Called to Witness

PROFILES OF CANADIAN PRESBYTERIANS

A Supplement to Enduring Witness

EDITED BY JOHN S. MOIR

VOLUME THREE

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COMMITTEE ON HISTORY
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Table of Contents

Introduction

WITH THIS VOLUME the Committee On History of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada presents a third collection of profiles on Canadian Presbyterians. The selection includes subjects from all periods of Canadian Presbyterian history and from such varied backgrounds as home and foreign missions, education, music, public service and congregational work.

The gratitude of the Committee is expressed to the authors of all articles in Volumes 1, 2 and 3, with particular reference to the last for having waited so patiently for the publication of their papers.

Noteworthy, also, is the work of the Editor, John S. Moir, and the following people who have helped in its preparation for printing: the Rev. Drs. T. Melville Bailey and John A. Johnston.

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)

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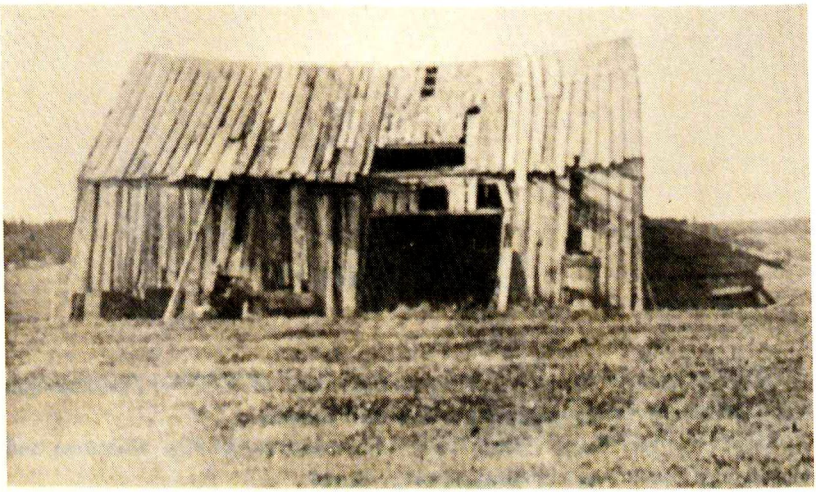
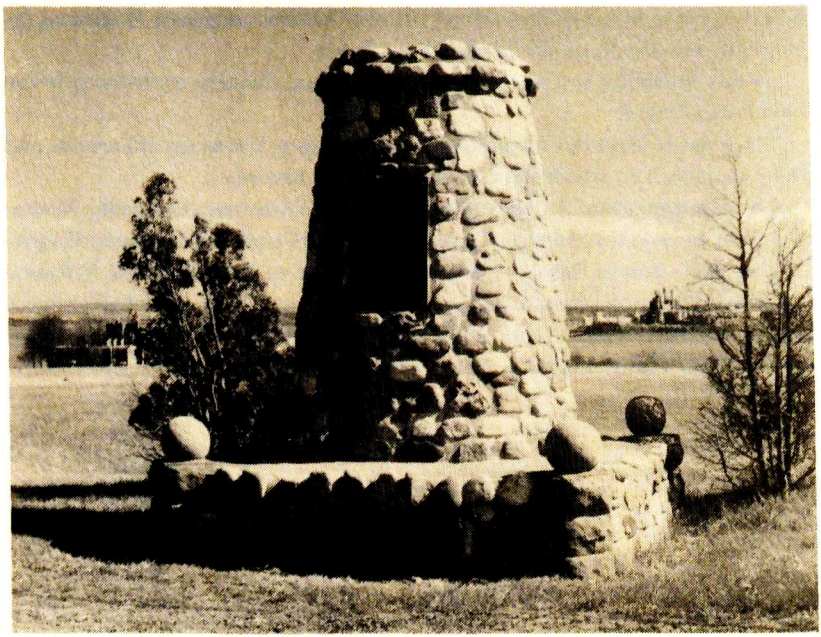


Squire Patterson's Barn
Courtesy The Covenant in Canada



James Drummond MacGregor Cairn
Courtesy of Sheila Klain

James Drummond MacGregor The Pioneer of Pictou

PETER BUSH

ON SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1786, the Reverend James Drummond MacGregor arrived in Pictou Township, Nova Scotia. What he saw discouraged him. Everywhere he looked the forest came down to the sea, broken only by the odd log shack — there was no town, no church, no school, and none of the amenities of Scotland. Years later, when describing his feelings at that moment, MacGregor said, "I looked on myself as an exile from the Church and Society . . . . Nothing but necessity kept me there; for I durst not think of encountering the dangerous road to Halifax again, and there was no vessel in Pictou to take me away." Despite his discouragement MacGregor threw himself into the work in Pictou, ministering there for the next forty-four years to all who came for help, and diligently preaching the message of the gospel.

James Drummond was born in 1759 at Portmore (now St. Fillans), Perthshire, Scotland, into a highland farming and weaving family. The family had been forced to change its name when the Clan MacGregor was proscribed in the wake of the uprising of 1745, but James reassumed the surname "MacGregor" while he was at university. Because James was the only surviving son of this religious family and a child who showed academic promise, his father obtained for him the best possible education in the hope that James would become a minister in the Anti-burgher Secession Church, the religious minority to which the Drummonds belonged. James graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1779, and from 1781 to 1784 he attended the General Associate Hall, the Anti-burgher theological college, at Alloa, and was licensed before the completion of his five-year course. It was at the General Associate Hall that MacGregor, one of the few Anti-burgher ministers fluent in both English and Gaelic, became committed to Anti-burgher church polity.

In 1733 a small group of ministers had split from the Church of Scotland over the patronage appointment of ministers. This was the system by which the laird or patron of a parish appointed the minister rather than the congregation calling one. Only a handful of ministers left the Church of Scotland in 1733, but from these small beginnings the Secession Church grew as more and more disenchanted ministers and congregations left the Church of Scotland. Crisis struck in 1747 as the Secession Church split into Burgher and Anti-burgher camps. The division was over an oath that the burgesses — the town officials of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Perth — were required to take in order to hold office. The oath read,

> Here I protest before God and your Lordship, that I profess and allow with my heart the true religion presently professed within this realm, and authorized by the laws thereof; I shall abide thereat and defend the same to my life's end, renouncing the Roman religion called Papistry.

The Burgher section of the Secession Church understood this oath to be a direct attack on Roman Catholicism and a defence of Presbyterianism broadly defined, including both the Church of Scotland and the Secession Church. The Anti-burgher group disagreed—they saw in the oath an implicit attack on the Secession Church and a defence of the Church of Scotland as the only "true religion . . . authorized by the laws." The Anti-burghers therefore argued that no upstanding member of the Secession Church could take this oath, while the Burgher section believed there was no problem with taking it. This difference of opinion was very much alive thirty years later as MacGregor was licensed by the Anti-burgher General Associate Synod, and it was this debate that was to dominate much of his thinking during the first twenty years of his ministry in Pictou.

The first settlers had arrived in the Pictou area in 1770 from Baltimore as part of a joint-stock settlement venture. Even after the most famous trip of the ship *Hector* from Scotland in 1773 there were still very few settlers in the Pictou region. It was not until the settlement of a Scottish regiment around Pictou and the end of the American Revolution which brought the Loyalists, that the population started to expand significantly. Pictou Township, however, was still without a minister and so in 1784 the settlers in the area petitioned the Anti-burgher Synod for a minister. Not until 1786, however, did the Synod address this request.

MacGregor had spent the time since his trials for license in 1784 preaching in various places in the Highlands of Scotland, but he had not been settled in a charge. In 1786 a call was extended to him by a church near Aberdeen, but the Synod refused to sustain the call and instead MacGregor was appointed to Pictou, Nova Scotia. MacGregor was totally taken aback by this decision to send him there.

> I was thunderstruck by this decision of the Synod, I by no means expected it, though I was not without fears of it. It put me into such a confusion, that I did not know what to say or think. I had considered it a clear case, not to myself only, but to the majority of the Synod, that I was called to preach to the Highlanders of Scotland, and of course I could not be sent abroad . . . . That night I slept none, but tossed upon my bed, till it was time to rise next morning.

In the end he accepted the guidance of the Synod and agreed to go to Pictou — he heard it to be the call of God. The Synod commissioned MacGregor as a missionary to Nova Scotia, telling him "to make Christians, not Seceders," and this was to be the watchword of his entire ministry. On June 4, 1786 MacGregor left Scotland for Halifax.

On his way overland from Halifax to Pictou, MacGregor stopped in Truro and met the Burgher minister, Daniel Cock. Cock invited MacGregor to join the presbytery which was about to be formed by himself and two other Burgher ministers. MacGregor refused to join in communion with these ministers, a decision which meant nine years of isolation from clergy support. MacGregor felt that as a representative of the Anti-burgher Presbytery of Glasgow he could not cross a boundary which existed in Scotland, even if this was the New World. After rejecting Cock's offer MacGregor moved on to Pictou where he was warmly welcomed. On his first Sunday there, July 23, 1786, he preached in both English and Gaelic, much to the delight of the large number of Highlanders in his congregation.

MacGregor threw himself into his work, preaching once in English and once in Gaelic every Sunday. His sermons were vigorous and hard-hitting — he was gifted with great oratorical ability, especially when speaking Gaelic. There was no compromise with sin and often the tone would have sounded harsh, for MacGregor had a capacity to expose the evil that lay in the lives of his hearers. But there was also a message of grace, for MacGregor believed profoundly in the life-changing power of the gospel freely offered to all. Proclaiming this message of judgement and hope, he travelled through his parish. He was on the road six out of every eight weeks from September to June each year — it was the only way he could reach all his congregation.

Travel was difficult because of the poorly constructed roads, the inadequately marked trails and the cold of winter. At first MacGregor went everywhere on foot. Later he acquired a horse, but that was not necessarily an improvement because more than once he was nearly killed when the horse fell through bridges or fell on top of its rider! Travel was especially hazardous in the spring when the ice was unsafe and the woods were still full of melting snow. Even when MacGregor arrived at his destination things were not always easier. The poverty of many of the recently arrived immigrants meant that they had very little to offer the travelling minister by way of food or shelter. Often his bed was simply some straw on the earthen floor in front of the fire, and he was fed the same bread and potatoes on which the Highland families survived. Despite these hardships MacGregor kept going — in fact such difficulties had a beneficial side for they allowed him to identify truly with the people of his mission parish.

This identification carried MacGregor beyond ministering only to Presbyterians. He believed that if he had been called to make Christians and not Seceders, he had a responsibility to preach to everyone who would listen, to talk to any who desired spiritual guidance, and to care for all no matter what their denominational

tie. For the first nine years of his ministry MacGregor was the only settled minister of any denomination in the Pictou area — if he did not care for the members of other denominations no one would. But that did not mean that he believed in dispensing cheap grace. He spent two years preaching and teaching the people of Pictou before he would administer the Lord's Supper to them, and then it was only to those whom he considered fit to receive the ordinance. Each communicant had to be visited and examined, a long and exhausting process under the frontier conditions of Pictou in the 1780s.

Similarly, MacGregor would only baptize the children of Christian parents who had shown that they had some idea of what it meant to bring up a child in "the nurture and admonition of the Lord." In the frontier settlements, where the visits of a minister were few and far between, there would be a backlog of baptisms to be performed and parents expected the visiting minister "to do their children" with few questions. MacGregor's practice of examining the parents of children to be baptized raised a few eyebrows and caused some conflicts. His tough stance against sin also produced tensions. He was particularly harsh on those soldiers who had wives in Scotland but who had long-standing illicit relationships with other women in Nova Scotia. When these "common law" couples wanted their children baptized MacGregor was condemning. This firm stand against sin was something that he took with him wherever he travelled, for he saw his mission as one that extended beyond the boundaries of the Pictou parish.

For the first decade of his ministry MacGregor spent six to eight weeks in July and August of each year travelling outside the Pictou region. He visited Prince Edward Island, and he wended his way up the St. John River valley and along the eastern shore of New Brunswick to the Miramichi. He also itinerated through Cape Breton and the western part of Nova Scotia. Everywhere he went he ministered not only to Presbyterians but to any who desired help. As a result of these journeys, MacGregor saw the great need for Presbyterian clergy, yet his continued appeals to the General Associate Synod and the steady stream of petitions he forwarded from communities desiring ministers produced no results. When ministers were appointed to Nova Scotia by the Synod they refused to go. Also, the Synod did not feel it could afford to send more ministers to the colonies when they were all needed in Scotland!

Finally, in 1793, MacGregor had had enough of the Synod's stalling. He wrote a stinging letter to the Synod in which he outlined the great potential of Nova Scotia, his own loneliness — he was still a bachelor and without ministerial colleagues at the time — and his deep concern about the lack of vision and spirituality among the young Scottish ministers who refused to come to Nova Scotia. This letter did produce a response, and in 1795 two graduates of the Anti-burgher theological hall arrived in Nova Scotia, the start of what became a steady stream of missionaries, one or two each year, over the next decade.

It would be easy to get the impression that MacGregor was a hard man who

had little compassion to show to the members of his congregation. In fact he was a very caring minister who felt deeply the concerns and pains of his own people and those he visited on his missionary travels. He consoled those who had lost husbands, wives or children to disease or accident. His ability to sympathize with the bereaved was heightened after the sudden death of his first wife in 1810, fourteen years after their wedding. (He remarried early in 1812 to the widow of the Rev. Peter Gordon). His care had a practical component — he provided each new immigrant with a shovel and an axe if they did not have these essential tools. He challenged his congregation to offer help to newly arrived immigrants in any way they could. As well, in his visitations he sometimes arrived in the nick of time to provide medical aid — once he managed to abort a suicide attempt by giving the necessary care until the doctor arrived. MacGregor was particularly distressed by the destitute condition of the Roman Catholic Highlanders who started to arrive in Pictou in 1792. His overall concern in all this activity was that the gospel of Jesus Christ might be clearly proclaimed and that men and women would come to see the all-sufficiency of that gospel.

The combination of MacGregor's view of the gospel going beyond the merely spiritual and his unequivocal stance against sin led him, soon after his arrival in Nova Scotia, to publish an open letter to the Rev. Mr. Cock of Truro, who was a slave owner. In this lengthy diatribe MacGregor asserted that all people are created equal by God and to subject anyone to slavery was to deny that equality. Challenging the commonly held biblical defence of slavery, he argued that to see the Bible as supporting this form of oppression was a grave misunderstanding of the gospel. Instead, he insisted, the good news makes all believers brothers and sisters in Christ, and since it is impossible to know who is saved and who is not, it is also necessary to assume that all people are our brothers and sisters. This twist in MacGregor's argument was something novel for Nova Scotia, and as a result the black woman owned by Cock became widely known as MacGregor's sister. MacGregor, however, did more than talk about liberty for the captive — he put his money where his mouth was by spending £20 from his first year's salary of £27 to buy that slave girl's freedom, and using moral suasion he managed to negotiate the release of a black man held by another Presbyterian.

MacGregor's larger view of mission went beyond freedom for blacks — he was deeply committed to improving the economic situation of those around him. He believed that if Nova Scotia could be placed on a firmer economic footing it would be easier to convince ministers from Scotland to come to the colony. Therefore he learned all he could about the latest farming techniques and passed this information to any who would listen. By the turn of the century, however, it had become clear that Scotland would not be able to meet the demand for ministers and so the education in Nova Scotia of a Nova Scotian clergy was proposed. Such a plan demanded economic prosperity for Pictou in

order to support a college.

Some people saw the boom in the timber trade during the Napoleonic wars as the start of just such economic prosperity. MacGregor, however, was concerned by the uncontrolled cutting of the forests to provide wood for the war effort. He saw this as a short-term prosperity, believing that the neglect of farming boded evil for the future of Pictou. Traditional values were being undermined as men were attracted to the quick money that could be made. At the same time, MacGregor was appalled at the way alcohol flowed so easily in the lumber camps. Although he was concerned for the economic well-being of Pictou County, he did not believe that the war-time boom was in the long-term best interests of the community because it encouraged a highly materialistic view of life. Economic success was good, but not at the expense of deeper values.

MacGregor's wider view of the mission of the church also set him apart from his many colleagues in the Anti-burgher Secession church who held much narrower conceptions of ministry. This broader vision was the result of his experiences in Nova Scotia where he had learned that denominations were of little importance to the inhabitants who were so desperate for ministry of any sort. MacGregor, however, was unable to take the next logical step — to bury the denominational differences of the homeland and unite with the other Presbyterian clergy settled in Nova Scotia. The burgess oath was never used in the colony and therefore the Burgher-Anti-burgher division was irrelevant, There were no patronage appointments of clergy in Nova Scotia so the lines between the Secession Church and the Church of Scotland were irrelevant as well. MacGregor, however, could never see the problem this way.

The unity and disunity of Presbyterianism in Nova Scotia was a significant issue throughout MacGregor's career, and it acts as a backdrop against which to understand many of the events of his life. As we have seen, within four days of his arrival in Nova Scotia he had refused to join the Burgher Presbytery of Truro. This led to an exchange of letters between the presbytery and MacGregor which was finally broken off early in 1788, but not before MacGregor has made a very sharp attack on the presbytery. That was how the matter remained until 1795 when MacGregor was joined by his two new Anti-burgher colleagues, John Brown and Duncan Ross, and the three ministers formed themselves into the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia. Almost immediately they were petitioned by the Presbytery of Truro to establish some type of relationship between the two presbyteries. The Presbytery of Truro noted,

> That we do not expect any judicial intercourse between the two presbyteries, only we are to be free to consult with one another on matters of momentous and general concern.

If this had been all that the Burgher clergy wanted perhaps an agreement could have been reached, but they also hoped,

> That ministers and private Christians belonging to the two several presbyteries may hold occasional communion with each other as opportunities serve, and as may best tend to the edification of the Church.

This, however, MacGregor and his colleagues would not agree to. They could not see themselves in communion with those whom they considered to be less pure than themselves. They understood that Anti-burgher laity would attend church and partake of sacraments officiated at by Burgher clergy, and as Anti-burgher clergy they saw no problem in administering the sacrament to Burgher laity — but to join with Burgher clergy was going too far. To do so would be a denial of their theological heritage, a rejection of all that they had been taught. A further problem was that the Presbytery of Truro was pushing too hard for union. Just as in MacGregor had been asked in 1786 to join before he understood the lay of the land, so in 1795 Brown and Ross did not understand that the old country controversies were irrelevant in the New World. They were not ready mentally for such a shift.

Twenty more years passed before another attempt at union was made, and by then MacGregor was the only surviving clergyman who had been involved in the scathing attacks of 1786-88. As well, MacGregor had mellowed from his rigid stand of thirty years earlier. On numerous occasions between 1795 and 1815 ministers from the Burgher Presbytery of Truro and ministers of the Anti-burgher Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia had consulted together on a totally unofficial level. As clergy on both sides learned to live together and became friends it was easier for them to conceive of uniting in one body. On this score the laity were already far ahead of the clergy. For example, following the death of the Rev. David Smith, the Burgher minister in Londonderry, Nova Scotia, the congregation called the minister whom they felt best suited their needs. He happened to be from the Anti-burgher presbytery! This was not a case of the congregation switching sides in the Burgher-Anti-burgher debate, rather it was an example of how unimportant the disagreement was to the laity. In the colony good ministry was more important than the minister's stance on Scotland's burgess oath. Thus by 1815 the only hold-outs against union were the clergy. When the union was successfully completed in 1817, MacGregor was elected the first moderator of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, and he was re-elected moderator in 1824.

The new Synod had hopes of convincing the Church of Scotland ministers working in Nova Scotia to join the union. Although the invitation grew in part out of a genuine desire to see the church unified, there was a more pragmatic reason as well. After 1791 a growing number of the Scottish immigrants to Nova Scotia were from the Highlands, and these recent immigrants believed that the only true Presbyterian church was the Church of Scotland. Therefore friction arose between Secession ministers in the Pictou area and the Highland Church of Scotland laity. The conflict rose to such a pitch that in the mid-1820s there

was a grass-roots attempt to oust MacGregor from his church. He managed to weather the storm only because of his long years of service and his ability to speak Gaelic.

This struggle between the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia and the Highlanders who wanted Church of Scotland ministers was intensified by the entry into the colonies of the Glasgow Colonial Society. The Society, founded in 1825, sent Church of Scotland ministers to colonial areas that did not have access to regular ministry. Because it was based in Scotland the Society depended on information provided by its agents in the field and on the petitions received from Scottish colonists to determine where to send ministers. The Society guaranteed up to £50 of the minister's salary for each of the first three years a minister was in the field, and this allowed areas that could not afford the entire cost of a minister to have one. In a strongly-worded letter to the Glasgow Colonial Society MacGregor argued that while the Society could fill a real need, it was not fulfilling that role but was rather interfering in the affairs of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia. He charged, with some justification, that the agents in the field were not informing the Society of the true situation — that areas which had a settled minister for a decade or more were being reported as unchurched ground.

Referring to the numbers of settlers in the Pictou area and especially to the Highlanders on the edge of his parish, MacGregor told the Society that these people would quite happily take the £50 per year subsidy so that they would not have to support the minister financially. He argued that each charge should support its own minister apart from outside help. He believed that the Society was being used by some petitioners to get a minister cheaply and asked if these settlers would still be loyal to the Society once the money dried up or something better came along. While there was an element of truth in MacGregor's comments, it is hard to believe that they were made without a touch of bitterness, coming as they did in the midst of MacGregor's struggle to hold on to his own congregations.

When union was achieved in 1817 MacGregor had hoped that the way was cleared for a more unified and dynamic ministry and mission for the Presbyterian Church in Nova Scotia. With the establishment of Thomas McCulloch's Pictou Academy, MacGregor's dream of a place to train Nova Scotian-born ministers seemed realized. Also, Pictou had seen significant economic growth, not all of which pleased MacGregor, but growth nonetheless which pointed to a promising future for the region. His hopes that the newly unified church would move ahead to greater effectiveness were, however, dashed in the 1820s by the conflict with the Glasgow Colonial Society. Once again the clash of ideologies brought an end to the dreams for a unified Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia.

James MacGregor did not live to see the end of this later struggle for he died on March 3, 1830. Through his pioneering ministry in Pictou County, he had helped to plant the Presbyterian church in Nova Scotia. He was, according to

one admirer,

> a good preacher, not a reader, Evangelical, Pious and intelligent. Well grounded in Presbyterian principles. Liberal with regard to other denominations, endowed with a considerable portion of a Missionary Spirit and able to undergo considerable fatigue.

MacGregor epitomized the pioneer minister who, despite the rough edges and clashes with his hearers and colleagues, took the gospel to where the people were. In the process he started to reformulate his pastoral theology so that an indigenous Canadian concept of ministry could arise. His struggles to move out of the Old World constructs to meet the needs of the Nova Scotian church provided a model for the Scottish clergy who followed him. The pattern of ministry that he exemplified is summed up by the inscription on his grave stone,

> When the early settlers of Pictou could afford to a Minister of the Gospel little else than a participation of their hardships, he cast in his lot with the destitute, became to them a pattern of patient endurance, and cheered them with the tidings of Salvation.

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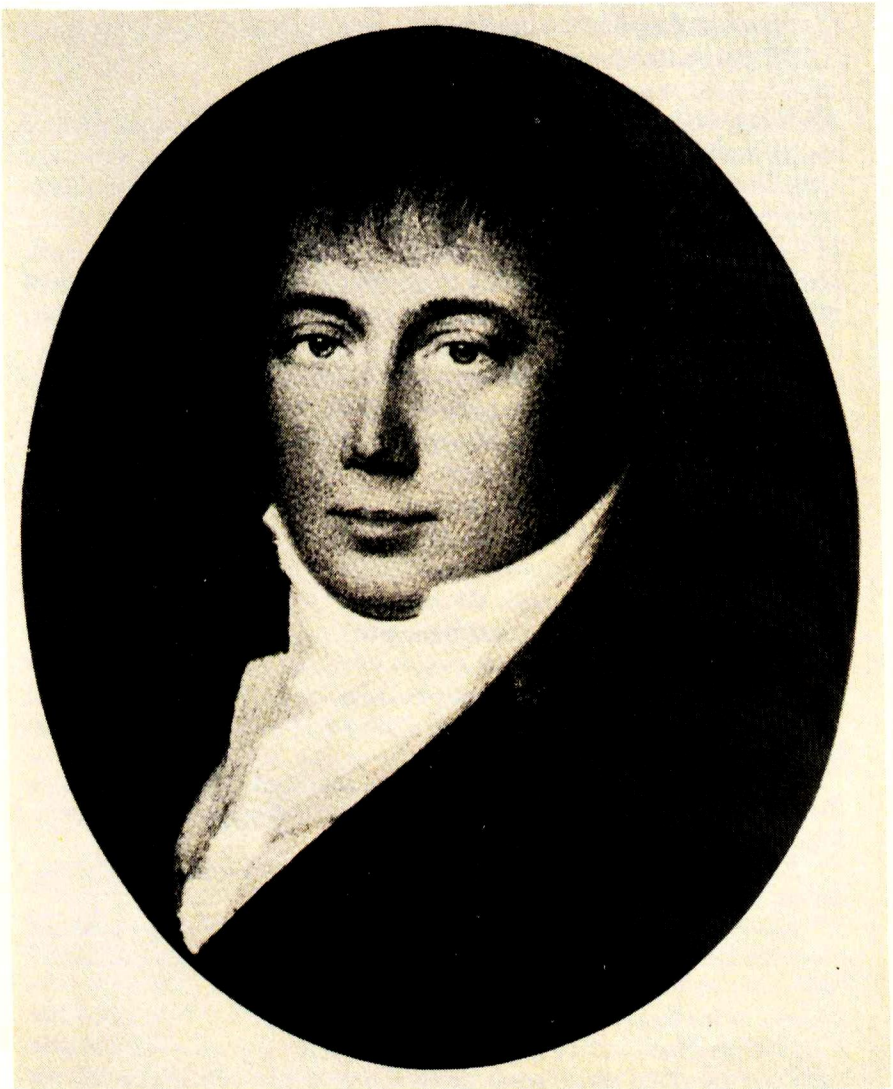

The Reverend Alexander Spark, D.D.

Alexander Spark
A Presbyterian Moderate in Canada

JAMES LAMBERT

THE YEAR IS 1780. A short young man of ruddy complexion and a fresh healthful appearance steps off the ship that has brought him from Scotland to teach young gentlemen classics, geography and mathematics as the only assistant at a Mr. Reid's academy in Quebec City. The new arrival is Alexander Spark whom his tutor, Mr. McLeod of King's College, Aberdeen, has recommended to Mr. Reid as "an excellent mathematician, and a sensible discreet young man." Spark had been born eighteen years earlier in the parish of Marykirk, Scotland. Inquisitive and studious, he had found life agreeable at the highly reputed Montrose grammar school and ultimately had gone on to King's College. He had studied theology with Dr. Alexander Gerard of King's, and with Dr. George Campbell of Marischal College, both highly respected theologians, philosophers and teachers. After completing an M.A. in 1775, Spark had tutored the children of Lord and Lady Gordon of Hullhead until he received the call from Reid.

At Quebec city the earnest young assistant found teaching an exhausting vocation. Before the expiration of his three-year contract he retired to the country and applied himself to learning French. A devout Presbyterian, he had been attending the services of the small "Scotch Congregation" led by the Reverend George Henry, an ordained minister of the Church of Scotland. Early Scottish settlement at Quebec had resulted from the disbanding of British regiments after the Conquest of New France, and the congregation's first minister had been a chaplain of the 78th Fraser Highlanders. Henry had taken up the congregational duties in 1765 and, under the name of the "Scotch Congregation," the membership had become more diversified thanks to the arrival of civil officials and merchants. Henry had assumed the social position expected of a minister of the Kirk, becoming for example the grand chaplain of the Freemasons.

By 1783 Henry was an aging man, and the congregation saw in Spark an eligible successor. That year Spark returned to Scotland to complete theological studies. Ordained a minister of the Church of Scotland by the Presbytery of Ellon, he arrived back in Quebec probably in 1784 and began to assist Henry. By 1789 Spark had taken over all the ministerial duties, but he did not formally succeed Henry until the latter's death in 1795. Spark's succession to Henry was not unanimously applauded; indeed, the evangelical members of the congregation split off and applied to the London Missionary Society for a clergyman. Their leader, John McLaughlin, complained in a oblique reference to Spark, that "the Town Clergy here have the form, but I am sorry to say, they seem to have very little of the power of Godliness."

