Called to Witness

PROFILES OF CANADIAN PRESBYTERIANS

A Supplement to Enduring Witness

Edited by John S. Moir

VOLUME FOUR

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COMMITTEE ON HISTORY
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CREDITS

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Foreword

"Imagine the future, honour the past" – an appropriate text for Presbyterians entering the third millennium, celebrating their rich heritage and anticipating in the days ahead what no eye has yet beheld or ear hears.

With the publication of this fourth volume in the series "Called to Witness," selected biographies of individuals who have contributed to the life and mission of the Church are now added to the denominational treasury. The Committee on History is indebted to the ten biographers who have contributed to Volume Four. Appreciation is especially expressed to Dr. John Moir who edited the previous volume and has again brought his pre-eminent expertise to the current edition. It is appropriate that the biography of Dr. Stanford S. Reid, editor of the first two publications in this series, is now included in Volume Four.

Over the past four decades the undersigned has been privileged to be part of that great company of individuals who continue to celebrate and preserve our heritage. As the Church commemorates the 125th Anniversary of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1999-2000, may the elderly continue to dream dreams, the young to see visions and all to know the satisfaction of the Christian Way.

John Alexander Johnston
Convener

Contributors

T. Melville Bailey is a Minister Emeritus of The South Gate Presbyterian Church, Hamilton and well-known historian who has published widely on Canadian Presbyterian history and the Hamilton region.

Ruth Compton Brouwer, Associate Professor of History in the University of Western Ontario, is an author and authority on the role of Canadian women in overseas missions.

Peter Bush, minister of the Presbyterian church in Mitchell, Ontario, edits *Presbyterian History* for the Committee on History and has written widely on Canadian religious history.

Paul R. Dekar is a Professor in Memphis Theological Seminary and formerly Professor of Church History at McMaster University. His research interests include the Canadian Presbyterian Church's missions to the Jews.

Stewart Gill, Warden of Ridley College, University of Melbourne, Australia, has published on Canadian Presbyterian history and on Canadian and Australian missions.

J. Charles Hay is a former Professor and Principal of Knox College (1963-1986), and a long-time colleague and friend of his subject, Allan Farris.

John A. Johnston, is a Minister Emeritus of MacNab Street Presbyterian Church, Hamilton , holds a Ph. D. in history from McGill University and has written and published widely on Canadian Presbyterian history as well as serving for many years as Convenor of the Committee on History.

A. Donald MacLeod is minister of St. Andrew's Church, Trenton, Ontario, Adjunct Professor of Church History at Tyndale Seminary, and author of the forthcoming biography of Dr. Stanford Reid.

Dan Shute is librarian of The Presbyterian College, Montreal, and has a special interest is the Presbyterian Church's mission to French Canadians.

Elizabeth Waterston is a retired Professor of English at the University of Guelph and author of several books on Lucy Maude Montgomery.

Auchmar

Hon. Isaac Buchanan

Mrs. Buchanan

Isaac Buchanan
Autopsy of a Presbyterian Layman

T. MELVILLE BAILEY

THE MANY-FACETED LIFE OF ISAAC BUCHANAN marked him a Nineteenth Century Presbyterian layman extraordinary. Today we will see him best if we imagine him as a Scottish-born actor on the Canadian stage, playing out his role as a business man, humanitarian and churchman.

In the eleventh century, King Malcolm II of Scotland gave an Irish king 1400 princely acres of land, good for hunting and with both highland and lowland features on the eastern shore of Loch Lomond, for his help in driving out the Danes. During the thirteenth century, Gilbert Buchanan was the first to plant his name in the district. Eventually, the entire Buchanan clan peopled the region, occupying their manor house and estate called "Auchmar," which means "field by the water." The clan is ecclesiastical in origin, meaning the Son of the Abbot. The Buchanan crest shows a hand holding up a ducal bonnet which reads "I favour the brave."

In the early 1800s, a wealthy Glasgow cloth merchant, Peter Buchanan, possessed the romantic estate and house. He was an active elder in the Kirk, favouring the evangelical wing. Peter's fourth son, Isaac, was born in Glasgow on 21 July, 1810. At age fifteen, during his father's absence, the boy switched from a school student to an apprentice in a dry goods importing firm. He took part-time studies, however, in philosophy and medicine. Five years later, his employer entrusted his aspiring junior employee to open up an agency in the New World, first in Montreal and then York (Toronto). Later, with inheritance money, Isaac and Peter, his older brother, bought the Upper Canada firm.

Supported by Tory merchants, in 1841 the thirty-year-old Scot was elected in the first union parliament of the Canadas, where he sat as a thorny reformer and was called "a loose fish." In the 1837 Rebellion he had served on the government's side, commanding an all-Irish regiment. It was related by Buchanan that, in order to trick William Lyon Mackenzie to change his plans, Isaac wrote two fake letters giving false information that the government leaders were well-prepared for trouble. As hoped, Mackenzie seized the mail and changed his plan of action. Isaac continued on to Niagara where he helped to oust the rebel and to witness the burning of the *Caroline*.

While visiting Glasgow in 1843, Isaac married seventeen-year-old Agnes Jarvie who was only half the groom's age. The daughter of a wealthy Glaswegian merchant of early French background, Agnes proved throughout to be Isaac's loving partner, bearing him eleven children. The happy newlyweds set out for Toronto, but in 1844 he transferred both his business and residence to Hamilton. There he prospered as a wholesale merchant prince whose burgeoning business grew to include thirty stores across the Canadas. In a day when commerce ruled the economy, he advertised "Dry goods spring shipments by the arrival of the English steamer . . . for variety and nicety they have on no other occasion held superior assortments."

In 1846, extremely agitated by the passage of the Corn Laws in Britain which to Buchanan meant a threat to his business and the possible annexation of Canada by the Americans, he called Peel's laws "vitally wrong." Isaac reacted rashly, uprooting his young family by selling their house and moving to Edinburgh. There he disconnected himself from the Kirk whose views opposed his own. So intense were his efforts to reintroduce protectionism that he almost plunged himself into bankruptcy. Wisely accepting his brother's advice, Buchanan returned to Hamilton in 1850 with five children in tow.

The next five years saw the young business man benefiting from a bursting economy, which caused him to become one of Canada's wealthiest merchants and to earn the phrase "as good as the bank." This success allowed him, in the mid-fifties, to finish building a castle-like residence named "Auchmar" on Hamilton's mountain brow alongside the old Ancaster Road. In time, railway building came first in the range of his many interests. In 1846 he organized the Toronto and Hamilton Railway, became the "father" of the Great Southern and at times presided over the Great Western Railway. All railways seemed close to his heart for in February, 1847, he urged Lord Elgin to hire 25,000 men on the Halifax and Quebec Railway. When the Great Western began to boom he hoped to get their shops located in Hamilton. Until that railway became a reality Hamilton had to rely on lake navigation and wagoners.

Canada's need for reform of her tariff, currency and trade laws was one of Isaac's priorities. Perhaps his learning in these matters began when he saw the advantage of creating a Board of Trade in Toronto in 1835. He served as president of that Board for two years. This experience was instrumental in his founding of the Hamilton Board of Trade in 1845. Soon he would become an exponent of three topics: banking, trade and currency. On these subjects he became a voluminous writer, expending large sums of his own money on printing.

One of Buchanan's favourite hobby-horses was trade. At times, Upper Canada found itself deep in instability, caused partly by the recurring "stomach pains" due to frequent economic crashes that succeeded each period of prosperity. For Canada to recover Isaac advocated the raising of trade tariffs. Make Canadians buy home-made products! He and others formed the Association for the Promotion of Canadian Industry which in turn gave bread to the unemployed. Also, money was kept at home. Some people crowned him with the title: "Father of Canada's Protective Tariff."

