, Montreal. Eight voted against the appointment, including the chairman of the college senate who claimed the appointment of the minister of Côté Street would be "fatal to the college."

The subject of Professor MacVicar's inaugural address was "Miracles," given in the temporary quarters of Erskine Church. Many thought a miracle was needed for the college to exist at all! MacVicar, however, was the key to success. He taught Latin, Greek, mathematics, logic, and moral philosophy, as well as all the theological classes except exegetics which was under the direction of Principal William Dawson, of McGill.

How close was the tie between Arts and Theological Colleges? The Senate and Board of Presbyterian College always contained the names of McGill professors. In the five-year period between 1885 and 89, twenty-two percent of all McGill Arts graduates proceeded to study Theology at Presbyterian College. In the year 1871, sixty percent of all McGill Arts graduates entered the college.

To assist Dr. MacVicar was brought together, in due course, a teaching staff from various parts of the world. The first full chair to be filled was that of Church History and Apologetics, with John Campbell inducted in 1873. Very dissimilar in temperament and theological viewpoint, the two men served together for many years most loyally until a charge of heresy against Dr. Campbell resulted in MacVicar's declining to support him, to be followed by Campbell's subsequent resignation. Like MacVicar, Professor Campbell saw the college as a "citadel of Protestantism in the midst of a Roman Catholic population" and early joined one of the French-speaking Presbyterian congregations in the city.

Within a few months of the opening of the college, a French-language department was in operation. By 1870 twelve French-speaking students were enrolled. MacVicar was a strong supporter of the French-Canadian Missionary Society and its school at Pointe-aux-Trembles. It seemed only natural that Rev. Daniel Coussirat, in charge of theological education for the society, should be invited to direct the French-language programme of the college, first as a lecturer 1869-75 and then as full professor, 1880-1906.

Within a few years, French-evangelization projects were being operated in twenty-six counties in the province of Quebec, due largely to the leadership of Dr. MacVicar who served as Convener for the Board of French Evangelization of the General Assembly from 1875-

1902. This committee received the largest budget of any committee of the church. The Principal never lost the original vision of the college as a centre for training ministers for French evangelization.

Many were his enemies within the Roman Catholic fold. On more than one occasion he was called "MacVicar AntiChrist." At the instigation of the convener, the Board of French Evangelization brought back Father Chiniquy from Kankakee, Illinois, to hold French-language evangelistic meetings in the Craig Street church building. After it was damaged by Roman Catholic mobs, the services were moved to MacVicar's former congregation, Coté Street, where he organized a security guard of several hundred students from McGill and Presbyterian College to keep order.

A decade later, MacVicar again took the initiative in securing police protection for Father Chiniquy when the Mayor of Montreal was unwilling to assist. Later it was the Salvation Army that he championed during its times of persecution in the province. To MacVicar, the gospel was the sure hope of all men, and in Quebec a ministry had to be trained to share the Good News in spite of persecution, fire or sword. To the following statement recorded in the Presbyterian College Life, MacVicar could utter a hearty "Amen."

> Knox cannot take the place of Montreal. Our church has taken upon itself the work of evangelizing the French Canadian Catholics of the Province of Quebec and it must provide them with an educated ministry. Such an education must be given in this province. It would be useless to try to prevail upon young Frenchmen from Pointe-aux-Trembles to move into a thoroughly English community ... The Presbyterian College, Montreal, not only furnishes the means for supplying a native ministry for the Province of Quebec, but is also no mean agency for welding the two nationalities in our Dominion into one strong and united people.

By the turn of the century ninety-two preaching stations were being served by thirty-one French-speaking ministers and sixteen students.

Under the leadership of Principal MacVicar, the college quickly outgrew the cellar and steeple class rooms in Erskine Church. When a call from an influential New York congregation was sympathetically received by him, the Board and Senate of the college determined to erect suitable college buildings as an incentive for the Principal to remain in the city. MacVicar stayed and the new stone building was

opened in 1873 adjacent to the university on MacTavish Street. Enrolments increased and the endowments were built up. With the inauguration of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1875, the Montreal college entered the Union as one of the educational institutions of the new denomination in which MacVicar recognized additional opportunity for recruitment and service.

From a dear friend and Sunday School superintendent of Coté Street Church, David Morrice, the Principal received much support and guidance through his chairmanship of the college Board. As a director of cotton and woolen mills, David Morrice brought to the college an executive ability and dedication which resulted in his singlehandedly assuming the entire cost of the 1882 addition to the college facilities. Others from Coté Street congregation responded by endowing the John Redpath Chair, the Joseph Mackay Chair and the Edward Mackay Chair.

The needs of Gaelic-, English-, and French-speaking persons had a warm spot in MacVicar's heart. He stated,

> In a true patriotic and cosmopolitan spirit we unite various races in our class rooms, men speaking five or six different languages and thus seek to bind together in Christian harmony the diverse elements of our youthful nation. It is well known that the population of the Dominion is heterogeneous; and no one will deny the right of all to hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God ... our institution seeks to extend its Christian influence and usefulness to the ends of the earth, and thus to act upon the Saviour's declaration that the field is the world. To us, Home and Foreign Missions are akin-only two departments of one great enterprise.

MacVicar's own son served in China and many overseas journeys gave Dr. MacVicar a world vision of the Church. One of his last acts was the baptism of nine Chinese whom he had personally instructed in the faith.

The denominational position of MacVicar was perhaps more readily recognized than his catholicity. Great was his emphasis on Presbyterian polity and doctrine. His was a conscientious attendance upon the courts of the church. He was recognized as a champion of orthodoxy and Systematic Theology became his specialized area of instruction. Above all, he was a teacher, enthusiastic and challenging. His manner was direct, even blunt, according to his contemporaries,

which sometimes clashed with the niceties that cloak the Christian life. As an administrator he was able to use the talents of others in the work of the college and of the various committees entrusted to his leadership. Always available, a man for detail, he proved himself again and again a warm and faithful friend.

Following a meeting of the French Evangelization Committee, of which it has earlier been stated that he had been chairman for over twenty-five years, MacVicar returned to the college for one of his classes. Death decreed otherwise. He died at his desk at the age of seventy.

The flags of Montreal Protestant Schools hung at half mast. Thousands paid their respects. Professor Daniel Coussirat, when a missionary of the French-Canadian Society more than thirty years earlier, had stated, "surely Mr. MacVicar is too poor to build that college, but the God who has put into his heart the noble and holy ambition of raising it is rich enough to do it ... and there are enough noble and rich men to do that blessed work." The vision became reality and at the funeral Professor Coussirat could state that truth is a "guiding light by which life is inspired and therefore no more fitting aspiration may be awakened in one's mind now than that we may live up to our ideals as loyally as he did to his." In a memorial issue of the college magazine, W.D. Reid wrote, "as his sun neared the western horizon his life seemed to mellow ... Not many sunsets leave behind them such a magnificent afterglow."

George Leslie Mackay
Pioneer Missionary in North Formosa

GEORGE L. DOUGLAS

WHAT GOES INTO the making of a great missionary? If one were to attempt a listing of ingredients, qualities, traits of character, or other contents emerging from some kind of personal dissection, the one outstanding and essential quality might be missed, or perhaps disguised under other terminology. That one quality must inevitably be greatness. Without greatness it is impossible to be a great person, and therefore a great statesman, jurist, agriculturalist, poet or minister of the Gospel. This is not to deny, at least in some instances, the need of a particular set of circumstances to bring out the greatness in any one individual, so that he or she becomes the man or woman "of the hour". Churchill's meteoric rise is perhaps the outstanding example of our time. But the greatness must be there, ready to be drawn to the fore. Napoleon's dictum: "Circumstances? I make circumstances!" is in the long run not upheld by the facts of history.

George Leslie Mackay was a great man. He could have been great in some other line of endeavor, but he was chosen to be a missionary, and he became a great one, because he was great. It is not implied that Mackay could have attained greatness in another vocation had he failed to heed the call which so distinctly and forcibly laid hold on him and led him to an overseas mission field. There is really no viable alternative to answering the call of God, in the affirmative. "Formosa Mackay" achieved his destiny.

Like many people of renown, George Leslie Mackay had a humble beginning. His parents, George Mackay and Helen Sutherland, emigrated from Sutherlandshire, Scotland, in 1830, victims of the eviction known as the "Sutherland Clearances", settling in Upper Canada on the tenth line of the Township of Zorra, Oxford County. With their fellow pioneers they began the rigorous task of clearing the wild land, and built their modest log houses, as well as a church and a school. George Leslie, youngest of a family of six, was born March 21st, 1844.

In the Zorra Church the young Mackay listened to the Calvinistic preaching of the Rev. Donald MacKenzie, a man widely known and respected who had elected to go with the "Free" Church in the division of 1844. Additional instruction in the Bible and Shorter Catechism was received at home. He tells that before the age of ten his Christian experience was well advanced, the name of Jesus being "sweet and sacred" in his ear, and the thought of becoming a missionary began to take form.

There was a missionary spirit pervading the congregation, and it was especially strong in the Mackay household. It stemmed from the Rev. Wm. C. Burns, a Scot who had visited Zorra when George Leslie was about two years old, later becoming a missionary to China. Burns had an overwhelming appeal as a missionary speaker. His influence was so abiding and his name so cherished that, by Mackay's own account, Burns was a real factor in his determination to be a missionary. In Formosa years later he named a chapel "Burns Church" in memory of this man. Over 50 men from the Zorra congregation entered the ministry.

Mackay's higher education was obtained in Knox College, Toronto, where he took the preparatory literary course, in Princeton Seminary, Princeton, N.J., from which he was graduated in 1870, and in New College, Edinburgh, where he came under the powerful influence of Alexander Duff, a former missionary to India who taught missions under the name of Evangelistic Theology. Mackay drank in much of this noble man's spirit, and the effect lasted throughout his lifetime.

The Canada Presbyterian Church, formed by the union of the "Free" Church and the United Presbyterians in 1861, had not yet produced an overseas missionary, nor had its components before the union. In contrast, the Maritime Presbyterians had sent John Geddie to the South Seas in 1846. Much apathy had to be faced in the Church before Mackay's appointment was finally approved by the General Assembly meeting in Quebec City in June 1871. China was preferred as his field. He was sent on a speaking tour from Quebec to Lake Huron, and found his reception in most places so cool that he thought his church must still be in the ice age.

On instruction of the General Assembly Mackay was ordained by the Presbytery of Toronto on September 19th, 1871, in Gould Street Church, Toronto. Exactly one month later he was on his way to China, having bade farewell to his home and kindred in a surge of feeling which could not be put into words.

Arriving in the Chinese mainland Mackay visited Swatow, but decided he should see Formosa. Later he confessed that "invisible cords were drawing him to the 'Beautiful Isle' ", where in the southern part the English Presbyterians had been since 1865. On New Year's day 1872, he met the Rev. Hugh Ritchie, who welcomed him with the words: "Is this Mackay from Canada?" For 26 days the Ritchies were his hosts, and he took advantage of the stay to begin a study of the language, mastering eight tones. The missionaries there extolled the possibility of North Formosa as a virgin field, and Mackay was attracted. With Ritchie he set out, going by steamer to Tamsui. While anchored in the Tamsui River there came to him a "calm, clear, prophetic utterance" that this was the land.Ritchie must have had his soul similarly stirred, for sweeping the gorgeous horizon with his arm he exclaimed, "Mackay, this is your parish".

There were many problems to be overcome. Language was a major barrier. Most Formosans spoke the Amoy dialect of the mainland region of China from which their forefathers had come in the 17th century. There were the Hak-kas whose dialect resembled Cantonese, and the aboriginal tribes of Malayan extraction, each with a dialect of its own. These included the Pe-po-hoans and Sek-hoans, settled on the plains and well advanced in civilization, two semi-civilized tribes on the eastern plain, and several tribes of mountain savages from which came the notorious head-hunters.

Formosa is a foreign name. The Chinese name is Taiwan, meaning "terraced bay". The Portugese in the 16th century first called it "Ilha Formosa', the Island Beautiful, and the name was taken over by other Westerners who came later to the island. Tamsui is also a foreign name for the town in which Mackay settled, foreigners having mistaken the name of the district for that of the town, which is Ho-be. It was important as a treaty port where foreigners could hold property, and as a residence of the British Consul.

Mackay succeeded in making friends with boys herding water buffaloes, and they became his teachers in the Amoy dialect. His first house had been intended for a stable, but he made it do. Here came scholarly young men, called by Mackay the "literati", with a mixture of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, to discuss religion. They were not impressed. But one young man, Giam Chheng Hoa, familiarly known as A. Hoa, came back repeatedly, and in due time embraced the Christian faith.

It had been Mackay's hope that his first convert would be a suitable candidate for the ministry, for he believed that a native

ministry was required to bring the Gospel to the people. A. Hoa proved just such a man. He went everywhere with his mentor and became the first Taiwanese pastor in the North. He attracted other men to Mackay's teaching, which was carried out largely on the move from place to place in an impromptu travelling school. Some 23 years later he was still a leader among his fellow pastors, being chiefly responsible for the care of many churches. A. Hoa and Tan He, another man of great promise, were the first pastors to be ordained.

The religion of the Taiwanese, while combining elements of Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism, was deeply involved with idol-worship, and even more with ancestor-worship. There was a devastating fear of evil spirits which were constantly to be placated. The aborigines, on the other hand, were nature worshippers, although the Chinese had forced idol-worship, along with other aspects of the Chinese religion and culture, on the civilized plains dwellers.

There was much official opposition. A mob destroyed Mackay's first church, but it was replaced by a stone structure. This was Mackay's strategy. If they tear down a church, build a better one. Let them know you are there to stay! It was not long before he was sending encouraging reports to the Foreign Mission Committee, and, as time went on, there was more and more about idolaters turning to the true faith by hundreds and even thousands, and new churches being established without hindrance. At the same time he warned against expecting wholesale entrance into Church membership. It was his firm belief that baptism should be withheld as long as necessary, even months or years, for the effective preparation of a candidate.

Mackay dramatically tells how Bang-kah, "the Gibraltar of heathenism", was "taken". A mission was first established there in 1877, and a severe conflict with the military authorities began, Mackay's fortitude matching in intensity the demonic character of his persecutors. In spite of many dangers and vicissitudes there was considerable missionary success. Mackay eventually attained high honour in the community. Permission was sought to carry him in a sedan chair through Bang-kah with eight bands, five head men, a magistrate, a military official and two civic officials accompanying him in a procession.

Ministering to the whole man was an objective fervently held by Mackay. This included bringing physical relief wherever possible, which he regarded as an integral part of his Gospel ministry. He treated the sick, particularly victims of the ever present malaria, from

which he himself suffered, with simple remedies. He also extracted teeth, required on a large scale because of the common habit of chewing the betel nut. He had received rudimentary training in these practices before leaving Canada. His first forceps were made by a Taiwanese blacksmith under his direction, but he soon acquired more efficient instruments. It is estimated that he pulled 40,000 teeth during his ministry, as well as training students in this art. Many doors were opened on the Gospel through these ministrations, but he considered them worthy in their own right.