The London Missionary Society's appointee, the Congregationalist Clark Bentom, arrived in the spring of 1800 and began holding services in his boarding house. He was, noted Jacob Mountain, Anglican bishop of Quebec, "a very young man, but remarkably confident and possessing that noisy & random eloquence which captivates weak & enthusiastic people." Bentom annoyed the ecclesiastical establishment, but he attracted the curious and his congregation quickly outgrew the facilities of his lodgings. He applied to use the room in the Jesuit's college where the Scotch congregation worshipped, but was rebuffed by Spark "as we were Independents and himself [Spark] and hearers Presbyterians." In July Spark warned his congregation not to be carried away by every wind of doctrine. Bentom retorted that the Presbyterian minister "may be in a way as old as Satan's rebellion." By late 1800 Bentom boasted a congregation of some forty Independents, Seceders, Irish Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

Bentom's strict religious views and censorious manner earned him, however, influential enemies among the official class in the small but pluralistic provincial capital, where two qualities were particularly required of the clergy — a respectful deference to the religious authority of the state, and a willingness to co-exist with clergy of other denominations. Bentom instead provoked reaction — in July, 1800 angry Presbyterians obliged him to stop preaching in Lower Town. By 1802 he was losing members as the result of persecution and was obliged personally to seek the protection of the unsympathetic civil authorities. In 1803 he was prosecuted by the attorney general for illegally holding civil marriage registers, and then in 1804-05 he was imprisoned for libel as a result of complaints about the registers case. In 1805, having served his sentence and outlived his usefulness at Quebec, Clark Bentom shook the dust of the town from his feet, and left. That same year Spark married Mary Ross.

This tussle between Spark and Bentom was a colonial skirmish in a broader theological struggle within Presbyterianism, between what are called "moderates" on the one side and "populars" or "evangelicals" on the other. Spark represented the moderates, the Church's intellectual elite, children of the Enlightenment who placed great stock in the capacity of reason to explain, and of moral conduct to improve, the human situation. Bentom and his followers represented the populars who appeared in reaction to moderatism. Offspring of the eighteenth-century evangelical revival, they preached individual experiential faith as the key to transforming the human condition. The moderates were broad-minded and humanist, latitudinarian in doctrine, Erastian in policy. They viewed order as the product of right reason and placed a high value on it in church and government, in exposition (eloquence), in thought (reason itself), and in living (virtue).

The moderates preferred to preach about morals and ethics rather than about faith and doctrine, viewed covenant theology with relative indifference and, in the name of toleration, avoided doctrinal controversy. Two of their

leading spokesmen during Spark's student days had been his professors, Gerard and Campbell, and they and the moderates dominated contemporary theological reflection and teaching. By the time Spark succeeded George Henry and confronted the uncompromising Clark Bentom, however, the evangelical movement was gaining strength steadily in Scotland. At Quebec, however, because of circumstances peculiar to the town and the colony, Spark and other moderates remained influential for the next quarter century.

On his arrival at Quebec in June, 1800, Clark Bentom had taken an evangelical measure of Spark:

> His communion is open to any person who chooses to partake without the least previous notice or regard to their character. His moral conduct seems unimpeachable. Some express great surprise I do not attend him conceiving him a "Very Nice Man". My situation is truly awkward. Most of my hearers are of Mr. Sparks' [*sic*] Congregation. . . . As I have notwithstanding its being denied, great reason to believe Mr. Sparks an Anti-Trinitarian I hope the Society will furnish me with a few tracts on the Divinity of Jesus and the Holy Spirit. I think they would be of service among the Presbyterians who are for the most part very ignorant.

One week later Bentom did "attend" Spark and sharpened the focus of his attack.

> From his discourse I could easily discover him to be no Socinian and with almost as little difficulty determine him a disciple of Arius. He declare[d] Jesus was neither man nor angel but the Son of the Highest. Here he left it. His death, he said, was a propitiation and a more excellent sacrifice than those of the Law. But not one word did he mention concerning the Damnable evil of sin or a guilty conscience or the appraised Justice of God. Salvation he made of works. Yet he did not attempt to stimulate his audience to obedience by such frightful sounds as Hell and Damnation.

As a moderate Spark was indeed relatively uninterested in discussing the nature of the Trinity, the existence of hell, or the avoidance of damnation. He was more concerned with human conduct than with theological considerations. He did not dispute the divinity of Jesus but saw him primarily as "the sacred author of the Christian Law, which is the perfection of moral duty." Moral duty in all fields of human endeavour lies at the heart of moderatism. Spark neatly summed up his theology in 1799 when he told his congregation,

> Religion corrects the irregular propensities of the heart, gives strength and stability to virtuous purposes, and cherishes those dispositions, and that temper of mind, which are most friendly to peace, order and good Government.

Spark shared the *philosophies'* admiration for rational nature because reason is the guardian of virtue and the moderator of passion, while "he who hath resigned the government of himself to the wild suggestions of rebellious appetite, hath bid adieu to freedom, and to all the purest enjoyments of rational nature." His choice of such words as "rebellious" and "freedom" is not fortuitous — the greatest example he can find of the rule of passion is revolutionary and Napoleonic France!

Spark embarked fully in the struggle against revolutionary France. He subscribed to the Association, formed in 1796, to support the war effort. Until 1798, as the guardian of John Neilson, a minor, brother of the late Samuel Neilson and inheritor of Samuel's *Quebec Gazette*, Spark managed and edited the *Gazette* and took advantage of this to reverse the paper's former pro-revolutionary stand. He contributed to a voluntary subscription for the war effort in 1799 and preached sermons in support of Britain. He was named a director of the Quebec branch of the Loyal and Patriotic Association, founded in 1813 to aid needy militiamen and their families. Such activities were appreciated by the civil authorities at Quebec, and Spark did not hesitate to solicit concrete expression of that appreciation.

Spark, because of his moderatism, was equally opposed to passion in religious matters, and in Clark Bentom he found the perfect embodiment of religious "enthusiasm". Religious zeal is not a sudden "feverish hot Fit of religion, that is owing to some extraordinary Ferment or Commotion," Spark argues, but rather a religious principle that is "cooly and deliberately taken up, as 'tis warmly resolutely pursued." Such is the zeal of the "narrow enthusiastical Sects" who pronounce peremptory sentences of damnation. On the other hand moderated zeal, by which is meant not indifference but "meekness, calm & equitableness of Spirit," is to be recommended "to any reasonable man; since 'tis the highest Act of Reason, & not the Effect of enthusiastical Heat, or the effect of mere Passion."

Spark's opposition to religious passion presages his acceptance of the Enlightenment ideal of toleration. Such was the dangerous nature of passion, according to him, that it could even set men against each other "merely for the sake of some *small* and perhaps *unimportant* difference in their religious faith." On the contrary, their religion requires of Christians that they love one another as sharing the same spiritual head, professing the same essential faith cemented by the bond of charity. Any expression of differences "ought to be done with meekness and candour." Distinguishing between the visible and the invisible church, Spark maintains that only the individual can know if he or she is a member of the latter. As for the former, any society of Christians where true doctrine is taught, the sacraments administered, and the decency and order of the apostolic churches observed, is "a true Church of Christ; or rather . . . a branch of the Church Universal." It is a dangerous error, Spark asserts, to suppose "that any one community or division of Christians are to be regarded

as the Children of God, or that this can possibly form the distinction between the righteous and the wicked."

Spark's views on moderation in the expression of religious zeal and toleration were highly acceptable to a government at Quebec charged with maintaining peace, order, and British authority in a colony massively Roman Catholic but officially Anglican. If Clark Bentom suffered persecution at the hands of the town's Presbyterians and of British officials, it was because they, like Spark, believed that lack of religious toleration was "a dangerous error" in a religiously plural society. Spark was normally much more co-operative in his relations with nonPresbyterian religious leaders and groups than he was with Bentom and his followers. About 1814, for example, when the London-based "Committee for promoting the Education of the poor in Upper and Lower Canada" invited Governor Sir George Prevost, Anglican Bishop Mountain, Roman Catholic Bishop Plessis, Spark and other prominent religious and civil figures of Lower Canada to support its efforts, Spark was the only clergyman of the colony to endorse its principles of nondenominational education.

In none of Spark's sermons does he specifically praise the doctrines particularly associated with Presbyterian covenant theology. On the contrary, he is critical of such doctrines as original sin, election, and justification by faith alone. In 1786 he had reluctantly given a series of seven lectures on justification by faith as "one of the first principles, which, once established, we are to leave" in order to pursue moral perfection. He argued that Providence governs man according to two rules: first, that man is a moral agent to be directed only by reason and persuasion, and second, that "the Path of Holiness and Virtue is the only one by which he can be conducted to Happiness." The doctrine of justification by faith without works, he asserted, had been developed during the Reformation in "an unbounded zeal," "rashly & in the heat of controversy." The doctrines of election and original sin he believed to be unworthy of God's justice and inconsistent with man's moral agency.

For Spark, works as well as faith are essential to salvation. Mysticism is, therefore, an aberration. "Where the true Spirit of Christianity dwells, it will be active and fruitful," he argues. "The active and social Duties of religion are therefore of indispensable obligation." To the extent that it was possible at a time when the state did not concern itself with social welfare except in emergencies, Spark therefore nurtured the social conscience of the Scotch Congregation and of its members as individuals. Between 1804 and 1819 the balance in the Congregation's Poor Relief Fund increased tenfold and as the Congregation's minister Spark distributed alms from the fund to the needy of all religious persuasions. In May 1818 he dispensed five shillings "to redeem slaves", and that same year he and George Jehoshaphat Mountain of the Church of England and Joseph Signay of the Roman Catholic Church formed the Committee for the Relief of Sick and Destitute Strangers.

Spark viewed social works as the duty of the individual, or matters of

individual morality, and social problems as matters of moral conduct. He was not concerned with the origins of wealth and poverty (they are ultimately providential), but rather with the moral danger that excessive wealth posed for the rich. Proper outlets for such wealth must be found, and one is personal charity. By this, however, Spark did not mean personal distribution to the poor, which for him is socially ineffective and subject to abuse by recipients. Personal charity is to be dispensed through recognized charitable institutions that ensure effective distribution to deserving subjects and do not encourage laziness and begging.

Obviously Spark and the moderates prefer reason to passion, but had he been a pure rationalist or even a Deist, he and his theology would have been ostracized at Quebec where it was the commonly held view among British civil and religious officials that the rationalist theories of the French *philosophes* and the atheism or Deist religion that those men professed, were directly responsible for the French Revolution. Spark too denounced atheism and Deism as "that *gross darkness* which, under the name of *light*, hath overspread so great a part of the world, and which like a *Satan* in the form of an *Angel* of Heaven, hath infatuated itself into so many Nations."

Spark was convinced that man is incorrigibly given to violent propensities — passions — that make his unassisted reason subject to distortion by vanity, error and deception. Because of this fallibility, Spark asserts that in matters of faith reason requires the guidance of revelation. The importance of reason as a test of faith and revelation leads Spark to the conclusion that reason is crucial in determining the social niche of the Scotch Congregation in Quebec society. Education is therefore essential for the proper application of reason and the proper interpretation of divine revelation. "All persons calling themselves Christians," he argues, "will confess that the improvement of their Minds, in knowledge and Virtue, is the most important Concern, and the most indispensable duty of their lives." As well, beyond the individual need for education, Spark believes, "whatever amelioration is to be expected in the Character & Manners of society" must begin with the education of youth.

Convinced that the colony was woefully deficient in educational institutions, Spark looked to colonial and imperial authorities and to the wealthy of the colony (for whom it was a moral duty) to finance them. He himself took the lead in providing education by becoming a prominent teacher of classics and mathematics in the town. In 1801 or 1802 the provincial government granted him 1,200 acres of land in the Eastern Townships because of his "well-known merit as a Public Instructor of Youth inculcating sound moral and loyal principles." Spark's endorsement of the nondenominational principles of the Committee for promoting Education of the poor in Upper and Lower Canada has already been noted, and his acceptance the following year of an invitation to become a trustee of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning would have given credence to the professed nondenominational character of

that Anglican-dominated body if he had lived long enough to take his seat at the board.

Spark's moderate theology was also acceptable to British colonial authorities because it established religion and the personal morality that flows from it as the bases of stable government. In the moderates' view the Gospels reveal man to be the rational, accountable subject of divine government — a moral creature, capable of choosing good and acting virtuously through reason, or of effecting evil through passion. War and civil strife, for example, were the products of passion because they were forms of divine retribution imposed on man as punishment for vice and for a general depravity of manners that are manifestations of passion. Consequently, "he who is the best Christian is also the best Subject of the State."

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, therefore, the moderate theology of Alexander Spark, in its rejection of passion and religious intolerance and in its promotion of reason (guided by revelation), of education, of individual moral responsibility and of political stability, appealed to concepts familiar to the political and religious authorities at Quebec who were themselves to a considerable degree products of the age of reason. This acceptance of the religious views of its minister had beneficial results for the Scotch Congregation: accommodating to others, it was itself accommodated. These advantages — denied to Bentom and his followers — are not exclusively the product of the accommodating and acceptable nature of moderate theology. They were more immediately products of the increasing economic and social importance of the Scotch Congregation.

Spark's moderate theology was apparently (as Bentom conceded) attractive to most of the practical, hard-working Scots who formed the backbone of this young, ambitious, urban middle-class congregation, composed largely of artisans and merchants. They were more concerned with practical moral living than with "the power of Godliness", and more attentive to the calm voice of reason and persuasion than to "such frightful sounds as Hell and damnation." When Bentom appeared at Quebec in 1800 the Scotch Congregation was a modest but respectable part of Quebec's religious scene, tolerated but barely recognized. Spark, unlike Bentom, was allowed to hold civil registers, but the congregation, with no church of its own, had to worship in a room of the old Jesuit College, most of which was used as an army barracks.

From the time Spark took over the full-time ministry to the Scotch Congregation the congregation experienced a slow and irregular but definite growth in numbers. Comparing 1795 and 1818, baptisms increased from twenty-eight to ninety-nine, marriages from three to forty-six, and burials from fifteen to sixty-eight. Prosperity accompanied this growth, and Spark's income from all sources — fees, subscriptions, plate donations and pew rents — rose correspondingly, while the number of indigent members and the degree of their poverty declined. By 1802 the congregation included several of the town's

leading merchants and several members of the judiciary and administration. By 1805 three members belonged to the Legislative Assembly. As well, through another member, Henrietta Smith, the congregation could count on the influential support of her husband, Jonathan Sewell, who was the attorney general in 1802 and chief justice, legislative councillor and executive councillor by 1808.

Almost from the time Spark succeeded Henry, the Scotch Congregation, as part of the Church of Scotland, had been quietly but persistently agitating for what it considered its legal rights as one of Britain's two established churches. In 1796 the congregation applied to the legislature for a land grant, but without success. In 1802 its members and friends petitioned the king for land on which to build a church "which may appear respectable to their Sister Church of England and to their fellow Citizens, the Roman Catholics." The lieutenant-governor supported their petition — but only as a means of assimilating the congregation into the Church of England, an indication that the Scotch Church had not yet succeeded in imposing its presence on government officials. That petition was lost from view, and in 1807 the commander of the forces in the colony, Isaac Brock, ordered the congregation out of the Jesuit College because he wanted to convert all the rooms into barracks. A stubborn Spark indignantly and successfully resisted until later that year the government accepted his proposal for a land grant in return for the room. In November, 1808 the grant was made, although the government retained a right of approval of the minister who must always be of the Church of Scotland. Two years later, on a cool and cloudy 30th of November, the Scotch Church was dedicated to St. Andrew.

The success of the Scotch Congregation in establishing its place among Quebec's religious institutions was due in part to an accommodating theology and in part to its own growth and the importance of its members. It was also due, however, to the personality and social activities of Alexander Spark. Spark was not an ambitious man but he was extremely conscientious. In a ministry lasting almost a quarter century, he left his post only twice for a total of twenty days while attending to church business in Montreal. In the fifteen years that one member of the his congregation knew him, Spark was never absent from the pulpit at the hour of divine service. Spark enjoyed the privacy of his study, and in social relations he was reserved and polite. He had a small circle of friends, chosen independently of their religious convictions, with whom he read and discussed political events and intellectual matters. He was a man of order, and to that characteristic can be attributed an extraordinary organizing ability.

Perhaps it was this tendency to order, along with his faith in reason, that explains Spark's love of science. From December 1798 until his death twenty-one years later he recorded the temperature at 8.00 a.m. and at 2.00 or 3.00 p.m., along with the barometric pressure, wind direction, cloud condition and precipitation. He was also an astronomer and botanist; he performed electrical experiments, and sought out cures for many local health disorders. Like so many

intellectuals influenced by the Enlightenment, Spark had an encyclopedic interest in knowledge. He was as attracted to the humanities as to science. His personal library, one of the largest in town, contained more than 850 volumes in English, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Apart from philosophy and theology, he wrote on history, music, education and literature, and translated classical authors. He translated the early Christian fathers into English and was well versed in the controversy over deism. "Not meanly skilled in letters," according to the *Quebec Gazette*, Spark wrote his sermons with ease and almost mathematical order — nothing was improvised.

Spark's sermons reflect the theological studies that earned him a D.D. from the University of Aberdeen in 1804. They also reflect his religious conservatism. "In matters of religion, as well as in politics," he told his congregation,

> a spirit of innovation appears to have gone abroad in the world, which, under the pretence of rectifying abuses, labours to subvert all established order; and it is a matter of regret that this spirit has met with too much countenance and encouragement. Christians ought to know there is nothing new to be expected in religion.

Of his 650 sermons, Spark wrote 500 between 1786 and 1805, and most were given with little apparent alteration several times before 1819. There was little evolution in the thought of Alexander Spark.

In the small provincial capital that was Quebec in the early nineteenth century, a man of Spark's intellectual attainments naturally occupied a social position of some distinction, and this personal position helped to establish the position of his congregation. John Lambert, a visitor to Quebec in 1806, found there "three distinct divisions of society, which contrive to keep at a respectable distance from each other." Spark occupied the second level, immediately below the highest civil and military officers and the town's two bishops. He had replaced Henry as grand chaplain of the Freemasons, was invited to the governor's levies, and participated in the political, educational and charitable associations that the town's elite organized. He was the eleventh person admitted to the exclusive Quebec Benevolent Society, a self-help insurance association where entry was by election.

Outside Quebec, Spark was prominent in the earliest efforts to establish the superstructure of Presbyterian government in Canada. Having emigrated as a youth and adapted to Canadian circumstance, he saw no sense in importing the numerous divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism. In 1793, along with John Bethune of Upper Canada and John Young of Montreal, he formed the short-lived Presbytery of Montreal. Ten years later he and Bethune formed another Presbytery of Montreal to ordain James Somerville, a licentiate of the Relief Presbytery but a protege of Spark. Possibly from poor health but possibly also for fear of jeopardizing the government salary that the minister of the Scotch

Congregation enjoyed by then, he did not join with the four Secessionist ministers who in 1818 formed the colonies' first durable presbytery, the Presbytery of the Canadas.

In the early afternoon of March 7, 1819 Alexander Spark collapsed in the street, felled by "an apoplectic fit." His loss was immediately felt by the congregation, and it resolved to call as his successor an experienced minister of the kirk who could

> in all subordinate duties of the situation, conduct himself with that exemplary degree of respect and good will observed and invariably attended to by the late Doctor Spark, whose loyalty to his Sovereign, and respect for the public laws and customs were always conspicuous, and whose intercourse with the Clergy and Citizens of different persuasions, was always social, gentlemanly, and friendly.

This resolution reflects the congregation's awareness that it owed its success to the ability of Alexander Spark, through his religious views and his social position, to accommodate the predominant religious institutions at Quebec, and to make them accommodate him and his Scotch Congregation.

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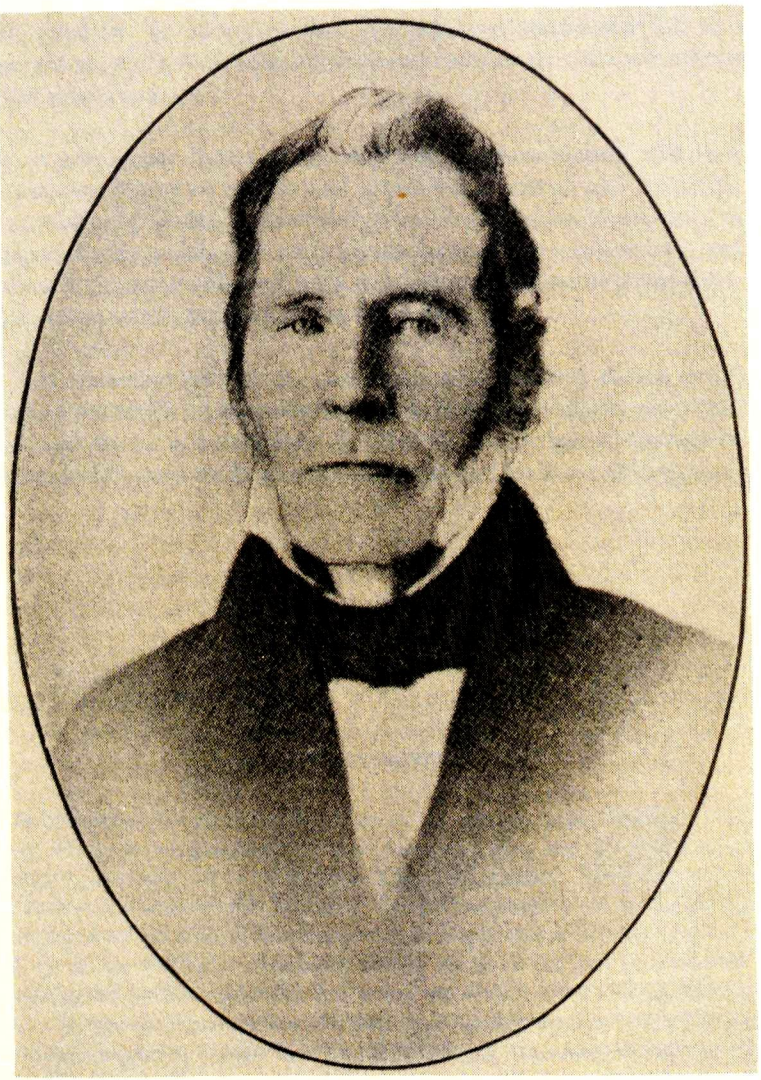

William Proudfoot

William Proudfoot
A Many-Sided Missionary

STEWART D. GILL

ONE OF THE EARLIEST PRESBYTERIAN SPOKESMEN to address the need for a Canadian church with Canadian-trained ministers was the Reverend William Proudfoot. As such he has been described as a quintessential example of a Scottish immigrant in mid-nineteenth century Upper Canada who was self-consciously aware of a developing sense of Canadian identity. While this may be his principal monument, he also contributed in many other ways to the growth of the Presbyterian cause in the early nineteenth century.

Proudfoot's formative years were spent in Scotland and it was not until the age of forty-four that he emigrated to Upper Canada. He was born on May 23, 1788 in Manor Parish near Peebles, and was educated at Lanark grammar school and Edinburgh University. Although raised in a society where the shepherd was king, Proudfoot was called to be a shepherd to a different kind of flock, and in 1807 began theological training under the Reverend George Lawson of Selkirk. Lawson was one of the leaders in the Secession Church on the "New Light" side who favoured a more liberal approach to the standards of the church while also vigorously encouraging the adoption of a voluntarist stand in Church and State relations. Proudfoot's teacher ushered in a new era in the life of his denomination and his impact upon his students was great.

After spending four summers at Lawson's school, Proudfoot was licensed on April 6, 1812 to preach what he called the "Glorious Gospel" by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh. In August 1813 he was finally ordained, inducted into the charge of Pitrodie in the Carse of Gowrie, between Perth and Dundee, and a year later he married his lifetime partner, Isabel Aitchison of Biggar. Pitrodie had been without a permanent minister for over thirteen years, and Proudfoot rose to the challenge of recommencing the work. By the time he left in 1832 a new church had been built to seat 320 people and he had established a private school.

The year 1820 saw the "New Light" secessionists of the Burgher and Anti-burgher synods unite to form the United Associate Church. The "New Lights" rejected the views of the "Auld Lichts" within the Original Secession Church who held that the civil magistrate had a duty to impose the true faith on the people. This union was of great significance to Proudfoot because in the period 1820 to 1830 the new church began to perceive a greater need for missions. Initially all resources were directed to home mission work, but by 1831 the church had resolved to extend its work overseas. Since the mid-eighteenth century secessionists had been involved in missions to the North American colonies and a decision was taken to expand in that direction. William Proudfoot

of Pitrodie, Thomas Christie of Holme, Orkney, and William Robertson of Cupar, Fife, were chosen to be sent as missionaries to Upper and Lower Canada. The first two were destined to shape the face of the Secession mission in Canada, but Robertson died of cholera shortly after his arrival in Montreal.

Proudfoot established a work in the growing settlement of London in the southwestern region of Upper Canada which continues today as New St. James Presbyterian Church. His influence was not, however, restricted to one area but was wide-ranging throughout the church and the province. Upper Canada was ripe for missionary work when Proudfoot and Christie commenced their labours. The period of the 1830s was a time of rapid population growth, especially in the southwestern portion of the colony. Government officials encouraged the settlement of loyal British citizens in that region in order to counterbalance the presence of American settlers. Consequently during the first few years of the mission the church appeared to grow rapidly and by December, 1834, when the first presbytery was formed, there were eleven ministers in its membership. After this initial success, however, the mission had to face a number of problems that inhibited its growth, and during this decade of testing from 1835 to 1845 Proudfoot provided vital leadership for the church.

One of the major problems for the colonial churches during this period was a lack of ministers. While many in the mission recognized that they faced a crisis in the shortage of ministers, many also saw that the ethnic boundaries which appeared to restrict the denomination's outreach to Scots had to be overcome. The Reverend James Dick, writing in 1842 to the Scottish church, defined the seceders as, "chiefly, if not altogether, people from the lowlands of Scotland, and from the north of Ireland." He predicted that there would be no change in the mission until the people in the preaching stations were transformed from Scottish to Canadian or American. Other missionaries believed that the message of the evangel should not be restricted to the Scots merely because their denomination in the past had been a Scottish institution. Neither should they wait for the composition of their congregations to change, but they should be actively engaged in mission, seeking conversions outside the Scottish cultural islands.

Proudfoot had his own view on what was the best solution for the shortage of ministerial supply. This was the creation of a Canadian college in order to educate Canadian ministers. In 1839, however, when he first proposed the idea of a theological college it was not in order to create an autonomous Canadian clergy with a distinctive identity from the Scottish church, but rather as a matter of expediency. He wrote to the Scottish synod in his capacity as presbytery clerk outlining the position of the mission on the necessity of obtaining more ministers, and the proposal to establish a college. The solution proposed by the United Associate Synod was to attempt to induce Scottish probationary ministers to become missionaries.

Writing in 1841 to a friend in New York State, Proudfoot predicted that

this system adopted by the Scottish church to supply preachers would be a failure, and that eventually the mission would be forced to rely upon its own resources. His words were prophetic, and at the 1844 meeting of the Missionary Synod the debate returned to the issue of a college and the Committee on Education finally recommended the creation of a Canadian Divinity Hall. As the elder statesman of their Canadian Church Proudfoot was appointed to be the first professor.

In justifying the Hall to the Scottish Church Proudfoot resorted to biblical precedent, and reminded them of the New Testament examples of church planting where the apostles and evangelists ordained a native ministry in every city that they visited. He also added an appeal in this letter for the broadening of the mission, a subject that concerned him until the end of his life. "The sooner, therefore, we strip our church of its exclusive character," he wrote, "the better it will be for our success; and one of the most direct ways of doing this is the employment of a native ministry."

While the college was situated in London there were never more than four students enrolled at any one time, and consequently it could never fill the requirements of the growing mission. Proudfoot, however, continued to promote his vision of a native ministry and was prompted to write of this in an oft-quoted letter of 1846 to David Anderson, a commissioner of the Scottish Church.

> I shall not be surprised if you return home without knowing that Canadians have a national character of their own. England, Ireland, Scotland, Germany and France, and the United States have each contributed a portion of its own national character to the Canadian, and the compound made of these elements is unlike them all. Now to full efficiency in Canada a minister must be Canadian. An imported preacher is a foreigner, and never will enlist in his favour the sympathies of the general community. It has been a great hindrance to our success that we have kept up the Scotch character. We are too Scotch — our habits, our brogue, our mode of sermonising are all too Scotch. The thistle is everywhere seen; we have effected no lodgement in the public mind . . .. As at present constituted our mission is a foreign affair. And it will be so till we employ the country-born, divest it of Scotch character and make it Canadian.
>
> I beg that you will also take into consideration that the connection of Canada with Britain is merely a question of time. The whole course of events since I came to the country and especially since the rebellion has been towards a separation from the Mother country and what will become of the principles of the Secession if that event should take place and we have not a native ministry.