Isaac's other "beating boy" was currency. He preached the creation of a money system that would not put bills in the hand. Instead, he advocated the printing of emblematic money, having no intrinsic value. In a manner not easily explained to his public, when a bank failed there would be no loss of money to the subscriber, only loss of points or credit. He also campaigned in 1857 for a floating gold market. Isaac's editor friend, H. J. Morgan, produced the book *Buchanan on Industrial Politics of America*, a collection of Buchanan's speeches and writings on many topics.

Although politics was not his most favourite interest, this active chess player and rising star in Canadian affairs won two more parliamentary elections. In 1864 he achieved the position of President of the Executive Council in the Taché-Macdonald government and also Receiver-General. By 1874, however, when depression brought Buchanan's business to a collapse, the Hamilton Grandee was forced to close all his firms, to sell even his beloved Auchmar estate and to live in straightened circumstances until his death in 1883.

Isaac's fifty-year-long career was marked by a generous concern for the welfare of his fellow man. He had a heart for the sufferings of the Scottish crofters and all nationalities, no matter what race. During his early years in York, he helped to found the predominantly Scottish St. Andrew's Society in 1831. Forty years later he assumed the first presidency of the new Hamilton Club. Thus, over the years the name Buchanan became synonymous with a host of improvements in public life, culture and education. When Hamilton's first public school was mooted, he threw himself into a venture which resulted in Central School, established in 1853 to accommodate one thousand pupils. Two years later, as founder of the Hamilton Education Movement, Isaac joined others in securing a charter for a proposed finishing school or college in Hamilton. In 1864 he encouraged the Legislative Assembly to look with favour on the Hamilton Children's Industrial School, where poorer children had the opportunity to learn the merits of education. Also, help from his heart and his pockets assisted in the founding of Hamilton's Wesleyan Ladies' College. Inheriting Scotland's

goal in adult learning, Isaac's legendary generosity also provided library books for the local Mechanics' Institute.

Buchanan's other beneficences lay in the field of his own personal interests, such as his charter membership in the Fruit Grower's Association, in which he won a prize "for the best collection of peaches" grown in his own orchard. He also found enjoyment in the Horticultural Society. Arising from his fondness of horse-rearing in his Auchmar stables, the laird became the first president of the Hamilton Riding Drivers Association.

A far different contribution to society awaited Isaac's attention. Nearing the end of the American Civil War, some Canadians harboured fears that Americans secretly eyed the possession of Canada. The *New York Times* came out publicly with the idea. This resulted in the need for new Canadian Military units. In Hamilton a new drill shed was erected. In 1863 a battalion of the Active Militia – designated as the Thirteenth – was authorized. Following the consecration of their colours in Christ's Church Cathedral, Mrs. Buchanan presented them to the new militia unit. At a mess dinner, as a group of military men finished off their meal of oysters and turkey, they eagerly listened to their first Lieutenant-Colonel, Isaac Buchanan, announce: "I think we have an apt motto for our Colour . . . 'Semper paratus' . . . always ready!" Thus, the patriot who had served in 1837 agreed to spawn and help Hamilton's effort toward defence.

Isaac's precautions were well justified. The 13th was soon given their first test in action. Irish malcontents in the United States crossed the border at the Niagara River and met the Canadian and British forces in battle. At Ridgeway, on 2 June 1866, confusion reigned on both sides, but the invaders hurriedly left for their homes. The wounded from the 13th, the Queen's Own Rifles, plus the Caledonia and York regiments, were treated for their injuries at Auchmar. In all of Buchanan's humanitarian contributions, it can be said that the world would have been poorer without his hand.

Isaac's physical features were striking. Heavily built but not overly tall, his facial features reflected a cloud more than the sun. His brow resembled the efforts of a competitor wrestling with an intellectual antagonist. Only in a photograph taken before his death is there a softness seen, as though the trials of life had at last been dropped. His vitality was superabundant with both physical and mental labours vying for his attention.

One of the most attention-getting features about Isaac was a laugh that rose like thunder from the bottom of his stomach. Upon hearing the first note of that laugh, anyone talking in a large room would immediately cease. On the occasion of Isaac watching a stage play, the laugh brought actors and audience alike to

gaze at the box he occupied. The moment following his laugh not a trace of emotion was found on his sphinx-like face. In parliament the "Buchanan laugh" became a by-word.

The Auchmar Buchanans shone as able hosts to both royalty and the common citizen. The amiable Agnes was well-known for her resplendent dinners served on pastel-shaded Nagasaki china and shining linen. Isaac invited governors, local and national politicians, railway pioneers, business men, religious dignitaries and, on the occasion of the anniversary of the British Proclamation of Emancipation, a crowd of black people came to enjoy a meal and the splendid lawns, gardens, dove cote and gazebo. Sunday School children enjoyed outside fun during picnics held there. Only on one occasion was anyone turned away, and it was a person of royalty! In 1860, the Prince of Wales arrived in Hamilton and was offered Auchmar's hospitality. When, however, this meant that Isaac's entire family would have to vacate the house, the Prince was "billeted" elsewhere. In summary, what the Upper Canada colony called for from her citizens Buchanan provided with his "practical philanthropy."

For our actor there now remained in the wings an even larger role: religion. Here Isaac would shine as brightly as any other major Presbyterian layman. When did that begin? Upon first arriving in York, the young Scot planned to remain in Canada only long enough to make his fortune before retiring to Scotland. Instead, religious factors intervened to play a trump card in the alteration of his intentions. In the 1830s the ruling political clique in Upper Canada was the Anglican-dominated Family Compact. Their strangle-hold on political issues angered Buchanan, who saw no reason why the Church of Scotland in Canada should not share equally the government money generated from the Clergy Reserves. Why should not the Scottish church be included?

What did the controversy over the Clergy Reserves involve? By the Constitutional Act of 1791, land in newly surveyed areas of Upper Canada to a total of 2.4 million acres was set aside for support of the "Protestant Clergy." These reserves came into focus following the waves of immigration after the Napoleonic wars. After application for a share in the fund was made by the Church of Scotland, Archdeacon (later Bishop) John Strachan wrote a pamphlet stating that "Protestant Clergy" meant Church of England only! Among the Scotsmen angered was Isaac Buchanan who, receiving solace neither from the Episcopalians nor the government, raised his lance to do battle. It was his belief that rebellion after rebellion would ensue if the Governor General did not see the Reserves issue soon resolved.

Isaac's pen, too, quickly moved to counteract the injustice – firing off pamphlets and letters to the editor. Thus began his notable writing career, and such public attention soon caught the eye of other reformers. It also brought Isaac to a closer awareness of his Church's role in the swelling controversies in Scotland. A planned trip to his homeland prompted Presbyterian leaders in Toronto to ask him if he would present their petition to the Colonial Secretary, pointing out to the mother church the inequities existing in the colony. Agreeing to do so, Isaac even gave evidence before their General Assembly. This not only influenced the committee's report, but brought him in touch with Dr. David Welsh of later Free Church fame. It was not until 1840 that the reserves question was settled in Canada: giving Anglicans forty-two per cent of the income; Church of Scotland twenty-one per cent, and thirty-eight per cent left to include any qualifying denominations. The co-establishment status of the Church of Scotland had finally been recognized!