While the greater part of his time was spent with the Taiwanese, Mackay did considerable evangelistic work among the civilized aborigines, where a number of churches were established. Some contact was made with the mountain tribes, but he thought of this as merely making skirmishes. In keeping with his demand for a native ministry, he declared that any formidable missionary work among these people would have to await the raising up of one from among them who would be a great leader in bringing Christ to these tribes. How prophetic he was! Some 50 years later his word was fulfilled in the monumental work of Chi-oang, the hill-tribe woman who single-handedly began what was described as one of the greatest missionary movements of the century.

Music played a great part in Mackay's ministry. He loved to teach the natives the songs of Zion, and hear them respond with vigorous praise. He also wrote metrical versions of Scripture which were set to native melodies, including "wild mountain tunes". He saw nothing incongruous in the intermingling of native music and the familiar tunes of hymns and psalms. He did this with as much ease as we have in borrowing from the Genevan Psalter. It was all to the Glory of God, whatever the source.

A Taiwanese writer, Tan Keng-ku, once emphasized three things about Mackay which he especially admired. The first was his respect for the Taiwanese language; the second, his respect for the Taiwanese people; and the third, the fact that he married a Taiwanese wife. Mr. Tan declared that "in order to save the souls of the Taiwanese Mackay himself became a Taiwanese".

Mackay was married to Tui Chhang Mia in May, 1878, by the British Consul in Tamsui. The original intention was to have been married in Hong Kong at the start of his furlough, but this was revised. Earlier he had stated that the salvation of souls was his chief motive for the marriage. He confessed his inability to reach women with the Gospel, only two or three normally coming to a meeting. He

described his future wife as a *young, devoted, earnest* Christian, who would be able to relate intimately to other women, laboring until death for the cause of Christ. She was studying daily. Mackay's determination (D.V.) to take this step was to him an answer to fervent prayer.

Criticisms from various quarters have been reported, but space will not permit a full treatment of the case. Actually only one account is authenticated, a note from "Bro. Ritchie" saying that there were "charming ladies" in Canada who would come out as his help-mate. Mackay's retort was that he was not thinking of "charming ladies", but "*how can I do most for Jesus?*". It may be noted that while he disclaimed interest in "charming ladies", he nevertheless married a very charming lady in the person of Tui Chhang Mia. Subsequent reports indicate how his hopes were realized by her effectiveness in bringing to countless women, "the story of redeeming love".

Mackay's identification of himself with Taiwan and its people was carried still further. He set out early to make a complete study of the island, including its geology, its *flora* and *fauna*, and everything, indeed, that he could learn about it. He established a museum which won the respect of visiting scientists, as well as forming a valuable aid in teaching students. These activities, in conjunction with his deep concern for the physical and spiritual welfare of the people, indicate his conviction that this island *in its totality* was a part of God's world which was to be won back to Him through Jesus Christ.

The respective roles of the divine and human in doing God's work in the world were clearly defined in Mackay's view. He believed firmly in Cromwell's instruction: "Put your trust in God; but mind to keep your powder dry!", without, of course, its militaristic connotation. But Mackay went much farther than this into a theology of obedience which, for his time, must be regarded as daring.

He writes:

> I don't believe in those cant phrases: "Trust in God, and all will come right," unless the rest be added — "Trust in God," but cut the trees down; "Trust in God," but burn them; "Trust in God", but plough the soil; "Trust in God," but manure the field; "Trust in God," but dig the stones; "Trust in God," but sow the seed — sow it in tears. To gain our object — which is to win the world, to win Formosa for our mighty Leader — I believe we should all *think, plan, pray* and *toil* AS IF all depended on our work; excuse me, as if there were no God. But stop! at the same time *conscious*

that we cannot hold the pen, even, without the power of our great, loving and adorable Redeemer.

In one letter, Mackay chides the "sleepy Christians" in Canada, calling on them to awake. He more than abhors a coward in the Lord's Army. He makes urgent demands on the home Church, sometimes by tersely worded cables. One says: "Baptized eleven hundred more. Bought land. Send money. Mackay". Another: "Send Jamieson at once". A passionate appeal requests $2,500 to build ten churches, now. "For God's sake," he pleads, "don't refuse and don't delay." He wants a reply by wire so he can begin building!

The effect was to "electrify" the Church. A cable assured him that the money would be sent. It was, quickly. Be it noted that John Jamieson also responded by offering himself as a fellow laborer.

Mackay took only two furloughs, the first beginning in 1880. He found a Church vastly different to the one he had left. Not only had the Canada Presbyterian Church become part of the Presbyterian Church in Canada; the earlier dearth of missionary concern seemed no longer evident. He and Mrs. Mackay were received with tremendous enthusiasm wherever they went across Canada, and the people were eager to hear his stirring messages. Queen's University bestowed on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. The people of his native county raised $6,215 to provide a school for the training of native workers, later built in Tamsui and appropriately named Oxford ollege.

During his second furlough the Church, in addition to showing many other evidences of esteem, honored him with its highest gift, electing him Moderator of the General Assembly in June, 1894.

Prior to the building of Oxford College two other institutions had been established in Tamsui under Mackay's influence and direction. The first was the MacKay hospital built in 1880 with $3000 given by Mrs. MacKay of Detroit in memory of her husband, a Captain in the Great Lakes Steamer service. This is not to be confused with the larger Mackay Memorial Hospital built later in Taipei. The second was the Girls' School completed in January, 1884, and described at the time as the finest building in Taiwan. The money was supplied by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

The last years of Mackay's life were spent largely in administration, much of it occasioned by the Japanese take-over in 1895. The new regime demanded endless reports of every conceivable nature,

particularly concerning matters of education.

Georgs Leslie Mackay died of a malignant throat disease on June 2nd, 1901, after a lingering illness. The Church in Canada joined with the Church in Taiwan as together they mourned his loss, even while rejoicing in the magnitude of his life's work and the triumph of his faith in the Christ Whom he had so faithfully served.

His last report to the Church in Canada, dated February 27, 1901, ends on a note of praise and utter confidence:

> No matter what may come in the way, the final *victory* is as sure as God's existence. When we have that firmly fixed in the mind there will be but one shout: "And blessed be His glorious name for ever: and let the whole earth be filled with His glory; Amen and Amen".

A cairn made from the stone-work of the Mackay home in Zorra has been erected to the memory of this man of God in the Old Log Church Cemetery on the seventh line of west Zorra where his parents are buried. It was dedicated by the Presbytery of Paris in 1961.

The Mackays had a son and two daughters. George W., who married Jean Ross, daughter of the Rev. John Ross of Brucefield, Ontario, was in 1914 named Principal of what became the Tamsui Middle School. He was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada by authority of the General Assembly in 1939.

Bella married a Taiwanese elder and lay preacher, Koa I-su. Mary married Tan Chheng-gi, who had been Mackay's secretary and was later ordained to the ministry. All were stalwart and effective workers in the Church in Taiwan.

Two sincere tributes, both by men who knew Mackay intimately, will fittingly close this narrative. The first is from A. Frater, Acting British Vice Consul, who wrote in 1877:

> He has proved himself to be one of the most zealous missionaries I have ever met, and his prudence in his dealings with the Chinese I cannot too much extol. Even the Chinese officials of the district regard him as a singularly upright man, and he is adored by his converts, who are prepared to suffer much for his sake.

The other is from his colleague, the Rev. William Gauld, who shortly after his friend's death recorded the following:

None but a great soul, none but one who loved them, could have won the confidence, admiration and allegiance of the Formosans as did Dr. Mackay; and could have retained that confidence, unbroken and increasing, unto the end.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Canada Presbyterian Church. General Assembly. *Acts* and *Proceedings* and *Appendices*. 1870-75. Selections.

Keith, Marian (Mary Esther MacGregor). *The Black Bearded Barbarian*; the *Life of George Leslie Mackay of Formosa*. New York: Missionary Movement of the United States and Canada, 1912. 307 pp.

Mackay, George Leslie. *From Far Formosa; the Island, its People, and Mission*. Edited by J.A. Macdonald. New York: F.H. Revell, 1895. 346 pp. *Some Facts about North Formosa Mission*. 1888. 9 pp.

Manuscript letters and reports in the Archives of the United Church of Canada. Toronto. Victoria University. (Many of these have been published in the Presbyterian Record. See below.)

MacKay, R.P. *Life of George Leslie Mackay*, D.D. *1844-1901*. Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions, 1913. 60 pp.

MacKay, W.A.. *Pioneer Life in Zorra*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1899. 400 pp.

MacLeod, Duncan. *The Island Beautiful; the Story of Fifty Years in North Formosa*. Toronto: Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923. 235 pp.

Macmillan, Hugh. *First Century in Formosa*. Taipei, Taiwan; China Sunday School Association, 1963. 133 pp. (Incorporating and updating his Then Till Now in Formosa. English and Canadian Presbyterian Missions in Formosa, 1953. 102 pp.)

McNab, John. *Mackay of Formosa; Diamond Jubilee, 1872-1932*. Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, n.d. 32 pp.

Presbyterian Church in Canada. General Assembly. *Acts and Proceedings and Appendices*, 1876-1902. Selections.

Presbyterian Record. Montreal. v. 1-27 (1876-1902) Selected letters, reports and articles.

Tan, Keng-ku. "Celebrating the 60th Anniversary of the Church in Taiwan — and Hopes for the Future" *The Presbyterian Church Monthly* (Taiwanese) March, 1932. Translated by J.E. Sutherland. (Copy in the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Toronto. Knox College.)

Sincere thanks are due the Misses Anna, Isabel and Margaret Mackay of Toronto, granddaughters of Dr.G.L. Mackay, for valuable assistance in the preparation of this biography.

A microfilm of unedited material relating to the North Taiwan Mission and filmed in Taiwan, is now in the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. This has been consulted with some benefit. A major portion of its contents, however, is from the *Presbyterian Record* listed above.

Goforth of China (1859-1936)

A. DONALD MACLEOD

LIKE THAT OTHER great missionary hero, George Leslie Mackay, Goforth of China's roots were deep in the soil of Western Ontario's Presbyterianism. Indeed, services in two different churches can be credited with shaping the career of one of Canada's best known missionary statesmen. Jonathan Goforth was characteristic of the very best of Canadian Presbyterian piety.

The first of these services is in the rural village of Thamesford, halfway between Woodstock and London. It is the year 1877. An eighteen year old farm boy is listening intently to the appeal of the minister, Rev. Lachlan Cameron. For three years he has been managing on his own the family's second farm, some twenty miles from his Thorndale home. Ruggedly independent and self-sufficient he vacillates. Finally he yields his life to Christ. Fifty-seven years later he wrote his children: "My conversion at eighteen was simple but complete ... Henceforth my life belonged to Him who had given His life for me."

The second of these services is in the more urban setting of Woodstock. The large Knox Church is packed as George Leslie Mackay returns to his home county after serving Christ in Formosa. A young man listens as he pleads. "For two years", Jonathan Goforth recalled the words years later, "I have been going up and down Canada trying to persuade some young man to come over to Formosa to help me, but in vain. It seems that no one has caught the vision." Goforth's response is simple and immediate: "I was overwhelmed with shame." And so he responds, using the words of Isaiah's commission, "Here am I: send me." "From that hour", he concludes, "I became a foreign missionary."

The scene shifts to Knox College. An enthusiastic recent convert emerges from a Western Ontario farm to equip himself for a life of missionary service. Visions of prayer meetings and Bible studies fire his imagination. But within a few days of arrival in Toronto the

students of the residence have taken the bolt of material his farm family provided for a new outfit, cut a hole at one end, and then forced him up and down the halls to mocking of his more citified and sophisticated fellow students. Ralph Connor, or to use the novelist's real name, Charles Gordon, was there and commented years later: "My first impression of him was that he was a queer chap — a good fellow — pious — an earnest Christian, but simple-minded and quite *peculiar*."

Throughout those years at Knox College Jonathan Goforth never lost the vision of his earlier commitments. Slum work in St. John's Ward, downtown Toronto, a home missionary appointment in the "frontier" area around Huntsville, these kept the glow of his youthful enthusiasm alive. Principal Caven once stopped Goforth and inquired as to how many families he had visited in Toronto the previous summer. "Nine hundred and sixty," was the reply. "Well, Goforth," said the Principal, "If you don't take any scholarships in Greek and Hebrew, at least there is one book that you're going to be well up in, and that is the book of Canadian human nature."

In the concluding year of study at Knox College, Jonathan Goforth's missionary enthusiasm no longer seemed so peculiar. Not only had the consistency of his own discipleship won the admiration of his fellow students, but the youth of the English-speaking world had been galvanized by the example of the "Cambridge Seven". The stroke-oar of the Cambridge boat, a baronet's son, a gunner subaltern, an old Etonian, an all England cricketer — these were the type of men who electrified English society by their decision to abandon all their prospects and sail to China with Hudson Taylor. The following year, 1886, at Moody's Northfield Conference in New England, the Student Volunteer Movement was formed after a hundred young men and women announced their willingness to go overseas. And in Canada, during the winter term that followed, no less than thirty-three students from Knox and Queen's volunteered for overseas service.

But how to go? The situation denominationally had not much altered since Mackay's furlough speech in Woodstock eight years earlier. Students at Knox determined to send Goforth themselves. Alumni of the College were persuaded by the simple but direct appeal of the man. Quietly Jonathan Goforth had been circulating copies of Hudson Taylor's *China's Spiritual Needs and Claims*, mailing them to ministers at his own expense.

Anyone familiar with ecclesiastical equivocation will identify the letter written from the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee

to its Chairman. Dr. Grant comments to Dr. Wardrope immediately prior to the 1887 General Assembly, "In reference to Messrs. Smith and Goforth, it would I think be unwise for the Committee to commit the Church to anything till the General Assembly has pronounced a decision on the subject of independent action in Foreign Mission operations by the colleges, and on the extent to which such action should be encouraged ..." He continues with the warning that "The Assembly should be made to see most clearly that we are in debt ... $300 may seem a small deficit, but I hate debt, and debt is apt to grow." But he concludes with the promise that "In the assembly, I will urge that the young men be sent, and that the action of the College Associations be sustained."

The same week the Chairman also received a letter from a somewhat breathless Goforth. He was presently at Seaforth, a small Ontario town, speaking on tour. The stationery has in large red lettering "COME!" and "GO!" with appropriate Scripture references. "We are having grand success. At all places the ministers and people gladly receive us. We are more fully convinced that this effort is just what is needed. Funds sufficient shall come to enable the Board to advance."

The enthusiasm of youth was rewarded as the 1887 General Assembly appointed Dr. J. Fraser Smith and Jonathan Goforth as its first representative in continental China. In October he was ordained and on the 25th of the same month he was married to a Miss Florence Rosalind Bell-Smith. Thus began one of the most remarkable missionary partnerships on record.

It was a worn Bible that made Rosalind first decide, during a worker's meeting at the Toronto Mission Union, that Jonathan was the man she would marry. Jonathan had unexpectedly been called out of the room, but before he left he had placed his Bible on a chair. For some reason, which she could never explain, the proper English lassie of twenty-one picked the Bible up, returned to her seat, thumbed its contents and discovered it not only worn to shreds but marked from cover to cover. The impression was lasting. When Goforth asked that fall: "Will you join your life with mine for China?"her answer was immediate. But she gasped when a further more revealing question was added a few days later: "Will you give me your promise that *always* you will allow me to put my Lord and His work first, even before you?" "This was the very kind of man I had prayed for", she added later in explaining her hesitant but affirmative answer. She then reflected after fifty years of partnership: "Oh, kind Master, to

hide from Thy servant what that promise would cost!"