This early articulation of a perceived Canadian "identity" had one immediate effect. It pricked the conscience of the Scottish Church and resulted in the sending in 1847 of five Scottish ministers into the Canadian field.

As the Canadian Secession Church's first professor of theology, Proudfoot was particularly concerned that the courses taught should be suitable for Canadian conditions, but at the same time should reflect the rich heritage of the Secession's beliefs. He wrote to the mission committee of the home synod that the curriculum of the Divinity Hall "is a peculiar one, suited to our circumstances." Conscious of the comparisons that would be made with the Scottish system of theological education he remarked to a commissioner sent from the Scottish Church that, based upon his own theological training in Scotland, the new Hall provided as good, if not better, education than that given anywhere, even in the home of the Secession.

What one author calls "the pragmatic philosophy of the frontier" influenced Proudfoot's method of teaching and put a different perspective on priorities from his Scottish counterparts. He thought that it was important that a Canadian student be as familiar with a plough and livestock as with Greek and Hebrew lexicons. While the latter might be used to prepare sermons, it was likely to be by the former that a student would survive as a frontier minister! The curriculum at the Hall and the method of teaching was based, however, on the Scottish system. Proudfoot had the students live with him and so was able to look after their moral, spiritual and educational needs.

The curriculum was divided into three parts and attempted to combine the general liberal education of university with the specialized theological studies of a divinity school. The students commenced their studies with the classical languages and literature, especially Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as a preliminary to understanding the doctrines of the Bible in its original languages. The second part included a perusal of philosophical literature, both logic and moral philosophy, and probably the teachings of Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and the Scottish "common sense" school. Finally, Proudfoot taught theology which he defined as "the opinions of those who have been eminent for their scripture knowledge." As with all levels of education he believed that it was more important to teach the methods of acquiring knowledge rather than merely providing a list of facts. True education existed for him in stimulating the student to ask questions and to create an environment which would lead to an inquiring mind. In 1850 the Hall moved to Toronto in order to take advantage of the newly-established University of Toronto, and Proudfoot was relieved from teaching the liberal arts part of the course.

The second area in which Proudfoot had an influence upon the Church was through his publications. In January 1843, the first number of the short-lived *Presbyterian Magazine* appeared as an expression of the Canadian Church's views, instigated and edited by William Proudfoot. The editor was eminently qualified for the role, having had experience of writing editorials for a number

of newspapers in the southwest area, including *The London Inquirer* which printed the new magazine. *The Presbyterian Magazine* followed the format of *The United Secession Magazine*, published in Scotland, with articles of a theological nature or reports from presbyteries or the synod.

By December 1843 the editor of *The Presbyterian Magazine* had put away his pen and the presses had ceased printing. The disillusioned and disgruntled ex-editor wrote in his diary, "It was too dear, and many of the articles were too heavy." The magazine does, however, provide a good source for the study of Proudfoot's theology. Although he was professor of theology and editor of the denomination's journal, he had no original scheme of theology, and he wrote no great treatises on doctrinal subjects. On doctrinal and theological issues the Bible was always his source of inspiration. He believed that all teaching had to be measured by Scripture, and that all controversies about the nature of man, his sin and his salvation must be settled by exegesis of Scripture.

Proudfoot's perspective on theology and ecclesiology of the Church was made clear in the very first issue of the *Magazine*. To begin with, the Missionary Presbytery of the Canadas accepted verbatim the doctrines and standards of the Scottish Church. "Her doctrines," he wrote, "being simply Scripture statements, embracing all that the Word of God teaches and nothing more." According to this article, the principal problem of each age was that particular doctrines have been promoted by different denominations often working against each other. These creeds were frequently more a reflection of some secular philosophy than "founded in all its leading principles on the New Testament." "The Church," he concluded, "is in the most healthy state when the whole system of Revelation is brought to bear in all its entireness, on the minds and hearts of the Christian people." It would appear from these statements that he was beginning to move away from a belief in the importance of the Westminster Confession of Faith as the subordinate standard of the church.

Proudfoot believed that far too much time had been spent in theological debate among Protestant denominations. Their divisions detracted from what he saw as the main task of facing up to the Roman Catholic Church. With each denomination contending for what they held to be the "truth", sectarian divisions were created. Denominations that had previously united to form missionary societies were now dividing into separate and rival mission boards. Proudfoot did not advocate any form of organic ecumenism in order to form a "nominal" union, and he believed that Church union would be achieved only when Christ returned. He insisted that mankind must be converted and that Christians should be striving for personal holiness. Nevertheless,

> In present times, then, it is best for the Churches to maintain, and to contend for, the truths, to which they have attained: and if they be conscientious and spiritual, they will approximate more and more, and

circumstances will no doubt occur in the orderings of Providence, which will in due time, bring together all who love the truth, and remove whatever blindness adheres to them.

Proudfoot did see one particular aspect of the Secession's belief, namely voluntaryism, leading towards a form of church unity as those churches that believed in the separation of Church and State were pushed closer together. Voluntaryism probably enhanced the success of the mission as it suited frontier conditions and was compatible with the theology of other dissenting sects on the mission field. According to an article published in *The Presbyterian Magazine*, voluntaryism was the final act of the Reformation. As the Reformation had taken "out of the hands of Rome that power by which she perverted the Word of God, voluntaryism took "out of the hands of the kings of the earth that power by which they have secularized the Church." The Reformation that had started with Martin Luther driving the first nail into the church door in Wittenberg would be completed as the final nail was driven into the coffin of Church establishment on the frontier of Upper Canada.

The third area in which Proudfoot had a leading role was on this issue of church union. The events of the Disruption in the Church of Scotland in 1843 reinforced the views of the supporters of conservative theology in Scotland and Canada. Ministers of the Secession church in Scotland looked upon the new schism as having justified their own principles on church-state relations. In Upper Canada ministers of the Secession welcomed the arrival of the Free Church as providing them with support in the evangelical cause. When the Presbyterian Church of Canada (Free Church of Scotland) was created in 1844, Proudfoot decided that it was against the interests of the gospel for two evangelical presbyterian bodies to remain separate and in conflict with each other, especially in the colonial situation. At his urging denominational concerns were thrown aside and he led a committee consisting of Robert Thornton of Whitby and John Jennings of Toronto to greet the new Free Church Synod which met in Toronto that year. Despite some suspicion on the part of the Free Church, a union negotiating committee was appointed.

Two years later, in 1846, the Reverend Alexander Gale, convener of the Free Church's union committee, reported to his synod that the main stumbling block to union appeared to be the voluntary principles to which the United Secessionists adhered. The Free Church's position was that Christ was King of the nations and as such they looked to the state for financial support without state interference, while the Secessionists believed that there should be no link whatsoever between church and state. Although by separating from the Church of Scotland the Free Church had excluded itself from state financial support and a share in the Canadian Clergy Reserves income, the Free Church could not tolerate the denial of Christ's headship of the state. To do so, the leadership of the Free Church Synod argued, would be tantamount to making Canada a

Godless state.

On the occasion of Gale's report, Dr. Robert Burns of Knox Church, Toronto, former secretary of the Glasgow Colonial Society, poured out a fiery tirade against the idea of union with the United Presbyterians as the Secession Church was called after 1847. Burns' view of British North America, like that of most of the older clergy who migrated from Scotland, had already been shaped before he arrived. While Proudfoot viewed the country as having a separate cultural identity from Britain, Burns looked upon it as merely an overseas extension of Britain. As a minister of the Free Church in Canada his view had not changed. Burns' opposition to union was eventually dampened and then extinguished by the laity of the Free Church who led the movement to a voluntarist position.

The leader of this acceptance of the voluntary principle was, ironically, George Brown, an active member of Burns' own congregation. George Brown and his father, Peter, spearheaded the laity's fight for voluntaryism through their newspaper, *The Banner*. It would be wrong to give the impression that all Free Church ministers opposed voluntarism and all laity favoured the principle. The Reverend Andrew Ferrier, minister at Caledonia, Upper Canada, was expelled from the Free Church Synod for holding voluntarist views. The older ministers, however, could not hold the flood of non-existent state support forever against the voluntarist sentiment, especially among the laity. In 1854 *The Canadian Presbyterian Magazine* announced that the Free Church was now completely voluntary.

It has been suggested that Proudfoot was instrumental in this by influencing leaders like George Brown to adopt a voluntarist position, and as far as union negotiations are concerned the importance of Brown's link with Proudfoot cannot be completely dismissed. Early in 1846 the two men had met several times to talk about *The Globe* and political issues, and it is difficult to imagine that the religious affairs of the province were not discussed during these encounters. On January 15, for instance, they met specifically to talk about union between the Free and Secession churches, and on the 23rd they met again to discuss raising petitions against Anglican control of King's College (the later University of Toronto) and of the Clergy Reserves. As Maurice Careless has pointed out in his monumental biography of George Brown, Brown's politics were affected by his religious convictions and this is nowhere more clearly seen than in his campaigns to abolish the Clergy Reserves and separate schools in the colony. On these issues Brown was taking the same stand as Proudfoot, and they worked happily together as friends.

The Canadian historian John Moir has written that by 1850 negotiations between the two churches were virtually abandoned. In 1851, however, Knox Church, Toronto, discussed the issue of union at their annual congregational meeting, the initiative obviously coming from the congregation and not from Dr. Burns who vehemently opposed ecumenism, even with another branch of

Presbyterianism. It took another ten years after Proudfoot's death in 1851 before the issue was resolved and the two churches united in the creation of the Canada Presbyterian Church. "Within one generation of the Disruption," Moir has noted, "the bald facts of Canadian religious and political life had made the Free Church's traditional opposition to voluntaryism so meaningless that Presbyterian church union could be achieved by a statement on church and state that meant whatever each party wanted it to mean." Proudfoot demonstrated his statesmanship as the initiator of the moves that would eventually lead towards union.

Early in January 1851 Proudfoot returned to Toronto from his home in London to commence a new term at the Divinity Hall. In Toronto he caught a cold and died a few days later, on January 16, because of complications. He was lauded in obituaries as a many-sided missionary. His good friend, George Brown wrote in *The Globe*,

> William Proudfoot was a man of great strength of mind, of clear and acute judgement, calm and resolute in thought and action. His mind was of an order to have achieved for its possessor high eminence in any pursuit. A firm friend, a wise counsellor, an upright citizen, a kind parent, and a devoted Christian — there are few such men as William Proudfoot.

An old Scottish friend, John McKerrow, the historian of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church's missions, paid his own tribute, calling Proudfoot "an accomplished scholar, a sincere Christian and a faithful devoted minister of the gospel."

Proudfoot's influence pervaded the church beyond his own times as his students took up positions of responsibility in the new united church. His son, John J.A. Proudfoot, and William Caven became the leading lights at Knox College, Toronto, and Donald H. MacVicar became professor and principal of the Presbyterian College, Montreal. Proudfoot recognized early on that maintaining a facade of Scottishness would isolate the church from the developing Canadian community, and he provided a vision of a united evangelical and distinctively Canadian Presbyterian church which he passed on to his students. Those students would have the honour of leading their church into the unions of 1861 and 1875, but the Reverend William Proudfoot, the many-sided missionary, was the true prophet and initiator of the union movement. While he himself could not escape his Scottish background he contributed to Canadian Presbyterianism and the Canadian nation a vision of a united Church and a united State.

Proudfoot's papers are divided between the University of Western Ontario Archives and The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives housed at Knox College.

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Charles Chiniquy
Courtesy of Paul Laverdure

Charles Chiniquy
A Wandering Life

PAUL LAVERDURE

WHO WAS CHARLES CHINIQUY? A French-Canadian Roman Catholic saint? A money-grubbing, womanizing hatemonger? An American Protestant reformer? Was he all of these or none? It is so hard to describe him — he adopted so many roles in his eighty-nine-year life that at times one wonders if he himself knew who he was. Every newspaper of the second half of the nineteenth century threw up different pictures of this man who spent a considerable time in front of photographers and painters. Fascinated by his activities, many Canadian Presbyterian newspapers, such as Halifax's *Presbyterian Witness*, Toronto's *British American Presbyterian*, and important secular papers such as the *Montreal Witness* (operated by the Presbyterian John Dougall) displayed Chiniquy's letters and articles about him on the front page for months at a time. It even became difficult for the Canada Presbyterian Church, which he joined, to decide if he was a Presbyterian. There was no doubt, however, that Chiniquy made great headlines and magnificent speeches. Together Chiniquy and Canadian Presbyterians formed an uneasy alliance until his death. The questions, then, are: which was the real Charles Chiniquy, and what influence did he have on Presbyterianism in Canada?

Chiniquy was born in 1809 into a French Roman Catholic family in Kamouraska, Quebec. Beyond this point, proof for Chiniquy's own statements, until documented by his public career, is not easy to find. Probably he enjoyed a privileged and literate childhood that left him, at the death of his father in 1821, with high ambitions and oratorical talent. Chiniquy was then taken in by a wealthy uncle who financed his studies until some difficulty between them forced Chiniquy to throw himself on the kindness of his teachers, the priests of Nicolet. His relatives claimed that his uncle ordered Chiniquy out when he attempted something with a pretty cousin. Was his crime only a kiss or was it more? Or was it, as some records suggest, just a matter of someone else's money which Chiniquy had squandered, thus angering an uncle generously paying for an expensive education? This early hint of later financial and moral scandals had wafted into a life otherwise so promising. Chiniquy preferred to say nothing, ever, about the entire episode.

Chiniquy's career flourished as he won prizes in oratory and, after more study and soul-searching, was ordained in 1833. Transferred from one congregation to another within the Diocese of Quebec, he arrived in 1838 as the successful priest in charge of Beauport, a lovely, rich suburban parish near Quebec City. From his school days to Beauport, his colleagues had developed two opinions about him: he was either another saint in the making or he was an accomplished

hypocrite ambitiously striving for the richest parish possible. After Chiniquy arrived in Beauport, the records of his activities become clearer. He started to make a name for himself as an effective, zealous speaker in a large diocese which already contained several of the best orators of French Canada. Although he made the occasional foray into controversial theology — he claimed to have converted several Protestants — he specialized in temperance.

By 1842 Chiniquy was T-total, dead-set against drinking any alcohol, and was preaching that theme in neighbouring parishes. He was not the first priest to attack the out-of-control nineteenth-century drinking habits of North Americans, but he was outstanding in his fierce denunciations. Drunkenness, he thundered, was on a par with "immoralities of the most degrading kind." Sweeping into a new town armed with the permission and the enthusiastic help of the priests, holding high a stark, black temperance cross, 'Little Father Chiniquy' (he stood five foot, five inches) would make theatrical entrances and jump up and lean over the pulpit to drive his hearers into a frenzy of repentance. Alcoholic beverages were "cursed in hell, in heaven and on earth", and were called "the most formidable enemy of our dear country and our holy religion" because "alcohol kills the body and damns the soul of its blind victim."

Chiniquy later claimed, wrongly, that he was threatened with excommunication if he continued his T-total campaign. Records in the Roman Catholic Archives of Quebec say that the bishop only wanted Chiniquy to emphasize sobriety based on religious principles more than T-totalism on medical opinions. After all, drinking was not an evil in itself, but the misuse of alcohol was. Perhaps, the bishop suggested, Chiniquy could also avoid vulgarity. The French press, promoting a revival of the Roman Catholic religion after the aborted Lower Canadian Rebellions, did not denounce Chiniquy but praised him. After massive political and military failures, the French-Canadian people turned to the clergy for leadership and new hope for some kind of success. Chiniquy, among others, seemed to offer both in his temperance work. Vulgar as he may have been, Chiniquy was also successful in preaching to the masses as well as in hobnobbing with the great Bishop Forbin-Janson from France and with Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal.

In the middle of this success, Chiniquy was suddenly transferred back to his home parish, Kamouraska. One unreliable document claims that some sexual scandal in Beauport forced the move. Chiniquy's letters of the time show that he had wanted the Kamouraska post, but an older priest stayed on, so Chiniquy seemed to be under surveillance. On top of this, many members of his family in Kamouraska remembered Chiniquy's youthful escapades and doubted his sincerity. The move was a comedown. The life of a wandering preacher became more attractive; he took every chance to preach T-totalism elsewhere than in Kamouraska. Perhaps he was given such a minor post to free him for travel?

Chiniquy now published his popular and inexpensive book, *The Manual of the Temperance Society* (1844, in French), filled with stories of deaths, murders

and the damnation of drinkers, in order to convince his readers of the need for temperance. From 1844 to 1846, Chiniquy's star again began to rise. Then, in 1846, Chiniquy resigned from his parish to join the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in the Diocese of Montreal. The Oblates were a dynamic missionary order, recently arrived in Canada and also involved in temperance work. Many parishioners saw this as further proof of Chiniquy's humble self-denial. It seemed only right that a great speaker who obviously loved to travel should join a missionary order so that the entire Church could hear him. Some of his colleagues knew, however, that Chiniquy was about to be summoned before the Quebec ecclesiastical court to be suspended for moral failings, and some went so far as to state they knew which women Chiniquy had seduced.

One can only assume that his ill-fame had not reached the Oblates, nor the ultramontane Bishop Bourget of Montreal. With Montreal willing to give Chiniquy another chance, the Quebec diocesan court never convened and the charges remained rumours, never silenced nor proven. Because Chiniquy was an experienced parish priest, he was deputized within days to a parish near Montreal and again took up his temperance speeches. His humble monastic retreat lasted only a few months — the Oblates found him so proud and involved in political intrigues that they unanimously asked him to leave. Chiniquy later claimed he voluntarily left a corrupt and disgusting monastery.

Bourget allowed Chiniquy to continue his temperance preaching, now armed with a gold temperance cross brought from Rome by Bourget and blessed by Pope Pius IX. Chiniquy's oratory was perfected in hundreds of whirlwind campaigns. Weeping thousands came forward to take the pledge. The hysteria and the numbers reported almost daily in the press would have made any modern television evangelist gasp with envy. Did Chiniquy believe what he preached? Probably he did, but more importantly, others believed and stopped drinking, and that is what counted in the temperance campaign. In 1849 Chiniquy received over fifty thousand pledges, a gold medal dedicated to the Apostle of Temperance from the City of Montreal, a temperance law passed through the Canadian Parliament, and a huge sum of money — £500 — as a reward from the same Parliament for his work. The mob was at his voice's command, but complaints (or was it jealousy?) still followed the prodigal. He left it all in 1851.

The documents are clear — Chiniquy seduced a penitent and was given three choices: prison if the woman went to the civil tribunals, ecclesiastical censure (probably monastic prison) if she went no further than the sworn affidavit she gave to the Bishop of Montreal, or exile if Chiniquy wished another chance at being a worthy priest. Chiniquy chose exile. Perhaps, he wrote, he would be able to hide his shame elsewhere. Travel held no terrors for him. Moreover, many of the missionary bishops needed priests. The Bishop of Chicago was willing to give Chiniquy his last chance among the French-Canadian immigrants in Illinois.

No sooner was Chiniquy in Illinois than he set himself up as an American missionary priest, encouraging French Canadians to forsake the poor lands and British oppression in Canada. The French Roman Catholic elites in Canada were shocked. None of them wanted the French Canadians to leave Canada, to lose their language and maybe their religion in a strange land with strange notions about the separation of Church and State. Nor did they care to lose French and Roman Catholic votes from Canada! Others accused Chiniquy of being more interested in attracting paying parishioners than in helping poor ones. In the controversy Chiniquy lost the argument with the French-Canadian elites and he lost the interest of the French-Canadian people. He had exaggerated once too often about an earthly paradise in Illinois — too many disappointed people had returned to Canada to contradict him. The French-language press stopped printing his letters.

At the same time, through innuendo and politicking, Chiniquy got rid of the other clergy in the area so that he was the only French-speaking priest left. The mass of French immigrants were dependent on him and accepted his advice for lack of any other educated voice. Quickly, he raised funds from the French Canadians for building schemes in Ste. Anne, Illinois. The Bishop of Chicago became alarmed at Chiniquy's isolated power over the French-speaking Catholics, at his growing financial wealth at the expense of his parishioners, at the constant court cases (one involving Abraham Lincoln), and at suspicions of arson and sexual scandals. In 1856 the bishop suspended Chiniquy. The French-Canadian mission had become too much like a cult, generations before social scientists popularized that word.

In the face of the gathering storm, Chiniquy refused to submit to Church discipline. He had submitted before and had left his family, had left Beauport, left Kamouraska where his cousins were against him, left the Oblates, and then left Montreal. In Illinois, however, he had most of the immigrants on his side. He would fight to stay there. Chiniquy claimed that the bishop had tried to rob the French Canadians of their money, their land, and their church buildings (in fact the Bishop had always held title to the church properties), that the bishop was more interested in having Irish Roman Catholics take over Illinois than French-Canadian Roman Catholics, that the Bishop was trying to crush the French Canadians by removing each and every French-speaking priest, that he had never been suspended, that the accusations were lies, that he was an American and would not submit to European tyranny, that he was the best, most humble priest in Illinois and that his accusers were prostitutes!

Relying on his quick intelligence and quicker tongue, Chiniquy thus wove a web of lies to bring the mass of French Canadians with him into schism. The society of bullyboys that he set up to keep his parishioners in line also helped. When finally the bishop excommunicated Chiniquy in 1856, the Catholic press was quiet and confused at what was happening to the 'Apostle of Temperance'. By 1858 Chiniquy had founded his own church, known as the Christian

Catholic Church, and had launched a series of requests to the Protestants of the United States and Canada for help against the Roman Catholics. The French-Protestant *L'Aurore* of Montreal chuckled on seeing a former Catholic hero and debating foe asking for Protestant help! What a triumph for Protestantism! The Protestants hastened to invite him to Montreal to work for the conversion of the French Catholics of Canada.

Wherever Chiniquy went, riots followed. In 1859 he came to Montreal. He had become an accomplished anti-clerical speaker and used his great oratorical talents to move people to hatred of Roman Catholicism. From 1859, the Canadian Presbyterian press adopted Chiniquy's people as Protestants. The *Presbyterian Witness* of Halifax asked primly why the Roman Catholics were denouncing Chiniquy only after he had broken with Rome? And if the reports of Chiniquy's outrageous conduct were true, why had the Roman Catholic Church not denounced them earlier? Was it a Roman Catholic habit to keep immoral priests? "If one priest in orders, while submitting to the authority of the Bishop and those placed over him can be allowed such licentious acts as his are said to be, what are we to think of the rest?", the *Witness* asked in mock horror.

As Chiniquy wrote his many begging, piteous letters denouncing the Romanists, money began to flow to his new sect. The Presbyterians, the Methodists, the Anglicans, the Baptists, the New York Protestant Alliance, the American and Foreign Christian Union and many others fought over the right to call Chiniquy's converts their own, but Chiniquy was too wise. How could he join any Protestant denomination and have the others cut their own contributions? He begged for interdenominational co-operation! For a year the courtship continued until February 1860 when the *Philadelphia Presbyterian* crowed that Chiniquy's people in Kankakee and Ste. Anne, Illinois, had joined the Old School Presbytery of Chicago. It was also reported that the Presbyterians had offered Chiniquy a reward for each Roman Catholic converted to Presbyterianism. Anglicans and Baptists were outraged, but the Presbyterians gently chided them for being such poor losers. After all, these new Protestants said they were looking for the Church of Christ, and the Presbyterian Church was not going to turn them away. The Presbyterian press later impatiently told the Baptists and Anglicans to keep clear of the 'Chiniquists' since they were being confused by such sectarian 'non-essentials' as adult baptism and ordination by bishops. Many of the newcomers were even reverting to Roman Catholicism — no Protestant could call that an improvement!

Chiniquy found himself in an amiable financial dispute with the Chicago Presbytery over exactly how many Catholics had become Presbyterian. The Presbyterians solved the matter by paying the extra money demanded, keeping the converts, but sending Chiniquy away to England to raise funds for his mission. By 1862, however, Chiniquy's credit with the Chicago Presbyterians had dropped to zero. He refused to take orders; he refused to account for the

money he collected; he refused to apologize for slandering a fellow-Presbyterian minister. Convinced that Chiniquy was more trouble than he was worth, the Presbytery of Chicago suspended him. A committee sent from Canada looked into the dispute, blamed his Roman Catholic training and the problems he had in the English language, and absolved him of wrongdoing! Presbyterians in Canada, far from the disputes, remembered only the impact he had made in French Canada in 1859, and so they attached him and his mission to the Presbytery of London, Canada West. Chiniquy once more had a foothold in Canada.

In 1864, at the age of fifty-five, Charles Chiniquy married his housekeeper and so achieved respectability. Presbyterians compared him to Luther, and to other famous (married) reformers. From the date of his conversion, all rumours of sexual scandal ceased, and apparently he must have been sincere. His Presbyterians friends certainly knew Chiniquy was no saint, but they were willing to overlook his Roman Catholic past if his Presbyterian life was proper. On both sides there must have been some keen calculations. As an ex-priest Chiniquy needed some financial security and probably exchanged his former liberties for his new-found friends. The Presbyterians of Canada were willing to support Chiniquy if he could produce genuine converts. Presbyterians in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick living cheek by jowl with their Acadian neighbours, and Presbyterians in Montreal facing a huge French-Canadian Catholic majority, sent their money to a man who promised to convert these Catholics. Interestingly, Chiniquy later wrote that his reading of the words "You are bought with a price" (1 Cor., 7:23) had been the climax of his own conversion to Christ and to Protestantism.

For the next ten years Chiniquy travelled all across the Maritime provinces, the Canadas, and the eastern United States, embroiling himself in controversy with any and all comers. Pamphlet after hate-filled pamphlet denounced the Roman Catholics. "The Old Paganism under a Christian Name," "Strange and Sacrilegious Traffic in the so-called Body and Blood of Christ," "The Murders and Thefts in Quebec," "The God of Rome eaten by Rats," and "Perversion of Dr. Newman," all chapters of his later autobiography, had originally appeared as letters to the press and as pamphlets. Money from Presbyterians around the continent rolled into Illinois. More importantly, individual Roman Catholics, astounded at Chiniquy's speeches and thinking there might be some truth in them, showed up at Presbyterian churches asking for more information. Several young men from the French mission fields around Chicago enrolled in Knox College, Toronto, or in The Presbyterian College, Montreal. New converts worshipped in makeshift buildings. The sluggish nondenominational French Canadian Missionary Society was forcibly taken over by the Presbyterians and underwent swift expansion to administer the money Presbyterians were sending.

Throughout the 1870s, hardly an issue of any Canadian Presbyterian

newspaper appeared without the latest list of converts, the latest controversy with Chicago's Roman Catholic bishop, or the latest riot wherever Chiniquy went. Hardly a newspaper escaped publishing a letter from the reforming missionary, begging, demanding or pleading for more money for French schools, teachers, converts, ex-priests, and for the endless court cases 'inspired by Roman Catholics' or by 'Protestant dupes of Roman Catholics'. New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, New York, Philadelphia, and Oregon — Chiniquy travelled farther and farther on his collection tours. His speeches became more and more horrifying. In 1873 a riot in Pictou, Nova Scotia, caused a government investigation and kept local Presbyterians denouncing the Roman Catholics for a year.

Finally, in 1875, Chiniquy published his classic, *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional.* Righteous denunciation and coy reminders of his own past had been heaped on lurid innuendo. By the end of the 1870s the book had gone through dozens of editions, many of them illustrated, and had been translated into a half-dozen European languages to feed the anti-clerical audience. This book alone, after so many pamphlets, assured Chiniquy's fame and fortune. Presbyterians had once had the questionable honour of receiving a signed photograph of Chiniquy or a pamphlet whenever they sent in a contribution to his work. Now his books were distributed through the Presbyterian press by the hundreds. As a form of racy entertainment and vicarious participation, *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional* knew no equal. Adolescent and adult Presbyterians found it their duty to read about Roman Catholic immorality, complete with detailed Latin instructions.