All this activity had a salutary effect upon Isaac himself. Up to that point, he had not experienced the same "feel" for the Church that his parents exhibited. Although he later admitted being possessed of enough of the Scottish character "to have the fear of God," in his early years Isaac remained aloof from active church participation. Little did he know that the subject of church and state relations would stir the marrow in his bones. Beginning to assume responsibility in Toronto's lone Presbyterian congregation, both as an elder and a trustee, Isaac became involved in the choice of a new minister for St. Andrew's Church. Also, Isaac began to feel that he could no longer remain aloof from the impending disruption in the Kirk nor from the subsequent founding of the Free Church in Scotland, an event described as "unparalleled in the world." How had this event come about? The Kirk, which was first grounded on a separation between the church and the state, had now arrived at a different stance: accepting state grants and allowing patrons to decide the choice of a minister, over the congregation's wishes. Wide-spread discontent filled the Kirk, which became disrupted in 1843 by the defection of one-third of its ministers. Those who broke ties organized as the Free Church. The following year the Kirk Synod in Canada faced a similar disruption, and in 1844 nearly one-third of the ministers cut the Canadian umbilical cord. Still claiming that Christ was King over the Church, they were ready nevertheless to ask for help from the Clergy Reserves.

During the period 1844-46 Free Church emissaries, such as the energetic Robert Burns, were sent to North America to persuade their Canadian cousins to join the fray. Isaac stood shoulder to shoulder with them, opening his pockets freely. After a Free Church synod was organized in Kingston, Isaac was called

upon to help found Knox Free Church in Toronto and he later brought back Dr. Burns as their pastor, who also became a professor at Knox College. Such zeal caused others to look upon Isaac as a lay leader of powerful capabilities.

When Buchanan moved to Hamilton he found further opportunities to assist the new movement. Dissenters from the local St. Andrew's Kirk had already caused a religious upheaval in Hamilton's religious community. Isaac reacted by helping the Free Church supporters with a gift of £125 and he became a member of their building committee that soon erected Knox Church. Thankful fellow-members chose him to lay their cornerstone. Later, when Knox's off-shoot congregation called the MacNab Street Church was formed in 1856, Isaac gave them the land and set their cornerstone. Concurrently, he also offered £50 to each of the first ten new Free Church congregations to be built in Canada West. In return, they had to assume the name "Knox" and accept certain stipulations, such as the proper control of their property. Towns as far north as Goderich looked to him for advice and help, even as to his choice of their building lots. From far and wide, letters arrived in Hamilton asking him for rulings on policy and other matters.

Another means of looking into Isaac's heart and brain occurred in 1843, a year before the Free Church saw the light of day in Canada. The Temporalities Bill had been introduced in the Canadian parliament by the clergy of the Church of Scotland to provide control by church courts, rather than through congregations — making the Church a creature of the state. This tendency did not sit well with laymen like Isaac. Instead, it speeded up disruption in Canada, and also opened further the existing wound between the minister and laity, so much so as to coin the word "Ecclesiastic-phobia." Buchanan's own phrase was "Vile Ecclesiastics!"

The bill was intended to raise money from church members for a higher standard in ministers' stipends. Other interests also surfaced, such as to what extent laymen would have a say in control of church property. It was the old bogey of clerical control which the Free Church's newspaper, *The Banner*, saw as the ministers' grasp for more power. A successful Sustentation Fund would free the Church from any financial dependence on government. Isaac agreed, also fearing such triplets as congregationalism, Americanism and voluntarism. He was called "the first reformer to warn against republicanism." The Fund was abandoned in 1849.

In 1844, when the Free Church opened Knox College in Toronto, Isaac's hand was again visible. He donated two bursaries to aid students and provided £500 for the college's upkeep, as well as £30 yearly for good will. His name was found among the presbytery representatives appointed to the building committee.

It is vital, however, to look more deeply into Buchanan's personal religion. Both in Montreal and York, as a teenager he showed indifference to his parental upbringing, yet without abandoning his morals. Religion did not yet "grab" him, even after a sharp rebuke from his sister. What definitely shook him from his new world environment was his marriage in 1843. Agnes' benign influence affected her husband so acutely that he felt unworthy in God's sight. Only His grace brought the business man to a genuine religious repentance. Now feeling himself as one of the elect, he began to formulate a series of rules for the conduct of their lives. This Presbyterian code of conduct, which became the couple's ten commandments, was not written in stone until 1849.

For Isaac, life must be ruled by a rigorous schedule. It included for him to rise at 8 a.m. to conduct his private devotions, consisting of prayer and bible reading. This was followed by an hour of reflection upon the conduct of his life. Some prayers might be written down, asking for God's help and approval. After suppertime, an hour was spent together by the parents and their children. Before retiring at 10 p.m. Isaac attended to business matters or to reading alone. Sundays were spent in worship and holy rest, sprinkled with "proper reading." Thus, Isaac felt that God was suitably obeyed and glorified. In return, he expected fruitful results in the realm of business. In Buchanan's up-and-downs of life, he always believed that God was dominant in all his affairs. This procedure, as well as satisfying his soul, benefited the business man's ego.

In order to prosper in business, adjustments to Isaac's faith were sometimes made. This was a common trait among religious business men in Isaac's day. He argued away any lapses in keeping to his code by still feeling himself in "a higher presence than that of statesmen and kings." On some occasions, however, his extreme business reverses caused his euphoria to disappear. If the occasion arose to ask why God was silent following his prayers, he reasoned with himself: "not every day do I feel that I am fulfilling God's will for me." Or, he hopefully justified himself by saying: "I am on the right track . . . when I am reading the scriptures . . . and interpret it through preaching."

Fortunately, a further religious awakening marked his life. In February 1866, returning home by train from a New York business trip and during a forced Sabbath layover at Lake Champlain, he heard a sermon preached on the subject of praise. This so thoroughly enlightened him that he felt it as a divine revelation: opening a window to new faith. All doubts about the relationship between trust in God and his business losses were set to rest. He seemed to hear for the first time that Jesus loved him long before Isaac truly loved God. He had found a new God to lean upon!

In retrospect, what niche does Buchanan fill in Canada's past? H. J. Morgan, his biographer, in 1862 answered: "To write a history of [Buchanan's] thirty years' life of ceaseless activity, with more than half of his time devoted to the business of others and of the public, would be to write a history of Upper Canada." On the heels of Buchanan's death in 1883, praise of him followed in the public press. The *Toronto Globe* called him "one of those prominent pioneers of whom there are now but comparatively few left in this Province." The *Evening Canadian* considered him "one of the most remarkable men in the Province." The *Hamilton Spectator* lauded him as "One of nature's noblemen." In a different vein, a Hamilton bard saw paramount in him the qualities of patriotism and pluck:

> Come forth, Buchanan of that ilk,
> Receive the praises due
> To pluck and patriotism . . . .

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Charlotte Leonora Geddie

Charlotte Leonora Geddie (1822-1916)

STEWART GILL

MISSION HISTORY GENERALLY HAS BEEN UNPOPULAR IN THIS SECULAR AGE and, when attempted at all, has tended to focus upon the pioneering male missionaries with only occasional references to their long-suffering wives. This is partly because mission wives and female missionaries were regarded as auxiliary by many missions and are often invisible in mission records. However, it is misleading to suppose that men were overwhelmingly the major forces in the mission field. Women missionaries whether on the mission field as single ladies or as the wives of male missionaries represent a group who dominated educational and social work and at home, mission support in local churches. Frequently they were cut off from family roots by both faith and geography. Many gave their lives through illness and ill treatment. But it was often by the self-offering of these women that pioneering on a broad scale was made possible. John Geddie has become one of the great giants in the history of Canadian Presbyterian missions but equally worth honouring is his wife and partner in mission, Charlotte Leonora Geddie. In the New Hebrides she learned the language of the natives, assisted her husband in translation work, taught sewing, dispensed medicine, and raised children. In "retirement" in Australia, after the death of her husband, she was one of the key figures in the formation of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (PWMU) based upon her experience of the maritime Women's Foreign Missionary Society. The PWMU became one of the key organizations in supporting and promoting mission through the Presbyterian Church of Victoria parishes.