For Jonathan Goforth was a pioneer. From the very start of missionary service in China his was a single and uncomplicated vision. And it was to Rosalind Goforth's credit that she supported and strengthened that vision at incalculable cost to her practical common sense and domesticity. In a letter in 1911 directed to Dr. R.P.MacKay, the Foreign Missions Secretary, over criticism that her husband had made an unauthorized trip to Japan she provides a rare unguarded view of herself. "... the importance of the opportunity made him feel pressed to go ... what would you have done Dr. MacKay? I have not yet heard from Mr. Goforth about the meetings but I feel confident *God is with Him*, and that is all I can say. I long sometimes to have a settled home."

A fire in their first home in China, rented quarters at Cheefoo while they were learning the language, was to see all of the wedding gifts and family mementoes go up in flames. Goforth writes home the following day, March 20, 1888: "We are burnt out yesterday ... It seems a strange providence. However our Master must have a purpose in it. We will trust where we cannot trace." A first child, Gertrude Madeline, is born. Goforth writes home: "Baby is doing well and is never a day sick. Her mother expects to use her a good deal in the opening of our station in Honan." But two months later he grieves: "It falls to my sad lot to tell you that our dear little girl is dead .. we had thought our Master had appointed her for Honan but instead he had appointed her for heaven." The parents had been settled at a temporary beachhead as a stage towards their final destination, yet unreachable, in Honan. Ill with dysentery for six days before she died, the tiny body had to be carried on cart by the distraught father fifty miles to the nearest burying ground for foreigners. There were to be three other Goforth children buried in China under tragic circumstances. The surviving children were taken at an early age away from the parents, leaving the father free for his work. The cup of sorrow was to be filled for the mother.

Jonathan Goforth's personal report for 1891 as filed with the Toronto office contains the triumphant statement: "On August 17th we left Liu Chang with lumber for our house in Ch'u Wang, then returned to Liu Chang and moved our things, arriving at Ch'u Wang September 16th to make our permanent home in Honan, three years and six months after landing in China."

Before he left for China, North Honan had been Goforth's goal. But in the meantime there had been a steady series of obstacles. A new

language had to be learned (studies never came easy for Goforth, but his grasp of Chinese was regarded as unusually suited for his evangelistic gifts). There were comity disputes with the China Inland Mission over which body would enter the area. And as Hudson Taylor himself had warned before they had even set sail, North Honan was one of the most backward and anti-foreign areas of a country that still called the white man — with some justification when one considers the unscrupulous avarice of imperialistic commerce — "the foreign devil". On June 2, 1892, the Presbytery of North Honan of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, celebrated its first sacrament of adult baptism. Two of Goforth's initial Honanese converts, a father and son with the name of Chou, were baptised.

Goforth was an inveterate pioneer. A week after settling in Honan he wrote that he had started touring in the surrounding towns and cities. He apologises as he continues: "The Empire at that time was very unsettled and it was deemed advisable not to travel very much through the country. Consequently I only toured thirty-three days; during which time I visited five cities and seventeen market towns."

Goforth was unhappy with the decision of Presbytery in 1896 to build him a 'semi-foreign' style bungalow. Afraid that the change from the Chinese home they occupied at first would be too much of a barrier for the work, they determined on a policy of "open house to all!" The price of this policy may be seen by the fact that on a single day in the fall of 1889 1,835 men passed through the house as Goforth escorted them in parties of a hundred or more, while at the same time Mrs. Goforth had about five hundred women shown through their premises. Each group was introduced to the Christian message, but the real purpose was to allay any criticism or misunderstanding of what the foreigner was up to.

The wisdom of this policy was to be demonstrated in the remarkable preservation of the Canadian Presbytery Mission team during the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. Escaping on foot and on cart, the Goforths, their four children, three men and five women, survived the thousand mile trip to the coast because two officials, who had previously visited the Goforth home, intervened at just the moment when Goforth's thirty-hour old wounds were beginning to fester. A missionary doctor arrived, and the party was reunited with young Paul Goforth and his escorting missionary. Truly their escape was as they described it later, "a thousand miles of miracle".

These experiences of Goforth were preparing him spiritually for

the ministry that would bring him international prominence and make his name a household expression among Christians concerned for revival. We have a variety of explanations as to how Goforth became involved in this subject. Accounts of the 1906 Welsh Revival had been received, Finney's *Lectures on Revivals* — which suggested that revivalism could be explained and induced by certain laws, and a trip to Korea where a great revival had broken out — these were all contributing causes. How Goforth first travelled to Korea was itself due to a whim of his Presbytery. Dr. R.P.MacKay, then on tour in the Far East in his capacity as Foreign Missions Secretary, recounts what happened as Goforth was sent to meet him. "In the year 1907 he visited Korea in company with the Secretary of the Board .. who was at that time visiting the Mission in China. There Mr. Goforth came into touch with a great spiritual movement in Korea and on the way home visited Mukdan in Manchuria. A request was then extended by the missionaries of Manchuria that he should return to them for a week at the beginning of the following year which he did." From Manchuria to ever enlarging meetings in China Goforth's fame spread as the revival fires were kindled. The veteran China missionary, Hunter Corbett, had seen nothing like it before as he writes to Dr. MacKay of what happened during a typical Goforth mission in Cheefoo. "During the nine days Mr. Goforth was able to remain with us this tent was always well filled and often crowded. God blessed the faithful preaching of Mr. Goforth in greatly reviving the Chinese Christians. Some of the leading men in the church openly confessed their lack of zeal in teaching their children as well as failure to make persistent efforts to win their neighbours and friends for Christ. They resolved to do better in the future. Some who had been alienated confessed their wrong and became reconciled. Some returned the principal and interest on borrowed money. Non-Christians resolved to study the Bible and attend Church.."

North Honan was in the centre of this spiritual revival. The Mission Report for 1909 even finds itself caught up in the enthusiasm. "This has been a year of thanksgiving in Honan, as in many other parts of China. Prayer has been answered. Mr. Goforth, who has been released for special work, conducted evangelistic services in Manchuria, Shansi, Honan, Chili, and amongst foreigners at two summer resorts. Manifestations of the Spirit's presence, especially in the convictions of sin, were experienced at every point where meetings have been held. All classes, foreigners included, were deeply affected, and lives were consecrated afresh to the service of God, old feuds were

dissolved, forgotten pledges were recalled, and all classes were drawn more closely in the bonds of unity and love. It was a Pentecost, a gracious outpouring of the spirit of God, and the lives yielded up to Him have since been bearing fruit in all parts of our wide field." The statistics tell the story: the growth of the North Honan field outstripped all other Canadian mission fields, and recorded thousands of inquirers and baptisms during the years 1908, 1909, 1910.

The General Assembly records that tell of this growth also tell of declines on the home front. Jonathan Goforth returned to the 1909 General Assembly with the hope that he could bring new life to what he regarded as the flagging enthusiasm of the sending church. The vitality and vigour he saw in Honan were to him strangely contrasted with the complacency and deadness of the Canadian Church. As he rose on the 4th of June, at the afternoon session, in Central Church, Hamilton, there was hush across the gathering. Assembly minutes state tersely that "Jonathan Goforth .. gave an account of the wonderful revival movement which has been going on in China, detailing specially the remarkable readiness of the converts to make confession of their faults one to another, and take higher spiritual ground in other directions as well, carrying the mind backward to the simplicity which was in Christ as exhibited in the early church."

The audience was not impressed. The thought of emotionalism verging, so it was rumoured, on hysteria, was disagreeable. Confession of sin was distasteful to a proud and complacent church. Goforth also felt that he could detect the influence of "Higher Criticism" and a loss of confidence in the authority of the Scripture and "the finished work of Christ" across the Church. This he attributed to the impact of teaching in the Colleges. Be that as it may — and one might quickly add that Knox College gave him the D.D. in 1915 — his ten months on furlough were unhappy ones. Quizzing one minister as he was about to return to China as to why he had failed to kindle revival enthusiasm in his home denomination, why churches were closed to his message and why so many were unmoved by his accounts of blessing in China, he was told: "Goforth, you have only yourself to blame. It was the address before the Assembly a year ago that did it!"

Goforth was no more assured by what he discovered on his return to China. Mrs. Goforth commented shortly after their return of their fellow missionaries: "I try to check the judging spirit that comes up so often for I know *I* am not what I ought to be and how dare I judge my brothers and sisters but, oh Dr. MacKay, I include myself among them all and can say truly *we* need more power and holiness." Those years

following the 1909-1910 furlough were sad ones for the Goforths. The Presbytery of North Honan records are full of attempts by Goforth to be released for wider revival-type ministries. He considered himself further and further apart from some of the newer missionaries. A young man who arrived from the homeland queried the view of Christ's death bearing as substitute the penal justice of God upon the sinner. He was quick to denounce the older men — especially one suspects Jonathan Goforth — for their views. When the statements came before Presbytery, Goforth felt they had been whitewashed. More and more he felt himself an outsider to the Mission he had founded.

In broken health he returned to Canada in 1916. It was during this furlough he became attached to a wide group of friends throughout North America who made it possible for him through their financial support to be independent of all support but salary from the Foreign Mission Board. The Goforths returned to the field to be released by the Presbytery of North Honan for wider ministry. After twenty-five years the Goforths were no longer to live in Changte, their home was vacated for another who would take over the work, and they were to live in Central China, assuming an itinerant ministry. For a man of almost sixty it was a step of faith.

But Jonathan Goforth could not abandon Honan entirely. In 1920-1921 he raised over $120,000 for famine relief. Shortly thereafter he became involved with the most extraordinary Christian China has yet produced, a General Feng. In thirteen months, because of the unsettled political conditions, Feng rose from being brigade commander to Governor of Honan. Goforth held frequent meetings with Feng's army. On one day alone he baptised nine hundred and sixty men, and on the same day he held a communion service for 4,606 officers and men of the Army. Throughout this period he was in fact General Feng's private chaplain. At 65, the veteran missionary was camping with the army, conducting Bible studies with the soldiers, and baptizing the new converts.

It was at this point that Mrs. Goforth's health broke, and she was forced to return to Canada. Following her in the spring of 1924, Jonathan Goforth was plummeted into the middle of the Church Union controversy. Dr. MacKay had requested all 'his' missionaries to stay clear of the fight, but it was obviously a counsel of perfection. Goforth was pulled in many directions. But finally in January of 1925 he cast his vote with that of his home congregation, Knox, Toronto, and remained with the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Jonathan Goforth now found himself not only without a Mission, but without a Presbytery. The North Honan field went into the United Church of Canada and left him — determined as ever at 68 to continue missionary work — without a place to work. As he returned to China in 1926 Marshall Feng's army was beating a hasty retreat north beyond Peking. From there his sights were lifted to Manchuria. It was in Manchuria that his first revival mission had been held and it was in Manchuria that his final missionary enterprise was to be completed.

The new Manchuria mission field of the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada was not an impressive one. One comment was: "Well that sure is some Mission!" An old man nearing 70, with a semi-invalid wife, two single ladies and a young recruit — this was to be the final chapter of the life of Jonathan Goforth. In the few remaining years not only of Goforth's life but of missionary enterprise in China one cannot help but grant the validity of the principle on which the mission was founded: "We plan for no big schools, no big hospitals, until the converted Chinese build and equip them, but we do plan to evangelize intensively."

The continuing church at home had problems of its own. A critical shortage of clergy meant there were few to spare for foreign missions. The financial pressures of losing so much of its capital investment to the United Church compounded by the Great Depression meant there was little money for Manchuria. Jonathan Goforth augmented his team with native evangelists and missionaries and money from other sources. At 72 his faith was still equal to the challenge.

Eye trouble vexed the aging couple. Mrs. Goforth's cataracts sent them home in 1930 only to be followed by a detached retina on the right eye of Dr. Goforth that never healed, compounded by total blindness as the same thing happened on his return to China to the other eye. Finally we have a few vignettes: the old man on the arms of his evangelist, guided through the deep Manchuria snow, spoke at packed chapels and saw increasing numbers of converts added to the church; the Chinese New Testament (with its note, "Oct. 18-32 — Have read this Chinese N.T. sixty times") taken up by the evangelist and read to the old saint and then finally the tearful farewells as stationed in the window of the railway car at Szepingkai station, he leaves China to return no more.

He returned to Canada more determined than ever to awaken the church to its missionary responsibility. At the 1936 Assembly Goforth

poured out his heart to an attentive but impassive church. Nothing daunted, in September of that year, during the last three weeks of his life, his notebook contains records of twenty-two addresses he gave. St. Andrew's Church, Wyoming, Ontario, was the final message of his life. In that Western Ontario village four churches gathered on a Wednesday night to hear him tell "How the Spirit's Fire Swept Korea". By the dawn of the next morning he was found quietly to have slipped away.

Three aspects of his character emerge from the moving tribute the North Honan Mission paid Jonathan Goforth on hearing of his death: "unbounded optimism", "fearless in the expression of his convictions" and — most telling of all — "his relations with the Chinese were very intimate and he held a very deep place in their affections." Goforth of China was a man of a type we do not see often today, one of a brand of pioneer missionaries much maligned in our society, but one of whom it may be said, with the then Editor of the *Presbyterian Record*:— "Posterity will place his name high on our Church's honour roll and accord him eminence among the world's missionaries. Our Church should regard with pride his devotion and achievement and give God thanks for such a son."

James Basnett Cropper Friend of the East Indians of British Guyana

ZANDER DUNN

BRITISH GUIANA, where James Basnett Cropper labored for almost fifty years, was built on the sugar industry. The sugar industry needed a large labor force. In 1838 when slavery was abolished in all British colonies the negro slaves who had done all the work for the White sugar estate owners left the plantations to set up their own villages and schemes. To take their place the White planters brought to British Guiana men from India in large numbers as indentured laborers. The only difference between the Black slaves and the Brown indentured laborers was that the latter were paid a nominal sum for their work and were promised a return passage to India after ten years. Most of these Indians elected to stay in British Guiana and eventually became the largest single ethnic group in the country.

The Church of Scotland, which worked among the estate owners and their negro slaves, had neither the money, the manpower nor the inclination to serve the East Indians who were coming into the country. A Presbyterian Missionary Society was formed in 1860 in order to reach the Amerindians (the indigenous people of British Guiana) and the East Indian indentured laborers. Also one of the estate owners, Mr. Alexander Crum-Ewing had sent out his own missionaries to his estate from 1868 to serve the Indian workers he employed. Unfortunately neither of these attempts to evangelize the Indians was very successful.

The Church of Scotland in British Guiana, therefore, asked John Morton, founder of the Canadian Presbyterian work among East Indians in Trinidad, to come to British Guiana to survey the need and the possibilities of the Canadian Presbyterians beginning work there. Morton, after visiting British Guiana for a month, urged the Canadian Presbyterians to send an ordained man to begin work in the colony. Added to this in 1883 Mr. Crum-Ewing wrote to the Presbyterian Church in Canada that he would pay the stipend and provide the housing and allowances of any man they could send.