After 1875 the western mission was no longer as exotic as it had been, now that railways linked everything, so Chiniquy packed his bags and moved to Montreal. The mission at Ste. Anne had begun to decline, anyway. One third of the settlers had formed a separate congregation to stay with the Chicago Presbyterians, some had rejoined the Roman Catholics, others joined the French Baptists, but many more had learned English and had disappeared into the American melting-pot. The Montreal Presbyterians gave Chiniquy a larger scope for his skills. Yet he was on the wrong end of a debate when he weakly defended the Presbyterian minister D.J. Macdonnell from heresy charges and found himself branded as the "Canadian Heretic"! Shortly before these public troubles Chiniquy had himself baptized by a Methodist.

At one level Chiniquy's adult baptism shows that he no longer believed his own infant baptism to be valid. But many Presbyterians had swallowed more than his baptism and had also accepted his ordination. Why then did he risk offending his friends? On another level, rebaptism was an insurance policy. If the Presbyterians threw him over, he could join more radical Protestant friends — the French Methodists or Baptists — or at least he could collect money from them. The Presbyterians still paid more than any other group to hear him speak. The Macdonnell episode taught Chiniquy that he was not supposed to do

anything but attack Catholics, and he did this superbly. One famous sermon of the time was a parody of the Catholic mass in which the climax came as Chiniquy consecrated bread, ground it into the floor under his boot, and kicked the crumbs into the audience!

When attacking Roman Catholicism was not enough and when the Canadian Presbyterians were becoming more interested in missions to pagans than missions to Roman Catholics, Chiniquy adapted — he attacked Catholics elsewhere. Chiniquy went to Britain and continental Europe twice more, causing fights to break out in the English brick towns housing Irish-Catholic workers. His speeches lashed out at the English for ignoring the so-called pagan movement toward Rome among the Tractarian Anglicans. The Reformed churches applauded. Although he was made an Honorary Life Governor of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and an honorary Doctor of Divinity by The Presbyterian College, Montreal, such awards did not diminish his travels.

Chiniquy left for Australia, passing through California and Hawaii, visited New Zealand and Tasmania. Everywhere Presbyterians, especially Free Church-men as in Canada prior to 1875, welcomed him with open arms, reminisced about his achievements in North America and set him to work on the local Irish Catholics. Riots brought martial law in one place, but converts in another. "The Grand Old Man Eloquent" could rouse them all in English as he once did in French. One New Zealand newspaper called him the American Luther; another complained that he came with 'love on his lips but with venom in his heart', telling 'filthy stories and lewd jokes'. A New Zealand history describes Chiniquy as "one of the most scurrilous lecturers ever to address a New Zealand audience," but the Presbyterian Synod of Eastern Australia elected him to be their representative at the Pan-Presbyterian Council in Philadelphia.

In Canada there were questions about the money Chiniquy had collected. Where was it going? An investigation found that his impoverished Illinois mission held a clergyman's house more luxurious than anything Canada had ever seen, but Chiniquy's magnificent speech at the Canadian Presbyterian General Assembly calmed growing doubts. Some Presbyterians recognized him as an egotistical old fraud, but no one could rouse passions as he did and so they were willing to let him be, especially when he spoke about missions to the French Canadians. The small committee that took over the nondenominational French Canadian Missionary Society had grown into the Board of French Evangelization, an important part of the Presbyterian Church after the union of 1875, and thousands of dollars every year were being sent to it by Chiniquy's admirers. Several young men from the Franco-American missions were now working throughout Canada. Converted priests were staffing schools. Chiniquy either produced the results or he was riding the crest of a great wave of French-Canadian assimilation. In either case, he seemingly could do no wrong.

Chiniquy's first autobiography came out in 1885 at the height of antiRoman Catholic sentiments around the world. *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*,

containing his greatest speeches and the edited events of his life, was another best-seller. In his last years Chiniquy used his wealth to support his family and his admirers. Of his two daughters (one adopted), one married J.L. Morin, a Presbyterian who became well-known in Montreal French-Protestant circles as a disciple of Chiniquy and as a professor at McGill University. The other married a French Baptist minister from Massachusetts. Even in his family, Chiniquy was not restricted by any denomination, but Morin would live on to protect Chiniquy's name among Presbyterian students for another generation.

By 1890 Chiniquy was the oldest ordained Presbyterian minister in Canada. *The Presbyterian Record* was amused to call him the Father of the Canadian Presbyterian Church. While he had the makings of a Protestant saint whose conversion seemed genuine, Chiniquy was never given entire filial respect. He was too much a loose cannon, a product of an earlier, wilder age in missions, whereas late nineteenth century Presbyterianism was settling down to serious bureaucracy and social respectability. Accountable to no one, preaching here or there, in Michigan, Kansas, the Canadian Prairies, the Maritimes, wherever invited, he asked for a straight fifty-fifty split of any contributions offered after his sermon. Such methods distressed the tidy clerks at church offices in Toronto, but *L'Aurore* continued to report on Chiniquy's activities. It did so with good reason: at the age of eighty-eight, only a year before his death, he was still captivating people with his oratorical power.

At the conversion of a well-known French Catholic, L.J. Papineau's grandson, a French-Catholic newspaper bitterly called Chiniquy,

> rotten to the very marrow of his bones, ... who soiled those around him while at the same time saying his mass, who preached temperance in order the better to wallow in licentiousness; who, in the confessional, learned the secrets of human failings only to make use of them; who ... has ever since been constantly carrying his crimes through every clime and vomiting insult... .

Canadian Roman Catholics hoped Chiniquy would make a death-bed repentance in order to undo some of the harm he had done over the years. In a final prank, Chiniquy coyly allowed nuns to enter his bedroom, and then rushed into print about their attempts to get him to repent.

Chiniquy died in 1899 at the age of eighty-nine. His Presbyterian academic friends, Principal D.H. MacVicar and Professor John Scrimger and his son-in-law, J.L. Morin, gathered up his manuscript notes for the second autobiography and published *Forty Years in the Church of Christ* in 1900. The book was a reflection of Chiniquy's Protestant years. Compared to *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome*, there was less hatred, fewer exaggerations, more theology of the Blood of the Lamb and an interesting openness to Protestant ecumenism for missions such as his own. In *Forty Years in the Church of Christ*, instead of the Catholic

'wafer-god', Chiniquy described Christ. Instead of 'superstitions', he discussed the Bible. Of course the book did not sell as well as his previous works. Chiniquy merely mirrored Canadians' interests which had moved further west in the direction of service, of missions and of the challenges of church union. As Presbyterian power passed from Montreal to Toronto, the Illinois mission field had been transferred back to Chicago, and later the Board of French Evangelization was disbanded. All that remained of that mission in the United States were thousands of English-speaking Americans with French family names and vague memories of ancestors converting to some type of Protestantism.

Yet many of Chiniquy's converts, students, and friends remained to influence the Presbyterian Church in Canada far into the twentieth century. A tenacious group of admirers are proud to call Chiniquy a great temperance preacher and a forerunner of ecumenism. To some extent he was these things, although he was hardly ever a saint about it. Chiniquy's writings are still available in Presbyterian and other libraries across Canada, the United States and the world, but they cannot now be bought in Canada since they have been classified as hate literature, a form of pornography. Thus, his voice is growing weaker with the passing years. Extreme groups in the United States, however, have built a lucrative business bootlegging his writings around the world. Charles Chiniquy lives on, in a lurid comic strip from California, teaching about the evils of Roman Catholicism. How many now hear his powerful oratory in his latest incarnation?

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Any newspaper or archive between Nova Scotia and Illinois likely has some record of Chiniquy, but his four main works—*The Manual of Temperance* (French, 1844, English 1847), *The Priest, The Woman and The Confessional* (1875), *Fifty Years in the Church of Rome* (1885), and *Forty Years in the Church of Christ* (1900), contain almost everything that he ever wrote. Many of his pamphlets and letters to newspapers are reproduced in their more than 1500 pages.

The fullest independent description of Chiniquy's life, especially his Roman Catholic years, is Marcel Trudel's *Chiniquy* (Trois-Rivières, 1955) which has never been translated into English. Joseph George, Jr., "The Lincoln Writings of Charles P.T. Chiniquy", *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 69, no. 1, (February 1976), explodes Chiniquy's claim to friendship with Lincoln. Paul Laverdure describes Chiniquy's conversion in the Canadian Catholic Historical Association's *Historical Studies, 1987.*

RUGBY TEAM, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, CHAMPIONS OF CANADA

J.B. McArthur *Sec.-Treas.*, J.J. Pearson, W.D. Cruikshank, Dr. J.W. Barton, H. Gall, A.S. Lawson, E.G. Dixon, F. Park, E.C. Gage, Bert Allison *Mgr.*
H.C. Griffiths *Hon. Coach*, Jack Newton *Captain*, **Prof. McCurdy** ***Hon. Pres.***
E.M. Thomson, J. McDonald, G. Kingstone, H.C. Ritchie, J. Bell, G. Rankin, A. Muir, W.W. Hume, J. Dickson,
G.R. Jones, W.C. Foulds

Courtesy of University of Toronto Archives

James Frederick McCurdy Father of Biblical Studies in Canada

JOHN S. MOIR

CANADA'S FIRST GREY CUP GAME was held at Rosedale Park, Toronto, in 1909, and when the victorious University of Toronto rugby team posed at the front door of University College for a group photo, the uniformed players were joined by a small man with trim white Vandyke beard and mustache, and wearing a mortar board. This obvious nonplayer, seated beside the team captain, was James Frederick McCurdy, lifelong enthusiast for amateur sportsmanship, honorary president of the University's Athletic Association for twenty-eight years, and the acknowledged father of biblical studies in Canada.

Over the past century Canadian biblical scholars have earned both at home and abroad an enviable reputation. Their academic training, their teaching abilities, and their research publications have established them in no mean place among biblical scholars of the world. Much of the credit for this belongs to that one man, James Frederick McCurdy, who was instrumental in setting both the high standards and moderate tone of biblical studies in this country. The fact that McCurdy was a Presbyterian had much to do with the course of development of biblical studies in Canada.

Born in the Free Church manse at Chatham, New Brunswick, in 1847, McCurdy was educated at home except for his last year before university entrance when he attended a new "Presbyterian Academy" in his home town. McCurdy matriculated into the University of New Brunswick at the head of his class when he was sixteen, and three years later graduated in Classics with high honours. Almost immediately he was hired as principal of the grammar school in Dalhousie on the Baie des Chaleurs, and just fifteen months later his pupils won every first prize and most of the second prizes in the New Brunswick provincial examinations. Despite this proof of McCurdy's gifts as a teacher, he decided to pursue further studies and in September, 1868, he enroled at Princeton Seminary. There, under the conservative biblical scholar W.H. Green, McCurdy began his lifelong study of Hebrew and its cognate languages.

When McCurdy graduated from Princeton Seminary in 1871 he was employed by Green as his assistant, and for the next eleven years McCurdy supervised the Seminary's languages programme, worked as assistant librarian, and learned Sanskrit which he then taught in Princeton University. In 1878, on the initiative of Princeton's famous Scottish-born president James McCosh, McCurdy was awarded an honourary Ph.D. by Princeton in recognition of his published research papers on biblical languages. The young scholar had suggested to McCosh that a more honorific degree might give him more encouragement, but he accepted the Ph.D. when nothing more prestigious was offered.

In 1881 McCurdy married Isabella Russell, daughter of the Presbyterian minister at Dalhousie, and he also published his research in linguistics under the title *Aryo-Semitic Speech*, a book still cited by scholars half a century later. The following year, however, his promising academic career was seriously jeopardized. Soon after the death of Charles Darwin, McCurdy spoke at Johns Hopkins University and indicated his acceptance of Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis. When his theologically conservative colleagues at Princeton Seminary were harshly critical of such "modernism", McCurdy resigned his post immediately, despite Green's offer to keep him on for one more year.

The McCurdys spent the next two or three years studying in Germany — at Göttingen and Leipzig universities. Leipzig was becoming a magnet for young Canadian scholars in several fields, and for biblical studies the most important attraction there was Franz Delitzsch, a mildly conservative higher critic who set the tone of biblical studies for most Canadians and especially for most Canadian Presbyterians. By the summer of 1885, however, the McCurdys were back in Canada and living in Toronto. Their reasons for coming to Ontario are not known, but his aunt was married to William Fraser, the Presbyterian minister at Bond Head, whose son taught modern languages at Upper Canada College and had close connections with the University of Toronto.

At University College, the teaching arm of the University of Toronto, instruction in Hebrew and cognate languages had been given for the past forty years by Jacob Meier Hirschfelder, a German-born Jewish convert to Anglicanism now in his later sixties and approaching retirement. The intellectual climate of the University suggested the appointment of a younger but established scholar, trained in higher criticism at one of Germany's prestigious centres of biblical studies. Within a few months of his arrival in Toronto McCurdy was hired to teach at University College, and almost immediately the McCurdys became active in the local Presbyterian and academic communities. The McCurdys, and later their son and three daughters, attended services at the magnificent new St. Andrew's Church on King Street. James Frederick, more familiarly called Fred, had been ordained as an evangelist by the Presbytery of New Jersey after his graduation from Princeton Seminary, and now in 1886 became a member of Toronto Presbytery — for the next twenty-one years his name appeared on the Appendix to the Roll.

At St. Andrew's McCurdy met a kindred soul in its minister, Daniel James Macdonnell, another son of the manse from Bathurst, New Brunswick, midway between McCurdy's home at Chatham and that first teaching appointment in Dalhousie. Macdonnell, a profound theologian and rated by some as the best preacher in Canada, had also studied in Germany and was only four years McCurdy's senior. Less than a decade earlier, Macdonnell had been the focus of a "heresy" trial instigated by some conservative Presbyterian clergy. McCurdy's great admiration for Macdonnell's qualities and talents is evident throughout the biography of Macdonnell that McCurdy wrote after his friend, pastor and

fellow New Brunswicker died at the age of fifty-three.

A connecting link between McCurdy's progressive Presbyterianism, his friend Macdonnell, and his academic employment, was another Presbyterian, George Paxton Young, one of Canada's most famous teachers and her leading philosopher. Young, McCurdy's colleague at University College, had quit his teaching post at Knox College two decades earlier because the rigid conservatism of its principal and other professors had brought Knox' reputation to its lowest ebb. Young was a quarter century older than McCurdy and Macdonnell, but his ideals and his charitable Christianity created another bond between the two younger men. All three shared one characteristic — uncompromising intellectual honesty, the very trait that had caused the "heresy" charges against Macdonnell in the late 1870s. Because of Young's admiration for Macdonnell's integrity during that difficult episode he had joined St. Andrew's congregation and demitted from the Presbyterian ministry.

At University College McCurdy's career progressed rapidly. After Hirschfelder retired in 1888 McCurdy, now head of the Oriental Languages Department, began to develop a programme of biblical studies along modern lines of research and interests. Because the Free Church in Canada from its formation in 1844 had insisted that church colleges should teach only theology and leave all education in the arts and sciences to state institutions, most Knox College students received their undergraduate training at neighbouring University College. As a result, some forty-five per cent of all students at the University were Presbyterians, and in McCurdy's classes the proportion was probably even higher. At a time when public criticism of the elitism and expense of University College (the "godless" institution) ran high, Hirschfelder and after him McCurdy were always sure of having a pool of students for courses in Orientals.

By law University College could not have any denominational affiliation, yet ironically this very neutrality allowed McCurdy to develop Orientals as a viable and respectable discipline within a nominally secular institution, a situation unique in North America. In the United States tax-supported colleges could not teach biblical studies because of the constitutional separation of church and state. In "Christian" Canada, by contrast, it was generally feared that separation of secular and religious education might lead to the students' losing their faith, and most taxpayers believed that denominational colleges should receive public funds but without any interference from the state.

McCurdy, however, wanted biblical studies to be more than just a service course for future clergymen. He was convinced that biblical studies were an essential ingredient in a liberal education, a belief that was undoubtedly part of his Presbyterian heritage. The study of the Bible, he informed one president of the University of Toronto, "should form part of the curriculum of every college." For him education could not be value-free — a Christian education was an honest, respectful and inquiring pursuit of truth, without the interfer-

ence of denominational or creedal blinkers. He believed that cynicism or even scepticism about the authenticity and value of the higher religions was unthinkable to a Christian university professor — and McCurdy was both a Christian and a humanist.

Under McCurdy's guidance the Department of Orientals began in 1888 to offer an honours course that included Arabic and Assyrian as well as Hebrew. McCurdy always emphasized language studies as the bed-rock of biblical research. His justification for this emphasis was the success abroad of so many of his graduates, at least one of whom won a scholarship to a German university against competitors from several countries. A Ph.D. programme, already discussed before his arrival, was, however, postponed by the University's governors until 1897. Nevertheless, before World War I, biblical studies at the University of Toronto bestrode the discipline in Canada like a colossus. Other universities and colleges offered little more than skeletal programmes compared to the human and material teaching and research resources that McCurdy acquired for both undergraduate and graduate work in his department.

By 1890, two years after McCurdy took command of the department, he was lecturing seventeen hours per week to nearly one hundred students. When a committee examining course offerings and teaching loads recommended an additional nine hours of classes in Orientals, it was obvious that McCurdy must have help. David William McGee, a Presbyterian and former student of McCurdy who had studied at Leipzig, was hired as his assistant. Just four months after receiving his doctorate from the University of Breslau, McGee drowned in a boating accident on Hamilton Bay, aged only twenty-three. His successor was Ross George Murison, a Scottish orphan who had got through the University and the Knox College certificate in theology by working as a railway navvy. Murison had won a University entrance scholarship after learning Greek in only six days. He too had studied in Germany and earned a Knox B.D. at the same time, and in 1902 earned the University's first Ph.D. in Orientals. After only a decade of teaching and writing at University College, however, Murison died of typhoid fever.

McCurdy was deeply and lastingly touched by the loss of McGee and Murison. His choice to replace Murison was one of Murison's classmates, Richard Davidson, another Knox graduate who received a Toronto Ph.D. in biblical studies the same year as Murison. Davidson, however, was already teaching at Presbyterian College when Murison died, so until he could leave for Toronto, Murison's place was filled temporarily by yet another Knox graduate, Irish-born Thomas Eakin. Eakin had also done a Toronto Ph.D. under McCurdy in 1905, and McCurdy once described him as the best biblical studies teacher in Canada. Assisting McCurdy and Eakin was still one more Knox graduate with German training, Calvin Alexander McRae.

McCurdy had worked hard to build the reputation of his department and sincerely believed that it was on a par with Harvard and John Hopkins, and with

the University of Chicago which was becoming an even greater attraction for young biblical scholars than the famous German universities. His influence on biblical studies was not confined to the University of Toronto. His graduates were now teaching in other Canadian institutions of higher learning, and many occupied Presbyterian pulpits. In 1899 he had been instrumental in obtaining the appointment to Knox College of James Edgar McFadyen, the top-ranking theological student in Scotland in his graduating year. He too had studied in Germany, where he had married a talented German girl. During his twelve years of teaching at Knox College McFadyen published no less than nine books, four of them Old Testament studies. When McFadyen returned to Scotland in 1911, Davidson preferred to move from the Presbyterian College to Knox, rather than to University College to replace Murison, so McCurdy rehired Eakin and McRae as his assistants in the Orientals Department of University College.

For McCurdy the task of recruiting faculty and improving his department was made easier by the sympathetic support of the University's new president, Robert Alexander Falconer, New Testament scholar and former principal of Presbyterian Colle, Halifax. Like McCurdy, Falconer was a vocal advocate of liberal education, and fully approved of McCurdy's teaching of biblical studies in the "secular" University College. As with McFadyen there could be no criticism of McCurdy on the grounds of personal piety and Christian practice — with his wife he produced a mission magazine for Presbyterian women and both were active church members. Yet Presbyterian acceptance of sensible and sensitive teaching of higher criticism through biblical studies did not guarantee that such a Christian humanistic approach was always welcome in a state-supported university. Criticism of such teaching emerged suddenly soon after Falconer's arrival, and it came from an unexpected source.

In 1906 a new University of Toronto Act empowered University College to teach Oriental languages, but not theology. Less than two years later, Samuel H. Blake, a conservative evangelical Anglican, a founder of Wycliffe College and brother of Canada's famous jurist-statesman, Edward Blake, charged that University College professors, particularly Thomas Eakin, were undermining the faith of impressionable students by teaching religion! Blake asserted that higher criticism was being taught at secular University College — in one class the virgin birth had been discussed — and that pious youths were quitting the biblical courses because of the heterodoxy disseminated in McCurdy's Department of Orientals.

The University authorities defended McCurdy and his assistants by insisting that any university worth its salt "should take cognizance of literature which ranked with the most important any nation has given to man." Blake, supported by Principal William MacLaren of Knox College, retorted that religion was the business of church-affiliated colleges — University College must by law teach only value-free languages; it must not shake "men's confidence in the Bible as being the Word of the living God." Among the books that the fundamentalists

wanted banned from use in the Department were some by John Edgar McFadyen of Knox College! A committee appointed by the University reported that the charges of Blake and his associates were "not well founded," which seemed to exonerate McCurdy's philosophy of teaching biblical studies. At that moment President Falconer was in Cambridge, representing the University of Toronto at the centennial celebration of Darwin's birth!

By the time this attack on the teaching of biblical studies at University College had been repulsed, McCurdy was a man in his early sixties, an internationally acknowledge teacher and scholar, author of many books and articles and especially his *magnus opus*, the three volume *History, Prophecy and the Monuments* (1894-1901) that had won him critical acclaim and an LL.D. from his alma mater, the University of New Brunswick. At the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis he read the leading paper on Old Testament science, and a further honour came to him in 1911 when he was appointed Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for the year 1911-2.

As early as 1911, however, McCurdy's sight was failing and he told President Falconer that he wanted to retire soon. On his way to the Holy Land he wrote back to the President pointing out how, in his quarter century at the University of Toronto, the curriculum of the Orientals Department had broadened "in conformity with the widening conception of the relations of the Bible to human history." Studies related to Israel filled over half the teaching time of the Department. The original purpose of the Department had been to serve the theological colleges, but now biblical studies were recognized as a desirable component of a liberal education. As for his own replacement, he believed the best teacher for young Canadians would be another Canadian, because European scholars would find Canadian students somewhat immature.

Falconer digested McCurdy's comments and then asked William Robert Taylor to fill in for the year when McCurdy would be away. Taylor, another graduate of University and Knox colleges, was a most promising scholar, but he had just accepted a position in Westminster Hall, the new Presbyterian theological college in Vancouver, and he felt obliged to go there for at least a year. McCurdy wanted Taylor in Toronto permanently, but Falconer, though himself a Presbyterian, was reluctant to hire yet another Presbyterian for the Department of Orientals. Falconer's own candidate was Herbert Loewe, a Cambridge-educated Jew, but McCurdy, who had met him, felt Loewe's religion made him unacceptable as a department head. Loewe, he warned, believed the New Testament was in the same category of literature as the Koran, and besides, Loewe was a Zionist!

Falconer bowed to McCurdy's opinion and asked, "Perhaps you may have found someone during your visit abroad who will appeal to you as likely to fill the chair." McCurdy had indeed found such a person — Immanuel G.A. Benzinger, a slight, dapper forty-six year-old German, an acknowledged scholar and former professor at the University of Berlin. Benzinger was now teaching

Hebrew and German in a Jerusalem high school, and operating tours to Egypt and the Holy Land. When McCurdy asked Benzinger if he were interested in an appointment at Toronto, he responded positively. Falconer, however, warned McCurdy that he had heard criticisms of Benzinger's scholarship — McCurdy denied Benzinger held extreme views of biblical interpretation, and insisted his German training would be a good example for those Canadian scholars who took principles and methods for granted. Falconer suspected that McCurdy had made an unauthorized commitment to Benzinger.

Falconer's suspicions proved correct — Benzinger was selling his travel agency and must be compensated if he did not get the Toronto position. By now Falconer had negative comments about Benzinger from six scholars who felt his opinions would be too advanced for Canada and the University of Toronto. Besides, Falconer asked, what about the rumours regarding Benzinger's removal from the University of Berlin. McCurdy was ready with answers to all the President's doubts — as for the Berlin affair, Benzinger was the innocent hypotenuse in a domestic triangle and had been officially exonerated of any misdoing. Falconer, manipulated and outmanoeuvred, appointed Benzinger as professor and chairman-designate of the Department of Orientals in 1912. With Benzinger on the Departmental staff (and Taylor too since he agreed to leave Westminster Hall in 1913 for more money at University College) McCurdy resigned at the end of term in 1914. Immediately Benzinger became chairman and Taylor leapt from lecturer to professor. All seemed well that summer of 1914, until the guns of August heralded World War I. McCurdy could not believe that the German or British people wanted war. The debacle in Europe must be the work of power-hungry nationalistic leaders. McCurdy, the Christian humanist and rationalist, was disturbed, confused, distraught and angered by the forces of irrationality, violence and hatred unleashed on all sides by the war. As an emotional witness to his personal belief in civilization and peace he refused to stand when "God save the King" was sung during the Sunday service at St. Andrew's.

At that very moment Immanuel Benzinger was a house guest of the McCurdys. Benzinger, a German national like three other Toronto professors, had gone home that summer and found himself trapped there when the war began. Only by way of the neutral Netherlands and United States was he able to return to his classes in Toronto in October. Soon, however, a violent anti-German campaign was mounted in the Toronto press against the four professors, and attempts by President Falconer and the University's Board of Governors to protect these "enemy aliens" only earned the University a popular condemnation for being traitorously pro-German, especially after the four were given leave of absence with pay for the rest of the academic year. Through the intervention of Falconer and other friends, Benzinger was allowed to leave Canada, and after an emotional departure from his friends at the Union Station he found a temporary refuge at Princeton University.

The events of 1914 not only closed the short Canadian career of Immanuel Benzinger but virtually marked the end of J.F. McCurdy's public life as well, as he appeared only once more on the Canadian scene before his death. When Benzinger departed, James Alexander Craig, another Presbyterian scholar, aged sixty-one and then teaching at McGill, had been hired to fill the gap at University College. He had been at Leipzig with McCurdy but had become, as McCurdy said, a "hopeless paranoiac." Craig's hates were university bureaucracies and colleagues who had not had German postgraduate training. When the University of Toronto retired him at age sixty-five, he claimed $50,000 damages for wrongful dismissal. He then announced to delighted reporters from the Toronto press that Falconer was useless as President, and that the younger faculty in the Orientals Department were incompetent.

Immediately McCurdy rushed into print in defence of his department and his former students with an open letter proclaiming the academic excellence of the teachers in Orientals. Falconer thanked McCurdy for this timely intervention, and from his summer retreat at Go Home Bay in Muskoka McCurdy acknowledged the President's letter with what proved to be his academic swansong. This was a nine-page typed *apologia*, not so much for his own life as for the development of biblical studies in Canada in the past four decades. The epistle took the half-blind, seventy-five year old scholar two days to write. He began by reminiscing about the troublesome Professor Craig. "When I knew him best he was one of the most attractive and estimable of younger men whom we met anywhere in Europe," but "his mental and moral lapse ...is the most melancholy I have known."

McCurdy then continued with an eight-page history of his department and a statement of his own matured philosophy as a Christian educationalist. During the quarter century that he had been chairman, he had realized "the spiritualizing forces ...which have proved themselves recreative or reconstructing in human society." He agreed with Falconer's comment that religion should pervade "the conduct of university affairs." Like Falconer, McCurdy felt the world war had destroyed all that was best in western civilization. Christianity too, "as practised", seemed "a comparative failure", and now writers and thinkers were proclaiming that science and religion must be reconciled so that religion could be reconstructed. "In all the discussions I have seen," he continued, "the Bible, the ostensible basis of Christianity, has been almost entirely left out of consideration."

As for his department and its programme of biblical studies, it had been created and nurtured to provide religious education — Principals Caven of Knox College and Sheraton of Wycliffe had first proposed its development.

> The basal fact that religion is the mainstay of humanity, and that the Hebraistic religion of the Old and New Testament has been the chief humanizing and principal cultural influence in the history of our race,

> implies that the intelligent study and teaching of the *essential* Bible should be a function of every university.

In future, "we humanists and antimaterialists" must unite with spiritually-minded scientists to deliver mankind from

> age-long bondage to inherited idolatries and superstitions.... After all, it is the Bible that has supplied the richest perennial currents of spiritual influence ...which it is the part of the privileged educationalists to keep pure and to direct aright ....

In the brave new postwar world, McCurdy believed, the study of the Bible was in decline partly because in past times the Bible had been made a "rule of faith" instead of "a way of life." Another reason was the inclusion in the Bible of

> much material unspiritual or irrelevant to its main divinely human purport and message.... A sane and tactful course of Bible teaching ...would do much to give college young men and women the right direction, and a sense of relative spiritual values in the most valuable single portion of their education.