Charlotte Geddie was born on 10 March 1822, the daughter of Alexander MacDonald, a prominent medical doctor of Antigonish, Nova Scotia and his wife, Charlotte (née Harrington). Antigonish was a great centre of Scottish Highland Roman Catholics but Charlotte came from Presbyterian rather than Catholic stock. The MacDonald family had moved to Nova Scotia sometime between 1805 and 1810. Alexander was part of the Scottish intelligentsia in Antigonish as recorded by Joseph Howe:

> At the hospitable board of R N Henry, Esq., the postmaster of Antigonish, I met four men each differing in training, professional character, but each in his own time sufficiently remarkable

> to make his society very attractive. These were Dr Fraser, who became Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, Dr MacDonald, then in full enjoyment of a large country practice, The Rev. Thomas Trotter, Presbyterian pastor of the village congregation, and our old friend, Sandy MacDougall. They were all Scotchmen or of Scotch descent, were fast friends and cronies. Each would stand up for his own Church or his own snuff box, but they would all stand up for old Scotland, and fight to prove the thistle more fragrant than a rose. I would have given a trifle to have seen and heard our four old friends once more chaffing each other in Latin, English, Greek and Gaelic. With these four men I remained on terms of intimacy and friendship while they lived. Nothing impressed me so much as to hear questions of philosophy, of practical or abstract science, or of European politics, discussed in the County of Sydney with the keenest of logic and fullness of information scarcely met within the capital.

Charlotte appears to have grown up in a house surrounded by books and stimulating discussion.

In 1839 at the tender age of seventeen Charlotte was married to John Geddie, the minister of the Presbyterian congregation at Cavendish and New London, Prince Edward Island. One of John Geddie's good friends was William Dawson, later of McGill University, who wrote of Charlotte:

> Mrs Geddie had the graces of a fine personal appearance and good manner, and was known in her social circle as a woman of eminent piety, and zealous to every good work. She was content to bury herself in the quiet duties of a country manse, or go afar off to the heathen, as the Lord might indicate; and I have been informed that before their engagement this was understood to be her determination.

For six years they served together in that congregation until in July 1845 the Synod of Nova Scotia's board of missions selected John Geddie as its missionary to the New Hebrides and Charlotte fulfilled her wish to serve as a missionary. On 3 November 1846 Charlotte and John with two children set sail from Halifax. In the same year that they left for the mission field the first of many tragedies hit the family when, ôn 15 February, they lost Mary Sophia who was only twenty-one months old. They spent eight months in Samoa learning linguistic principles of the Polynesian languages before sailing to the New Hebrides and settling in

Aneityum in July 1848. The language study was to be put to good use by Charlotte in teaching and translation work.

The first contact with Europeans in the New Hebrides was in 1606 when Pedro Fernandez de Quiros took possession of Terra Australia del Espiritu Santo, now the island of Espiritu Santo, the largest island in the archipelago, in the name of the Trinity, the Catholic Church, St. Francis, St. John of God, the Order of the Holy Ghost and King Phillip III of Spain. Although de Quiros described the island of Santo as "the most delicious country in the world, the Garden of Eden, the inexhaustible source of glory, riches and power to Spain," he only remained there for thirty-five days.

Later European visits to the New Hebrides included the French explorer Louis Bougainville in 1768 and the British explorer James Cook in 1774. Cook named the islands the "New Hebrides," but noted that the islands were a difficult area for European settlement. Such an attitude became a challenge to Christians in Britain who had been re-awakened by the Evangelical Revival. Out of this revival the London Missionary Society was formed in 1795. It catered for Evangelical Churches that adhered to the practice of infant baptism and it chose the Pacific as its first sphere of influence. On 24 September, 1796 it sent out its first thirty missionaries aboard a ship called the *Duff*. Eighteen of these missionaries landed on Tahiti, ten on Tonga and two on the Marquesas Islands.

The first European missionary to arrive in the New Hebrides was the Rev. John Williams. He had worked with the L.M.S. in what is now known as French Polynesia, and in 1818 had settled on the island of Raiatea. King Tamatoa of Raiatea became a Christian under his ministry and subsequently the number of Christians multiplied. Williams was such an effective missionary that he gained for himself the title "Apostle of Polynesia." After a furlough in Britain from 1834 until 1839 he returned to the South Pacific and set out in the *Camden* to evangelize the southern islands of the New Hebrides. As was his practice, he took with him Polynesian teachers as co-workers.

In November 1839 Williams was martyred on Erromanga. His death aroused a great response in the Anglo-Saxon Protestant world. The New South Wales Governor, Sir George Gipps, sailed to Erromanga in the frigate *Favourite* in February 1840, to retrieve the remains of Williams and a companion. He received some bones, which were later interred with much dignity and honour on Samoa, but it is doubtful that they were actually the bones of these martyrs.

In April 1840 the *Camden* returned to Port Resolution, and two married teachers were placed there to accompany the three Samoans and their families who had begun work there in November 1839. The ship then proceeded to Dillon's

Bay, Erromanga, where two single Polynesian men were settled, and then to Aniwa where two married couples began work. Of the original party at Port Resolution, two of the five men as well as two of the wives died of malaria. The two single men on Erromanga almost starved to death and were later relocated by the L.M.S. to the Isle of Pines, in New Caledonia, where they were murdered. The teachers on Aniwa were later withdrawn because of sickness. Not all Polynesian missionaries' work was in vain. It was on the island of Aneityum in 1842 that the first success came. Four Polynesian teachers, named Apolo, Simeona, Pita and Apaisa established a church of approximately forty people. In 1848 the Geddies arrived as the first white missionaries on Aneityum. From the very beginning their aims were to: first, teach the Bible through literacy and numeracy work; finally to provide medical aid. The Geddies arrived with two other families, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Powell and Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Archibald. Archibald was a trained teacher, especially sent to educate local people as teachers. Neither family remained long in the mission. Archibald committed adultery with a native woman and left the mission in order to work with sandalwood traders, and the Powells withdrew to Samoa in 1849 following a severe bout of malaria. In 1852 the Reverend John Inglis joined the Geddies and worked with them for twenty years. In the work of education that they engaged in, especially literacy training, Charlotte had an important role amongst the women.

Missionary wives in the nineteenth century held a position of high status within the church, more than those who supported mission from home through women's auxiliaries or single women missionaries. Few missionary wives left personal letters or diaries and often the story of their role on the mission field is based upon the letters and diaries of their husbands and the occasional government dispatch or report. However, there is enough information available on Charlotte through her husband's diary and letters but also through her own prolific correspondence with supporters in the Maritimes to draw a picture of her work in the New Hebrides. It is obvious that from time to time she wrote under great stress to potential donors and supporters back in Canada. In her letters Charlotte exists as more than just a pale reflection in her husband's eyes. She can be portrayed in three different ways: first, as a helpmeet, whose feminine presence along with that of her daughters required protection within the mission station from the native and frontier disorder outside; secondly, as a missionary heroine struggling with the heathen in an exotic location; and, thirdly, as a partner whose labour was necessary to the functioning of the mission.

Most nineteenth century missions put a high value on the loving service of a wife on the mission field. William Dawson portrayed Charlotte as a faithful helpmeet:

> I had the pleasure of accompanying Mr. Geddie to Antigonish to claim his bride, and felt that he had secured a helpmeet for any good or great work. It proved so in sequel, and I doubt whether, without her advice and encouragement, her husband could have succeeded as he did in the great object of his life. In many difficult and dangerous positions she proved herself a woman of resource, judgment and courage, and was most devoted and untiring in her exertions for the benefit of the barbarous people among whom she labored so long, and especially of the women and children.