It was not until 1884, however, that Rev. John Gibson, a graduate of Knox College, Toronto, offered himself to serve and it was 1885 by the time he arrived in British Guiana. Gibson managed to start schools and churches and gave outstanding leadership to the Indian people of the West Demerara district in spite of a terrible economic depression which devastated the country. Unfortunately all his gains were wiped out by his death from yellow fever in 1888 because there was nobody to pick up where he had left off. It was not until 1895 that Crum-Ewing again urged Canada to send a man to work in British Guiana and promised to pay all expenses involved.

The man who offered himself was the Rev. James Cropper, a man whose qualifications made him a natural for the post. Although not much is known of his early life we do know that he came from a devout Christian home. He was the son of R.P. Cropper, the Protector of East Indians of St. Lucia and a lay preacher for the Presbyterian Church. James Cropper learned to speak Hindu fluently and was able, like his father, to converse directly with the new arrivals from India. He and his father had begun the Presbyterian work among the East Indians of St. Lucia; he had trained teachers and catechists there; and he had served some time as a missionary in Trinidad. Cropper, who was slightly "colored", so impressed the Trinidad Mission Council that they sent him to Pine Hill in Halifax for theological training to prepare him to lead the Indian people of St. Lucia. By 1895, however, the Indian population of St. Lucia was decreasing and the need for men in British Guiana was urgent. Cropper was designated in Fort Massey Church in Halifax September 6, 1896, and arrived in British Guiana on November 1 to be "minister of the Church of Better Hope (Crum-Ewing's estate) and ... pioneer missionary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the East Indians of British Guiana."

Cropper believed very strongly that the East Indians should be evangelized separately from other races, especially the Africans, because he wanted the Indians to preserve their language and their culture. (The East Indians and the Africans of the Better Hope Estate worshipped separately.) Cropper also went out of his way to discourage the "Anglicization" or "Canadianization" of the East Indian people. He insisted they wear their native dress and taught classes in Hindu for them. Cropper was not so much anti-African as he was pro-Indian. This was shown in 1918 when Canada was discouraging immigration of "colored" people from the West Indies. Cropper stated that such a policy was impolitic and unjust. "*Especially* is this felt to be so in the case of the Black and colored people of the

British West Indies and British Guiana and *very especially* so in the case of the East Indians born in these colonies." His concern was for all men of British Guiana but his special concern was for the East Indians. Many different denominations had worked for years with the negro people but no church was specializing in ministering to the East Indians.

Within a year of his arrival in British Guiana Cropper had moved beyond Better Hope to start work at Helena, a government land settlement scheme seventeen miles east. The British Guiana government, realizing it did not have enough money to pay the return passage to India for all the East Indians who would be entitled to it, decided it would not only be cheaper but better for the country in the long run if it encouraged the East Indians who had completed their indentureship to remain in British Guiana by providing them with free land and houses on certain unopened areas. When the government purchased the old plantation Helena to convert it into a settlement Cropper felt the church should be in at the beginning of the new scheme. He had the foresight to see that if he got there at the pioneer stage of the operation he would be able to help the people in their relations with the government and would in that way be able, perhaps, to win them to the church.

At first Cropper used the newly recruited East Indian catechists to work in the settlement on a rotation basis. But the work at Helena and Better Hope and the other preaching points he had begun was so demanding that he requested another missionary be sent from Canada. When George Ross of Rockingham, Nova Scotia, arrived in British Guiana on October 26, 1899, he was assigned the Better Hope work because Cropper had decided to accept a government offer to be the "Superintendent of East Indian Settlements" in the colony.

Cropper saw his new position to be a great advantage to the church. He would be paid by the government, would be working with the East Indians, and would be able to place catechists in strategic places in all the new land settlement schemes and thus the church would grow.

There is no doubt that Cropper's foresight enabled the church to expand rapidly. He saw himself as the "superintendent and guide, the organizer and controller, the administrator and director, while the native agents (catechists) do the major part of the individual work with the individual heathen." A whole network of congregations, held together by catechists under the direction of Cropper, was opened up along the populated coastal lands. Wherever there were East Indians

it was Cropper's policy to begin new work.

Cropper did not long remain as Superintendent of Settlements for two reasons: first, the settlement program floundered (because they were badly situated and too many of the wrong people were accepted as settlers, according to Cropper); and second, the missionaries Canada sent out did not last long (death and disease drove all of them out except Cropper). However, they and the catechists, under Cropper's oversight and inspired by his zeal and drive, had established Christian work among the East Indians from one end of the country to the other within ten years.

And, of course, Cropper became the first chairman of the new Mission Council. The Canadian Mission Council was composed of all the missionaries and was established on May 19, 1903, thus making British Guiana a separate mission field.

The lack of men and money and the abundance of disease were Cropper's constant enemies in the struggle to build the church. Time after time Cropper found himself the only missionary in the Canadian Mission in British Guiana and became used to making decisions affecting all the churches in the colony. Indeed, Cropper was trying to cover, as Morton put it, "an extent of territory which no man can work and few but himself would have ventured to occupy." Moreover, Cropper was looked to as the man who would deal with all the catechists' problems. On behalf of the Mission Council he granted them loans, found them housing, moved them in and out of districts and set up training sessions for them.

It was largely because he was so much alone that Cropper proved difficult to work with in Mission Council. He sometimes ran all the fields without reference to the other missionaries and this caused internal trouble on occasion. But Cropper was a man of action and along with his administrative duties he found time to visit his people, preach four to eight times on a Sunday and conduct cottage meetings and open-air services. He travelled by foot, bicycle, boat and later by car to oversee "his" churches.

In determining to preach the gospel to East Indians Cropper and the Canadian Mission had taken on a formidable task. The East Indians were usually poor in worldly wealth but were rich in culture, religion and language. Their poverty did nothing to help the spread of the gospel and their traditions and religions worked strongly against the growth of the church.

The East Indian Hindus and Muslims often violently opposed the Canadian Mission's attempts to convert their people. Cropper told

an exciting story of how he was prevented from baptizing a young man, Lachmansingh, in the church/school at Bush Lot, Berbice. In spite of the fact that his brother and brother-in-law beat him and a special Hindu worship service was held for him, Lachmansingh was determined to be baptized. Cropper sent a catechist to instruct and strengthen the young man in the faith. When Cropper went to conduct worship in Bush Lot Lachmansingh was kept from the church by his family. On his next visit to the church Lachmansingh was present and asked to be baptized. After the questions had been put to Lachmansingh and Cropper was about to pour the water on his head the young man's family, including his wife, rushed in, dashed the bowl of water from his grasp and pulled Lachmansingh away. Cropper and other Christians grabbed Lachmansingh and a tug of war ensued. The Hindus pulled the Christians out of the sanctuary and along the public road. After much bargaining Cropper and his people let go of Lachmansingh when his relatives promised they would not beat him.

James Cropper, a wiry, white-bearded, patriarchal figure was no theologian but he was exceedingly strict in matters of morals and conduct. To this day those who knew him remember his admonitions and rebukes. He was like an Old Testament prophet — stern, but a man of vision and ability. Cropper had the Mission in his heart and his head; he could not be bothered to put it on paper. Seldom did he write letters, send in reports, compile statistics, but he knew the Canadian Mission better than any man. In theory, the county of Demerara was Cropper's field of concentration but, in fact, J.B. Cropper embraced the whole work. The East Indians recognized that too, and nicknamed the C.M. churches "Cropper Missions" or "Cropper Churches."

If Cropper became over-possessive and domineering it was understandable for the "Cropper Churches" and the "Cropper Schools" were the keys to the expansion of the Canadian Mission in British Guiana. Cropper saw the School/Churches as an important means of spreading the gospel. Staffed by catechists who would serve also as teachers and who would give special lessons in Hindu these buildings would be attractive to the children and would become evangelism centres to which, hopefully, their parents would come also.

The most prestigious school the Canadian Mission managed was the Berbice High School for Boys which opened in 1916 under the principalship of James Scrimgeour. But even there Cropper had been planning and moving years before to provide such a facility for his beloved East Indians. He envisaged a similar school in Georgetown,

the capital city, and strongly urged that it be built. Unfortunately it was never established because the necessary finances were always lacking.

Although Cropper made every effort to build schools wherever he found sufficient East Indians without educational facilities there was no doubt in his mind that the schools should always serve the church. On one occasion he wrote:

> I will not stand for placing the Educational work in the foreground and concentrating means and energy on it. It must be secondary to the all important work of soul saving — the Evangel work ... None realize better than I the importance of our school work; and none have advocated more stoutly than I the use of the school to secure entrance to a community. But at most it remains but a means.

Cropper's main concern was to save souls, and yet he had a wider concern for the East Indians. For example, on another occasion, when he learned that rice farmers were paying the millers of the Novar area (near Helena) 4% per week or 208% per year for seed rice Cropper persuaded the farmers to unite and set up a mill of their own under a co-operative plan. It was a tribute to Cropper that the farmers, many of them Hindus and Muslims, made him their first president and looked to him for leadership for many years.

Later, Mission Council, under Cropper's guidance wrote to the governor of the colony strongly opposing the action of the Excise Board in granting applications for new liquor shop licences in 1926. Not only did Cropper believe drinking itself was bad but he pointed out that it was contrary to the best of Hinduism, was forbidden by Islam and would only harm the East Indian people whom he was concerned to protect. It is interesting that because of this plea and others like it, the government reviewed its policy and granted only one out of forty applications for liquor shop licences that year.

Cropper seemed to be indefatigable. He had only two furloughs during the first twenty-five years of his work in British Guiana. He refused to leave the field when no other missionaries were present or when his departure would put too great a strain on others. By 1918 Cropper had led the Canadian Mission to acquire over fifty properties and more than seventy preaching points. Twenty-nine catechists and seventy-nine teachers were employed. There were close to 3,000 day school pupils and 2,200 Sunday School pupils. Although the

communicant membership was less than 400 the Christian community was nearly 2,000.

Perhaps the high point of the ministry came in 1921 (his twenty-fifth year in British Guiana) when Pine Hill Theological College, his *alma mater*, conferred on him the honorary D.D. More than anyone else Cropper represented the Canadian Mission in British Guiana. His colleague for many years, James Scrimgeour, penned this fitting tribute:

> He is certainly worthy of the honor ... granted by the church. I do not agree with all his plans nor with all his methods, especially with the almost foolhardy way that he has risked his own health, but of his earnestness and his utter devotion to the work and to our Canadian Church there can be no doubt. He is in many ways a big man, and it has been a great privilege and inspiration to work with him.

The years from 1922 to 1927 were the years of depression, discouragement and disunion. The sugar industry suffered a financial collapse. The church work was decimated by financial cuts from Canada, the withdrawal of missionaries and the cumulative effects of Hindu-Muslim antagonisms. The unsettling effects of the Church Union crisis in Canada vitiated the work in British Guiana. On top of all this Cropper caused consternation among the workers and adherents of the Canadian Mission — he married in 1923, at the age of 52, Miss Grace Barlow, a woman half his age. His Canadian confreres rejoiced but the East Indians felt their *Sadhu*, or holy man, had fallen from grace. And by shaving off his white beard to please his bride Cropper seemed to be saying that he no longer was a man who had abandoned his life to God.

Cropper himself was in Canada on sick leave in 1924 and 1925 when the missionaries in British Guiana struggled with the problem of what to do in the light of the Church-Union controversy. Cropper made them annoyed by his attempts, while in Canada, to keep the British Guiana field within the Presbyterian Church for they were all ardent unionists. Cropper himself was a unionist but more important he was "a missionary to the East Indians in British Guiana." Evidently Cropper was convinced that the Canadian Mission in British Guiana had a better chance to live and grow under the continuing Presbyterians for he wrote in 1926, "I am on principle and by conviction a Unionist .... The foundation of this Mission I laid thirty

years ago; I have once and again promised my life to it and its people. If in the judgement of the authorities in Canada it is deemed wise to assign the Mission to the non-concurring Presbyterian Church I am prepared to continue my services in this field."

The British Guiana field was awarded to the Presbyterian Church in Canada and for nine more years Cropper remained active as a missionary with the Canadian Mission before he resigned. But as the years and the diseases had taken their toll he was no longer physically able to run the mission as he had before. Furthermore Cropper had not kept up with the changing times. The East Indian catechists and members no longer saw the Canadian Mission as Cropper's to command but were beginning to insist that they should have a voice in the decisions of the church. Indeed, before his resignation, many of the East Indians urged him to quit for they believed he was holding back the progress of the work.

But he could not stop working. He continued to preach whenever he was asked and gave himself to conducting services for other churches also. And so it was that on April 8, 1945, he collapsed and died in the Scots Presbyterian Church in New Amsterdam, as he would have wished — preaching the Word of God.

But J.B. Cropper is not forgotten. His name is still a household word in the present Guyana Presbyterian Church. He is remembered as the founder of the Canadian Mission, the great leader of the church and one of the champions of East Indian rights.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dunn, Zander. *The Canadian Mission in British Guiana: The Pioneer Years 1885-1927*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis. Copies at Queen's and Knox College.

Ruhomon, Peter. *Centenary History of the East Indians in British Guiana* Georgetown: The Daily Chronicle 1938.

The Quebec Trio
W.D., A.S., A.D. Reid

W. STANFORD REID

IT MAY BE that an account of the three Reid brothers should have been written by someone other than a relative, a son of one of them, but it was felt that perhaps one who had been in quite close contact with all three for a good many years would understand them better than most of their friends and acquaintances. Consequently the following memoir has been prepared with the help of two other descendants: Dr. Allana Reid Smith, daughter of Allan S. Reid and Joseph B. Reid, son of Andrew D. Reid.

That three out of four sons in any family should enter the ministry is unusual, but that they should come from a rocky hill farm in the Eastern Township of Quebec, Megantic County, would seem even stranger. Nevertheless, this did happen in the Reid family and the three brothers, William Dunn ("W.D."), Allan Stewart and Andrew Dunn all played active roles in the Presbyterian Church in Canada for many years.

The family was of Scottish origin, originally Highland. When they migrated to the United States in 1827 they left Perthshire where they had been tenants of the Earl of Ancaster on the farm "Drumdowie" just south of Muthill. William Reid, who led the family migration, decided after a year in the United States to move to Canada where he received land in Lemessurier, Megantic County, land which proved to be stony and difficult to work. William's son, Joseph, who inherited the farm married Janet Dunn, daughter of Andrew and Betsy (Oliver) Dunn, originally from Stirlingshire and Roxboroughshire. Along with this strongly Scottish background went also a strong Calvinistic faith which was to have an important effect on the whole family. Tradition has it that William Reid was an elder in the Auchterarder church where the disruption of 1843 really began, and was a strong supporter of the movement which led to the formation of the Free Church of Scotland and its Canadian counterpart.