The task of an Orientals department was to present "the essential Bible", and teachers in that department needed "to cultivate communicative tact, and a sense of proportion and perspective...." McCurdy concluded sadly that scholars were not only neglecting the Bible but some depreciated the Old Testament as "a competent guide and standard" while others made "little of the life of Christ with its sacrificial significance and efficacy." McCurdy had rehearsed his faith in and his hopes for biblical studies, but as he said to Falconer, this was a rambling letter by an old man. Gone was the vigour that had made him the respected scholar and revered teacher. Gone too was the physical energy that had fired his consuming passion for amateur sports — at the age of fifty he still played football with the Knox College students. James Frederick McCurdy had already retired into the shadows before he wrote his *apologia*, but the full darkness did not fall for another thirteen years. Death came to the father of biblical studies in Canada on March 30, 1935. Ironically the forces of violence, injustice, irrationality and nationalism that he had opposed in his life time were once more on the march. That very month the Nazis seized the Saarland, the first expansionist move of the Third Reich, and Adolf Hitler announced that Germany would rearm in defiance of the Treaty that ended the war to end all wars.

McCurdy's funeral service was conducted by three of his former students — William Taylor of University College, Thomas Eakin of Knox, and Richard Davidson of Emmanuel. Taylor pronounced the eulogy. James Frederick

McCurdy, he said, had been in every department of life ...steadily and consistently Christian, [and] his broad interests so raised him above narrow conceptions of religion that there was nothing in the concerns of men that was foreign to him.... If we were to attempt to define a person so many-sided as Doctor McCurdy we could not do better than to designate him a Christian humanist.

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No biography of James Frederick McCurdy has been written, and printed sources for his life are largely newspaper and obituary articles. His correspondence with President Falconer is in the latter's papers at the University of Toronto Archives. John S. Moir, *A History of Biblical Studies in Canada: a sense of proportion* (Scholars Press, Chico CA, 1982) sets McCurdy's work within a broader historical and geographical perspective.

James Scarth Gale
Courtesy of University of Toronto Archives

James Scarth Gale
Canada's First Missionary to Korea

YOUNG SIK YOO

COREA, "LAND OF THE MORNING CALM", where James Scarth Gale laboured for forty years, was thought by the few Canadians who had heard of it before Gale's time, to be a tropical island somewhere in the Pacific Ocean, or alternatively it was popularly mistaken for Corsica! The spelling "Corea" had been used by early French Roman Catholic missionaries, but was changed to "Korea" by English-speaking visitors in the later nineteenth century. When, at the age of twenty-five, James Gale was moved to investigate the history of Korea, he discovered that according to legend the country was founded in 2333 B.C., before Tutankhamen reigned in Egypt or Abraham set out for the land of Canaan. Geographically Korea is in the same latitude as New York City and is adjacent to China. The country is only one-third the size of Ontario although its two parts today have a total population approaching fifty million.

James Scarth Gale was an outstanding missionary, scholar and writer, and not only "the foremost literary interpreter of the Korean mind to the Occidental world" but also the first transmitter of Western literature to the Korean people. He was the most interesting and most distinguished pioneer Presbyterian missionary in the history of the Korean church. He was born February 19, 1863 in Alma, a village about seventy-five miles northwest of Toronto situated in Pilkington Township. That area had been acquired in 1799 by Major-General Robert Pilkington of the Royal Engineers, and although the first settlers were United Empire Loyalists they were joined in the 1830s by numerous Scottish immigrants.

Gale grew up on a peaceful farm on Lot 4, Concession 2 of Pilkington Township. The homestead of his birth still stands there. He attended a one-room log school in his hometown, and then Elora High School, opposite Knox Presbyterian Church. When James was eighteen years old he went to St. Catharines Collegiate Institute in St. Catharines, near the shores of Lake Ontario, and stayed there three years to qualify for university entrance. Then he attended University College, University of Toronto, from 1884 until his graduation with a Bachelor of Arts degree four years later, having majored in classics. James was one of eighty-six graduates from the Faculty of Arts that year, and he most probably knew Jonathan Goforth (1859-1936), the famous missionary to China who visited Korea in 1907, and James A. Macdonald, later editor of the *Westminster* and the Toronto Globe, both of whom were studying at Knox College while Gale was at nearby University College.

Gale's family were solid Scottish Presbyterians who had come to "the land

of promise" with the mass migration of Britons to North America during the post-Napoleonic decades of depression and unrest. His father, John Gale (1819-1909), was born in Aberdeen and at the age of thirteen came to Montreal with his mother to join his only brother, the Reverend Alexander Gale (1800-1854). Alexander had already arrived in Montreal in 1827 to work with their uncle, the Reverend Henry Esson, who had been ministering there for a decade. James later reminisced about his father, "a kindly Scotch elder who loved cheer and played the violin with a dainty touch learned of the master fiddler, Willie Blair of Balmoral". James' father took an active part in organizing Knox Presbyterian Church in Elora, and was an elder of that church from its early days. He was also one of the first trustees of Alma Presbyterian church (now St. Andrew's) in their hometown. James' mother, Miami Bradt, was of God-fearing United Empire Loyalist stock and married John in 1850. They had six children, James being the fifth. The youngest, Robert, was ordained a Presbyterian minister and served at Pinkerton, Kent Centre, near Chatham, and at Bayfield where he died in 1940.

James' uncle, Alexander Gale, had graduated from Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1819 with a Master of Arts degree. Eight years later he came to Montreal to assist his mother's brother, Henry Esson, then minister of St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, known familiarly in those days as the "Scotch Church." Alexander became a prominent figure in the history of the Canadian Free Church, serving as professor in Knox College, convenor of the Synod's Home Mission Committee, and in 1853 as Moderator of Synod. Henry Esson also moved from Montreal to Toronto where, in 1845, his house on Adelaide Street became the first home of Knox College. A portrait of Esson hangs in the Caven Library of the present Knox College building.

The religious background of the Gales was Scottish and conservative, favouring Protestant scholastic pietism and the established church, at least until the Disruption and the creation of the Free Church. James, however, showed minimal interest in denominational loyalties. It was during his second year at University College that he became associated with the McCall Mission in France. That mission had been started by Robert Whitaker McCall, an English Congregational minister, in 1872. Its methods of reaching unchurched people were to visit workers' groups and scattered shops, to preach to the urban poor, to distribute tracts and to hold short religious meetings. It was the mission's policy never to ask for contributions of money. McCall did not intend to establish a new sect or "ism", preferring to connect the new converts with some of the existing churches. The mission is now known as the Mission Populaire Evangelique de France.

When James Gale came back to Toronto in the fall of 1886 to begin his third year of studies, he resided in the old Knox College at 1 Spadina Crescent, now part of the Banting laboratories. In Toronto he attended and was a member of Central Presbyterian Church at St. Vincent and Grosvenor Streets, a

congregation which amalgamated with others to form Westminster Church in 1922. When Central Church started city missions, Gale, along with Jonathan Goforth, worked at the William Street and Elizabeth Street missions for a year and a half until he accepted a call to Korea.

In the late Victorian period the missions movement took on new strength and swept through North American colleges and universities. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, one product of this age, was incorporated after the Mount Herman Conference in the summer of 1886. One year later the leaders of Movement, Robert Parmalee Winder and John N. Norman of Princeton, came to Canada to recruit future missionaries. Many students declared they were ready to accept the missionary calling, and their enthusiasm for missionary work is shown in the number of students who signed a Declaration Card stating that they were "willing and desirous, God permitting, to be foreign missionaries."

Records show that 1,800 North Americans, including 110 Canadian students, signed these statements. Dwight L. Moody's (1837-1899) heart-warming and heart-searching evangelistic messages and the tremendous impact of David Livingstone's (1813-1873) life and death supplied the original and the sustaining impetus for this great response to the missionary call. The example of the "Cambridge Seven" — young men of social, intellectual and athletic distinction who volunteered for service in China — influenced other students to follow through on the mission model of Hudson Taylor (1832-1905), a founder of the China Inland Mission. Gale actually met Taylor when the latter visited Toronto in 1888, and was greatly encouraged when Taylor prayed with him.

One year earlier the *Knox College Monthly* had carried an ernest plea from Jonathan Goforth who had been appointed a missionary to China by Knox College. "Corea", he wrote, "the last land open to the Gospel calls loudly for help. Fifteen million souls wait the messengers of the Lord. Five men have been sent, what can one man do for as many heathen as [there] are Protestants in our Dominion?" This was the first occasion in Canada of an attempt to stimulate mission work in Korea. A year later, in February 1888, University College's Young Men's Christian Association took the challenge and appointed Gale, the vice-president of the College's Association, as their representative to Korea. His salary of $500 per annum was guaranteed for eight years by annual subscription from undergraduates and graduates in the Arts Faculty. The sum was considered to be too small, and the mission committee appealed to the members to make it at least $750. It certainly was a low figure compared to the American scale which paid an unmarried missionary $1000 at that time. When Donald MacGillivray was sent to Honan by the Presbyterian Church in 1888 his salary was $500 per annum, "like Gale."

After completing his B.A. Gale registered at Knox College in the autumn of 1888 to study theology, but he did not turn aside from a path that seemed

providentially to open towards Korea. Records say that after a night spent in prayer, James Scarth Gale made his decision to abandon his studies and leave at once for Korea. He departed in mid-October, and four days later MacGillivray left for China. Like Gale, who became a lexicographer and Christian literature worker in his chosen mission field, MacGillivray also became a lexicographer in China, working for the Christian Literature Society at Shanghai.

Gale was a graduate in Arts but he was untrained in theology and not ordained. Despite this the Missionary Board of University College Y.M.C.A. examined his decisive character and evangelical zeal and granted him a certificate to represent the College's Y.M.C.A. The certificate read,

University College
Young Men's Christian Association
Toronto, Canada
To all whom these presents shall come
It is hereby certified that: —
Mr. James Scarth Gale

Bachelor in Arts of the University of Toronto, Canada, is a Christian Missionary fully approved by, in the employment of, and responsible to the Young Men's Christian Association of University College. In matters of doctrine as missionary of a Pan-denominational organization, he holds, maintains, and subscribes to the basis of faith as accepted by the Evangelical Alliance and agrees that other teachings shall accord therewith. He is sent forth by this organization with instructions to cooperate so far as he may be able, with Christian enterprises of every true branch of the Church of Christ and is hereby commanded to love and fellowship of the brethren in Asia and elsewhere.

W.H. Harvie
President

Gale left Toronto by train on October 18, 1888 and then sailed from Vancouver on November 13. Before his departure he received two warm farewell services, one at Alma Presbyterian Church in his hometown and the other at the University campus Y.M.C.A. building. At the latter the President of the University of Toronto, Daniel Wilson (1816-1892) delivered an address on the new enterprise that the University's Y.M.C.A had started. Gale also left Canada with the blessing of the greatest evangelist of the time, Dwight L. Moody, who was conducting revival meetings in Vancouver when Gale arrived there . Hearing that Gale was about leave for Korea, Moody gripped his hand and said, "Splendid, I will pray for you. God bless you, young man."

After a month-long voyage, according to Gale's first letter back to the University College Y.M.C.A., he trod on Korean soil, the land long awaited, for the first time on December 12, 1888. The letter was written aboard ship two days later while he was on his way to Chemulpo (Inchon), after he had spent

about twenty-eight hours in Pusan. "At about three o'clock, we entered Fusan [Pusan] Bay, the southern port of Korea." During the stay at Pusan he could not contain his excitement and jumped ashore to explore. He described his first impressions of the Korean people — they "dressed in white", "are taller than Japanese", "fine looking", and "they all smoke — every man carrying a pipe." Gale described the people's manner of dress, saying that men walked the streets in long, tinted robes made of the finest silk, with a girdle across the chest of blue or green or scarlet. Nebuchadnezzar himself, Gale wrote, was surely never so adorned. Also, they walked slowly, with Oriental dignity. He said he was reminded of University President Daniel Wilson's manner of walking — Wilson was reported by *The Varsity* to be a fast walker!

Gale wrote of his journey to Chemulpo, "For two days we had been ploughing through a sea of islands." Missionaries, like astronauts visiting the moon, are always excited and anxious to set foot on the land to which they go, and Gale was no exception. Often the date of Gale's arrival in Korea is recorded as the day he reached Chemulpo, the western entry port to Seoul, the capital of Korea. He arrived there on December 15 and was welcomed by Horace Underwood (1859-1916), a Presbyterian missionary from the United States. Gale himself was the eleventh Presbyterian missionary to arrive in Korea.

Gale observed his first Sunday service in Korea, with fifty in attendance, on December 23, and expressed surprise because "he had been told by many that the doors were closed again in Korea and that there was no sound of the Gospel." Instead, at this first service, he was greatly blessed to witness eleven Koreans being baptized under the supervision of Underwood. Another surprise was Korea's treaty with Britain. According to that treaty, British subjects were allowed free exercise of their religion, Bibles were not on the list of prohibited goods, and travel was permitted anywhere in the kingdom with possession of a passport.

Many Chinese called the Western missionaries "Western devils", and many Koreans referred to them as scary figures, "Western ghosts." Gale should have appeared to these secluded Korean people as one of those ghostly figures, but apparently he made no such impression. "Many Koreans visit my little room and often among them are men of rank, who, I suppose, come out of curiosity and make my Oriental quarters as club house." So they were not frightened by him, nor were they harsh with him, but they received him well and treated him kindly. The principles given in Acts 28: 30-31 characterizes the charitable Korean behaviour very well. Gale saw himself as being in a situation paralleled by the apostle Paul's in Rome, where Paul propagated the Gospel for two years without any hostility from the local populace.

In his second letter to his Y.M.C.A. friends Gale told them that the prospects of the mission work were much brighter than he had expected. "I have no anxiety as to how we shall work. There are such opportunities on every hand, but the first thing is the language." In order to have closer contact with Korean

life he decided to leave the foreign community in Seoul, and went to a place called Haeju, about one hundred miles to the northwest. That journey took him four days, and as in Seoul Gale was the object of much wonder and attraction. The Governor of the city kept him virtually a prisoner for a fortnight because he did not know what to do with this stranger. Fortunately, a Christian found Gale in the Governor's detention and, after negotiating with the Governor, took Gale to his hometown, Sorae. There Gale learned at first hand customs and the life of the Korean people while he stayed in the village for three months. He lived under a Korean grass roof and he ate Korean foods, such as *kimchi*, octopus, and seaweed, while sitting cross-legged on the hot *ondol*, the Korean centrally-heated floor!

Today Sorae is better known to us because of Sangyun Sô (1846-1926), the first Manchurian Protestant convert, who heard the Gospel from the Scottish missionary, John McIntyre, in 1878. A year after his conversion, Sô was baptized by another Scottish missionary, John Ross (1842-1915), a brother-in-law of John McIntyre. Together this trio translated the Chinese New Testament into the Korean language in 1887, and it was known as the Ross version. In Gale's time Sorae was just "a little Bethlehem" on the west coast of Korea, recognized only by the Korean people, and as Gale said, "never heard of by map-makers or money-makers." Across the sea from Sorae was China. "I often go down and sit upon the rocks and look away off westward across the Yellow Sea to where Goforth, McGillivray...are working," he wrote in the *Knox College Monthly*.

Of particular interest to the Canadian mission work relating to the village of Sorae and to Sangyun Sô is the fact that Gale's sojourn there seems to have set an example for later Canadian missionaries. Malcolm Fenwick, of Markham, Ontario, lived in the village in his early missionary days, and William John McKenzie of Cape Breton lived in Sorae until he died and he was buried there. No doubt these Canadians were also encouraged by this caring Christian family, the Sôs, to come to their village in their first days in Korea, to learn of the people and the country. Thus the little village became an incubator for Canadian missionaries.

In 1898, when the Presbyterian Church in Canada's Board of Missions (Eastern Division) sent the trio of Duncan McRae, Robert Grierson and William Foote (1868-1930) to Korea, Gale resigned from the University College Y.M.C.A. and began to work in the northeastern section of Korea for the Northern Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). From Gale the property and missionary territory was transferred to the Canadian Presbyterian mission. Gale had been ordained the previous year under unusual circumstances — the normal ecclesiasticism was relinquished. He was ordained by the Presbytery of New Albany, Indiana, on May 13, 1897, thanks to the efforts of Samuel Moffet, the Northern Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) missionary. Subsequently Gale received the honorary degree of Doctor on Divinity on May 31, 1904, from

Howard University, Washington, D.C., in recognition of his literary work and his contribution to Bible translation. It seems that this Canadian was recognized by the Americans but not by his fellow countrymen.

Today Gale is still highly respected by the Korean people, both Christians and non-Christians, for his contribution to the modernization and development of Korea during the forty years of his labours there. Gale is certainly a giant of Korean church history and also of modern Korean history. He was a pioneer itinerant missionary, progressive in theology and education, and he was a supreme interpreter of the Korean mind to Western readers and of the West to Korea. In his early days he was a freelance missionary and thus not bound to denominational instructions, nor to family until his marriage to Hattie Heron, widow of the king's personal physician, in 1892. Gale travelled the length of the peninsula twenty-five times by pony or on foot before 1919.

Soon after his arrival in Korea Gale was able to command both the Korean language and the classical Chinese that was the literary language of old Korea. He strove to get the feel of the life of the indigenous people not only through the living-together experience but also through Korean literary works, and his evangelism was the field survey method that he had learned from the McCall Mission in France. As a person he was witty, winsome and sparkling. His Korean name is Ki Il, meaning that he was a wonderful or strange one. Although far away, he remained so close to his sister Sophia Jane — known as Janny — that when she had a baby Gale gave her the name "Corea", using the older form popularized by Jesuit missionaries. In 1900 he finally settled down as a resident minister of a church called Yonmot-gol, presently Yondong Presbyterian Church in downtown Seoul. There he stayed for twenty-seven years, until he left Korea.

One of Gale's most interesting travel itineraries was to Mukden, Manchuria, to visit the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries John Ross and John McIntyre who worked with Koreans there. These two Scots were the seed evangelists outside Korea before American missionaries came to Korea, and they were the most learned and experienced contemporary Westerners on the subject of Korea. On another occasion, in February 1891 Gale and his friend Samuel Moffet, both still bachelors, set off on a 1400-mile trip to Manchuria that lasted more than three months. Gale contributed a full account of this trip to the *Knox College Monthly* in 1892. He could have been annoyed by the onlookers who came to see the "foreign devils", but he explained that "the foreigner is on public exhibition from the time he leaves the capital until he returns", and while in the provinces the travellers sometimes were the targets of stone-throwing. The two men lived on millet and dandelion soup for two weeks and had to fight the fierce wind — "keen as a knife" — and the Mongolian drifting simoon — "like snow at home". In Mukden they met the Scottish missionaries "with whom we enjoyed our visit exceedingly", and Gale stayed there for four days.

James Gale was by nature a teacher. After he became minister of Yonmot-

gol Church he worked with Horace Underwood and Samuel Moffet in founding Jesus Church Middle School (predecessor of the present Kyongshin Middle and High School in central Seoul), where Gale was a teacher and later principal. He also reorganized Yondong Girls' School in Seoul, and taught there many years. It was during his association with these schools that he produced a four-volume textbook, with some 330 pages in each volume, called *Korean Readers* (Yumong Chonja). Through these books he educated Korean youngsters in astronomy, world history and Western literature. He used these texts to challenge the aristocratic society where commerce was always considered the lowest of the social strata. "No human occupation," he wrote, "is superior to trading. Trade is a peaceful warfare." Later he was instrumental in starting a vocational school in connection with the Seoul Y.M.C.A.

Gale also taught at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary in Pyongyang (in present-day North Korea). He held a divergent view on theological education and consequently resigned from the school in 1916. He criticized the current educational system as outdated, and he called for improvements in the methods of teaching, and for upgrading of students' qualifications and of the educational materials in use. He organized the first Education Society in Korean history, enlisting members of the Yondong congregation. In 1917 he organized the Korean Music Research Society and contributed a revision of the Korean hymnbook. He even attempted to introduce indigenous folk-music and mask dances into ritualistic music. He was a founder of the Christian Literature Society of Korea and of the Korean Bible Society, and a member of the Bible Translation Committee. He also was a founding member of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and was later elected Corresponding Secretary and President of the Society.

At present there are two currents in Korean Protestant theology — liberalism and conservatism. Korean church historians generally agree that the Korean liberalism reached its climax in the 1930s mostly through Canadian missionaries such as William Scott (1886-1979), Edward Fraser (1887-1977), and D.A. MacDonald (1883-1938), and through those indigenous theologians educated in Japan who were later associated with the Canadian missionaries. It is interesting to Canadians to see that progressivism was introduced to Korea by these Canadian missionaries and their Korean co-workers, but in fact Gale had already planted a "corn of wheat" of progressive thought with his lonely voice in Pyongyang Theological Seminary.

Gale believed that there should be one institution outside the church to evangelize upper class people and the country's youth, so he encouraged people to found a Y.M.C.A. and in 1903 became a midwife for the birth of the Korea "Y". Through this "Y" activity Gale and other missionaries took the opportunity to inculcate progressive thought and to provide Christian literature to the youth, who were enlightened by it. Many of these "progressives" became members of Gale's church and were recognized as the core of that flock. That

flock in turn later played a leading role in the modernization of Korea, awakening the nation with the liberation movement particularly under the Japanese occupation.

Historically Korea has been a bone of contention between its two powerful neighbours, China and Japan. Gale himself experienced this contention during the Sino-Japanese war and the Japanese occupation of Korea. He thought Korea was "asleep and unheeding", while Japan was "superficially and technically superior to Korea — nevertheless he had deep sympathy for the Koreans. He felt a sense of loyalty to Korea and saw unfairness on the Japanese side which made him displeased with the Japanese occupation. He even sent a personal letter to Lord Bryce in England, describing the terrible acts of brutality that the Japanese were committing against the Koreans and requesting that the British government intervene on behalf of the Korean government. Bryce replied that the British were "in no position" to interfere with Japanese actions against Korea, but advised Gale to foster Korean national spirit through education and literature.

> Gale turned to God in prayer for the Koreans. God, grant that this people may win out in their struggle for liberty. ...Hear the prayers that ascend from the torture-house of the prison. Hear all the prayers from the faithful wives and mothers who wait in deserted houses.

He spoke out to God in sympathy with the helpless Korean people against the Japanese.

> Right is right, as God is God, and thou wilt see right through to the end. God bless Korea in these days of trial, and bring Japan to a place of true repentance and faith.

In 1919, after thirty-one years in Korea, Gale was on furlough in Toronto when the March Independence Movement broke out. Through the *Globe* he spoke publicly about the political situation in Korea. "Undoubtedly the treatment of the Koreans by the Japanese and military officials has been very cruel and entirely uncalled for." He was convinced that the tumultuous political situation in Korea could be attributed to the incapacity of King Ko Jong in dealing with the neighbouring countries.

Beyond direct evangelization, education, pastoring and publicly defending his adopted country, Gale is, however, best remembered for his work in literacy and literature. During forty years in Korea he authored and translated about fifty books. He wrote some twenty-nine books — ten of them in English — eight scholarly works and innumerable articles for magazines in Korea and elsewhere. His major works are *History of the Korean People* (1926), *Korean Folk Tales* (1913), and *Vanguard* (1904), the first novel ever written in English about

Korea. His *English-Korean Dictionary* (1897, 1911, 1930) and his private translation of the Bible were the basis of his reputation as an excellent scholar. He not only wrote these books but translated Western literature into Korean including *Pilgrim's Progress, Robinson Crusoe,* Robert's *Rules of Order*, Harry Emerson Fosdick's *Manhood of the Master, Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth*, and Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation Christian.*

James Gale was primarily an evangelist, but his life was also a bridge between East and West through his literary activity. Unfortunately a fine reputation is often followed by gossip and jealousy. A letter denouncing his missionary life was circulated among the missionaries charging that Gale spent too much time on heathen culture and literature, and not enough on his "main occupation", evangelizing. Gale had attempted to present the Gospel in such a way that the indigenous culture could accept and practise it — in this he was far ahead of his time in theological thought and evangelical methodology. K.S. Latourette, an authority on mission history, once stated that, "there is no such thing as a pure Gospel, because the Gospel always integrated with the indigenous culture." In the area of the integration of religion and culture, Gale was a pioneer, a far-sighted missionary.

The year 1988 marked the one hundredth anniversary of Dr. James Scarth Gale's landing on Korean soil. Two memorable centennial events were observed, in Canada and Korea. In Canada the Presbyterian Church's Board of World Mission and Canadian Korean Christians jointly held a memorial service, a memorial lecture, and a service of dedication of a copper plaque in Gale's home church, St. Andrew's, Alma. The plaque was dedicated by the Korean Christians in Canada and was engraved in English and Korean:

JAMES SCARTH GALE, D.D.

The Rev. Dr. James Gale was born in Alma, Ontario, in 1863. He was appointed in 1888 by University College's Y.M.C.A., University of Toronto, as a pioneer missionary to Korea. He was an outstanding missionary, scholar, writer and foremost literary interpreter of the Korean mind to the Western World.

In his service of 40 years (1888-1928), Dr. Gale translated the Bible into the Korean language and compiled an English-Korean dictionary. He was a founding member of the Korean Y.M.C.A., and Korean Branch of Royal Asiatic Society. He died in Bath, England, in 1937, age 74.

This memorial plaque, commemorating 100 years of Missionary activity, is erected by Korean Christians in Canada in gratitude and affection for Dr Gale's dedication to the Korean people, as a servant of God.

Erected June 25, 1988

In Korea that December, the Centennial Celebration for Canadian Christian Mission in Korea was held for five days, sponsored by the Korean-Canadian Society, Yondong Presbyterian Church, and the Canadian Embassy in Seoul. The Korean-Canadian Society, headed by Kyoo Hyun Lee, former Korean ambassador to Canada, erected a bust of Dr. Gale at the front of Yondong Church where Gale served as a minister for twenty-seven years.

Dr. Gale left Korea on June 22, 1927, a year before his official retirement on August 31, 1928. He spent a few weeks in Vancouver, visiting his old university friends. In Ontario he stayed with his relatives and engaged in preaching at the church of his brother, Robert, at Bayfield, and in other local churches. While still in Ontario he was offered a post as Oriental Specialist in the Library of Congress, but he declined the offer in order to go to England, his wife's native land, where their son George lived. So James Scarth Gale came to Bath, and resided at the same house in which Charles Dickens, whom he admired so much, had once lived, and there he became a member of the Bath Dickens Fellowship.

When the Toronto Dickens Fellowship Club opened in 1929 Gale sent a letter of congratulations. On that occasion Magistrate James Edmund Jones, who had visited Dickens' home in Bath, delivered the opening address, "A Dickensian Pilgrimage." In his address Jones spoke about his journey to Gale's residence, and made his audience feel with him a thrill like that he had experienced when Gale read *The Old Curiosity Shop* to Jones' ten-year-old daughter, upstairs in the very home of Charles Dickens.

On January 31, 1937, at the Ormond Lodge nursing home, after a long period of unconsciousness, James Scarth Gale suddenly sat up, looked around, and said, "How wonderful! How beautiful!" Those were his last words. Was he having a vision of the heavenly home that he always believed awaited him? Or was he experiencing a kaleidoscopic summary of the life that he had lived for seventy-four years?

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Dr. Gale's personal letters and materials are in the possession of Mrs. Donald Farrow.

The Hon. T.B. McQuesten
Official Opening – The Queen Elizabeth Way at St. Catharines, August 1941
Courtesy of Whitehern

Thomas Baker McQuesten Servant of the Public

JOHN C. BEST

TO STUDY THOMAS BAKER MCQUESTEN'S LIFE is, in many ways, to walk through the history of Ontario in the first half of the twentieth century. Before his long career in public life had ended, McQuesten had been an active participant, in some cases playing a leadership role, in many aspects of the development of highways, parks and major public works in modern Ontario.

The McQuestens were of Scotch-Irish descent. Tom's grandfather, Calvin McQuesten, was a New England medical doctor who had settled in Hamilton where he established a prosperous farm machinery plant and foundry. Dr. Calvin McQuesten was a trustee of the American Presbyterian congregation in Hamilton. But that church had been forced to close its doors during a wave of anti-Americanism which followed the rebellion of 1837, and Calvin was entrusted with the assets of the defunct congregation. When the church which is now MacNab Street Presbyterian Church opened its doors in 1854, it attracted many Hamiltonians of the American Presbyterian persuasion. Calvin McQuesten turned over to the new congregation the money which had been entrusted to him years earlier, along with accumulated interest. Thus bolstered, MacNab Street Presbyterian Church, which was adjacent to the McQuesten home in Hamilton, began its ministry; and became the house of worship for all successive generations of the family. In the 1920s MacNab Street Presbyterian Church became one of the strongholds of anti-unionist sentiment.