Charlotte was an excelient example of a faithful wife and mother and the marriage bond with John is often contrasted in their correspondence with the degraded state of New Hebridean women and corrupt European men who took commercial and sexual advantage of the natives. In particular the sandalwood merchants were portrayed as being evil in their exploitation of the islanders. While the Geddies were in favour of commercial activity and initially looked upon the traders with considerable favour, this state of affairs changed with time. Eventually John levelled a number of serious allegations against the sandalwood traders — "they were licentious womanizers, they stirred up the heathen against the missionaries, they treated the natives like dogs, and either through callousness or negligence they introduced killing disease to the Melanesians." Charlotte's womanly sensibilities proved their worth in the campaign waged by her husband to secure the removal of the traders from Aneityum. In particular the presence of the European commercial interests was considered by the Geddies as a major impediment to the evangelization of the natives.

In a letter of February 1853 to Mrs James Waddell, Charlotte rejoiced that the traders were leaving Aneityum:

> The foreign establishment is being removed from the island. There are two vessels here now assisting to remove property; it will be a blessing to the island when it is removed. Poor creatures! They (the foreigners) did all in their power to annoy and hinder our usefulness; vainly thinking they could prevent God's word from taking root; but they have seen their folly, and some of them have acknowledged their surprise at the change which has taken place . . . .

This was the invocation of the feelings of a middle-class Canadian woman confronting what had been the ugly side of colonization in the New Hebrides.

Charlotte, like other missionary wives in the field, was expected to be tough. Revulsion at the actions of traders, ill-treating natives and abusing native women, was to be accompanied by womanly virtues. She was called to work as a nurse, cook, seamstress, and teacher.

Apart from marriage, Charlotte furthered her missionary vocation through her children. John and Charlotte had seven children. There were the obvious difficulties of raising children on the mission field – those of isolation and education. The eldest daughter also called Charlotte was sent to England for her education. On 6 June 1851 Charlotte wrote to her daughter in London showing concern for her spiritual well-being and demonstrating a kind of rugged stoicism:

> I hope my dear girl, you are happy, and enjoying the affection of your kind teachers and companions: if you do not, the fault must be your own. Believe me, my dear child, that you will always enjoy a greater share of happiness yourself, when you make sacrifices for the sake of others. If you love your teachers, you will testify your affection to them by your conduct toward them, and by attention to the instruction which they impart to you; but, my dear, my greatest desire and wish for you is that you are a child of God – that you are one of the lambs of Christ's fold, and that amid your engagements you devote a portion of your time to the service of your heavenly Father: remember, nothing can excuse you from this . . . . Read your Bible daily, and meditate on what you read in that best of all books.

Charlotte betrayed her major concern for her children as an evangelical, which was to see them come to knowledge of Christ as Lord and Saviour. Not surprisingly, the daughters of missionaries provided one of the few reliable sources of supply for the mission field. Two daughters married missionaries in the New Hebrides; Lucretia Geddie married the Reverend Thomas Neilson and settled in Port Resolution, Tanna, and Elizabeth married the Reverend Daniel MacDonald of Havannah Harbour, Efate.

In November 1856 Charlotte rejoiced:

> We have lately had a letter from our dear Charlotte (daughter) informing us that she is coming out in the John Williams. She is very anxious to be engaged in the missionary work . . . . You may imagine that I feel very much delighted at the prospect of having my dear child with me again. Parting with our children is one of our greatest trials. We have every reason to be thank-

> ful for the Christian sympathy and kindness they have met with in a distant land, and our hearts are cheered by the favourable accounts, which we receive of them. We have every reason to hope that our dear Charlotte has given her heart to the Saviour, and has ere this publicly professed her faith in Him. I trust that if she is spared to reach this island in safety, she may be instrumental in doing much good among the females. I trust that unitedly we shall be able to conduct a large boarding school.

In an age that valued the importance of duty, Charlotte, as the wife of a missionary displayed the religious virtues admired in women, including subordination of the will, self-sacrifice, obedience to authority and acceptance of suffering. The ideas of self-denial and taking up the cross are constant themes in Charlotte's letters back to the Maritimes. However, if missionary wives were presented solely as a helpmeet then they often had to contend with the disadvantage that this made the support of their family problematic in the eyes of tight-fisted mission funding bodies. Portrayal as heroine or partner was easier to sell.

The most exciting image in the nineteenth century was the image of wives as missionary heroines fighting the hostile forces of paganism in dangerous and exotic places, bringing their feminine virtue to transform the domestic and gender arrangements of the natives. Popular literature promoting this image was distributed internationally by different mission societies through Sunday schools, revivals and missionary preachers, which celebrated the mission ideal and encouraged vocations. The real target of recounting these adventures was not potential spouses but the support base of evangelical Protestantism, particularly the children who attended Sunday School and the women who were its main fundraisers.

A good example of this is the letters which Charlotte wrote for home consumption. The letters of Charlotte Geddie and Charlotte Geddie Harrington were published in 1908 in Nova Scotia by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society of the Maritimes. The volume was an edited version of the letters that appeared in the *Missionary Register of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia*, with additional material from George Patterson's *Missionary Life Among the Cannibals: Being the Life of John Geddie D.D.* The latter title evoked the nineteenth century romantic view of missions. The first letter from Charlotte was printed and distributed among congregations throughout the Maritimes. The editor of the *Maritime Presbyterian* noted in 1881 that it was "read with something of the kind of interest that might attach to a communication from

another world." Charlotte does not mince words in her requests. "I trust you will use your exertions for our cause," she writes. "We are not ashamed to beg out here," she continues, "and are encouraged by your kindness to ask for more."

When the letters were republished in 1908 it was "in the hope that they may prove an inspiration to the women of our own church." Charlotte Geddie Harrington portrayed the mission in a heroic manner:

> To leave a civilized land, relatives and friends, and with two small children journey, by devious ways to the Antipodes was a serious undertaking. The voyage to the Sandwich Islands was full of discomforts, in a small brig, in which they suffered from intense heat, and then off Cape Horn, from intense cold and wild storms. The food became stale and the water bad. To go to an island whose inhabitants were heathen of the lowest type, and not within a thousand miles of a civilized and Christian community, with even few of the comforts of life, threatened with destruction, all was borne bravely and cheerfully, that they might be messengers of peace to those degraded people. May we not call this heroic?

To be sure, the Geddies were viewed as heroes in Canada and when they returned on furlough after eighteen years in the New Hebrides. Douglas Fraser recorded:

> Everyone, young and old, was charmed by her vivid accounts of life amongst savages. The New Hebrides and Aneiteum especially, were made as real as the people and place about . . . . There has been no more heroic or picturesque missionary experience in any land than that of Mr Geddie and his brave wife.

In Charlotte's letters, her own adventures and sufferings were always of a more passive form than those endured by her husband and other male missionaries. In the New Hebrides both men and women suffered martyrdom, sometimes through cannibalism, the women in both John and Charlotte's accounts were seen to suffer most because of their frailer physical constitutions and their greater capacity for emotional suffering. In particular, the loss of children whether through death due to natural or unnatural causes or enforced separation because of schooling were part of the cross that was borne by missionaries, especially, wives and mothers.

Even their first furlough in fifteen years was marked by sadness. On 9 January, 1864 John and Charlotte left the islands with their two youngest children,

Helen and Alexander. Five days later Alexander, only two years and eight months, died of dysentery. In Melbourne the Geddies met up with another Canadian missionary to the New Hebrides, Hugh Robertson. Robertson commented on their encounter:

> As I looked at the heroic couple for the first time, though I had long known of them, the name of Geddie being almost a household word with us in Canada, I saw my ideals of true missionaries. At this time they were in deep sorrow; Mrs Geddie bowed down with grief at the loss of a darling child; but their thought was ever for others and of their people left behind . . . . It is worthy of note that for the long period of fifteen years Mrs Geddie had never once been off the island of Aneityum, but, when we saw her, though grief-stricken and worn with work, her face still wore the charm of an early beauty.