Joseph and Janet Reid had eight children, four girls of whom the

most prominent was Eva who became one of the first women psychiatrists in the United States ending her days as a professor at the University of California, and four boys the three who became ministers and John, the youngest who continued on the family farm. W.D., the second child, was born in 1865, Andrew in 1870 and Allan in 1877. Janet, however, did not long enjoy her family for at the age of forty she was struck down by mastoiditis leaving her eight children, the eldest, Betsy, being just sixteen years and the youngest, only nine months old.

Although the mother's death at first seemed to be a disaster for the family, in the providence of God it turned out to be a blessing in disguise. The father who before this had been but a nominal church member, now became a deeply religious man, returning to his childhood training and faith. He began to study theology on his own, and sought to bring his children to a vital faith in Christ as Saviour and Lord. He became an elder in Reid's Church built on the corner of his farm, as precentor led the music in the church services, and superintended the Sunday School. Frequently on Sunday afternoons his two brothers, Henry and John came to the house to discuss the morning sermon. Sunday evening was spent with the children repeating the Westminster Shorter Catechism and listening to the reading of a sermon of Spurgeon or some other divine. This rigorous religious and intellectual training had an important influence on all members of the family, especially the three who were to become ministers. W.D. and Allan both seemed to have accepted this training gladly, but Andrew at times rebelled.

Each brother was a definite personality in his own right. Andrew was most like the Reid side of the family, a typical Highlander, high strung, quick to take offence and just as quick to forgive. An activist rather than a thinker, in his early days he was a favorite at all the neighbourhood dances where he played the fiddle and frequently danced the sun up. In his twenties Andrew thought of becoming an actor, but a stern letter from W.D. changed his mind and he entered the ministry, where he directed all his considerable histrionic and dramatic ability to preaching the Gospel.

Allan was formed in a different mould, being more of a Dunn than a Reid, rather typically Lowland with a great capacity for hard work, a consummate ability for organizing and for legal and political strategy and action. His sense of humour unlike that of Andrew's who was boisterous and a raconteur, was of the rather subdued, pawky type which nevertheless usually hit the nail on the head. A big man

physically with a booming voice, he enjoyed physical exercise, and often expressed the wish that he had never left the farm, — indeed to farming he returned for the last few years of his life.

W.D. held a somewhat middle position between his two brothers. While he could display the vigor and activism of Andrew, he also had a large fund of Allan's common sense and logical approach to problems. His sense of humour was also a combination of the two, and he was particularly good at mimicking people which not infrequently landed him in trouble. Like the other two he was a great tease, and when the brothers got together relations could become somewhat strained in the competition at story-telling, teasing and arguing. Sometimes it became more than their wives could stand. On one occasion W.D.'s wife even threatened to leave the dinner table unless they stopped their nonsense.

The first of the trio to break away from the close-knit home circle was W.D. who decided to obtain an education, probably to become a lawyer. Leeds Village Model School, St. Francis College, Richmond, Quebec, and finally McGill University and the Presbyterian College, Montreal, was the route he followed. For all of this he had to raise the funds himself since his father, who supplemented the family's meagre income from the farm by having a photography booth at various country fairs, could give him no financial help. Andrew followed W.D. only indirectly, for he did not finish school but went to the lumber camps in New Hampshire, and later became a coachman to a wealthy man in St. Paul, Minnesota. It was while in this position that he thought of going on the stage but changed and returned to Canada to train for the Presbyterian ministry. After finishing his elementary education in Danville, he went on to Morrin College, Quebec, and thence to Manitoba College and McGill, although he did not complete his arts work before entering the Presbyterian College, where he took his B.D. in 1897. Allan took a more direct line, completing his schooling in Danville, whence he went to Morrin College, McGill and Presbyterian College. After a year out of the Presbyterian College to earn some money he completed his course, graduating in 1904 with his B.D. and the gold medal. Both Allan and W.D. won scholarships and prizes during their Arts and Theological studies, but Andrew never seems to have shown much interest in such scholarly achievements.

W.D. commenced his Arts education at McGill in the autumn of 1888, uncertain as to what his life work would be. He was persuaded, however, by a fellow student to apply for a summer mission field

under the Presbyterian Board of Missions, but almost immediately wished to take back his application. As he was too late, he found himself appointed to the Harrington and Avoca field situated on the Rouge River northwest of Calumet, Quebec, a lumbering village on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River. That summer's work decided his future for under his ministry the field experienced a genuine spiritual revival which left a lasting impression on him. The next summer he was back again at Avoca, and sixty years later he was still remembered for the impact he had on the community. In the fall of 1890, his first year in theology, he was asked to take over a mission church at the Montreal end of the Victoria Bridge, in what was then known as Victoria Town of "Goose Village," a task he assumed with some diffidence in January 1891. Although some members of the Montreal Presbytery opposed the establishment of the mission as a regular church, it was eventually recognized and W.D. became the student supply with George C. Pidgeon, later a leader in the United Church, as his assistant. When he graduated in 1893 although invited to preach in a number of churches for a call, he accepted the invitation of Victoria Town at the princely stipend of $750 a year. It was a rather rough neighbourhood, and on one occasion he had to carry a revolver to protect himself against some of the followers of a man selling liquor illegally, but all the excitement only added to the interest of life. After a ministry of three years in which the church grew rapidly, he decided that he should spend some time in travel and further study, and so resigned his pastorate.

He spent 1897 and 1898 in Great Britain, Europe, the Near East and Harvard University from which he received his M.A. in theology in 1898. Although called to the Presbyterian Chuch of Haverhill, Mass. at the end of the academic year, W.D. preferred to return to Canada where he accepted a call to Taylor Presbyterian Church in the east end of Montreal, despite the warnings of the previous minister who said it was hopeless to anticipate any growth. He also faced opposition of a widow whom he and his session had disciplined in Victoria Town for pouring boiling water on her daughter's boyfriend because he preferred the daughter to the mother. Although both civil and ecclesiastical suits brought by this woman had been hanging over W.D.'s head while he was out of the country, when he returned both were settled without litigation. Still the widow sought to block his call by spreading rumours about his being "in trouble with a widow in his former congregation." Despite these little difficulties, however, he was called and always maintained that part of his appeal was his big

black mustache which won the support of the rank and file of the Congregation, while the "tonier" element voted for one of the other candidates.

In 1898 Taylor Church was indeed in dire straits with unpaid coal and tax bills stretching back over a number of years. Although the roll contained some 200 names, quite a number were inactive. Despite these initial handicaps, however, the new pastor went to work with a will and great energy. As a result, the congregation began to grow, givings rose dramatically and the church forged ahead so that by 1910 the membership had increased to about 1200. Most of the people were skilled artisans, many of them having come from Scotland to work in the Angus Shops of the Canadian Pacific Railway and W.D. knew how to reach these folk both by his preaching and his pastoral care. He often remarked that the twelve years he spent in Taylor Church were the happiest he had spent in any congregation. Many people made professions of faith in Christ under his ministry, and he took a strong stand on the necessity for the proper treatment of the working man by the large scale corporations such as the Macdonald Tobacco Company, the C.P.R. and other companies for which many of the members of his congregation worked.

A change came, however, in 1909 when he was invited to take part in an evangelistic campaign among the miners of the Kootenay Mountains in British Columbia. His three months experience there opened up to him the great need for the Gospel in that area and throughout western Canada, while at the same time, to use his own phrase, he "got sort of loosened up a bit from Taylor Church." Consequently when the General Assembly's commission in September invited him to become superintendent of missions for the Province of Alberta he decided to accept this new post. The Session of Taylor Church at first made no great objection, but the congregation as a whole, when it heard he was leaving, did. Despite their pleas to the presbytery, however, he stuck to his decision and began his new work in January 1910.

Alberta was at that time very much on the frontier and travelling was difficult, but by train, unreliable automobiles, buckboard and horseback he toured the whole province supervising the various mission fields and establishing new causes. During the last year of his superintendency he slept in his own bed in Edmonton, only forty nights out of the 365. But his work bore fruit for during his three years as superintendent the number of mission charges rose from 110 to 166. After three years of roughing it in the west however, W.D.

decided that perhaps the time had come for a change. Over the preceding two years Stanley Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, had been repeatedly offering him a call. Then to add to the complications in 1911 he had met a Miss Daisy Stanford who was raising money for the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, (now the Bible and Medical Missionary Fellowship), to build a leper hospital in India. He decided that he had enough of work in Alberta; he wanted a home of his own and he felt the call of Stanley Church pressing on him. He therefore accepted the call and at the same time married Miss Stanford, much to the annoyance of some spinsters in Stanley Church, and settled in Montreal where he was to remain for the rest of his life.

Meanwhile, what of the other brothers?

Andrew, who was an excellent horseman, while a student pastor had impressed the locals at Abbotsford and Mission City, B.C. by buying and taming a mustang, an incident described in Ralph Connor's *The Sky Pilot*, and before entering theology had spent a summer working as a cattle hand on a ship plying between Canada and Great Britain. Once he was ordained he gave full sway to his nomadic instincts by going on a world tour through London, Paris, Palestine, Ceylon and Australia. In this country he ran out of money, so accepted a temporary pastorate in Port Macquarie, N.S.W. but soon returned home, just before his father died in 1903. His first settled charge was in the Presbyterian Church in Katonah, N.Y.,and during his pastorate there he married Miss Winifred Boutelle of Danville, his former tutor in mathematics. As neither he nor his bride liked living in the States, despite the fact that he was very successful, he returned to Canada to become the minister of St. Andrew's Church, Sault Ste. Marie, Ont. in 1907. After five years there he moved to Port Arthur. In both these charges he was largely responsible for erecting new buildings which are still in use. With the outbreak of World War I, Andrew immediately sought to join the chaplaincy service of which he became a member in 1916 serving first in England, then in France and finally as chaplain of the Beaver Hut, Canadian Y.M.C.A., the Strand London. In 1919 he returned to Canada and his wife and young son, Joseph Charles (1913).

Unlike his two brothers, Andrew believed that after five years he had delivered his message and must then begin to repeat himself. Consequently his tendency was to move to a new congregation at the end of a five year period. Since his theological position was more akin to that of Wesleyan Methodists than to that of Calvinistic

Presbyterians, one cannot but wonder if this desire to move was not related to his doctrinal views. In December 1919 he became minister of Grace Church, Calgary, Alta., the only congregation for which he never seemed to cherish any fond memories, largely owing to personality clashes with members of the board of managers. There may also have been conflicts over the question of church union which he supported and the members of Grace Church did not. As a result in 1921 he moved to Knox Church, Edmonton, where he became a leader in the prohibition and church union movements. In 1925 he led his congregation into the United Church of Canada. In all his congregations, except Grace Church, he had been extremely popular, had seen a great growth and was remembered for many years afterwards not only as a fiery preacher but as a faithful pastor who never hesitated to fulfil any call of need in or outside his congregation.

The career of Allan S. differed rather radically from those of his two older brothers. After his graduation and ordination in 1904 he acted as stated supply in St. John's N.B. for the summer. He then used the David Morrice Travelling Fellowship which he had received from the Presbyterian College to enter the D.D. program at Princeton Seminary. After a short time, however, following an attack of pneumonia, he was threatened with tuberculosis. This forced him to drop out of his course to work on a Cuban plantation in which his brother W.D. had invested. As the business agent for the owners, Allan cleared a large part of the land and planted orange groves but also carried on mission work, building five churches to which he ministered in Spanish. He probably would have remained in Cuba, had it not been that he was now engaged to Miss Lizzie Gertrude Planche of Danville, Que. and wished to settle down in a somewhat more permanent position and also to be closer to his family. Nevertheless, he left Cuba with real regret, later expressing deep sympathy for Castro's opposition to Spanish and American exploitation of the Cubans.

In 1907 Allan was inducted into the charge of Rockburn and the Gore, Que. and the following year took unto himself his wife. In 1911 he accepted a call to Livingstone Presbyterian Church, Montreal, a congregation of seventy-five members. For the next eight years he labored among the people of what was then called 'the North End.' As a result, a new church (now Livingstone United Church) was built, the mortgage paid off and the congregation increased to over 400 members. Yet even while busy with preaching and pastoring, Allan's

great interest seems to have been organization and administration. He became very active in the Y.M.C.A., the Red Cross, and similar organizations during the war, and in 1919 set up the pastoral services required in the hospitals because of the influenza epidemic.

As a result of his obvious capacity as an administrator, in 1919 he was appointed to the full-time position of general secretary of the Montreal Board of Christian Education. In this position he organized conferences for young people and Sunday School teachers, prepared helps for Sunday School teachers and performed other services of an inter-denominational character. He also established schools for the post-war European immigrants who wished to learn English in order to integrate with the English-speaking Montreal community. During this time he also became clerk of the Presbytery of Montreal in which position he was destined to wield an important influence during the church union controversy.

Following the close of World War I, the church union issue was again being pressed in Presbyterian circles, and as in the case of many families, for the three Reid brothers it proved to be a traumatic experience. At first all three favored union. W.D., when superintendent of missions in Alberta, had often helped to organize 'union' congregations with the Methodists' ministers being appointed alternately from the two denominations. He felt that the Church of Christ should be united as far as possible and believed that this could be accomplished by some sort of 'federalism' which would eventually lead on to union. Allan likewise had concluded that because of the inter-denominational character of his work in the Board of Christian Education he should go into union. However, certain factors led them to change their point of view. The Twenty Articles, the creed of the proposed United Church, did not appeal to either of them. Both were strongly evangelical, Allan being somewhat more Calvinistic at that time than W.D., and the Twenty Articles seemed to be much too vague and uncertain in its doctrinal position. But what led to their final decision were the actions of the church unionists themselves. For W.D. the turning point came when at the Port Arthur General Assembly in 1923 after he had pled for a gradualist approach to union, Dr. Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor) rose and said: "We will force you rebels in by an act of parliament, whether you like it or not." W.D.'s reaction, like that of many others, was "Dr. Gordon obviously does not know his history. This is what the Stewart monarchs tried in Scotland three hundred years ago with disastrous results." The prospect that the government would be called in to interfere in the

church's work, turned him completely against union from that point on, although in the hope of preserving the unity of his own flock he did not take a very active part in the battle which raged between 1923 and 1925.

Alan S., on the other hand, was faced with church union as a more personal issue. He had said nothing about his own position, except to W.D. The Presbytery of Montreal which had a majority of two in favour of union, during the autumn of 1924 passed a motion in presbytery that Allan must declare himself on the subject. This he refused to do, on the ground that as clerk he should remain in a neutral position. Thereupon the majority deposed him and appointed Rev. William Munro of St. Andrew's Church, St Lambert, to the position. As Allan, however, had a written contract which terminated only on June 10, 1925 he refused to step down and held onto the presbytery records. The outcome was at times ludicrous — at ordinations the two 'clerks' would rise together and read the ordination questions, and at other times physical violence almost erupted, although with Allan standing 6 feet 4 inches and W.D. (who was always close at hand) 6 feet and others such as R.W. Dickie of Knox Crescent Church, the outcome was usually an armed truce. As both Allan and W.D. enjoyed a 'scrap' they took considerable fun out of talking over their presbyterial battles. The present writer can remember sitting wide-eyed and open-eared as a boy listening to the accounts of the tricks and manoeuvres in presbytery to circumvent the unionists as the deadline of June 10, 1925 approached.