Isaac Baldwin McQuesten, son of Dr. Calvin, and father of Thomas Baker McQuesten, was raised in relative luxury and privilege. Educated at private schools and at Upper Canada College, Isaac graduated from the University of Toronto, where he received a Master's degree. He then studied law and began his practice in Hamilton. The young lawyer married Mary Jane Baker, the daughter of the Rev. Thomas Baker who had served with distinction in the British Navy during the Napoleonic wars and the War of 1812. Their union produced six children who survived infancy. Thomas Baker McQuesten was born in 1882. Initially Isaac McQuesten's prospects looked bright. He became a popular advocate of education, serving on the Senate of the University of Toronto as well as the Hamilton Board of Education. He was a well-connected Liberal in the days of the Mowat dynasty in Ontario. Unfortunately Isaac made some disastrous business decisions. He had provided financial backing for an inventor whose business acumen fell far short of his creativity. Then Isaac started a textile business in Hespeler which struggled along for several years before failing. The sum of these manufacturing ventures, along with even larger mining losses in Marmora, was a staggering dissipation of the family fortune, and a

broken Isaac, crushed by his failures, was dead at the age of forty-two.

Isaac McQuesten's passing left his widow Mary with four daughters and two sons, including five-year-old Tom, and a tiny estate. Miraculously, the elegant family homestead, Whitehern, in the centre of Hamilton, somehow survived the bankruptcy. Mary Jane McQuesten, whose work in the missionary movement was her prime occupation outside of her family's welfare, determined to bring up her children in the same atmosphere as she had been raised by her soldier-minister father. The children were taught an unyielding code of right and wrong, strict observance of the Sabbath, and the virtues of love of family and self-sacrifice. None of the McQuesten children ever married.

The family encountered many financial hardships while young Tom was going to school in Hamilton, but amazingly Mary Jane was able to send four of her children to university. Tom's elder sister accepted a teaching post at the Ottawa Presbyterian Ladies' College, and the savings she sent home enabled Tom to attend the University of Toronto. Tom supplemented his own expenses by working in the logging camps on the Ottawa River. The summer following his freshman year, Tom and a group of friends climbed onto a boxcar of a Montreal-bound freight train. Once in Montreal, they signed aboard a cattle ship headed to England. The year was 1901. The work aboard ship was exhausting and the food practically inedible, but the boys survived the passage and spent that summer touring the British Isles, taking in the sights and visiting relatives.

On his return to Canada, Tom plunged into his studies at the University of Toronto, initially showing a preference for Classics. He also served as business manager of the student publication *The Varsity*, and was active in fencing, rowing, and rugby. In 1904, Tom competed for the Rhodes Scholarship, and the outcome was to change his career prospects for good. Up until that time it seemed that Tom was headed for an academic career, but after much bitter politicking, Tom lost out in the Rhodes Scholarship race. The academic opportunity gone, Tom settled upon his second choice — a career in law. Tom graduated from Osgoode Hall in 1907, and after trying his hand with a practice in Elk Lake, Ontario, at the height of the Cobalt silver boom, returned to Hamilton and joined his late father's law office. Tom's mentor was James Chisholm, who had begun his career with the young man's father and who had kept a kindly eye on Tom's progress through school, donating sums of money from time to time. Chisholm too, was a staunch Liberal, and he soon had Tom playing an active role in Hamilton politics.

The issue which pushed Tom into elected politics was a very personal one for his family. When Tom was a child the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway had constructed a rail line from Hamilton to Welland that went directly through the McQuesten's well-to-do neighbourhood, cutting off Whitehern from MacNab Street Presbyterian Church. The trains disturbed worshippers and made access to the church difficult, and as the railway flourished, the

number of trains operating in the McQuesten neighbourhood increased sharply. The noise and pollution, day and night, were seen as menaces to the household. Tom's sister Edna had developed a severe nervous disorder, aggravated by fits of hysteria. Increasingly she was tormented by the noise of the trains, and eventually was placed in a sanatorium. For the rest of her shortened life, Edna spent time in and out of hospitals.

Family members blamed the railway for aggravating Edna's health problems, and for speeding the advance of tuberculosis which claimed the life of another sister, Ruby, in 1911. Repeatedly Mary McQuesten tried to sell the house, but the proximity of the railway deterred would-be buyers. By 1912 Tom, now thirty, was head of a delegation of MacNab Street parishioners who petitioned the Hamilton City Council to compel the Railway either to abandon its lines in the neighbourhood and enter the city by another corridor, or to depress its lines sufficiently to reduce the noise and smoke. Tom soon found himself an aldermanic candidate, a post he won easily on New Year's Day, 1913.

When Tom McQuesten joined the Hamilton City Council he organized a special railway committee which engaged in a campaign of warfare against the railway for the next seven years. The committee attempted to block the "T.H. & B." at every turn, as the railway tried to expand its lines in Hamilton. The committee appealed repeatedly to the Railway Committee of the Privy Council, a forerunner of the Transport Board. These trips to the nation's capital brought McQuesten into contact with Noulan Cauchon, an Ottawa town planner. Cauchon was one of Canada's foremost advocates of the "City Beautiful" concepts of urban planning which were then in vogue. Cauchon was consulted in the beautification of Ottawa's downtown — a project that involved the removal of several unsightly railway lines. He also championed the use of the Gothic style in the reconstruction of the Parliament buildings after the fire of 1916. McQuesten's railway committee hired Cauchon and a railway engineer to prepare a study and to recommend solutions to Hamilton's railway difficulties.

Some months later, Cauchon released a plan which called for the abandonment of the existing T.H. & B. right-of-way. All railways entering Hamilton would employ a common route. But Cauchon's recommendations went far beyond the question of railway routing. Cauchon visualized Hamilton with its protected harbour and three-hundred-foot high escarpment as a potential Garden of Eden. He proposed that an amphitheatre be carved out of the Mountain face, that the entire mountain area be planted with trees and shrubbery which, he envisioned, would compete with the Hanging Gardens of Babylon. He saw a triumphal boulevard extending from the harbour to the mountain amphitheatre, rivalling the Champs Elyses. He saw Hamilton Harbour encircled by boulevards and an electric railway. At one point Cauchon even suggested diverting the Grand River over the escarpment as a source of water power. Critical to all of Cauchon's recommendations was the concept that a vast

network of parks was necessary to improve both the health and the enjoyment of life for city dwellers.

McQuesten became seized with Cauchon's visions, and soon was devoting his energies towards trying to advance the Cauchon master-plan in Hamilton. The first step was to press for the adoption of the railway recommendations. The plan to force the T.H. & B. to relocate passed the city council easily, but the federal cabinet, while sympathetic to Hamilton's railway tangle, refused to order the railway to move. McQuesten then tried a different strategy. It was the age of electrical development in Ontario, and Sir Adam Beck, the "Hydro knight", was promoting the establishment of a network of electrified railways across southern Ontario.

McQuesten backed Sir Adam's scheme to build one such line into Hamilton. In return, Beck agreed to route the line through the city in such a way as to enable the T.H. & B. to use the same route. McQuesten had hoped that with an alternate rail line in place, the T.H. & B. might be persuaded to join in a common railway entrance, but the railway eventually refused to budge at all. By the beginning of the 1920s McQuesten had tired of his futile struggles with the railways, and became further disillusioned with civic politics when his plan for a city-owned natural gas system was rejected by the electorate. He resigned from Hamilton city council.

While McQuesten was not successful in implementing Cauchon's railway proposals, his experience in fighting for them made him a lifelong devotee of urban planning and parks development. He was appointed to the Board of Parks Management of Hamilton, a position he held until his death. From this vantage point McQuesten planned parks development on a grand scale. He spearheaded a move to establish a large park on Hamilton's eastern gateway, before the site could be gobbled up in a post-war housing boom. Gage Park became a sixty-five acre oasis of formal gardens, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities. McQuesten also supported moves to purchase lands on the face of the Hamilton mountain in order to preserve them from exploitation by developers.

Throughout the 1920s, McQuesten and the Parks Board pursued a spectacular parks development programme that saw the city acquire thousands of acres of parkland. The Board also acquired the lands which now form the world-famous Royal Botanical Gardens. Part of the latter acquisition was used to induce the trustees of McMaster University, then a Toronto college, to relocate to Hamilton. McQuesten played a key role in assisting McMaster's acquisition and lay-out of grounds, and in doing so helped provide his native city with an institution of higher learning.

The Parks Board also organized a competition for the development of the city's northwestern entrance. An eyesore of iron bridges, railway tracks, and billboards was transformed into a triumphal route flanked by formal gardens. The centre- piece of the development was a broad, concrete bridge adorned by four concrete pylons, conceived by architect John Lyle. McQuesten's later

public works would bear the imprint of his close association with architects — Lyle, and William Lyon Somerville — and landscape artists Carl Borgstrom and Howard Dunnington Grubb. The Board also constructed what was then Canada's largest stadium, which soon became the site of the first-ever British Empire Games.

The 1920s also saw McQuesten deeply involved in the struggle against union between the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches. The question of union between the denominations had been simmering since the beginning of the century. In 1922, when the issue gained momentum again, McQuesten was one of a group of anti-unionists who reactivated the Presbyterian Church Association, a group with the objective of resisting union. As church union became more and more inevitable, the Association shifted its tactics towards trying to salvage as many congregations as possible for the continuing Presbyterian church, and to secure the best settlement possible in the division of church property and assets.

When the United Church of Canada Act was about to go before Parliament McQuesten took one last stab at the union issue. He sent a letter to Prime Minister Mackenzie King, a nominal Presbyterian, which showed the depth of Tom's partisanship towards both his religion and his Liberal politics. "I...hope", he wrote, "that some means will be found to dispose of the proposed Church Union Bill by other means than passing it....It would be a calamity to wipe out the only Church which has consistently supported Liberalism.... All of this to go towards the glorification of the Methodist Church who have been just as consistently Tory...."

By then, however, the battle was nearly over, as McQuesten conceded to his colleagues in the Presbyterian Church Association. Yet the efforts of the Association were not entirely in vain. MacNab Street Presbyterian Church, along with many other congregations, especially the well-funded churches in urban area, voted to remain Presbyterian, and the work of McQuesten and the Association forced compromises that secured better property terms than originally offered. Thereafter McQuesten was viewed as one of Canada's leading Presbyterian churchmen.

As the 1930s approached, McQuesten moved into Ontario politics, a career which saw him bring his organizational skills and creativity to all parts of the province. He had been an unsuccessful candidate in the 1923 provincial election, and had served in a variety of positions in the Hamilton Liberal riding association, including that of president. Hamilton had been barren ground for the Liberals since the beginning of the century but now the provincial party, which had been reduced to a rural-temperance rump of a dozen seats by successive elections through the 1920s, was facing another leadership convention.

McQuesten was one of a group of prominent Liberals who urged Mitchell F. Hepburn to seek the top post. Hepburn was a dynamic young farmer from

Elgin County who had been a federal M.P. since 1926. His skill as a debater and orator had captured the attention of many of the party's old guard. After Hepburn assumed the provincial leadership in 1930, McQuesten intensified his activities with the Ontario Liberal association, becoming president in 1932. Over the next couple of years McQuesten worked diligently assisting the party as it prepared for the next election, advising Hepburn on issues, strengthening the local organizations, and fund-raising.

When the election was called in 1934, Hepburn's dynamic, folksy and often humorous platform performances captured the imagination of a Depression-weary Ontario, and the Liberals were swept to power. McQuesten was elected by a large majority in Hamilton-Wentworth riding, and was invited to join the Hepburn cabinet as Minister of Highways and Public Works. Hepburn placed great confidence in McQuesten's energies and abilities, and added to Tom's responsibilities an appointment to the Hydro-Electric Commission and the chairmanship of the Niagara Parks Commission.

In the next five years, until the beginning of the Second World War, McQuesten presided over an amazing programme of development. The highway system in Ontario underwent an almost complete reconstruction during this period. Strict new engineering standards were implemented, and as a result roads were widened, sharp curves and hills smoothed out, and heavily populated areas were by-passed all across Ontario. Closer to his home, McQuesten promoted a network of four-lane, divided highways connecting Niagara Falls, Hamilton and Toronto, and then heading north to Barrie.

As this new highway system neared completion, permission was granted to name the route the Queen Elizabeth Way in honour of the soon-to-be-visiting monarch. McQuesten saw the Queen Elizabeth Way as a boost to tourism from the United States, which he believed to be a key to Ontario's economic future. An American motorist could cross into Canada at Niagara Falls, and motor to Hamilton or Toronto on the modern, uncongested highway, and if the tourist was interested in the splendour of Ontario's Northland, could turn north along the new Highway 27 before reaching Toronto and be in the wilderness in a short time. As early as 1937 McQuesten was prophesying a four-lane highway stretching from Windsor to the Quebec border, but it would be nearly thirty years before this dream was fulfilled as the Macdonald-Cartier Freeway. In the north of the province McQuesten's ministry built highways where none had existed before. The construction of these northern roads helped the development of mining and lumbering operations, and broadened the tourist vistas of residents and Americans alike.

In the early 1920s McQuesten had been preoccupied with planning an imposing urban gateway — the highway entrance — into his home city, Hamilton, and now that he was a cabinet minister he devoted much of his attention to what he saw as Ontario's gateways — the points of entry from the United States. As chairman of the Niagara Parks Commission he gave many

hours to the development and beautification of the Niagara frontier. The Niagara Parkway, a scenic roadway bordering the Niagara River from Fort Erie twenty-two miles northward to Niagara-on-the-Lake, was reconstructed and widened under McQuesten's direction. At the site of the Canadian Falls, Queen Victoria Park was transformed from its unsightly rustic motif into a Canadian version of Versailles. The Oakes Garden Theatre, styled after a seventeenth-century formal French garden, was laid out on the site of two burned hotels. The gardens were constructed in such a way as to provide a theatre-like prospect of lawns and hedges, with the cataracts acting as a backdrop.

McQuesten embarked on a programme of restoration of historic forts. Fort George, Fort Erie, Butler's Barracks, Navy Hall, and the William Lyon Mackenzie House were all rebuilt at Niagara-on-the-Lake. At the same time, Fort Henry at Kingston underwent a major reconstruction. Later at Fort Erie, Mather Park and a Memorial Arch were developed at the point where Americans cross from Buffalo on the Peace Bridge. McQuesten also commissioned the erection of a memorial arch at Niagara commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the 1837 Rebellion. When Mackenzie King was invited to dedicate the memorial, which honoured King's grandfather among others, the Prime Minister was so moved that he wrote in his diary, "Accepted today an invitation to unveil the memorial arch at Niagara . . a significant fulfilment of God's Holy will." So seriously did King take this invitation to preside over the Niagara ceremonies that his diary contains over twenty pages of his private thoughts as he painstakingly prepared for his trip to Niagara and his speeches there.

The provision of attractive entrances to the province could not be completed without modern, imposing bridges to link Ontario to the United States. McQuesten, who by this time had become unofficially the spokesperson for Ontario's tourism industry, played a key role in the development of three international bridges — the Ivy Lea Bridge at Gananoque, the Bluewater Bridge at Sarnia, and the bridge which preoccupied him most, the Rainbow Bridge at Niagara Falls, The year 1938 saw the completion of the Gananoque and Sarnia spans and the commencement of the Rainbow Bridge.

In many ways June 7, 1939, marked the high point of McQuesten's public life. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth had been touring Canada as a pre-war gesture of unity between Britain and the Commonwealth. On that particular day they visited both Hamilton and Niagara Falls. At Hamilton the royal couple were entertained at the stadium that McQuesten and his Parks Board had constructed years earlier. Then, at St. Catharines, the monarchs' limousine drove through an electric eye which released bunting marking the official dedication of the Queen Elizabeth Way. Later they toured McQuesten's recent parks developments at Niagara Falls, and stopped to take tea with the proud and delighted McQuesten and his colleagues.

There would be other triumphs for McQuesten — the 1941 Act of the

Ontario Legislature establishing the Royal Botanical Gardens, a project that had been a dream of his since the 1920s, and the opening of the Rainbow Bridge for traffic in November, 1941. Still, from that day in June 1939 onward, as war approached, McQuesten's dreams for great public works were increasingly frustrated. When war did break out, all but the most essential highways projects were shelved. Similarly, there was no hope of securing funds for continued park development. McQuesten was forced to mark time, releasing some of his park property in Niagara and Hamilton for military purposes, and assisting in the establishment of Victory gardens! Some of the resources and expertise of his Highways Ministry was used on the construction of military runways at the numerous Commonwealth Air Training Schools that dotted the province.

Another war-related factor eventually brought an end to McQuesten's tenure as a cabinet minister. Mitch Hepburn had developed a deep enmity for Prime Minister King, and in particular Hepburn was openly critical of King as a war leader, seeing the older man as indecisive and afraid to impose military conscription. As Hepburn's verbal assaults on King intensified, the situation became increasingly uncomfortable for McQuesten and other members of cabinet who wanted to remain loyal to both Liberal leaders, if possible. In 1942 Hepburn resigned abruptly, creating a leadership crisis in the provincial government. A few months later the provincial party held a leadership convention at which McQuesten tried for the post but lost to Harry Nixon.

By now the voters of Ontario were tiring of the Liberals. In 1943, faced with a resurgence of the Conservatives and the emergence of a strong C.C.F. party, the Ontario Liberals under Nixon suffered a devastating electoral defeat and found themselves reduced to a fifteen-member rump. McQuesten lost in his riding, and suffered another defeat in the election of 1945. Returning to private life, he ended his days fighting for the development of the Royal Botanical Gardens and other Hamilton parks.

One of McQuesten's last Niagara projects ended in another and final heartbreaking reversal for him. Since 1938 he had been chairman of the Niagara Bridge Commission that had built and now operated the Rainbow bridge. During the war he had persuaded the Commission to construct a carillon at the Canadian approach to the bridge. One of the bells was to be inscribed with a text honouring Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill as "our nation's two great war leaders". The name of Mackenzie King was, however, omitted from the inscription, perhaps because Canada was embroiled in the conscription crisis when the bell was commissioned in 1941, or perhaps because of Hepburn's attitude towards King. Whatever the reason, no change in the inscription had been ordered before the bells were finally delivered in 1947, and King was insulted. In the ensuing bitter public controversy, a surprising amount of popular and press opinion favoured leaving King's name off the bell! Embarrassed by this negative publicity, George Drew, the Conservative Premier of Ontario, dismissed the entire bridge commission, including McQuesten.

This was a sad final chapter to a long career of public service — within weeks McQuesten became gravely ill, and died in January 1948.

Despite the political setbacks at the end of his career, McQuesten could look upon visible signs of his accomplishment in every corner of the Province — highways, bridges, and most importantly, parks. He subscribed to the view that exposure to beauty and communion with nature would bring people closer to God. He was eulogized as a Christian gentleman who, even when burdened with cabinet responsibilities, seldom missed attending services at his beloved MacNab Street Church, and one who took an active role in both the management of that congregation and the affairs of the larger Church. Those who attended his funeral included cabinet ministers, public servants, leaders in business, education, and the clergy. He once remarked to a friend that it was often necessary to "do good deeds by stealth", and that a person striving to live a spiritual life had better be prepared to endure many hardships. Despite the political setbacks late in his career, Tom McQuesten faced life with faith and optimism.

For a man as averse to self-aggrandizement as McQuesten, it is ironic that so many of his lifetime works remain today as moments to his vision and creativity. Millions of people from around the world visit his parks, drive on his highways, and cross his bridges each year. He played an important, even vital, role in the improvement of the province's transportation system, and indirectly in the emergence of the "Golden Horseshoe" — the most densely populated and most prosperous region in the country. Combining beauty with utility in all his public works, Thomas Baker McQuesten was a significant shaper of the landscape of modern Ontario.

Records of the McQuesten family can be found with the Archives of Ontario, the Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Whitehern and the Hamilton Public Library.

The author has written a biography of McQuesten, which is expected to appear in 1991-2.

Ernest Campbell MacMillan
Courtesy of University of Toronto Archives

Sir Ernest MacMillan
Giant of Canadian Music

HUGH D. McKELLAR

ERNEST CAMPBELL MACMILLAN was the last Canadian to receive a knighthood from his sovereign's hand before his equally staunch fellow-Presbyterian, Prime Minister Mackenzie King, permanently slammed that door to distinction. Characteristically, Sir Ernest chose to interpret his citation for "service to music in Canada" as a tribute less to himself than to his field and to the groups with whom he had worked. Granted, in 1935 musicians in Canada, and in most western countries, needed all the reassurance they could get; yet all concerned recognised that both the field and the groups were largely what the new knight had made them.

Canadian-born musicians have long found it easier to gain acclaim abroad than to induce their compatriots to give them the time of day. Only one of them ever earned the supreme accolade of mention in school history textbooks: Louis Jolliet, who in 1672 took time off from playing the organ in Quebec's principal church to help Father Jacques Marquette explore the Mississippi by canoe, at whatever cost to his finger-fluency. Incidentally,the church he served housed two organs for forty years before even one arrived on what is now American soil, while at the Ursuline convent a block away, before Jolliet was born, Mother St-Joseph was teaching little Algonquin and Huron girls to play the viol, hoping thereby to curb their annoying habit of making for the woods whenever weather permitted.

Canadian musicians cannot fairly blame their low profile, as they are sometimes heard to do, on the country's comparatively recent emergence from pioneering conditions — from the very beginning of European settlement, our forebears could secure any musical instrument they wanted badly enough, and often brought astonishing ingenuity to the task. Seldom, however, did they listen with concentration to a piece of music purely for its own sake. Like most Europeans before the rise of Romanticism, they valued chiefly the contribution which music could make to, say, the solemnity of a church service, the conviviality of a social gathering, or the euphoria of a victory celebration. Thus they felt rather uneasy about a person willing to devote time, attention, and energy to such an ancillary art.

Perhaps Ernest MacMillan's greatest "service to music in Canada" was to demonstrate that this entrenched attitude was not the only one possible. When he first attracted notice as a child prodigy, nobody could fault him for exercising the remarkable gifts which he obviously possessed. Like that earlier child prodigy, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, he had a father unusually well positioned to oversee the development of those gifts. But whereas the Mozarts excelled in

dealing with notes, the MacMillans' strength lay in dealing with people; very modestly creative themselves, they could unobtrusively dispose others to work willingly towards goals of their choosing. Had their persuasive powers complemented poor musical judgement, their influence could have been as baneful as it turned out to be beneficial.

Alexander MacMillan had emigrated to Ontario shortly after graduating in 1887 from the University of Edinburgh, near which his mother and his sister Margaret, a highly trained musician, continued to live. After a brief pastorate in Huron County, during which he married Wilhelmina Ross, he was called in 1892 to Mimico by a congregation which soon had two causes to rejoice with him. Ernest's birth on 18 August 1893 had been preceded by the General Assembly's appointment of Alexander to its Hymnal Committee, whose secretary and moving spirit he soon became. Presbyterians were then Canada's only denomination with a hymnbook of their own; by way of cementing the union of 1875, Assembly had mandated the compilation of the *Hymnal* issued in 1880, and supplemented it by a *Children's Hymnal* in 1884.

Within a decade, however, Assembly was considering an attractive proposal emanating from the Church of Scotland: that a hymnbook for use by all Presbyterians in the British Empire should be prepared — in the motherland, naturally, but after consultation with colonials. Alexander MacMillan, with family in Edinburgh, was a logical choice as one of Canada' contributors to this project, which at first he heartily supported. But then his colleagues demurred at including even a sampling of the American gospel songs that had understandably become more familiar and popular in Canada than in Australia or South Africa. Reluctantly, MacMillan advised Assembly to withdraw from the all-Empire project, and to issue instead a consolidated, revised, and expanded version of its existing books. When Oxford University Press offered the Assembly better terms than any Canadian publisher for producing such a book, he arranged to stay in Britain to see *The Presbyterian Book of Praise* through publication in 1897. His conduct displays two traits on which his son would later build: sensitivity to the needs and wishes of the constituency he wanted to help, and readiness to alter or adapt the practices of other countries, however revered, until they suited Canada's particular situation.

While Alexander and his sister Margaret read proof sheets, Ernest was concentrating, at his maternal grandparents' home in Toronto, on mastering the skills of walking and talking to the point where he could enter kindergarten at Rosedale Public School. Already he was displaying a formidably retentive memory, especially in connection with anything musical. When the new century dawned, he was tall enough to begin organ lessons with Arthur Bailey at Sherbourne Street Methodist Church (now St. Luke's United), not far from the church which was to call Alexander on his return from Britain in 1907. Massey Hall, a year younger than Ernest, then had a two-manual pipe organ, which a yellowing newspaper photograph shows Ernest playing at a "Festival of Lilies"

in 1904. But in the following year, because of Alexander's health, the family moved to Edinburgh, where Ernest studied with the celebrated blind organist Alfred Hollins, and besides attending school began working with a private teacher towards the examinations for the B. Mus. of Oxford University. Although this degree could still be earned extramurally, its requirements and reputation had, in the previous decade, been considerably raised during the professorship of another precocious boy grown up, Sir John Stainer — whose example Ernest later followed, deliberately or not, in two respects.

While Stainer's talent secured him enviable organistships from his teens onward, he was generous-hearted enough never to forget the multitude of musicians, amateur and professional, who were doing the best they could with a fraction of his ability and opportunities; through precept, example and publication he did his utmost to help both them and their hearers. He constantly tried to raise the esteem in which musicians were held by the public, though he felt that many of them had concentrated on music so exclusively that they could not easily mingle and converse with people with wider interests — who accordingly put them down as craftsmen with tunnel vision. Stainer's own career had benefited greatly from his decision, while serving as organist of an Oxford college, to earn an arts degree, because in the process he was able to meet on common ground with the decision-makers of his generation, and he spent much of his adult life building similar bridges between musicians and influential members of the society around them.

As for young Ernest MacMillan, after passing the Associateship examination of the Royal College of Organists in 1907, he returned the next year with his parents to Toronto, where he entered Jarvis Collegiate and became organist of the newly-built Knox Church on Spadina Avenue. He gave up this post in 1911 to return to Britain, where he passed with distinction the Fellowship examination of the RCO, and completed Oxford's requirements for his B. Mus. before his eighteenth birthday. That fall, he entered a modern history programme at the University of Toronto, meeting his expenses by commuting on weekends to Hamilton to serve St. Paul's Church as organist-choirmaster. He managed also to help his father edit *The University of Toronto Hymn Book* of 1912; that volume contributed towards the General Assembly's decision in 1914 to release Alexander from pastoral responsibilities so that he could instruct congregations and theological students across the country in the choice and singing of hymns. By then, Ernest felt he could afford to study piano (as he had never got around to doing) privately in Britain, and decided to go there by way of the Wagner summer festival at Bayreuth, unaware that the rulers of Europe and their advisers were on the verge of behaving as compulsively and disastrously as any Wagnerian character. While he was in Bavaria, World War I broke out and he found himself interned as an enemy alien in a camp hastily converted from a race-track at Ruhleben, near Berlin.

The Ruhleben camp, while no luxury resort, was a far more pleasant place

to spend the war years than, say, the Western Front. Ernest disciplined himself to work each day at composition exercises, and completed without hindrance a choral setting, with orchestral accompaniment, of A.C. Swinburne's poem, "England". This he sent, through the "Prisoners-of-War Education Committee" (imagine such a civilized body trying to function in any subsequent war!), to Oxford, whose examiners accepted it as the "exercise" for the doctorate in music which the university granted him *in absentia* shortly before the Armistice, and shortly after his father finished work on a revised and expanded *Book of Praise*. (The University of Toronto, likewise patriotically co-operative, had granted him a B.A. in 1915.) Meanwhile, however, he was acquiring practical experience with an orchestra in a way he would hardly have chosen, but which did him yeoman service.

Ruhleben housed a fair number of English-speaking musicians accustomed, in that pre-radio era, to arranging "entertainments" for and at social gatherings. For them, preparing and presenting musical comedies was a logical way of raising their own and their listeners' spirits. Whereas a violinist or flautist was apt to have his instrument in his luggage when he was picked up for internment, this was hardly feasible for an organist; hence Ernest was drafted to conduct the first makeshift orchestra, and revealed — perhaps learned — that he could dispose people to work smoothly together under far-from-ideal conditions. He at least knew the effect he wanted to secure from each instrument, even when he could not have told a player how to produce it — but interned instrumentalists have plenty of time to explain and demonstrate technical matters to anyone who cares to listen. Thus, by the time the Armistice of November 1918 let him out of Ruhleben, Ernest had more practical acquaintance with orchestral instruments, and more experience in organising and directing, than he could easily have acquired otherwise.