More prosaically, Charlotte can be portrayed as a mission partner, whose presence and labour was essential to the work of the mission. Charlotte had two main functions: first, she performed and directed the practical work of teaching, nursing, cooking and other tasks assigned to the woman's sphere; secondly, she provided a role model for Aneityumese women ignorant of the proper behaviour of Christian wives and mothers. This was particularly important in the New Hebrides since it was often argued that one of the chief attractions and glories of Christianity was the high place it accorded women in contrast to the low status in New Hebridian society. John and Charlotte presented the model of a Western Christian patriarchal family within their Christian village mission station, or at least that is how it was presented in their reports. In this project, Charlotte sought to transform native gender relations by eliminating promiscuity, teaching women to perform domestic work and maintain household and encouraging men to take on the alien role of sole breadwinner.

Role modelling was an important activity carried out by Charlotte, performed simply by carrying out the natural duty as a mother with children who lived for a number of years in full view of the natives. More effort was needed to teach New Hebrides women to become good housewives. The practical work carried out by Charlotte was school teaching, including the taking of Sunday School and the training of women and girls in domestic and craft work. Occasionally she took on more responsibility for the mission when John was away visiting other islands. Sewing appears to have been the main subject taught with the aim of providing clothes to cover near-naked bodies. In many of the

letters the emphasis on clothing the natives suggests that Christian conversion was linked to Europeanization, particularly the abandoning of nakedness for western dress. To be sure, the emphasis on clothing saw a change in cultural practices with clothing being valued above tobacco, as Charlotte recorded:

> They (the natives) are very anxious for clothing and are willing to work for it. The greater part of the Christian natives have given up the use of tobacco and intend to work for and sell to the foreigners for clothes. Formerly the foreigners would not give them anything but tobacco for work, but now they will find it for their own interest to pay them in clothing.

Charlotte also used the sewing circles as an opportunity to further the cause of the gospel and to speak about how New Hebridean society could be transformed:

> We try to make our meetings profitable and interesting. I generally propose a subject for consideration, such as the duties of parents, children &c. Sometimes, we converse about the sermons of the preceding Sabbath, or, I read a portion of Scripture, and endeavor to explain it to them. We have had some interesting meetings.

Advice on how to deal with difficult children was given in an attempt to change child-rearing customs:

> The very small children are the most difficult to manage. Their parents never attempt to correct them, but let them do just as they please. The poor mothers are perfect slaves to them, until they are five or six years old. I have been speaking a good deal to the women lately, about their children, and the sin of giving in to them always. They say, what can we do, if we deny them, they will scream until we are obliged to give way to them. I told them they must be firm, and when their children saw that there was no use in persisting, they would soon desist. I think that some of them are trying to act upon my advice.

Charlotte's day was filled with formal and informal teaching opportunities. If mornings were taken up with practical instruction in sewing and housework the afternoons were devoted to more formal study. The best male and female students came together each afternoon in order to learn to read and write. Charlotte noted that John did not often attend and that the majority of teaching

fell upon her with the assistance of some native teachers. There were generally thirty to forty students in each class. Evenings were devoted to family worship, Friday afternoons to a prayer meeting and on Saturday she conducted a class for the teachers' wives.

Another area where Charlotte had a big impact was in medical work. Dispensing of basic medicines was an important role. Having been raised in a doctor's household was good preparation for this. Probably more significant was the change in lifestyle introduced through a health and child care program. Charlotte wrote in 1853:

> Natives who live at a distance, when their children get ill, come and remain sometimes for a fortnight with us, that they may have the benefit of our skill. Dispensing medicines takes up a good deal of time, during the sickly season. The poor natives place the greatest confidence in our knowledge of diseases. I often tell them that I know very little, but they say, "Oh Missi, you know a great deal . . . ." The natives are much more healthy than formerly, owing to their getting only their proper nourishment. Formerly, they were from their birth, fed with fish, and all kinds of trash. The mothers too, take greater care of their children, keep them cleaner, and do not expose them so much to the cold, rain and night air. When we came here, there were very few infants, but now there are a great number.

Charlotte and John were held in high regard and in the affections of the people. Charlotte's missionary reports often focus on the expressions of personal regard for her and John, portrayed as the mother and father of the mission. On their return from visiting other mission stations, natives exclaiming "Papa and Mama ouja," or, our Papa and Mamma often greeted the Geddies.

Having spent her most active years on the mission field Charlotte moved to Australia with her husband in 1870 in order to complete the translation of the Aneityumese Bible, and on 14 December 1872 John died there. In her "retirement" she served the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, drawing upon her missionary experience to promote good works and the cause of the Gospel. She was for thirty years a member of the Ladies' Benevolent Society in Melbourne. The minister of Scots Church, Melbourne, had founded the Society in 1845 to work among the unemployed, single girls, deserted wives and women with young children who were destitute. On 25 August 1890 two ladies, one almost seventy but still sprightly, and the other a younger lady, walked out of the Presbyterian

Assembly Hall in Melbourne. As they walked along Clarendon Street they discussed the organization that had just been founded, the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. Charlotte had just become Vice-President of the new organisation. By the end of the first year there were 28 branches and 1500 members and four young women had offered themselves for missionary service in Korea. The PWMU came into existence because of the need of the people in Korea and the response by Presbyterian women in Victoria. Charlotte was at the forefront of this movement and influenced the organisation along the lines of the Maritime Women's Foreign Missionary Society.

On New Year's Day 1916 Charlotte Geddie died at her home in Wattle Tree Road, Malvern, Victoria, Australia. Obituaries were manifold and recorded her contribution as a helpmeet, heroine and partner in mission. The *Chronicle of the PWMU of Victoria and Queensland* noted:

> Through the Ladies' Benevolent Society she touched the lives of the poor and all good and Christlike work claimed her interest. One day last year a speaker at a meeting of the Malvern branch of the PWMU, of which Mrs Geddie was latterly a member, saw the tiny, frail, indomitable woman in the audience, and her heart failed her at the thought of speaking before one who should be her teacher. Yet her very presence was an inspiration and even now these two women (another member of PWMU, Mrs Henderson), being dead, yet speak to us. We cannot all be pioneers and leaders as they were, but their courage, loyalty and faithfulness may be ours if we seek them where they found them — in an unwavering trust in God. They are witnesses to His power to save and to uphold even to the end, and we thank God for their inspiring example.

The Reverend James Beattie wrote in *The Messenger* on 21 January 1916:

> Hers was a beautiful old age. Everyone was struck with her amazing vitality, great force and energy of character, and unostentatious profound piety. She enjoyed life to the last, at the age of 93 her mind was alert and active, her memory unimpaired, keenly interested in everything going on in the Church and in the world, and most of all in the evangelisation of the world, and especially of her beloved New Hebrides.

Charlotte was constrained to a certain extent by the decorum of a woman's sphere. The rhetoric may have moved on from helpmeet to partner in mission work, but the words often lacked any official support and Charlotte remained essentially subordinate. She was not typical of many nineteenth century missionary wives and was certainly not an ordinary woman. Charlotte can be admired as a missionary heroine, marching in the footsteps of the early Christian virgins and martyrs. Ultimately in the New Hebrides she achieved considerable independence as a mission partner rather than being merely locked in a subsidiary and domestic helpmeet role that provided little outlet for missionary vocation and, in her "retirement," she continued to encourage women to take up the role of missionary at home and overseas.

Adrian David Coussirat

Daniel Coussirat Apostle to French-Canadian Roman Catholics or Closet Liberal?

DAN SHUTE

TODAY THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA has precisely one French-speaking congregation, Église St-Luc in Montreal. By contrast, at the turn of the last century Canadian Presbyterianism challenged in a very modest fashion the religious monopoly of Roman Catholicism in French Quebec. Largely because the Presbyterian Church in Canada inherited the congregations from an earlier evangelistic enterprise begun by Swiss Baptists, by 1900 the Presbyterian Church in Canada could boast fifty-four French congregations or preaching points.