With the coming of union, the vote in Stanley Church had to be taken. The congregation had in 1913 moved from Stanley Street, behind the Windsor Hotel in Montreal to the corner of Westmount and Victoria Avenues in Westmont, where a new building had been erected complete with a large Sunday School hall. Membership had risen by 1925 from around 100 to over 400 and the church was continuing to grow. There was never much doubt, however, as to which direction it would go with regard to union. Although there was some campaigning, generally speaking from the beginning the large majority favored the continuing Presbyterian cause. In fact, probably none would have left over the union issue had it not been that the anniversary preacher in 1924 was Dr. T.T. Shields of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, who rather unwisely made an attack upon the unionists from the pulpit. The result was that a number of those in favor of union who had planned to remain with the congregation decided to withdraw after June 10, much to W.D.'s distress, for some

had been members of his Taylor Church congregation and close friends for many years.

Out west, Andrew, the only brother who went into union, confided privately to his brothers that he was not entirely happy with the new church because it replaced its evangelical interest to a large extent by a gospel of social action. He admitted this only after some years, however, for in the immediate events of 1925 the topic was taboo among the three. W.D. at first made critical remarks about the union in his letters with the result that Andrew finally became so angry that he threatened to stop all correspondence, if W.D. did not stop his criticism. At this point W.D.'s wife took a hand to put an end to the conflict. W.D. and Allan, however, often discussed Andrew's defection which they concluded was due to his emotional Methodistic leanings. Andrew continued to work with his usual vigor, becoming minister of St. Andrew's United Church, Sydney N.S. in the fall of 1925 whence he moved five years later to Central United Church, Winnipeg, a congregation suffering under the handicap of a downtown building intended to hold 2,000. In 1932 he became pastor of Chalmers United Church, in suburban Winnipeg. While here he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1936 he accepted a call to Centennial United Church, Victoria, B.C. where he remained until retirement in 1940. Thereafter, he and his wife lived in a number of places: London, England, Lennoxville, P.Q., Montreal, Galt, Ontario, and finally again, Victoria, B.C. where he died in March 1954.

For neither Andrew nor W.D. did the church union involve any radical change in their lives and work. W.D. who received the D.D. (Hon.Caus.) from the Presbyterian College in 1923, continued as minister of Stanley Church until he retired at the age of 72 in 1937. After the union he was instrumental in organizing the minority group which had come out of St. Luke's Church, Notre Dame de Grace, Montreal. This group formed the Robert Campbell Memorial Church of whose session he was moderator for a number of years. His principal interest was, however, his own congregation. At times he became somewhat "fed up" with some of the Westmountites, many of whom had originally come from the east end of Montreal and from a working-class background, but now attempted to put on airs because of their wealth. On one occasion an alderman of this type objected to W.D.'s very plain speaking in his sermons, insisting that he could not talk to people in Westmount as he had in Taylor Church. To this W.D. replied very quickly, "I do not see why not, since most of them have

come from that area of Montreal, which I know only too well." At times he was approached with calls to churches in other cities, but he turned them down. He was anxious to see his two sons, W. Stanford (1913) and E.A. Stewart (1917), graduated from McGill University, his *alma mater*, and he felt that his work was not completed in Westmount because Stanley Church was still growing steadily, reaching a membership of over 800 by the time of his retirement. From 1925 to 1929 W.D. also taught homiletics and pastoral theology at the Presbyterian College, Montreal, a duty which he performed with much pleasure and enthusiasm. When he retired from Stanley Church very much crippled with arthritis, he left a thriving and prosperous church, which has since fallen on evil days, the building being sold to the Seventh Day Adventists in 1972.

After retirement W.D. and his wife moved for the winter to Victoria where he took charge for some time of Andrew's church when his brother was incapacitated through a serious surgical operation. Shortly after their return to Montreal, in the spring of 1938, W.D.'s wife Daisy was suddenly taken from him by death. Now alone and largely confined to a wheel chair he managed to carry on with the help of his sons, spending much time reading, maintaining wide correspondence with friends, and with members of his former churches. He also began to write his reminiscences, some of which were published in *The Gazette* (Montreal) and carried on controversies through the columns of the newspapers. In this way he continued mentally active, until he suffered a stroke in the summer of 1951, and passed away in April 1952.

From 1925 on, Allan, as the youngest of the trio, came into his own. He had waged a tireless battle against union, so when the conflict was over, he was recognized as one of the leaders of the movement to continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Upon the reconstitution of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, he was immediately confirmed as clerk of the Presbytery of Montreal, a post which he held jointly with that of the clerk of the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa. Owing to the need to organize minority groups left after the union debacle, or to shore up congregations weakened by loss of members, he became increasingly involved in synodical work. As a result he resigned in 1927 from the Board of Christian Education to become Superintendent of Missions for the synod. In this capacity he used to say that between 1927 and 1930 he laid a corner stone a month. Some of the churches built during this period were Montreal West Presbyterian, Livingstone Presbyterian, Ormstown Presbyterian, Kydd Memorial,

St. Giles (Ottawa), Arnprior etc. In recognition of these accomplishments in 1932 he received the D.D. degree from the Presbyterian College, Montreal.

By 1932 the enthusiasm generated in 1925 had begun to flag, and the depression had reached its lowest depth, resulting in a decline of church support. At this point Allan was made Budget Secretary of the Presbyterian Church with the heavy responsibility of balancing the budget and , if possible, wiping out the debt. For two years he labored assiduously on this project, crossing and recrossing the country to plead with congregations, to persuade somewhat reluctant millionaires and at the same time seeking to have church departments operated by more businesslike methods. As a result of these endeavours he had balanced the budget by 1934 and also succeeded in reducing considerably the debt of the church. In the process, however, he had annoyed some of the "establishment bureaucracy" whom he regarded as incompetent and intellectually barren. Added to all of this, he preferred Montreal to Toronto, missed the company of his brother, W.D., and wished to spend more time at home with his ailing wife and with his daughter Allana (1923). He therefore resigned as budget secretary, returning to Montreal and his former position of synodical superintendent of missions. Again he worked tirelessly at establishing new churches in the outlying districts of Quebec: Val d'Or, Malartic, Perron, Cadillac. At the same time he was also involved in setting up evangelistic work among French Canadians, Italians and Chinese in Montreal, and in assisting Tyndale House, a Presbyterian settlement work in the slums of the city. From 1936 to 1939 he was also superintendent of missions for the Synod of the Maritime Provinces where he worked each summer, taking on this responsibility as a busman's holiday. In 1939 he and Dr. W.A. Cameron were sent by the General Assembly to British Guiana to resolve conflicts and trouble which had arisen between the mission there and the British authorities, as well as within the mission itself. Together they succeeded finally in bringing peace to the troubled mission.

Peace, however, was a scarce commodity in those days for World War II had just broken out, and Allan had to supervise the ministration of ordinances to many congregations who had neither ministers nor student pastors. His other activities therefore had to be restricted. Yet even the long illness and death in 1940 of his wife did not slow him down. Long before the war ended, he was laying plans for post-war action. For one thing he decided that no cenotaph or plaque would be a fitting memorial to the men who had died overseas.

Theirs must be a living memorial. To this end he bought a property on Lake St. Francis near Lancaster, Ont. on which he and his daughter Allana, by themselves, set up the first building for a synodical memorial camp. By 1948 the camp was in operation, continuing to be of great importance for young people's activities until 1962 when it was sold by the Synod to be replaced by a camp at Gracefield near Ottawa. Allan felt this move was a mistake as the Peace Memorial Camp had been equidistant from Montreal and Ottawa, while Gracefield was not. In the long run he may be proven to be right.

Another post-war project was the development of Presbyterian work with immigrants coming from Europe. He was largely responsible for having Rev. H.R. Pickup appointed as immigration chaplain (1946) to help the Displaced Persons who were arriving in droves to settle in their new homeland.

In 1949 Allan married a second time. His "new wife" as he used to describe her, was Miss Gladys D. Herdman of Huntingdon, who had been a girl in his first church at Rockburn. Although now over seventy he continued his church work, only resigning from the Superintendency of Synodical Missions in 1953 at which time the General Assembly gave him a year's leave of absence on full stipend as a token of the church's appreciation. The following year he resigned as clerk of the Synod of Montreal and Ottawa and in 1956 as the clerk of the Presbytery of Montreal. In the meantime he had bought himself a small property next to the old stone church in Rockburn where he had ministered to his first congregation and there he returned to his first love: farming, raising turkeys and ploughing with a team of horses. Sometimes he would turn up at presbytery where he would take very direct action if he felt the presbytery was not doing its duty, on one occasion threatening to carry a case to the General Assembly unless presbytery stopped its 'waffling.' As presbytery knew that he meant it, they took the action he demanded. He also took a great interest in his daughter Allana's children, telling them his stories of 'kitten little' with which he had regaled W.D.'s two sons and his own daughter in their childhood. Although apparently in good health, he died suddenly on November 19, 1962.

Each of the three Reid brothers made a considerable contribution to the Presbyterian Church in Canada during the first half of this century, each according to his own particular abilities and gifts. Yet looking back over their histories, we can see how the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of their father's home so moulded them that they sought, to the days of their deaths, to glorify Him who was their

Saviour and Lord. Indeed, some of the last words spoken by W.D. and Allan to the present writer indicated their fear that the Presbyterian Church in Canada, which they both loved and for which they both prayed constantly, was losing its Christ-centred Gospel to a humanistic ethic and institutionalism which they believed can never satisfy man's deepest needs — his need for reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ.

Frank Baird (1870-1951) Father in the Synod of the Maritime Provinces

EVERETT H. BEAN

BORN BEFORE THE UNION of Presbyterian Churches in Canada which took place in 1875. Living through and taking an active part in maintaining the Presbyterian Church in the so called "Union" movement which culminated in 1925 with a large number leaving the Presbyterian Church. Showing a strong interest in Home and Overseas Missions and giving leadership in encouraging this Biblically based interest in others. Taking a prominent place in the Courts of the Church and serving on Boards and Committees of such courts. Finding time to compile histories and write full length historical novels. Withal serving as a faithful pastor. These statements are a summation in brief of the life of the Rev. Frank Baird, M.A., D.D., LL.D. the subject of this concise biography.

EARLY YEARS

ON JANUARY 8TH, 1870, there was born into the home of Samuel Baird and his wife Elizabeth Snodgrass a son Frank. The parents were both natives of Chipman, Queen's County, New Brunswick where Frank was born. Indeed through his paternal grandmother Frank was a direct descendant of the first farmer to settle in Chipman who came from Ireland in 1820, in the person of Alexander McClure. Frank Baird's interest and concern for the general well-being and spiritual well-being of rural communities in the Maritimes and especially in New Brunswick continued to the very end of his life.

After completing schooling in the one room school at Chipman young Baird attended the Provincial Normal School in Fredericton for the term of 1888-89. He then taught in his home school, nearby Salmon Creek and on the Island of Grand Manan in the Bay of Fundy among other places. The young teacher would save enough from the small salary to enable him to take a year or a term at the University of New Brunswick and then back to teaching until he had enough funds

to return to university. He continued alternating between teaching and attending university from 1889 until he graduated with his B.A. from the University of New Brunswick in 1895. Returning to teaching for a year he then entered Pine Hill, the Presbyterian Theological College in Halifax and graduated in 1900. During his years at Pine Hill he regularly enrolled in graduate work at the University of Dalhousie and was awarded an M.A. in English Literature in 1899.

Six months after Frank Baird was ordained and inducted into his first charge in Sussex, in his native New Brunswick, he took as his bride, to be mistress of the manse, Miss Sara Hamilton McKee. They were married on January 1st, 1902 in St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Fredericton. Mrs. Baird was to make a place for herself in addition to being a wife and mother. Her active interest in the work of each congregation where her husband ministered did not keep her from an active interest in the missionary work of the church, and she served in many offices in Presbyterial Missionary Societies as well as holding offices in the Eastern Division of the Women's Missionary Society until a few years prior to her death.

To the Rev. & Mrs. Frank Baird were born three children: Hamilton born in 1904 and at time of writing living in Moncton, N.B., Donald born in 1907 who died in the influenza epidemic at age 12 in 1919, and Elizabeth (Mrs. Harold V. Pritchard) born 1910 and at time of writing residing in Fredericton, N.B.

MINISTRY

FOLLOWING HIS GRADUATION from Pine Hill in April 1900 Frank Baird was licensed by the Presbytery of Saint John in Saint John, N.B. in May of that year. His first appointment after becoming a licentiate was to Whitney Pier, Cape Breton. In this community, a part of the city of Sydney, elders from St. Andrew's in the city centre had organized Sunday Schools and carried on some preaching services. It is interesting to note in passing that the elder who took a leading share of responsibility in organizing Sunday School work among the families who had moved into the Whitney Pier area to work in the newly established steel plant was Duncan MacLennan, two of whose sons Stewart and Gordon were to become well known Presbyterian Ministers serving in Presbyterian Churches in the United States.

Coming to Whitney Pier as a licentiate with a summer appointment, young Baird established regular Sunday preaching

services and was indefatigable in visiting the homes of the people so that from a mission Sunday School which he found carried on by the elders, in the fall he left a strong congregation. The Presbytery recognized the congregation as St. James Presbyterian Church and the next spring the Rev. A.J. MacDonald was inducted into a self-sustaining congregation. In another area of the Whitney Pier district, St. Mark's was established as a mission charge. Both of these congregations were an indication of the way in which the Lord blessed the work of young Baird in that summer of 1900.

In the Fall Baird travelled to Europe where he enrolled in New College, Edinburgh, taking lectures from men of eminence of that day, such as Principal Rainy, Dr. Marcus Dods, Dr. A.B. Davidson, and Prof. Flint at the University.

Upon his return to New Brunswick, the Rev. Frank Baird having accepted a call to the Presbyterian church in Sussex was ordained and inducted by the Presbytery of Saint John in July 1901. In addition to his faithful preaching of the Gospel, with a strong emphasis on Reformed doctrine the young minister found time for writing articles and pamphlets and his first historical novel, "Roger Davis, Loyalist" published by Musson Book Co. of Toronto in 1907.

After a ministry of ten years in Sussex Mr. Baird accepted a Call to St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in Woodstock, N.B. also in his home Presbytery, the Presbytery of Saint John. It was while he was in Woodstock (1911-1920) that he did much of his preparatory thinking regarding church union and probably while he was there he came to the conclusions that he was to make known publicly during the latter part of his ministry in Woodstock and later in Bedford, N.S.

Also while in Woodstock, Baird continued writing articles for theological and historical publications and probably did some of the work for his next two novels which would be published after leaving this Saint John River community.

After serving nine years in St. Paul's, Woodstock, Baird resigned and spent the larger part of two years making his headquarters in the family community of Chipman. One wonders if this stalwart man of the faith wished to have time to make a thorough study of the church union movement that was then gathering momentum so that he might be able to support his conclusions that were going to require him to oppose it and see him take his stand as one of the minority on the General Assembly's Committee on Church Union. Certainly it was after this period of study that he made it clear that he could not support the proposed basis of union which was to evolve. Also it was

probably during this period that he was able to complete his novels "Rob McNab" and "Parson John of the Labrador" which were published in 1923. During this period Mr. Baird placed his services at the disposal of the vacant congregation of St. Andrew's in St. John's, Newfoundland, and served there as stated supply for several months as well as supplying vacant churches nearer home.