On his return to Toronto in early 1919 he was named organist-choirmaster of Timothy Eaton Memorial Methodist Church, which had opened its doors just as he left for Bayreuth. His marriage to Laura Elsie Keith soon followed. Under the auspices of the Canadian Academy of Music, he taught organ students on a one-to-one basis, including Charles Peaker and Frederick Sylvester, both of whom were taken on staff soon after the Academy merged with the Toronto Conservatory of Music in 1924. At this point the veteran Augustus Vogt, who had founded the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir during his time as organist of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, was the Conservatory's principal, and also dean of the University of Toronto's fledgling faculty of music — which was, like Oxford's, better equipped to examine students than to train them. By the time that Vogt's death in 1926 opened both these positions to Ernest MacMillan, he was conversant with the condition of classical music in Canada, and had taken some necessarily modest steps towards its improvement.

Each June since 1911 teachers on the Conservatory staff had fanned out across the Dominion to conduct local examinations mostly in piano and singing,

but sometimes in string and wind instruments as well. In his travels as an examiner, and as an adjudicator at competitive festivals, Ernest saw clearly why his father's recent work had been so necessary and welcome. To be sure, musicians and students in small places often needed a clearer idea of what to aim at; but even more, they needed a pat on the back from someone who, in their eyes, counted in the great world outside. Alexander MacMillan was continuing to give just such encouragement to ministers and church musicians, persuading them that both they and their labours really did matter. Could Ernest provide the same kind of guidance and emotional support on a larger and wider scale?

He attacked the task on several fronts. He began publishing arrangements, easily and effectively performable by church choirs or by choral societies, of folk-songs collected in Quebec and along the Pacific coast by the ethnologist Marius Barbeau, in hopes of persuading urban Canadians that not all melodies were created long ago or far away. Realising (just as Stainer had done) that schools could do a great deal for music if classroom teachers knew what they were about, he compiled anthologies of songs for school use, culminating in *A Canadian Song Book* (1937). He prepared guides to help piano-teachers impart two vital but neglected components of musicianship — sight-reading and ear-training. But obviously, students were unlikely to work hard at acquiring skills that they could see no prospect of putting to rewarding use.

To this end, Ernest organised in 1923 a performance of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion*, using, just as he had in Ruhleben, whatever musical forces he could get — in this case the choirs of Timothy Eaton and St. Andrew's (Bloor Street) churches, supplemented by the Conservatory's voice students and accompanied by its teachers and students of orchestral instruments. This proved to be the first of thirty annual presentations of the *Passion* under his baton, although only the first three were given at Timothy Eaton Church because he resigned his position there in 1925 when that Methodist congregation entered the United Church of Canada, while he remained Presbyterian. His father made the opposite decision, and five years later brought his ripened expertise to editing the United Church's *Hymnary*, which in 1936 the Convention Baptists adopted with slight modifications. Thus Canada's Presbyterians sang for seventy-five years, and most of its other Protestants for forty, only such words and tunes as seemed good to one wise man.

The *Hymnary* came into a society numbed by the Great Depression, which forced most families to move music lessons and concert tickets even lower on their scale of priorities. Especially hard hit were members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra, who had always had to supplement their salaries by teaching or by playing outside engagements, often in theatres — until the advent of movie sound-tracks displaced them. Then, in 1931, their founding conductor, Luigi von Kunits, died. Despite his existing commitments, Ernest MacMillan took over the podium and held the demoralised ensemble together through the grim years largely by force of personality (although precious little

other employment was open to the players), discreetly including in its concerts as much contemporary music as affluent patrons would tolerate. The orchestra not only survived, but improved to the point where its conductor was regularly receiving guest engagements in the United States, and even considered accepting a permanent post there. The outbreak of war in 1939, however, convinced him to stay in Toronto and try to avert such disintegration as its musical organisations had suffered during World War I.

One indicator of the respect Sir Ernest commanded at this time is the request he received from a Vancouver teacher, Marjorie Agnew, to lend his name to a project which she wished to organise in the city's high schools, since he was the only Canadian artist in any field whose name would mean anything to the musically-talented students whom she hoped to encourage. Members of these "Sir Ernest MacMillan Fine Arts Clubs" raised money for scholarships by ushering in Vancouver's concert halls, where they heard more good music than they could otherwise have done, occasionally under Sir Ernest's direction; diligent youngsters might then be allowed to meet him backstage, or even over lunch.

In 1942, by giving up the Conservatory principalship, Sir Ernest was able to take over direction of the Mendelssohn Choir on the retirement of Vogt's first successor, Dr. Herbert Fricker. To the Lenten performances of the Bach *Passion* which had continued in the University's Convocation Hall since 1926 despite precarious financing, he was able to add pre-Christmas performances of Handel's *Messiah* in Massey Hall; after 1950 the *Passion* presentations moved there also. The CBC always broadcast these performances coast to coast; hence, until the advent of television, an invitation from Sir Ernest to appear as a soloist in either masterpiece was the nearest a Canadian singer could come to honour in his own country — a fact that Lois Marshall and Jon Vickers, among others, thoroughly appreciated. Hard hit though both choir and orchestra were by members' absence in the armed forces, they emerged from the war years on a sound enough footing to let their conductor turn his energies in yet another direction.

Having done what he could for performers and students of music, he accepted in 1947 the presidency of the nascent Composers, Authors, and Publishers Association of Canada (CAPAC), which he retained until 1969. In this capacity he tried to arrange not only for performances of Canadians' music, but for a modicum of recognition and reward for composers. This work strengthened his already formidable network of coast-to-coast contacts until he was the only logical choice as editor of *Music in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1955), the first such survey ever undertaken. But was that not true of each position he had so far held — that, at the time, he was the only person on the scene with the knowledge and the personal qualities to accomplish what needed doing? Why should he continue to shoulder responsibilities past the point where they could be entrusted to other capable people?

For example, soon after the Second World War ended, the University of Toronto felt ready to offer a degree course for potential teachers of music in schools, who would have to attend classes instead of just presenting themselves for examination. Once Sir Ernest had seen to it that this course would include academic subjects as well as music, he retired as dean of the faculty of music in 1952, and let others implement the new venture. Similarly, he judged that a quarter-century with the Toronto Symphony Orchestra was enough; on his retirement in 1956 the position attracted many competent applicants, as it assuredly had not in 1931. But his retirement from the Mendelssohn Choir the following year (during which he also had the rare privilege of helping his father celebrate the seventieth anniversary of his ordination) may well have been submitted in preparation for beginning another venture which no one else had the prestige to handle so well.

In 1952 the federal government had received the report of a royal commission chaired by Vincent Massey on arts, letters, and sciences in Canada, which had recommended the creation of a body to evaluate and fund projects and activities in these fields. Three years later, two millionaires obligingly died close, and the government decided to use the substantial death duties from their estates as the capital whose interest might be distributed each year by such a body as Massey had proposed, to be called the Canada Council. But the Council obviously needed members whose wisdom would command respect; and since no one was better qualified than Sir Ernest to pass judgement on musical matters, he was invited to become a charter member of the Council, and he remained one until 1963, by which time his eyesight was deteriorating seriously. Although his vision faded, his memory assuredly did not, and his undimmed ability to play or conduct any work which he already knew suggested to his former student and long-time associate Charles Peaker an exciting possibility.

Since becoming organist in 1944 of Toronto's largest church, St. Paul's Anglican, Peaker had directed and accompanied a major choral work each Good Friday evening, when it would conflict with very few services or presentations elsewhere. After a decade, he could count on filling most of the church's 2800 seats, and he felt the time had come for a breakthrough. Accordingly, he invited Sir Ernest to conduct the choir and orchestral players engaged for the occasion, in an oratorio or comparable choral work of his choice; and these Good Friday presentations, for which admission was never charged, became a local institution until 1967. Perhaps their finest hour came in 1962, when 1500 people were forced to listen to Mozart's *Requiem* from the parish hall over the sound system, because the church could hold no more without contravening fire regulations. But such engagements by Sir Ernest became increasingly less feasible, until a stroke in 1971 ruled them out altogether. Death came to Sir Ernest MacMillan on May 6, 1973.

By then, of course, Toronto was a larger and very different sort of city than it had been even twenty years earlier, when musicians had spoken of Sir Ernest

as Shakespeare made Cassius speak of Caesar: "Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world like a colossus." As director of Canada's leading orchestra, choir, and music-teaching institution, he had accomplished so much, with so little visible effort, that only two responses were possible from colleagues: heart-felt admiration, and the bitter envy endemic in any field where the available pie will seldom go round all the people who want pieces. Few of the people who longed for his retirement could remember the Toronto situation to which he returned in 1919, because they had either lived elsewhere or were too young; that world was indeed narrow, and he had devoted his life to widening it until no colossus could bestride it. Neither had he ever felt a need to bolster his own position by eliminating potential rivals; anyone who aspired to beat him at his own game was welcome to try — but who could? Not surprisingly, the people who succeeded to his several responsibilities avoided direct comparison with him by changing the rules of the game however they might, and relegating Sir Ernest MacMillan to the realm of legend.

In August 1989 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada set a plaque, commemorating Sir Ernest and his varied contributions to the country's musical development, into the outer wall of Massey Hall, where the musicians who pass it will be reminded gently that within that auditorium there once laboured a musical giant, the latchet of whose shoes they are, all too often, not worthy to unloose.

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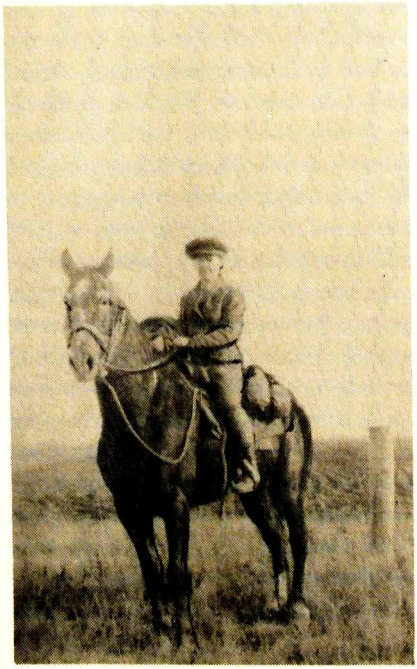
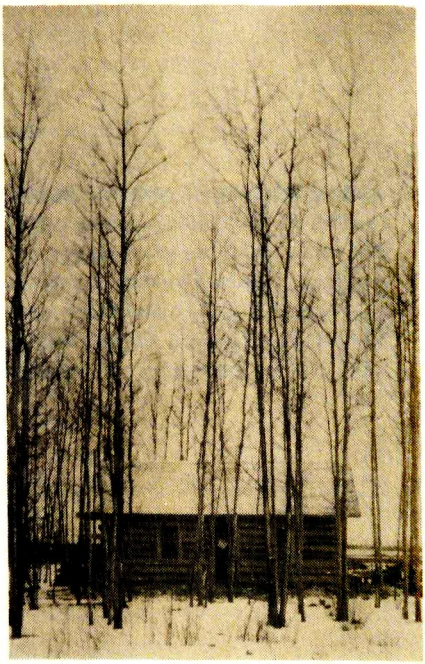
No monograph on Sir Ernest has yet been published, but the *Encyclopedia of Music in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, 1981) appends to a useful article (pp.582-3) a list of his published compositions and writings, as well as articles published about him up to 1980. The music division of the Metro Toronto Reference Library maintains a clipping file on him, now party on microfilm, and the Presbyterian Church Archives has a copy of the Rev. Alexander MacMillan's uncompleted memoir, dealing largely with Sir Ernest's youth, as transcribed, edited, and duplicated for subscribers by Dr. Keith MacMillan in 1988.



Ella Margaret Strang Savage
Courtesy of Womens Missionary Society



The Doctor's Residence
Courtesy of Womens Missionary Society

Ella Margaret Strang Savage, 1896-1970 Medical Missionary to the Peace River and Cold Lake Districts

MICHAEL OWEN

THE UNION OF 1925 created much difficulty in the Canadian West for the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada. After the formation of the United Church, Presbyterian congregations in western Canada were few and widely separated, even in relatively well-populated areas of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In 1924, the year before union, the Presbyterian Church in Canada had 117 congregations and 111 mission fields. Four years later, there were only 31 Presbyterian congregations and 16 missions. In regions beyond the three major cities of Edmonton, Calgary and Red Deer, pastoral oversight to Presbyterians in such frontier regions as the Peace River district was infrequent and often only possible in the summer when theological students visited these communities.

In the Peace River District of Alberta (approximately 450 km northwest of Edmonton), a fertile grain growing area, Presbyterians had accounted for approximately 22 per cent of the population (2,713) in 1921, and formed the largest Protestant denomination in the region. After Union and with continued settlement in this district, in 1931 Presbyterians accounted for 9.8 per cent of the population (3,396). Although all the Presbyterian congregations in the Peace River District voted to join the union in 1925, a minority of Presbyterians supported the continuing Presbyterian Church, and they were joined by new arrivals from other prairie districts.

As the Presbyterian Church attempted to reorganize, the call of these dispersed adherents on the fringes of settlement did not go unheard. The Church, however, was unable to meet their immediate requests for assistance or to re-establish the breadth of pre-1925 congregations and missions. In 1928, the Home Mission Report of the General Board of Missions revealed:

> Earnest pleas for assistance come from every quarter of the field, both at home and abroad... . As soon as our Church is ready for expansion there are wide open doors everywhere inviting us to enter in. The developments in Northern Quebec, Northern Ontario, Northern Manitoba, Northern Saskatchewan, and also in the Peace River country and parts of British Columbia, all call for workers... .To some of these settlements we have sent missionaries for the summer to spy out the land.

In the same report, the Rev. Dr. M. White, synodical missionary for Alberta, reported that David K. Perrie, a student from Knox College, Toronto, had scouted the Peace River country. Perrie's mission was that of surveyor, to visit as many families and settlements, to hold services, and to ascertain the need for Presbyterian services in this district. One year later, in 1929-30, the Rev. E.A. Wright arrived in the Peace River district and established himself at Grande Prairie and at Brownvale, north of the Peace River, the first ordained Presbyterian minister to settle in this district in the post-union era. In his report for 1930, he emphasized the needs of the Peace River country and noted that a deaconess would be able to "continue the work during the summer... ."

The Presbyterian Church still sent summer students to the Peace River district to establish congregations and to bring the Word to the scattered settlers of this remote region of north western Alberta and north eastern British Columbia. This work had been quite successful, but a permanent missionary was needed to serve communicants during the winter months as well.At last, in 1931, the Presbyterian Church was able to respond to the call of the people of the northern Peace River country — it appointed Dr. Ella Margaret Strang, as a medical missionary.

Doctor Strang, a native of Exeter in south-western Ontario and only the third woman graduate of the University of Western Ontario's medical school, arrived in Alberta in October 1931. Margaret Strang received her medical degree in 1929, and before her appointment as medical missionary she had assisted an older doctor in Ayr, Ontario. She had become deeply interested in mission work, and applied to the Presbyterian Church's Home Mission Board on the advice of the Rev. W. Patterson Hall of Galt, Ontario.

News of Dr. Strang's appointment was welcomed by E.A. Wright, who informed the Synod of Alberta in October, 1931 of the pending arrival of Dr. Strang, "a medical missionary for the Battle River Country. . . ." One year later, the convener of missions for the Synod of Alberta told the General Board of Missions that "the recent appointment of Dr. Strang has been a blessing and boon to the people in her charge."

Although a woman and not ordained, Margaret Strang served as Presbyterian "minister" to the Dixonville congregation and other settlements in the northern Peace River district from 1931 until 1936, when the Rev. George Hutchinson was appointed minister to the Dixonville congregation. Even after his arrival, however, Dr. Strang Savage (she had been married in 1934) remained active in the congregation, assisting particularly with the social side of church life, such as the formation of a CGIT group. In 1943 she moved to Cold Lake, Alberta, to serve for twenty-two years as the provincial Medical Officer of Health and resident physician at the John Neil Hospital, a former Women's Missionary Society hospital then under the authority of the United Church Woman's Missionary Society.

After Doctor Savage left Dixonville the field was served by ordained

ministers from Brownvale and intermittently by deaconesses: Miss Almeda Hincks, Miss C. Brecke, and Miss Rae McLetchie. When Hincks and McLetchie married local men they ended their service as deaconesses. These women had worked for the Presbyterian Church as deaconesses and, prior to church union, as missionaries on a limited basis. Doctor Savage was, however, one of the first woman missionaries in the post-1925 era. Her career as missionary, medical doctor, wife and mother, demonstrates how Presbyterian women extended and maintained religious life on the frontier.

When Doctor Strang came to northern Alberta she surveyed the perimeters of her prospective charge, including Notikewin in the north where there was a resident United Church minister and a provincial government doctor. She decided to concentrate on the district of the Whitemud River, near Dixonville, an area that had neither a Protestant minister or a medical doctor. In making this decision she was responding in part to the request of Buster Dixon, one of the leading settlers, who had promised both property and his support for the mission.

The missionary-doctor began holding religious services in a bunkhouse, until 1932 when a newly-built school house provided more attractive surroundings for worship. Meanwhile she, Buster Dixon and other local residents constructed a three-room log manse, sixteen by twenty-four feet, which was furnished by the Womens' Missionary Society of Edmonton. Being a young woman "who liked the outdoors and carpentering almost as much as she liked the practice of medicine and the preaching of the gospel," Margaret again joined the male volunteers the following year to build the Dixonville church!

Doctor Savage was primarily a medical missionary but she was also an evangelist. From the outset of her mission in 1931 she kept the religious life of her settlers at the forefront. With relief supplies and medicine she advanced Christian life and the Presbyterian Church on the Peace River frontier. She organized Sunday schools, held church services at Dixonville and Beaton Creek. With the assistance of New St. James Presbyterian Church, London, Ontario and a private individual in Edmonton, she completed the construction and furnishing of the log church at Dixonville. The Rev. Dr. James Mackay of the New St. James Church presided at the opening of this new church and, since Margaret was not ordained, he also conducted communion services and ordained three elders.

As "minister" Doctor Savage served the district between Peace River and Battle River — the settlements of Dixonville, Clear Hills and Hasel — holding church services at Dixonville weekly and at Clear Hills every other Sunday. She organized an "indefatigable" Dixonville Ladies Aid which, like most ladies aid groups, held regular meetings, planned and operated bazaars and annual "fowl" suppers, knitted goods for relief and to raise funds for foreign missions, and supported the budget of the church. Moreover, she interested this group of women, living on the northern limits of settlement in Alberta, in both

community service and foreign missions, and formed a Women's Missionary Associate Society in 1934. She also gave special attention to the religious education of both children and adults, holding Sunday schools at which the "scholars" worked on Presbyterian Memory Courses and acquired diplomas of proficiency.

With all these regular religious services in addition to her medical practice, Margaret Strang found that working in a frontier district was a heavy challenge. In the early 1930s the Peace River district faced many difficulties. Agricultural failures in the southern parts of the three prairie provinces during the late twenties forced displaced persons to seek more fertile agricultural regions. The Peace River district, long considered a prime wheat producing region, was one destination for many of these settlers. The depression of the 1930s and the collapse of the international agricultural market, however, meant that even that promising area could not provide adequately for a rapid expansion of population. As a result, Doctor Strang's work during her years as a Presbyterian missionary was as much social as medical or religious.

Relief work quickly assumed much prominence in Margaret's activities. As early as 1931 the distribution of relief clothing was a major responsibility, and for the next seven years her congregation received bales of clothing from church groups in eastern Canada, as well as financial aid from congregations in Ontario and Edmonton. She reported,

> Much distress has been relieved in this district by the supplies shipped in to the missionary. In some cases the children had not sufficient clothes to attend school, and it was indeed a joy to act as trustee for the distribution of clothing to those who need it so badly.

Strang's attitude toward this element of her work reflected the conservative notions of relief within Canadian society in the 1930s. In 1933, when the "calls for the contents [of the bales] have been numerous", she "investigated" needy cases and helped those she considered deserving. This onerous duty became necessary as a result of "hard feelings between neighbours over the distribution of clothing" during the previous year. Strang noted, however, that :

> those who can do so, gladly pay a very little for what clothes they receive and all funds thus received, are turned in to purchase of wool, shirting and overall denim, which is made up by those who need these articles of necessary clothing, not provided in the bales.

In 1933-34, Strang re-instituted the pay-as-you-can system of relief, accepting from relief recipients whatever they had to spare — "cash, vegetables, wood, hay, or work." The reason for this system of relief was to correct "to some extent, the abuse of free relief supplies and put it on a basis where proud and

independent people can use it when necessary, without loss of self-respect." Exceptions were made for "infants, the aged, destitute or very ill." By 1936, the Dixonville missionary no longer requested relief assistance from churches in the more settled regions of Canada, and that year she seemed upset when "bales and parcels [were] sent without solicitation. . . ." One year later her report was somewhat stronger. "In spite of a request for no relief supplies this year, a great quantity arrived at the Mission."

To Margaret Savage and many of her colleagues, the distribution of relief supplies was a distasteful service. Not only did it cause difficulty between settlers within the region (hence the need for the doctor to handle all distribution of relief supplies by herself rather than relying on the ladies aid); but Strang believed that it undermined the self-esteem of the settlers and, if continued, would create an underclass of society dependent upon charity. She willingly assisted those who needed help but looked with suspicion upon public relief.

As a missionary doctor, Margaret Savage recognized that medical service could be a great aid to the religious purposes of the Dixonville mission. In her first report to the General Board of Missions, she said she had "been privileged to do considerable medical work throughout the winter." Much of this medical service comprised of much minor medical assistance with some "serious cases" that required hospitalization in Grande Prairie.

Some of the assistance provided by Doctor Savage was dental and, she noted, an opportunity existed for a newly-graduated dentist in these northern regions. While the need for medical services was great, she and her colleagues were of the opinion that medical services, like relief, should not be provided free of charge. In her 1932 report, she stated that "those who cannot afford to pay for medical attention are treated free; others who can pay a little are glad to do so." She emphasized that "medical services have not been given free of charge."

> The character of the people, their financial situation, the dependence of many on government relief and relief clothing supplied by the churches, made free medical service unwise. Too much charity is a curse, not a blessing.

Doctor Savage justified this policy by noting that, "except for individual contribution, the church does not provide the mission with funds for drugs or supplies." Therefore, "in order to balance expenses, the people are asked to pay for medicines and some fee for services." Yet she was not too harsh upon the indigent settlers of the Peace district — her fee was always "small and adjusted to the patient's circumstances." Financially, however, the mission annually reported a loss on its medical services.

Before church union, the Women's Missionary Society of the Presbyterian Church helped establish pioneer medical services in the Grande Prairie district of northern Alberta. Deaconesses, nurses and doctors all received financial and

organizational support of the WMS and, indeed, the WMS built the "Katherine Prittie" Hospital at Grande Prairie. Gradually the local residents recognized the importance of this service and in 1922 four municipalities in Grande Prairie district leased the hospital from the WMS and later transformed it into a municipal hospital.

Although she accomplished much, the doctor was always dissatisfied with the progress of the Church and the people. From the outset she had worked tirelessly with the church elders to improve the spiritual life of the frontier district of Dixonville. After years of combining a medical mission with an evangelical mission, she received assistance on the evangelical side in 1935 at Dixonville from four young men from Knox Church, Calgary. One of them, Sidney Jacobs, remained over the winter months on contract to the Board of Missions. Such temporary assistance ensured that the work would continue when the doctor was preoccupied with her medical work.

On a longer term basis, the missionary endeavours of such men as the Rev. T.A. Rodger of Calgary, then moderator of the Synod of Alberta who was given special leave to make an evangelical tour of the Peace River district in 1934, prepared the ground for a full-time, permanent missionary. The following year the Rev. George Hutchinson was appointed missionary to the Peace River district at Dixonville, showing the Church's commitment to the religious life of the frontier district. Together these developments brought some who were "both careless and prayerless" back into the church.

These changes gave "The Little Doctor", now married, the opportunity to attend primarily to medical services, and to restrict her evangelical and social work to women and young girls. On the medical side she also got an assistant, a nurse, Miss Evans from Vancouver, who was put in charge of the Dixonville office and was "able to answer most of the medical calls." Such assistance had now become essential to Dr. Strang Savage, because since her marriage increased demands for her medical services constantly undermined her efforts to establish and extend the evangelical side of the mission.

The demands of her medical practice continued to grow until in 1935 Margaret Strang Savage described them as constituting "almost a full-time job for one doctor." A year later, when a doctor located to the north was recalled by the Alberta government and not replaced, she found it necessary to travel even more widely to care for the health of the scattered settlers. In 1936-37 the Rev. C.E. Fisher, convener of home missions for the Peace River District, noted that she was the only medical doctor in the region and that she had to take her daughter, "only a few months old," with her on medical calls.

Margaret Strang Savage's activities, like those of most pioneer missionaries, reached even beyond the medical and spiritual side of life. As important for the settlers was the social dimension of the mission (not including the social services) — the various societies and other activities sponsored by the church. As early as 1932 she was combating a "lack of neighbourly spirit and co-

operation" in the Dixonville settlement by establishing monthly community nights featuring local talent, creating an orchestra and choir, organizing a short-lived night school, and initiating annual Christmas gatherings. In 1932-33, the Ladies Aid assisted in the establishment of a circulating library that, by 1934, provided "the best of reading materials over a great stretch of territory and [was] a real source of pleasure and profit to the pioneers."

For the years 1936 to 1943, little is known of the work of Dr. Margaret Strang Savage. Undoubtedly these were the years that she devoted to child-rearing, as she had three children. We do know that in 1942-43 she substituted for Dr. Doidge in the United Church mission hospital at Battle River, and the following year, upon the request of the United Church at Cold Lake, Alberta, she joined the John Neil Hospital as resident doctor and also became the provincial Medical Officer of Health.

At Cold Lake, Margaret once again combined medical and social service. Not only was she the sole physician in Cold Lake but also served nearby towns, both in Alberta and Saskatchewan. As the provincial medical officer of health, she was responsible for the health of the community — testing the community water drawn from the lake, inspecting cafes and food handling facilities —, for maintaining a constant guard over the health of public school students in Cold Lake and the surrounding district, and for dispensing medicine.

Shortly before the doctor arrived at Cold Lake, the resident United Church minister had resigned. Since there was no minister within forty miles of Cold Lake, the United Church congregation, who knew she had been a missionary in Dixonville, pressed upon Doctor Savage the needs of their congregation. By 1944, she was ministering to the people on alternate Sundays, encouraging the people themselves to organize the service on the other Sabbaths.

The increased burden of being physician, medical officer of health, and minister was undoubtedly very trying. In Cold Lake the doctor devoted long hours to her duties as health officer, to her responsibilities as physician at Cold Lake, the John Neil Hospital, and many nearby communities and native settlements, and to her vocation as a frontier missionary. Then, in the evenings she prepared sermons, became a leader of youth groups such as the Trail Rangers and Boy Scouts, as well as caring for her family of one boy and two girls. On top of all these activities, she also led Bible study classes and Sunday school training classes, and superintended the Sunday school classes at St. Paul's church.

Margaret Strang Savage continued to serve the United Church and the Cold Lake community through twenty-seven years until her death on May 9, 1970. She oversaw the rebuilding of the John Neil Hospital in the mid-1950s hospital after the old hospital had been condemned, the construction of a Nurses' Residence, and the erection of a manse for the church. Although no longer serving the Presbyterian Church directly, she still represented a continuation of the Presbyterian heritage at Cold Lake. Before the Union, the John Neil Hospital at Cold Lake had been built and supplied by the WMS, and with the

hospital at Bonneyville, both became missions of the United Church WMS. The mandate of the Cold Lake hospital, however, remained unchanged: "to practice the Gospel of Healing, which was so prominent in the Ministry of Jesus." Throughout her career this was also the philosophy of the beloved Doctor Savage.

Margaret Strang Savage had been more than a missionary to the people of Dixonville and surrounding frontier settlements. Her work as a medical doctor ensured that she would know more about the lives of the people, especially the women, than a missionary could. Moreover, her mission was as much social and educational as it was medical and evangelical. She worked hard to ensure that the people of Dixonville had access to and participated in all the services of the church, whether they were clubs, missionary societies, or the management of the congregation. Undoubtedly her marriage into a local family gave her additional access into the community, although it proved extremely difficult to combine the roles of mother, wife and doctor, with those of community worker, evangelist and educator.