Naturally the size of this French work demanded French theological training. At the centre of French theological education was a remarkable pastor of the French Reformed Church, the Rev. Daniel Coussirat. Unfortunately almost nothing has been published about Coussirat since his death nearly a century ago. A great deal may nevertheless be gleaned from original sources, especially *The Presbyterian College Journal* and *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly* (hereafter abbreviated PCJ and A&P).

Adrian Daniel Coussirat spent the first twenty-four years of his life – upbringing, schooling and first parish – in southern France. He was born of Huguenot parents at Nérac in the Department of Lot-et-Garonne in the Province of Gascogne on 5 March, 1841. By the age of eighteen he had completed his classical studies at Nérac and in the Académie of Toulouse and received a B.A. in 1859. For the next five years he then studied philosophy, philology and theology at the Theological Faculty of Montauban, and having successfully defended a thesis on election, he received a B.D. in 1864. (Harvard University has that thesis, and it may be consulted there.) That same year he was ordained to the ministry of the French Reformed Church and was appointed as assistant minister of the Reformed church in Bellocq (PCJ 1881, 21-22; 1907, 112-117).

In France at the time, even as in Canada today, theological colleges were markets for competing doctrines, and Coussirat was no doubt as perturbed as present theological students are on how to reconcile modern knowledge and ancient texts. In a short account of his alma mater's course of study and the

faculty members, Coussirat mentions in particular Prosper-Frédéric Jalaguier (1795-1864). It was from this systematic theologian that, as I would judge, Coussirat received his particular doctrinal stance (PCJ 1881, 39-40). One of Jalaguier's students wrote that "[h]is theological perspective . . . was clearly biblical and supernaturalistic". However, he goes on to add that Jalaguier's orthodoxy on the inspiration of scripture and on several other points did not have the excessive rigour that was characteristic of many representatives of the evangelical revival then current in French Protestant churches.

> He proclaimed the presence of the personal and human elements in the sacred authors. He granted that there were even errors in science and reason in the Bible; besides he liked to recall the saying of Bengel: 'Feed contentedly on the pure wheat of scripture without getting worried about the grain of sand that might be mixed in it.'

Though Jalaguier resisted strict Protestant Orthodoxy, he wrote irenically against the rationalism that was beginning to overtake French Reformed Protestantism. Thus Coussirat was from an intellectual background which could both affirm certain conclusions from the modern world yet still be warmly evangelical.

Coussirat seems to have had something of the missionary spirit in him. He did not settle down to the life of a small town pastor in sunny Southern France. Instead at the age of twenty-four, after only a year in his pastorate, he crossed the ocean and accepted a call to the French Church in Philadelphia. He caught the eye of the French-Canadian Missionary Society, the interdenominational organization which was at the forefront of the Protestant churches' effort to win French-Canadian Roman Catholics to the evangelical faith. When the Society called him to serve, Coussirat responded in the affirmative.

At the present time, main-line Protestants are uncomfortable with efforts to evangelize Roman Catholics, an action so counter to the ecumenical spirit abroad today. Three remarks are in order. First the Catholic Church in Quebec in the second half of the nineteenth century was not the post-Vatican 2 institution with which we are familiar today. Many Roman Catholics today would grant that the French Quebec Catholicism of the day was mixed with a fair amount of both superstition and fanaticism. The obvious failings of that church made it an easy target for the Protestant churches which were still very anti-papist in both doctrine and practice. Second the Protestant churches, especially the Presbyterian Church, were not the accommodating pew which we find so comfortable today. Pick up a late nineteenth century copy of either the *Presbyterian Record* or the

Presbyterian College Journal and you will find a mentality not all together different from the Billy Graham Evangelistic Associations' *Decision Magazine*. The world was filled with lost souls, destined to eternal hell, if the Gospel were not preached to them. Third the French Reformed Church, though already more inclined to modernism than Scottish Presbyterianism, still had individuals in it of a warm evangelical persuasion. These three points must be kept in mind as we proceed.

Coussirat became a one-man theology department for the French-Canadian Missionary Society. The *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the French Canadian Missionary Society* (January 23, 1868) contains this note:

> THEOLOGICAL CLASS. The Committee have been able, after years of prayerful effort to form a class for the training of Missionaries. In April last they happily succeeded in securing the services of the Rev. D. Coussirat, B.D., of Montauban, for this important work. . . . An examination of the young men after the Christmas holidays fully corroborates the following report of Mr. Coussirat: "The course of study pursued in the class embraces Latin, Greek and Hebrew: French, including Grammar, Literature, Composition, Recitation, and Declamation; Mental Philosophy and Logic; Apologetic, Polemical, and Pastoral Theology, with Homiletics. The students for the ministry alone study the dead languages. My desire is so to train the young men committed to my care so as to fit them for giving an intelligent account of their faith, and to make them able expositors of the Word of God. The Reformers who changed the face of Europe were accounted by their fellows the wisest of their times. To produce any extensive movement in this country, it is necessary, under God, to have men of more than ordinary education. Nevertheless, we do not allow the students to forget that their studies are but means to an end, the true one of their future lives, that is, the bringing of souls to Christ. Nor do we allow them to lose sight of the fact that their efforts cannot be successful otherwise than when followed by the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit.

These words of Coussirat demonstrate his abilities and his vision of mission. One is immediately struck by his pretensions to teach the entire theological curriculum. Who among our present day educators, armed with an M.Div., or

an M.A., or even a double Ph.D., could hope to teach even two of the above subjects? Also note Coussirat's evangelistic zeal. Though (as we have seen) he was not as strict a Calvinist as were many of his counterparts in the Presbyterian Church, he manifestly believed that the aim of mission was to bring souls to Christ and that the evangelical faith was more likely to accomplish this task than was the Roman Catholic.

Another indication that Coussirat was serious about his mission to the new world is his marriage soon after his arrival in Quebec. In fact, less than a year in the employ of the French Missionary Society in September of 1868 at the age of 27 he married Miss Sarah Quinn-Moret of Montreal. Was it love at first sight, or a practical marriage, or was Miss Quinn-Moret a reason for Coussirat's moving north to Montreal? Our sources do not say. Intentionally or not, her obituary in the *Presbyterian College Journal* (1891, 432) gives the impression of a woman more formidable than lovable:

> The readers of the "Journal" have just lost a faithful friend in the person of Madame Coussirat. She died Thursday, April 2 in her 45th year – even though anticipated several months, her death throws a veil of sadness over the circle of these numerous friends. In the natural course of things, it seemed that she was to complete a long career. Until several months ago, nothing pointed otherwise. But there are some lives that by nature use themselves up more quickly than others. Even when a very young girl, Madame Coussirat understood that life is not entertainment but a series of duties to accomplish. Her primary education was austere. Since from earliest childhood she subjugated herself to principles of an entirely Christian strictness, the application of those principles in daily life appeared to her to be entirely natural. She did not understand that one could depart from such principles, and the breaking of them produced in her entire mortal being a painful shock. She could never reconcile in her thought certain liberties permitted in certain quarters with the principles of a Christian education; that is to say, within the framework of the qualities of a devout and studious girl, of an amiable woman, and of a Christian spouse and mother, what stands out before our eyes in her life is the ideal of duty; Madame Coussirat was a slave of duty. Often in the case of a great number of very honest and even sincerely Christian persons, duty is only a

> counsellor whose opinions are followed or rejected according to circumstances, but in the case of Madame Coussirat, duty was the absolute master. She never compromised. Brought up in an atmosphere of mission, she understood all its exigencies. When she became a pastor's wife we know that she consecrated to the duties of her new position precious hours taken away from the domestic care of her family. Add to all this that she took a lively interest in studies and subjects which filled the time of her husband whom she never ceased to surround with a jealous care and to watch over with a legitimate pride. To save him from any distraction – to leave him free to pursue his work – to relieve him of all domestic cares, such was her great ambition. However with sensitive natures all is used up more quickly than is the case with others. We all have a task to do – once done – God sounds the recall. He has sounded hers. He has said to her: "Ascend, come rest yourself."