In 1922 Mr. Baird was inducted into the Presbyterian Church in Bedford on the outskirts of Halifax, N.S. and found himself in a Presbytery where all but two or three ministers were strong advocates of church union. In addition to the strong support for union presented by almost all the ministers in the Halifax - Dartmouth congregations there were the professors at his old Alma Mater, Pine Hill, who were often the leading spokesmen for union. This however was no reason for him to look for more congenial surroundings. He continued to proclaim the unsearchable riches of Christ as pastor and preacher and to uphold the Biblical system of doctrine and church government as witnessed to and maintained by the Presbyterian Church. When the Bedford Congregation voted to leave the Presbyterian Church to enter the new United Church, Frank Baird resigned.

On his resignation from the Bedford Church in 1925 the strongly Presbyterian congregations of Pictou lost no time in inviting him to come to that town. For the first year or so following 1925 Baird served both First Church and St. Andrew's in Pictou. As soon as St. Andrew's was able to make other arrangements he gave all his time in serving as the minister of First Church. Here he continued to enjoy a successful ministry and to witness the Lord's blessing on his work in the congregation and community until he retired after twelve years from the pastoral ministry in 1937.

It was during these years in Pictou that the Presbyterian College, Montreal honoured Baird for his contribution to the Synod of the Atlantic Provinces as well as to the Church at large by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Spring Convocation in 1927.

During his ministry in Pictou, Dr. Baird received another honour which added to his recognition by the whole Church when the General Assembly meeting in Knox Church, Hamilton in 1930, elected him Moderator. As was to be expected he enhanced this office and carried out his duties during the Assembly and in the year following with dignity and a kindly interest in all persons whom he met on his moderatorial travels, as well as using every opportunity for witnessing to the historic Reformed doctrines of the Presbyterian Church.

THE MATTER OF Church Union was never far from the surface of the life of the Church during the entire ministry of Dr. Baird. Two years after his ordination, the General Assembly meeting in Saint John, N.B. considered the 'Church Union Proposals.' The Assembly met only forty miles from Sussex where the young minister had just recently begun the work of his first pastorate. He was therefore at the sessions of the Assembly and heard the debate pro and con. The stand that he was to take years later after much serious deliberation was foreshadowed in 1904. Although always an advocate of whole hearted co-operation, he was decidedly opposed to 'Church Union' on the basis of the proposals which were first set forth in 1904. According to an editorial in the "Presbyterian Record" of July 1930 following his election as Moderator of the General Assembly, Dr. Baird was "the first man in Canada to protest openly the Church Union proposals". Following the 1904 Assembly on "June 10th Mr. Baird called upon his people to oppose a movement that would result in the elimination of Presbyterian doctrine and government from Canada." The "Record" notes that at the time the editorial was written the sermon was still extant.

During the intervening years up to 1925 when a large number left the Presbyterian Church to join with the Methodists and Congregationalists of Canada, Frank Baird continued to work for the preservation of the Presbyterian Church when the matter came before presbytery, synod and assembly. During this time his Congregations were made aware of the issues involved but he did not "ride a hobby." Rather his preaching was of the well rounded doctrinal and practical variety seeking to meet the people's needs by making known God's will as revealed in the Scriptures.

Following the exodus of about two-thirds of the Presbyterian Church into the United Church in 1925, Dr. Baird was active in encouraging minority congregations in the Synod which he was able to do from the strong base of Pictou County Presbyterianism where he had become minister in 1925 in the Town of Pictou.

To his home province of New Brunswick, Dr. Baird was to be a tower of strength after his retirement in 1938. When he returned to his home in Chipman, later moving to Fredericton, he found the two New Brunswick presbyteries burdened with many small Presbyterian congregations and student mission fields. Presbyterianism had never been dominant on the New Brunswick Church scene. After the

Church Union exodus there was only one Presbyterian minister left in Miramichi Presbytery and only a few more in the lower half of the province in Saint John Presbytery. This was the situation which Dr. Baird came home to when he retired in 1938. It was no retirement in a real sense. These small and struggling congregations, usually minority groups following 1925, throughout the entire Province became his special concern, and remained so until a few months before his death when he was finally at 80 years of age required to stay within the bounds of the city of Fredericton. Many of these struggling groups which continued because of the encouragement and oversight of Dr. Baird are self-sustaining charges today.

As is to be expected from one who believed and preached the evangelical teachings of the Bible, Baird was interested in Christian missions in the fullest sense of the term. His missionary novel "Parson John of Labrador" published by the Religious Tract Society of London in 1923 is an evidence of his early missionary interest. Later when he came to First Church, Pictou, Dr. Baird was responsible for gathering information about John Geddie, the first missionary to go from Canada to open a new missionary work overseas. In 1946 when the Synod of the Maritime Provinces observed the centennial of the going forth of John Geddie he edited the book "The Geddie Centennial Addresses" and himself contributed the largest part of the book. In his congregation he always considered it part of his duty to seek to broaden the horizons of his people so that they too would catch the vision of the Great Commission. After retirement from Pictou he served for several years on the General Assembly's Board of Missions.

In the field of home missions, Dr. Baird was active personally as well as seeking to inspire an interest in the people of his congregations and the courts of the Church. In 1936 when the Synod made plans to honour the memory of the pioneer missionary, Dr. James MacGregor, with observances of the 150th anniversary of his arrival in Pictou, it was to Dr. Baird the Synod turned. He edited a book published by the Synod with articles by some twenty persons, Dr. Baird himself contributing the introduction and two of the addresses.

In his sermons and addresses Dr. Baird made wide use of illustrations from home and overseas missions workers as well as from the history of home and overseas missionary reports which he always seemed to have at his fingertips.

As mentioned in the previous section, following his retirement Dr. Baird spent a large part of his time assisting, advising, and preaching for small congregations in the two Presbyteries of New Brunswick.

Other ministers might be the official interim-moderators but it was often Dr. Baird who visited the scattered rural congregations in New Brunswick to give them Communion and conduct Baptismal Services while the student minister was on the field during the summer. Often again it was he who would have a friend drive him as far as a car could go because of snow or mud on country roads in the spring and he would walk in on muddy roads or on railway tracks to make arrangements for a boarding house for the student minister for the period from May — September.

With the needs of the Synod, but especially New Brunswick, carefully listed Dr. Baird would go off to the Board of Missions meeting in Toronto in March of each year and press stongly these needs both for summer students and for ordained missionaries who might be available for appointment upon graduation.

Miramichi Presbytery often had difficulty in supplying vacant congregations. More than once there were only two ministers in the Presbytery. The Synod appointed Dr. Baird as an assessor member of the Presbytery and he faithfully travelled from Chipman and later from Fredericton, for presbytery meetings and to serve the many vacant congregations in summer and winter. He conducted funerals, communion services, congregational meetings and advised the sessions as they faced usual and unusual problems with no minister near at hand to help during prolonged vacancies.

On many occasions the two or three young and inexperienced ministers who composed the ministerial membership of Miramichi Presbytery profited from the advice and suggestions of Dr. Baird and indeed were kept from Presbyterial actions which might have hindered rather than helped the Lord's work there. A trip to Miramichi Presbytery meant changing trains at McGivney Junction to catch "The Hooper" as the train from Fredericton to Newcastle was called. Usually the trip to Miramichi Presbytery meant his being away from home overnight and facing long delays because of the storms in winter before he could be back at Chipman or later Fredericton. This service to Miramichi Presbytery Dr. Baird carried on until his 80th year. It will also be remembered that he regularly attended meetings of his own Saint John Presbytery and gave oversight to small congregations and student fields in that Presbytery as he did for Miramichi Presbytery.

To recognize Dr. Baird's interest and devotion to these small congregations the Synod sought to honour him by setting up the Dr. Frank Baird Memorial Bursary with a capitalization of five thousand

dollars. The interest each year is awarded as a bursary to a student or students for the ministry who have served on a student mission field during the summer and are recommended by the presbytery where they served.

First elected Clerk of the Synod of the Maritime Provinces in 1923, having been elected Assistant Clerk in 1918, Dr. Baird came to personify the Synod itself to a great many ministers and elders. Perhaps this has a special meaning where this particular Synod is concerned.

Prior to the Church Union of 1875 which brought the Presbyterians in Lower and Upper Canada into union with the Presbyterians in the Maritimes and Newfoundland, the Maritime Synod was the highest court for the Presbyterians in the Maritimes and Newfoundland. The members apparently viewed the Synod with the respect accorded the General Assembly when it came into being in Montreal in 1875. The proceedings were almost invariably conducted with proper decorum and debate was usually at a high level. When the Presbyterians in the Maritime Synod entered the union of 1875 they continued to expect their Synod to carry on in the usual way. The Clerks of Synod played no small part in seeing that the Synod continued to be the Synod in observing the niceties of parliamentary procedure and debate. Not the least of these to leave his imprint on the Synod was Dr. Frank Baird who was associated with the Clerk's office for some 32 years from the time he was first elected Assistant Clerk in 1918 until his death in 1951. First elected Clerk in 1923 succeeding the Rev. Thomas Stewart, Dr. Baird tendered his resignation at the meeting of the Synod in New Glasgow in 1924 after the Synod had by a majority supported the Church Union proposals. At that time the Moderator announced that "the Clerk had intimated to him that in order to preserve his moral integrity in the matter of Church Union, and that he might be free to pursue the course dictated by conscience, he wished to be released of the office of Clerk of Synod". The resignation was accepted by the Synod with regret. A resolution of appreciation prepared by two staunch supporters of Church Union is evidence of the esteem in which Dr. Baird was held, even by those who differed with him on the Church Union issue and the resolution could very well have been brought forward and adopted by any Synod during the years he served as Clerk. It would not be out of place to quote that resolution at this point.

"The Synod has heard with deep regret the decision of Rev. Frank Baird, M.A.,to resign from the position of Senior Clerk, and

desires to place on record its appreciation of his services. By his fine literary taste, his distinctness of enunciation and rich, far carrying voice, his unfailing courtesy, his scrupulous accuracy, and his familarity with church-procedure, Mr. Baird has maintained the high traditions of this important office, handed down by such distinguished predecessors as Dr. Thos. Sedgewick and Dr. Thos. Stewart, and has won for himself the esteem and affection of the entire court. The Synod hereby thanks Mr. Baird for the diligence and success with which he has discharged the duties of the office, and again expresses its great regret that he feels compelled to adhere to his resignation from a position which he filled with such distinction, and to lay down a work for which he was so eminently fitted."

Following the departure of many from the Presbyterian Church in the Synod following June 1925, when the Synod of the Maritime Provinces met in New Glasgow in October 1925 Dr. Frank Baird was chosen Clerk, which office he held until his death in 1951.

Presenting the position espoused by the subject of this biography on particular doctrines would require reading sermons that might be available and then one could not be sure that there were other sermons no longer extant which would present other shades of opinion. On this subject then it will serve the purpose if his general position is made known.

Dr. Frank Baird was a Calvinist in his outlook on life and accepted the Reformed position of the sovereignty of God in the physical and moral spheres. Dr. Baird accepted the teachings of the Westminster Confession and Catechisms without quibble. His preaching and counselling ministry was based on the Bible as the Word of God. His affirming the Reformed position by remaining with and indeed working actively for the Presbyterian Church in the years preceding and following the church union movement, was the result of his personal convictions and not merely following a conservative and traditional line which is opposed to change.

Dr. Baird was aware of the theological trends in North America and Europe; and in his thinking, preaching, and counselling younger ministers he allied himself with those whom we might call Evangelical in warmth and outreach and Reformed in doctrine. Dr. Baird considered Dr. J. Gresham Machen the greatest champion of the Gospel in North America and his books "The Origin of Paul's Religion" and "The Virgin Birth" as two of the most important books in the theological world to be written on this continent in the first half of the century.

In his own personal life those who knew Dr. Baird and worked with him were impressed with two aspects of his Christian faith. His public prayers were couched in the most beautiful language and filled with quotations from Scripture. He himself was an ardent believer in the power of prayer. Often when presbytery, session, or synod (or an individual) was faced with a difficult decision his advice would be "We shall have to pray about that." And he would urge that no action be taken until time had been spent in corporate and private prayer seeking the Lord's guidance in that particular matter.

Allied to the importance of prayer was Dr. Baird's strong belief in the providential work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of individual Christians and in the Church and the world. Often he would point out that an event in the life of an individual or of a congregation or presbytery had been providentially planned and brought to pass by the Holy Spirit. His simple trust and uncomplicated faith in the Bible and the God of the Bible endeared Dr. Baird to Christians with whom he came into contact, whether an international figure in church affairs or the family who lived on a back road twenty miles from the nearest village. He was equally at home with either.

As a supporter of the Reformed Faith, Dr. Baird urged Presbyterians to carry out the teachings of the Scripture into the life of the community. He did not believe that the Church should live outside the mainstream of community life, but that through its members the Church should have a concern for the practical needs of the less fortunate. For many years and almost to his death Dr. Baird served the interests of the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro, N.S. and the Interprovincial Home for Young Women in Coverdale, N.B. As representative of the Maritime Synod on the executive of the Board of Governors of each institution, he attended even the winter meetings travelling through storm and drifts when he was close to his eightieth year. He kept the Synod informed of the work of these institutions and the ways in which the Presbyterians in the area could assist in supporting the work carried on for those in these institutions. More than one member of the staff at various times would be a person whom Dr. Baird had sought out, remembering the personal qualifications of individuals whom he had known during his years of wide travel throughout the Synod.

Many other ministers served the Lord faithfully as ministers of a congregation and served in presbytery, synod and assembly. Dr. Baird would not be happy to be singled out as doing more than was expected of a person who had taken the vows of ordination. However, few

served over thirty years as Clerk of Synod and for most of that time Treasurer of Synod as did Dr. Frank Baird. Few were still serving on the General Assembly's Board of Missions by Assembly appointment when they reached their eightieth birthday, as was Dr. Baird. After being honoured by the Presbyterian College, Montreal, with the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1928 and being elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1930 his Alma Mater the University of New Brunswick honoured him with the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1950.

One can perhaps do no better in bringing this biography to a close than to quote from the memorial service held by the Synod of the Maritime Provinces in St. Andrew's Pictou in October 1951 following Dr. Baird's death. Dr. Baird "was interested in literature and history in which he was widely read and has several published works to his credit, both histories of communities and historical novels." But "the Church and his duties as a Minister of the Gospel always came first."

Walter Bryden
'By Circumstance and God'

JOSEPH C. MCLELLAND

> Scholars, when they cease to be prophetic, and thus fail to be theologians, possess a significance little more than that of scribes (*The Christian's Knowledge of God*, 26)
>
> True beliefs are the issues of one's whole being as wrought upon by circumstance and God, and they ripen into great, final confessions (Montreal Convocation 1929: in *Separated Unto the Gospel*, 135).