Reflecting upon her years at Dixonville, Doctor Strang Savage wrote,

> But my people who live here give the wilderness a meaning. Here, men and women, boys and girls, toil and play, curse and pray, love and hate, hope and despair, lie down weary to sleep and rise to toil again in the morning. They are sometimes hard, often careless, always faulty, their needs are many and great, but day after day, I discover in them the flashing facets of worth and goodness.
>
> Here were kingly kindness, warmth of heart, hospitality in the midst of want, a simple greatness in circumstances harder than I had ever known, till I stood humbled before them, doubting if I was worthy to be their minister.

She gave much to the life of the church in the Peace River country, especially in and around Dixonville, but she also learned much from the people and their struggles. The Presbyterian Church in Alberta, especially the Dixonville congregation, did not forget her contribution to the religious and social life of the community and to the place of the Presbyterian Church in the Peace River country. In 1959, twenty-seven years after the founding of Dixonville Church, she was invited to be the guest speaker at its anniversary services when it was rededicated as the Strang Presbyterian Church.

After Margaret Strang Savage's death the Dixonville congregation held a memorial service for "the doctor, the relief officer, the jack-of-all-trades who [had] lived in the manse . . . for no other reason than that a Saviour had died to save, to consummate His love for all men, even these" in the Peace River district. She was also honoured by the United Church congregations at Cold Lake, Grace, and Pierceland for her contribution to their religious and social life,

and the wider community recognized her place in the development of Canada when her alma mater, the University of Western Ontario, conferred an honourary doctorate on her in 1965.

For all her acknowledged achievements, however, Ella Margaret Strang Savage was not unique. History records many other women — teachers, nurses, doctors, deaconesses, and lay workers — who also served their communities and the Presbyterian Church in Canada in noteworthy ways. In that day, however, the Church did not recognize their valuable contributions by permitting ordination, or continued service after marriage. Nevertheless these church women still served their church in less visible ways — as Sunday school teachers, or organizers of youth activities, or lay readers, or nurses.

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Edward Hewlett Johnson
Courtesy of The Presbyterian Church In Canada, Archives

Edward Hewlett Johnson Internationalist and Man of Peace

JOHN ALEXANDER JOHNSTON

WHAT HAVE THE TWO MOST POPULOUS NATIONS in Asia and Africa in common with the Reverend Ted Johnson? One answer recognizes that October 1st is the birthday of "E.H.", of the People's Republic of China, and of the Republic of Nigeria, the very countries overseas which so incomparably touched the heartstrings and purse strings of this missionary statesman, often acknowledged as Canadian Presbyterianism's most distinguished churchman, and ecumenist par excellence over the past fifty years.

Dr. Edward Hewlett Johnson, B.Sc., M.Div., LL.D., D.D., was born in Montreal in 1909, of British parentage of considerable privilege. The family was closely allied to the ecclesiastical and commercial aristocracy. Ted's uncle, Hewlett Johnson, the "Red Dean" of Canterbury, offered a unique role model in support of such controversial and often unpopular causes as disarmament, peace and social responsibility. His father, Charles, was a leading partner in the two-hundred-year-old family manufacturing firm, with factories in England, Canada, the United States and Australia. The stock market and the complexities of the wire mesh industry were as much a part of his upbringing as was the evangelical conservatism of his mother, his father's involvement with Montreal's inner-city mission, Tyndale House, and its social programmes, the influences of fashionably Stanley Presbyterian Church, his school days in the affluent Westmount Protestant school system and his studies at McGill University. At the university he was captain of the ski team and graduated with the gold medal in mathematics and physics, a fitting preparation for an eventual partnership in the business world, and successor to his father in meeting the needs of the paper industry.

During Ted's second year of university studies an event and two persons proved life-transforming, with a subsequent change of career. Attending a Detroit conference of the Student Volunteer Movement, he was influenced by that clarion call, best expressed by John R. Mott, to win the world for Christ. Stanley Jones' volume, ***Christ of the Indian Road,*** proved a turning point in his life. Joining the McGill Student Volunteer Movement, he signed the pledge during his graduating year to accept missionary service overseas if the opportunity arose. In Ted's own words, he turned from "pure science to theology."

Graduating from McGill in 1931, Ted proceeded to study theology in Princeton, New Jersey, a seminary considered more orthodox and open to ecumenical perspectives than was the small, hometown Montreal facility. Although he did consider the possibility of accepting a local pastorate or home

mission appointment, "reading and prayer and thought all urged toward the wide field of foreign service with its larger contribution to Christ's world kingdom." While studying theology south of the border Ted met Kitty Cameron who was to become his lifelong partner and mother of his children, Anne, Meim, Faith and Peter, and his confidant and support through all the turbulence and pressures of the next half century. His studies at Princeton were accompanied by a summer student ministry in the Peace River area of northern Alberta, and by postgraduate studies in Berlin and Edinburgh. Ordination and a call to Long Branch near Toronto was followed within a year by an appointment to serve in Manchuria, building upon the pioneer mission efforts of Jonathan Goforth, whose ideologies and theology , however, differed widely from those of Ted Johnson.

Idealism for the new order, and the awakening of "the sleeping giant" by the gospel, characterized in no small way the departure of the Johnsons in September, 1935 for Manchuria under direction of the church's mission board. Their missionary companions on their sea voyage via Japan were felt to exude "keen enthusiasm and intelligent devotion to Christ," but in a letter to the editor of the *Presbyterian Record*, Ted Johnson suggested that, "it would almost look as though missions were riding on the momentum gained forty years ago, when men spoke of evangelizing the world in a generation. . . . I hope that our generation will determine on a new advance, and capitalize on the unusual opportunities of the present world situation for the Master."

Language classes in Beijing were accompanied by the culture shock of exchanging, in the young missionary's words, "a very pleasant life" for the "smells, some penetrating by subtle insistence, others entering by sheer force of character, and the more vulgar ones simply overwhelming our strongest defences. Then come the sounds, varied and victorious as the scents, cries of vendors like weird animal calls, shrill music like bagpipes out of tune, and the constant blowing of needless horns and unnecessary ringing of bells. And the sights — time would fail me to tell of them — mud streets and sweat-grimed faces, burdened beasts and men, black scavenging pigs sharing puddles with children; food shops and flies." This account, written shortly after their arrival, was a far cry from the world of Westmount, Princeton or Long Branch.

More difficult was the sense of isolation and loneliness shared by the young couple in their rural field, established by Goforth barely a decade earlier. In a letter to his mother, Johnson writes that, "our local church people are mostly uneducated, poor, Pentecostal sort of people, so there is not much common ground for real friendships, ... Szepingki, being a small new commercial place, does not have the old cultured types among whom missionaries of China proper have found their friends. . . . I might be able to make some progress with the men, but the women are mostly ignorant, low type, who would be as likely to spit on the living room floor or take the inevitable baby to relieve its feelings in a corner."

Perhaps most difficult of all was the Johnson's radically different approach to the gospel compared to that of Goforth, the father of the mission. Johnson wondered "whether the more liberal ideas I have will be able to make any impression in this strongly conservative atmosphere, or whether they can even find expression without causing a split. They might just stir up trouble and feeling and have no good result." He suggests that he "would be far more effective and would have much more satisfaction in working with educated people in a large city. The background and abilities and training that fit me for that kind of work, are, in this work, not only wasted but are in some ways a handicap."

The young missionary's own appraisal of the church's mission urged support for new directives in community service and the training of lay workers. Self-support by congregations was imperative. Medical contributions should be in the area of public health rather than surgery. Overseas personnel should be directed to the training of an indigenous staff. Working through the church, holy and catholic, was preferable to serving alone in a Presbyterian enclave. Present organization of the mission, he felt, showed a propensity for "future divisions by building an isolated and separate organization."

Rumblings of war and the Japanese penetration of Manchuria affected the Canadian field largely through the breakdown of communications and the escalating price of commodities. War with its battle lines and deaths seemed far away except for isolated instances. When the family left China in 1941 on home leave, other missionaries still remained on the field, although many from other parts of China had been evacuated. A recurring theme of the Johnson manifesto was the necessity for the church's involvement in world affairs. The prophetic voice of the church, he wrote, must be heard fearlessly and clearly denouncing the sins of this age and then presenting the word of God in concrete relation to the conditions of the time."

In a letter to his brother, Johnson further stated that, "The greatest enemy of democracy and free institutions in the world, today, is Hitlerism and militarism. It is a question whether we can take up militarism as a temporary instrument, and then completely put it away again. . . . Even at this stage of the war I believe it would not be impossible to find a peace move, if we were willing to make some not unreasonable concessions. I truly hope that the churches and people of the Empire will back up the peace move rumoured to be planned jointly by the Pope and Roosevelt."

When the Johnsons returned from China on a regular furlough with their growing family — three of whom were born overseas — they were immediately immersed in deputations and visitations to church courts, relating the story of a beleaguered Chinese church and a fractured nation. Japan and the U.S.S.R., war lord, communist and Kuomintang, East and West, each pressed for conflicting goals. With the declaration of war and the bombing of Pearl Harbour in 1941, not only was a return to Manchuria impossible, but urgent pleas to

consider service in related fields — such as an experimental ministry in Yunnan — were not considered feasible. The whole future of China became increasingly unpredictable and church contacts quickly evaporated.

The Board of Missions came to the conclusion that Ted Johnson could best be used in Canada developing an education programme which would equip the church for understanding and engaging in mission in a war-torn world. From 1942 to 1947, E.H. Johnson travelled from coast to coast visiting congregations, offering himself in numerous ways — as a camp and conference leader, Presbyterian Young People's Society convention speaker, and Women's Missionary Society resource person. He showed an unusual gift for repartee with university audiences. Through publications and in the rapidly developing audio-visual field, he contributed to the Presbyterian Church's growing reputation as an innovator and communications pace-setter.

In his capacity as the Missionary Education Secretary, Johnson proved himself a leader, but not without criticism by those of a more conservative and traditional viewpoint. A case in point was his advocacy of loving one's enemies and the offering of material aid to the starving of Europe, including allies of the Axis powers, a position strongly opposed by those who demanded that postwar Germany should pay the full price for the atrocities of National Socialism. Aside from these involvements, a return to China was never far from the long-term planning of Ted Johnson, and with the end of hostilities on the Pacific rim, he made an unsuccessful request to the Board of Missions for a leave of absence in order to work in China. The time, however, was considered not propitious, so in 1947 he accepted an invitation to serve United States' youth in presenting the claims of overseas missions.

In spite of widespread expressions of appreciation from many grateful Canadian Presbyterians during Johnson's six-year period as Missionary Education Secretary for the Presbyterian Church in Canada, it was not totally unexpected when he announced his resignation in 1947. Thus a resumption of university interests began with his appointment as General Secretary of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions which had its offices on Fifth Avenue, New York. This organization had been founded in 1886 with a focus on missionary recruitment and education in American centres for higher learning. In his 1951 volume, *For This Hour*, Johnson assessed the movement thus: "Through its influence thousands of the finest Christian men and women from college and universities and seminaries have gone out across the world to preach Jesus Christ and bring to life the ministries of Christ's love. That power has continued across more than sixty years, and has been increasing again in the last several years after a brief ebb."

Correspondence exchanged with his wife and his mother display a variety of postmarks, reflecting the coast-to-coast itinerary involved in Johnson's office. Money was scarce and a monthly supplement from his family in Montreal was helpful. As he worked to revitalize the SVM movement, Ted's ministry

brought immediate results while at the same time widening his own circle of contacts and areas of expertise. In his role as general secretary, and sometimes accompanied by his wife, "E.H." attended two quadrennial conferences of the movement. The second, in Chicago, brought together 2,300 students including 200 from Canada. His presence was felt at such gatherings as the missions conference of the World Student Christian Federation in the Netherlands (1948), the International Missionary Conference at Willingen, Germany (1952), the Third World Conference of Christian Youth, Travancore, India (1952), and the General Committee of the World Student Christian Federation at Nasrapur, India, in 1953. Ted was invited to teach missiology at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., and he contributed various papers and articles to the ecumenical movement.

Johnson was encouraged to widen the scope of the SVM from a national to an international organization. Contacts with men like the future Chinese bishop, K.H. Ting of the Student Christian Federation, were encouraged. The staff and the programme of the organization were expanded, bringing increased respect and encouragement for both the organization and its secretary. Meanwhile, strong ties were maintained with the Canadian church through individuals and church courts. The Johnson family, with or without father, spent annual holidays at Lac des Iles in the Laurentians. In the Presbyterian Church in Canada, when the senior staff position of General Secretary for Overseas Missions became vacant, Ted was one of the official nominees. He was not, however, the first choice of Dr. Deane Johnston and other officials — no doubt Ted's ecumenical emphases, his support for unpopular causes and his support for freedom movements at the expense of empire, made him suspect in certain quarters. Notwithstanding, the General Assembly voted to extend the call to Johnson, with responsibilities to commence in 1954, thus opening a new era in Presbyterian world mission

A most influential figure in the life of E.H. Johnson was John A. Mackay, missiologist and ecumenist. During Johnson's student days at Princeton, Mackay had been secretary of the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and in 1936 he had accepted the presidency of Princeton, Ted's alma mater. Mackay in the United States and Johnson in Canada promulgated the concept that being truly ecumenical enabled one to be a better Presbyterian, a premise questioned by many earnest denominationalists. His own experience of overseas missionary service and his ecumenical ministry with the Student Volunteer Movement gave Johnson credibility for this stance.

Contacts with world church leaders of all traditions now marked the ecumenical thrust of the new overseas secretary of the Canadian church. In the year of his appointment, 1954, when Johnson addressed the Joint Commission on Missionary Education, he was introduced as "one of the few people with experience on both sides of the line." His ecumenicity was carried to Ghana in 1957 — addressing the International Missionary Council in his introductory

speech, he asked, "What does Partnership in Obedience mean?" This gathering was immediately followed by participation in the first meeting of the All Africa Council of Churches. Meetings of the World Council of Churches were seldom held without a contribution from E.H. Johnson. In Canada's Secretary for Overseas Missions, area councils and international gatherings found a ready advocate, whether it was the Caribbean Assembly of Reformed Churches in 1965, or the World Conference on Salvation Today, in Bangkok, 1973, sponsored by the Division of World Mission and Evangelism. The Student Christian Movement discovered in "E.H." a life-long ally and generous financial support.

One of the forward thrusts in ecumenical mission instigated by Ted Johnson was the highly influential and innovative World Consultation on China, held in 1971 at Waterloo, Ontario. Speakers at the cutting edge of mission were brought from many parts of the world to offer leadership in interpreting the Chinese state and the church in a postdenominational age. Throughout his ministry E.H. Johnson held up China and the Three Self Movement as a positive model for the church in the future. He was a strong advocate of ecumenical coalitions, including the Canada-China Programme which was his personal brainchild. Johnson contributed to a myriad of ecumenical gatherings, such as the Caribbean China Consultation in Trinidad in 1978, the Laval Congress on Church and International Relations in 1979, and the many committees of the Canadian Council of Churches. In support of native rights in Northern Canada the coalition called "Project North" received crucial help from Johnson. Because of his vocal and financial assistance to such causes, however, he endured never-ending criticism from an influential constituency who opposed official Canadian Presbyterian involvement.

In his later years as Secretary for Research and Planning for the Board of World Mission, Dr. Johnson gave sacrificial leadership in the peace movement. When the World Conference on Religion and Peace was held in Canada in 1980, he became chairman of the Plenary Conference Planning Committee. In a major address at this conference on November 11th, Dr. Johnson demanded that people "not only remember the sacrifice of those who now lie in Flanders Fields, but also pledge ourselves to take from their failing hands the torch, not to bear arms but to bring love and understanding." He paid tribute to those who had died in war, but asked, "Where are those Canadians now who are willing to sacrifice their time and energy for the cause of world peace today? If only we can work *now* for peace, sacrifice *now* a little of our time and money, we may not have to pay with blood in the future."

E.H. Johnson is best remembered by the world for his leadership in relation to Nigeria. In 1960 he was invited to participate in the inauguration of Sir Francis Ibiam, a child of the Scottish Calabar mission and a fervent Presbyterian, who had been appointed governor of Eastern Nigeria. Through Johnson's impetus, Ibiam and ministers who had studied in Canada established official

partner relationships between the Canadian and Nigerian Presbyterian churches. Within six years E.H. Johnson had seconded a strong team of young ministers, deaconesses and lay specialists to work in Nigeria. With Canadian financial assistance and training scholarships, the Nigerian church entered a period of expansion, especially in the urban areas of the north and west.

Tribal rivalries then erupted throughout the nation, throwing the country into confusion. The purported massacre of fifty thousand "strangers" in the north, mostly southern Ibos, resulted in the precipitous exodus of many of the educational elite from federal and regional positions of authority, with the populace fleeing back to traditional tribal areas. The Biafran War, as the conflict came to be known, gripped the country. Eight million Ibos sought an independent state in Eastern Nigeria.

As this tragedy unfolded, Ted Johnson could not be silent. First came his word of faith: "This is not a time to panic. The events which we see about us are the birth pangs of a new age. In a time like this, we must be aware of false leaders who claim to have all the answers, and be sensitive to the true word which God is speaking to events and through events. This is the time which puts the mission of the church at the centre of the stream of history. In acts of service to human need and reconciliation across the frontiers of conflict, the Church is to bring the healing word for which the nations wait."

Johnson believed this theological statement must be accompanied by action. This practical visionary asserted, "The church is an instrument to serve humanity." As "God Himself is known, not by words but by actions," Johnson believed the church must act likewise. The sensational result was Canairelief and the establishment of the Nigeria Biafra Relief Fund in Canada. Canairelief came about in spite of the complacency of most national governments. Dr. Johnson had made official overtures to the governments in Ottawa, London, and Washington, but with no immediate responses from them he came to the conclusion that in the face of both injustice and actual starvation the church must take the initiative. With $50,000 from the Presbyterian Church in Canada, a like amount from Oxfam and $8,000 from a private Toronto developer, he bought a retired Super constellation aircraft to airlift supplies to beleaguered Biafra. Before the conflict ended, Canairelief had purchased five planes, with four operating at any given time. Ninety per cent of Dr. Johnson's time was spent in fund raising. Public opinion in Europe and America was mobilized in support of Biafra, largely through the efforts of people like Ted Johnson.

The name of E.H. Johnson quickly became known across Canada. The Presbyterian Church in Canada, expressing its solidarity with Ted Johnson's leadership in the conflict, elected him as moderator of the 1969 General Assembly. He was seen as the man of the hour. Radio, TV and newspaper articles readily recorded comments and insights emanating from this galvanizer of Canadian opinion and action towards war-torn Nigeria.

During the week of sederunts in June, 1969, Johnson proved himself a most able moderator, and was especially commended for the unity of spirit evident in the court and by the way church restructuring through the LAMP Report was approved. No longer the title of "Right" or "Very Reverend" was mentioned in connection with the Canadian moderator. The lace and ruffles of the moderatorial gown disappeared from the podium. A gruelling schedule of presentations carried the Moderator into every province of Canada, zigzagging from coast to coast in order to attend a meeting or be interviewed by the media. The Moderator confessed, through his Committee to Advise, that the itinerary was very difficult to plan because of his "deep involvement in the Nigeria-Biafra war." Yet, what other Moderator has made so many speeches, written so many letters, appeared before so many ecumenical and parliamentary committees, and was still able to visit the Caribbean churches as well as sister churches in Ireland, Scotland, England and on the European continent, and even in India and Afghanistan?

Trent University awarded him the honourary degree of Doctor of Laws. The Royal Bank Award was presented to him as "Man of the Year," stating that, "through his efforts many thousands of men and women and children have been aided by the relief programme which he has spearheaded. Food, medicine and other necessary supplies are reaching the Nigeria/Biafra area as a result of Dr. Johnson's deep concern for humanity." Andrew Brewin and David MacDonald, two parliamentarians in the federal House of Commons, commented that Ted Johnson's

> unique contribution to peace and the relief of human suffering in Nigeria and Biafra has been an inspiration. Often criticized as an appendage of Western colonialism, missionary effort in Africa has not in recent times been favourably viewed. Yet the heroic initiative, the organization of the flights, the administration of feeding centres all rested in the hands of former missionaries. While former colonial powers sent arms to Biafra, the Christian churches sent mercy flights and pleas to the international community for action to end the war. Perhaps when history comes to be written, the sacrificial efforts of the Christian Churches in the tragedy will be seen to have had a reconciliatory significance for the future of all Africa.

One of the most important results of Canairelief and the efforts of E.H. Johnson is the realization that interest groups can single-handedly galvanize the nation into taking action. One cabinet minister remarked that the conflict was "the most voluble Canadian foreign policy issue in anyone's memory."

After the collapse of Biafran resistance a period of reconstruction began, with renewed support from the Presbyterian Church in Canada. E.H. Johnson, however, was never again allowed to enter Nigeria, in spite of his earlier positive

interviews with the anti-Biafran leadership. He was recognized as being the chief source of inspiration for Ibo resistance and influential in moulding world opinion in support of those easterners called "rebels" by the victorious forces of General Gowan. Ted Johnson's ministry to Nigeria in the period of reconstruction could therefore only be continued vicariously through those who would build upon those solid foundations laid by the general secretary prior to the conflict.

At no time in the four decades following his return from Manchuria did E.H. Johnson allow his concern for China to be forgotten because of the pressures of office. After assuming the responsibilities of Secretary for Overseas Missions, he immediately became immersed in the conflict between the Republic of China in Formosa (Taiwan), and the People's Republic of China. The Canadian church's strong historic relationship with Formosa was further complicated by the island's Presbyterian constituency which generally opposed the Taiwanese government imposed upon them following the flight of the Kuomintang from mainland China.

Dr. Johnson expressed constant delight at the growth and maturity of the church in Formosa (Taiwan) as a study of reports to the General Assembly discloses. He was deeply moved by the strong infrastructure of schools and colleges, hospitals and seminaries, developed and operated by an organization which worked as a partner rather than a mission of western churches. Excellent Canadian support personnel bore the personal mark of the Secretary for Overseas Missions who made numerous journeys to Taiwan for consultation with staff and church officials. Projects such as the building of mountain churches, church growth developments and scholarships for study overseas, captured the imagination of Canadians at a time when mainland China was still largely unknown and consistently wrapped in negative connotations in the minds of most Canadians.

For E.H. Johnson, interest in the one-quarter of the world's population hidden behind the proverbial bamboo curtain resulted in the publication of a 1963 booklet. It contained all the information seemingly known about China, and was the fruit of his vice-chairmanship of the China Committee of the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches U.S.A. and of a consultation on China held the previous year. Through his persistence, offers of financial assistance from the Presbyterian Church and private foundations, the Canada China Programme (CCP) was established with the support of various denominations as a coalition under the aegis of the Canadian Council of Churches. Serving as its first president, Dr. Johnson sought a permanent secretariat to help interpret China to the Canadian public and to offer church-to-church help, if and when required. Dr. Ray Whitehead came from Hong Kong as full-time staff director. Publication of a periodical and the dissemination of articles was approved. Constituency education began, exchanges with China were explored, and responses to Chinese initiatives found ready accept-

ance by the denominations who covenanted to work together through the Toronto office of the CCP.

In 1973, Dr. Johnson travelled to China, the first of five trips over the next eight years. His impressions based on this visit, as one of the first church persons to return to mainland China, were received with considerable scepticism in many quarters. He stated that he and his wife "had hoped that some miracle might happen by which China could have a reasonable healthy way of life. Now, the changes we saw were nothing short of that miracle. Everywhere the people, from babies and kindergarten children to older people, radiated exuberant good health. They were well fed, showed few signs of minor ailments like colds and open sores, and the women, who used no make-up, need none because of their pink cheeks and radiant health."

With reorganization within the Board of World Mission, in 1973, Dr. Johnson was appointed Secretary for Research and Planning. The adjustment was anything but easy, yet it did provide additional scope for writing and research. One priority was the preparation of the Canadian church for interaction with China. Under the Board of World Mission a China Committee was established, which sought to enlighten and involve the membership regarding church and state in the two countries. No easy task! When the Rev. Malcolm Ransom, responsible for missionary education, prepared a booklet on prayers for China, loud clamours were heard in opposition. *China Monthly*, a periodical of the committee, reached all ministers of the church. A request to support the social service agency called Amity came from the China Christian Council. Volunteers were solicited for work in China. Visitation programmes were arranged for Chinese visitors, theological books were collected and forwarded at the request of the Church in China, and exchanges were arranged. One of Johnson's long-term goals, a Presbyterian China liaison officer, was later brought to realization in the person of Dr. Bernard Embree. The Canadian public gradually developed enthusiastic support for inter-relationships of the churches of Canada and China.

Conversely, as contacts and support for mainland China increased, relations with the government of Taiwan deteriorated. When the government of Canada gave official recognition to the People's Republic as the legitimate rulers of China, (certainly with the approval of Dr. Johnson), the Presbyterian Church in Canada was forced to walk the traditional tightrope, seeking to do nothing which would damage relationships between herself and her partner church in Taiwan, yet acknowledging the legitimacy of mainland China's government. Dr. Johnson's visits to Taiwan, always a cause of tension, became less frequent. These visits ended in 1979 when the government at Taipei said that it was not convenient to have him in Taiwan.

After two decades in the controversial role of overseas missions secretary, Dr. Johnson took a five-month sabbatical at the East Asia Research Centre of Harvard University. There, with his wife, he committed himself to intensive

studies in the thought and work of Mao Tse-tung. He returned to the Board of World Mission where new responsibilities for Research and Planning awaited him. Once again the adjustment was not easy; Johnson now worked under a newly appointed general secretary and with the realisation that others would now be responsible for many decisions affecting the church's mission overseas. As situations such as the future of post-war Nigeria were discussed and the challenges of new mission partners were envisaged, agendas of a different kind emerged.

As Secretary for Research and Planning, however, Dr. Johnson had definite compensations. Often in the past he had lamented the lack of time to write and lecture. Now mission lectures for Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver were possible and common. Research was even obligatory, although the implementation of policy now rested with others. His involvement with the Central Committee and the Assemblies of the World Council of Churches increased. His was the position of elder statesman and his viewpoint was anticipated. Both the National and the Canadian Council of Churches recognized his expertise. From 1976 to 1979 he served as vice-president of the latter body.

The variety of Ted Johnson's commitments and travels did not abate. Through the Canada China Programme he arranged for his old friend, Bishop Ting, to visit Canada. A twelve-day fact-finding tour of Baffin Island and Resolute Bay was undertaken in 1978. Through his involvement with Project North, the Committee on International Affairs bore his imprint at Assembly after Assembly. Catholic in his interests, diplomatic in his manner, but intensely strong in his convictions, Dr. Johnson expressed his satisfaction at the time of his retirement in 1978 in all his new opportunities, one of them being the completion of his magnum opus on China.

Writing to a colleague in New York in 1980, Johnson said that he had not really entered retirement but "liberation into freedom to do the things I wanted to do rather than the captivity to committees which has used so much of my life energies." Yet health problems now raised limitations. Kitty's ear troubles and an operation in 1980 were followed by her husband's heart attack in 1981, and his death on December 11th of that year. His book was still unpublished — his reach had exceeded his grasp.

Ted Johnson considered himself a bridge between east and west, north and south, Christian and atheist, denominationalist and ecumenist, capitalist and communist, the old and the new, and all mirrored in the life and witness of twentieth-century China. A letter written by Dr. Johnson during his final period of ministry expresses this well. "In March, 1935 in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, we were appointed missionaries to Manchuria to replace Dr. and Mrs. Goforth. After we had both addressed the Board, we were then addressed by Dr. Goforth and blessed with a dedicatory prayer by Dr. Cropper of Guyana. In that act of dedication by two veteran missionaries, we were related to the missionary era which even then was passing. . . .[Today] we are part of the Christian era

which is only now emerging."

Tributes were received from around the world at the time of Ted Johnson's death. The E.H. Johnson Trust was established by a grateful church, seeking to perpetuate exchanges of personnel between churches and annually honouring persons continuing in the Johnson tradition by giving recognition to those on the cutting edge of mission. The Board of Governors of Trent University expressed the opinion of countless persons when it described Edward Hewlett Johnson as, "a distinguished churchman, internationalist and man of peace."

Well done, good and faithful servant; enter into the joy of your Lord.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The primary source materials for this paper are E.H. Johnson's personal papers, the generous donation of his family to The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, 59 St. George St., Toronto, and also the official records of the Board of World Mission for the period.