THE AUTHOR OF those words was himself a prophetic scholar, a confessing theologian. In appearance slight, one delicate arm held close, movements denoting energy — and eyes that pierced in eager dialogue. Walter Bryden in his classroom had what is now called "presence". At times it was a burning, as he meditated aloud on the wonder of the Gospel, teasing our minds to explore with him its treasures new and old. As students we would not appreciate his worth, for we could not reckon the cost of his personal pilgrimage up to and after that fateful year 1925. He was — in retrospect we may say it — the man for that hour, the scholar raised up 'by circumstance and God' to speak his prophetic theology to a church which made a grave decision against the Union of 1925, but from mixed motives and without understanding the consequences. The facts of his history are easily recounted, for he was not an activist, a conference goer on committee or lecture circuit. For twenty-seven years his energies were devoted to Knox College, Toronto, and its task of education for Christian ministry.

Walter Williamson Bryden was born on a farm near Galt, Ontario, in 1883. Matriculating from Galt Grammar School 1901, he took Honours Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Toronto, graduating 1906. Despite a physical handicap he was a member of the track team and captained the University Soccer Team.

He entered Knox College to prepare for ministry, while also completing M.A. in Psychology 1907. His middle year (1907-08) was spent in Scotland, where G.A. Smith, T.M. Lindsay and especially James Denney showed the young scholar that theology can be done not merely as an academic discipline but as "church dogmatics" (see chapters 15-16 of *Separated Unto the Gospel* — hereafter SG). He considered Denney "the prince of theologians" (*Significance of the* W.C.F. 27).

Graduation from Knox in 1909 was followed by post-graduate studies at Strasbourg, then ordination and ministry in Lethbridge, Alberta; Melfort, Saskatchewan; and Woodville, Ontario — as he later put it, "in what they call 'spade work' in Western Canada" and in "a quiet little village in the heart of Old Ontario" (SG 131). In 1911 he married Violet Bannantyne: their son Kenneth is Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Toronto.

The year 1925 saw some two-thirds of Presbyterian membership join with Methodists and Congregationalists to form The United Church of Canada. Leadership in the pulpit and college was the greatest need of the "continuing" Presbyterian Church. Walter Bryden of Woodville was asked to lecture two days weekly at Knox College, in Church History. In 1927 the General Assembly elected him to the Chair of Church History and the History and Philosophy of Religion. In 1928 Presbyterian College, Montreal awarded him the degree Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*.

The quarter-century and more during which Bryden taught the theologues of Knox was the most critical in the history of The Presbyterian Church in Canada. Behind lay mixed motives and traditions, ahead an uncertain future, no clear theological position emerging, but rather a struggle over the Church's relationship to its subordinate standard, the Westminster Confession of Faith. This was Bryden's hour. Occupying one of the highest and most influential educational positions in the Church, he brought his considerable intellectual gifts to bear on the practical issue of theological education — the teaching of those "teaching elders" who must minister to a Church undergoing a crisis of identity.

Church politics were much in evidence during the formative years after 1925. Inevitably, parties formed around the strong personalities of the No-sayers, the leaders in the anti-Union campaign. The bitter and negative attitudes of that campaign had seemed to many to forebode doctrinal fundamentalism and obscurantism. An influx of conservative Calvinists to fill Presbyterian pulpits

strengthened this tendency toward "rational orthodoxy" as Bryden termed it. He rightly saw that this would constitute the ongoing threat to what he considered the proper Reformed stance. The irony of this little history, however, was that the right wing Presbyterians did not develop a political arm, leaving the opposition to Bryden to a mixed group whose main cohesion was its antipathy to "Barthianism". The scenario reminds us of the more famous one between Harnack and Barth in 1923, when the old liberalism and the new revelation-theology parted in dramatic controversy.

On the retirement of Thomas Eakin as Principal of Knox College, Walter Bryden was appointed his successor, despite the efforts of those who preferred someone more to the right theologically, or toward Scotland ecclesiastically and liturgically. From 1945 to his death on March 3, 1952, it was Principal Bryden of Knox, at the centre of theological debate but also at the growing edge of theological education. When he died it was indeed the end of an era, of the direct link with the struggles of 1925 and the need to make theological issues decisive. If that need had been recognized and those issues accepted, it was because Knox College graduates year after year over that quarter-century had grasped, often against their will, a new vision of God.

The funeral service in Knox College Chapel was conducted by Joseph Wasson, minister of Calvin Church, Toronto (where Bryden had been an Elder) assisted by Norman Kennedy (Moderator of the 1951 General Assembly) and J.B. Paulin.

Certain themes of his teaching and authorship deserve notice. First must stand his view of the *church*. His entire theology should be seen against the horizon of the People of God — that group visited and redeemed by God's Word and Spirit, called to witness to the "judging-saving Word", constrained to meditate on its belief in the disciplined way called theology. He did not move into theology by way of some other "academic" pursuit such as philosophy; he came through *preaching*, and did not much distinguish it from teaching. He saw himself caught in the net of God's Word, no longer free to dabble in speculative philosophy, but appointed to serve the Gospel. His other key concepts — revelation, faith, theory of knowledge, divine being and human nature — are best approached as items of "Church doctrine". It is to be emphasized that he came to his own understanding of "church dogmatics" apart from but parallel to the experience of "early Barth". The latter formed his theological method by meditation on Anselm and so moved from existential to

revelational axioms. Bryden's dialogue with church history showed him the perilous options, and how the way chosen by Athanasius and Augustine and especially Luther and Calvin, demanded acceptance of biblical revelation as starting-point for reasoning out the faith. He stressed the "constraint" under which men confessed their faith in God, and pointed to that "strange ... raw material" — the biblical witness — which forms the presupposition of theology and then, in turn, of creeds (SG 96ff).

Bryden's impact on his Church may be measured by the rise of self-consciousness about its doctrinal position. When in 1942 a committee of the Assembly on "Articles of Faith" was formed, it was that same coincidence of 'Circumstance and God' at work. The immediate issue was the role of church and state in light of the War. But those who pressed for formal study and who worked to produce the "Declaration of Faith Concerning Church and Nation" of 1954 — now part of the subordinate standards of The Presbyterian Church in Canada — were led by students of Bryden. From him they had learned the lesson that confessing the faith is the muscle by which the church operates. They also learned that "creeds are not *made*; they are always *born*, often born in blood" (*Why I Am a Presbyterian*, 80; hereafter WP). His favorite example was that of the Barmen Declaration of 1934, the rallying cry of the German Confessing Church with its bold witness to the supreme lordship of Jesus Christ and its explicit rejection of errors and heresies on both sides. His thesis about confessing the faith was that genuine confession springs from "a vision of God" — the framers of the Westminster Confession, for instance, "had *seen* God anew" (WP 82). Thus there can be no *denominational* confession or creed, as if there is a relative vision of God. "A Church, if it is to justify itself as a true Church of God in Jesus Christ, must be conscious of possessing *the* Gospel" (WP 162).

The above quotations are from the book which served as his *apologia* for remaining in the Presbyterian Church. He did not remain for reasons of "denominationalism and ecclesiasticism" which he calls "insufficient reasons for rejecting the union proposals" (WP 23ff). Rather, among his "personal reasons for refusing to enter the proposed union" he notes the emergence of vaunted "new methods" in Christian education, a growing officialdom at head office, and an exaltation of bigness — trends which he thought the new United Church might accentuate, while "the Presbyterian Church, through a new dependence upon God because of its difficulties and weakness, might return to a simpler, stronger and more evangelical preaching"

(118). His test is the office of preaching, or "the church's peculiar witness to Christ; its faith and doctrine" (75). Thus he lamented the Doctrinal Basis of Union because it lacked any "compelling vision of God" or "that vital unity which such a vision inevitably creates" (80). He belonged to that small group of theologians who were dismayed by the lack of theological strength on *both* sides of the 1925 debate, but who rejected the Union proposals as lacking that radical vision characteristic of the historic creeds (including the Westminster Confession), and who hoped that a continuing Presbyterian Church might rise to those former heights of confessional teaching, preaching and life.

It is this context of the need for a confessing church to stand against religious and ecclesiastical errors, in which his high regard for Karl Barth should be placed. It was an unpopular attitude, costing him great enmity and misunderstanding. Philosophers and theologians, his enemies within his Church on right and left, as well as many of his own students, could see only what smacked of the irrational, of paradox, of an existential extremism. Now those charges are not to be dismissed lightly. Like the early Barth, Bryden was indeed fond of the negative pole in the rhythm of what he liked to call "the judging-saving Word" (e.g. *The Christian's Knowledge of God* 131, 135ff, 158; hereafter CKG.) He distrusted every analogy that suggested a natural relationship between man and God in fear that it might deny the divine grace which is sheer *gift*. His jealousy for the divine sovereignty tended to underplay man's role in the divine-human encounter. In this sense he stands in the classic tradition of Protestantism, making one point over and over, taking it as the crucial and decisive point and hedging it on all sides against every attempt to qualify it: "by faith alone, by grace alone, to the Glory of God alone".

Walter Bryden's major book, the essential statement of his theology, is undoubtedly *The Christian's Knowledge of God*, 1940. He develops the familiar Reformation theme: a biblical revelation which "belongs strictly to the apocalyptic, eschatological category of thinking" and calls for a theology which "is concerned alone with a *thinking* which arises out of the most radical of all self-negating human experiences, namely, repentance and confession" (pp 40, 31). His forte is theological epistemology — a theory of knowledge which accepts as primary datum the novelty of a Word from God. This new occurrence calls in question every theory of knowledge which assumes a merely human horizon or which describes man's "openness" to revelation without taking seriously the nature of that revelation itself.

This last point explains why the book's title concerns the *Christian's* knowledge of God.

Bryden's polemic with "natural theology" looms large in the book. He regards it as an extension of the pride of "natural man", thus turning away from the impact of revelation to explore human potentialities — even *religion* (or *especially* religion!) becomes a pretence reducible to a word of man. He sees two chief enemies facing the church of his day: "modernism" and "rational orthodoxy" (cf SG 80ff, 188ff). The modern view relies heavily on a monistic theory which has no room for any other, plus a strong dose of optimistic progressivism. Its reliance on history and "the factual alone" constitutes the "grand fallacy" of the critical-historical method in theology (CKG 24). It reduces everything to an impersonal level, and misses the presence of the Holy Spirit (CKG 30). Lacking the radical knowledge of God's presence through the miracle and mystery of Incarnation, man seeks "points of contact" and various kinds of synthesis (CKG 143).

Rational orthodoxy is especially familiar to Bryden since it constitutes a distinct challenge within his own denomination. It is significant that his quarrel with it is cast in terms similar to those against modernism, for he sees both as "antithetic products of the same rationalizing process ... both have been intent on finding revelation, in two quite different ways it is true, in the letter of Scripture" (CKG 110). By "rational" orthodoxy he indicates that "intellectual assent to propositions" characteristic of its theory of knowledge. Indeed, despite its strengths, the Westminster Confession is "not so much a true 'confession' as a rational explanation of what it deemed to be Reformed theology" and therefore it "inevitably rationalizes the Christian Gospel" (*Significance of* WCF 22, 28). For Bryden such rationalizing tendency compromises the nature of Word of God as event, historical but more than past history; and other than can be summed up in a series of propositions (cf WP 42ff). Against this twin expression of man's trust in the powers of his reason, Bryden set his face despite misunderstanding and unpopularity, from both sides of his church. In his inaugural lecture on installation as Principal, October 1945, he referred to the fact that "much resentment has been aroused because a certain challenging theology of our day has been addressing the Church, Christians and people in general" in terms similar to the text of Isaiah 41:14, "Thou worm Jacob". (He sees that the "Barthian" challenge hits right wing as well as left on the issue of trust in one's reason). Noting the complaint over this apparent

demeaning of man, he asks why the prophets, apostles and saints were so little concerned about "such things as human dignity and human personality". And he concludes that nothing is more needed today "than that the Church might become humble enough that God might be permitted to put teeth in her mouth, that having been made Servant of all men, she might be servile to none" (SG 46f).

Like every prophet with a single burden, Walter Bryden's harping on this note becomes tiresome. Its presupposition is the positive *Yes!* of the Gospel, but because he cannot discern signs of its acceptance clearly, he continues to sound his *No!* Who can deny that the church always needs such a prophet? Who can measure the weight of his burden, the inward pain of the loneliness and alienation which his utterance brings? And who can state that even his own little Church has answered his plea for purification and devotion to this supreme Lord who is jealous of every other loyalty? His single-minded articulation of this theme marks him as one who conveys a spirit, a way of doing theology, rather than a consent, a system of doctrine. He is not the one to solve intricate problems of historical theology, nor the modern question of methodology — even though his pages show evidence aplenty of his reading in church history, and his wrestling with issues of method, especially in religious education and mission.

His earliest book, *The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul* (1925) deserves a word in this brief outline, not least because it presents an aspect of Bryden's thought necessary to recall the mighty positive from which he uttered his prophetic theology. This is a book about experience, about presence, about mysticism. It seems strange to hear Walter Bryden speak so positively about "the mystical", knowing his worry over Schleiermacher's experiential theology, or his rejection of Radhakrishnan's mystical monism. Indeed, he sees (as few besides Karl Barth have) the inner connection between mysticism and rationalism (SG 217). But in St. Paul he finds a Christ-mysticism, a case of Christ's being formed in man by the energy of the Holy Spirit, and he reckons that this is authentic mysticism, and the proper mystery (e.g. pp 77, 244).

By the time of his death in 1952 Walter Bryden had not, like the mature Karl Barth, come to emphasize the positive over the negative, and to talk of "the humanity of God", looking back to the early polemics with a measure of embarrassment. Rather, he maintained his witness to the judgment of God on every human pretension, especially in ecclesiastical and theological dress. He was no systematic

or scientific theologian, but a zealot for God's glory. His zeal was tempered and directed by intelligence and insight; and his lifelong struggle to find words to express the strange raw material of faith reflects an authentic mysticism.

In 1934 he wrote of his hope for a spiritual awakening for his Presbyterian Church, but concluded, "I am not at all certain as yet if that hope is to be realized" (WP 118). Perhaps the hope remains unrealized still, as we continue the old debates over Bible and Confession, and fail to develop common theological agenda. Yet his heritage remains, God's thorn in our side especially during Centennial celebrations: a heritage, a *project*.

One of his favorite poems is apposite, a portrait of the man: "Surely the obscure pastor of Hessen discerned what is the need of the Church today, when he penned the following lines:

> God needs men, not creatures
> Full of noisy, catchy phrases.
> Dogs He asks for, who their noses
> Deeply thrust into — To-day,
> And there scent Eternity.
>
> Should it lie too deeply buried,
> Then go on, and fiercely burrow,
> Excavate until — to-morrow."

(CKG xi)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Spirit of Jesus in St. Paul. London: James Clarke, 1925.

Why I Am a Presbyterian. Toronto: Presbyterian Publications, 1934; Thorn Press, 1945.

The Christian's Knowledge of God. Toronto: Thorn Press, 1940; London: James Clark, 1960.

The Significance of the Westminster Confession of Faith. (address to the 1943 General Assembly, Tercentenary of WCF); Toronto: U of T., 1943.

Separated Unto the Gospel. (collected works edited by D.V. Wade) Toronto: Burns and MacEachern, 1956.