Granted it is monstrously unfair to compare the Coussirats' domestic arrangements with the egalitarian ideals of the modern liberated couple. Still we may hope that in her domestic life away from the public eye, Madame Coussirat showed a less grim face. Be that as it may, this obituary of his wife gives us a clue as to Monsieur Coussirat's extraordinary productivity: his wife took care of everything else for him so he could teach and write.

The year 1868 was a milestone in Coussirat's life for another reason. The standard French Protestant Bible of the time was still Olivétan's translation. It had undergone several revisions, the most famous of which is Ostervald's. Ostervald's version, which appeared in 1744, was itself the subject of more revisions. For example in 1868 the Société biblique de la France undertook yet another revision of the Old Testament. "This revision, the work of five revisers, appeared in 1881. The translation of certain books, Job for example, was entirely new." It seems that Coussirat had already made his mark as an Semitist (adept in Semitic languages such as Hebrew and Aramaic) in his native land, since the Société biblique de la France fingered him to be part of the team of scholars to accomplish this revision. We learn that, ". . . he personally revised the books of Ecclesiastes and Daniel" (PCJ 1886, 184); the former has a unique, quirky and apparently late Hebrew style, and the latter is more than half in Aramaic, not just Hebrew. Coussirat's work in translation did not gain him eternal glory, in part because Louis Segond's version, which he produced 1873-1880, eclipsed all others in popularity among Protestants. In comparing Coussirat's version of Daniel

with the previous version there is ample evidence that Coussirat wrestled with the Hebrew text, using tools better than those available to Olivétan and Ostervald. In general Coussirat tries to find French expressions which are closer to the Hebrew.

But to return to Coussirat's career, Coussirat stayed with the French Canadian Missionary Society for less than three years. He then accepted an appointment to The Presbyterian College, Montreal. "At the beginning of the session of 1869-70, Professor Coussirat with three Students . . . removed to Montreal, where his services became available at the Presbyterian college." This effectively brought to a close the Society's short-lived experiment in theological education. Henceforth Presbyterian College became the major centre for training missionaries for French evangelization. The fate of the Society's theological education presaged its own fate. The Presbyterian Church was a major supporter of its work. In 1878 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada discontinued its support of the Society, and most of the Society's property and work fell like ripe fruit into the lap of the Presbyterian Committee on French Evangelization.

It seems to me that Coussirat, as zealous as he was for the Gospel, must have realized that the Society's work had no long term viability. The Society was entirely dependent on missionary offerings from Canada and abroad. It never was able to establish a self-sustaining church organization. At the same time, in my judgment, without an independent church such as the Society tried to establish, French evangelization was doomed to failure. The work under the Presbyterian Church never became "indigenized," as we would say today. A truly self-sustaining French Protestant Church had to wait until the present day when the Pentecostal and Baptists churches have succeeded in taking advantage of the destruction of Catholicism's religious monopoly over Quebec. It is doubtful that Coussirat had, after a few years work in Canada, any illusions that the Scottish Presbyterian Church would mount any serious challenge to the Catholic Church in French Quebec.

In 1869, then, Coussirat took his French Canadian Missionary Society ministerial students with him to the Presbyterian College, and he served as Lecturer in French Theology at the none too princely salary of $1,200 per year (A&P 1870, lxxxi). Evidently Coussirat needed an English equivalent of the French B.A. in order to be recognized as a lecturer. In any event he "took the degree B.A. *ad eundem* at McGill University" (PCJ 1881, 22). This means that McGill recognized his work at the classical academies of France as equivalent to a McGill B.A. At the time his French B.A. probably represented much more work than its McGill counterpart.

When Coussirat arrived at Presbyterian College, the Rev. D.H. MacVicar was the only full professor there. In 1873 the General Assembly of what was then the Canada Presbyterian Church made certain changes in the college's faculty: the Rev. John Campbell was appointed Professor of Church History and Apologetics instead of merely Lecturer in Church History, and MacVicar officially became principal with a corresponding increase in salary. Coussirat remained only a Lecturer but his salary was increased to $1,600 (A&P 1873, 43-44). Why was Coussirat not given a full professorship at the same time as Campbell? Certainly his academic qualifications were superior to those of MacVicar and at least equal to those of Campbell. MacVicar's nomination to head the new college had been vigorously opposed in some quarters on the grounds that he lacked the academic qualifications; the objection was not entirely groundless, since he possessed neither B.A. nor B.D. and had no wide academic reputation on the basis of theological publications. Campbell was something of an eccentric genius and an intellectual loose cannon. Was Coussirat a little put out at being subordinated to two Canadians with academic qualifications inferior to or no better than his own?

At any rate according to his obituary in the *Presbyterian College Journal* it was "family reasons" which led Coussirat to return to France in 1875. At the age of thirty-four then Coussirat moved back to his native France with his Montreal-born wife "and was at once called to the pastorate of the Reformed Church in Orthez (Basses-Pyrénées), and shortly afterwards was made permanent Moderator of the Consistory" (PCJ 1907, 114). We learn elsewhere that this church was at the time an "important" one, as his election to the moderatorship would indicate (PCJ 1881, 184).

Meanwhile back at Presbyterian College, all was not well with the French Department. In 1879 the Rev. Benjamine Ourière, due to sickness in his family, had to resign as French Lecturer in Sacred Rhetoric and Homiletics (A&P 1879, cvii). The Rev. A.B. Cruchet stepped into the void, but the next year MacVicar called to the General Assembly's attention that the French theology department needed something more:

> The Senate [of The Presbyterian College, Montreal] respectfully represent to the General Assembly that the time has arrived for extending the work of the French department of the College. In addition to missionaries such as have hitherto been prepared, the Board of French Evangelization [of the General Assembly] require a large number of Colporteurs specially trained for the work, and thoroughly instructed in Biblical

> knowledge and the Romish Controversy as it exists in Canada. For these purposes the services of a lecturer are inadequate. It is therefore recommended that the General Assembly appoint a French Professor of Theology, of high attainments and undoubted Missionary zeal, to devote his whole time to this department (A&P 1880, cii).

Where could such a one be found who had both the mind of a scholar and the heart of an evangelist? As it turns out, MacVicar had evidently already been in contact with just the man: the former Lecturer in the French Department, Daniel Coussirat, who was willing to move back to the raw, cold city of Montreal from the civilized company of sunny southern France. In the Minutes of this same General Assembly we read that the following recommendations of the College's Board of Managers were adopted:

> That the Rev. Daniel Coussirat, M.A., B.D., formerly engaged in the Montreal College, be appointed French Professor of Theology. . . . This motion was carried with much cordiality. . . . [T]hat his salary be two thousand dollars ($2000), to be paid as theretofore by the Board of French Evangelization.

The phrase "with much cordiality" is probably not empty rhetoric; Coussirat had made a lasting impression on the Canadian church during his last stint of service.

Henceforth Montreal was to be Coussirat's home and his job was to be French Professor of Theology at The Presbyterian College, Montreal until his death in 1907. Thus he stayed in Montreal longer than in any other place in his entire life. He had found, as we would say, his "niche". During this long term of service at Presbyterian College he contributed regularly to the *Presbyterian College Journal* which was published from 1881 on. All his articles were written in French; he never gained sufficient confidence in English to write in that language. In fact, in his obituary in the *Journal* we read:

> His knowledge of the ancient languages, both classical and Oriental was thorough, and he managed to keep them all up to the very end. His one regret was that he had not been able to continue his reading in German, owing to the multiplicity of duties (PCJ 1907, 114-5).

Perhaps we may infer that Coussirat did not make time to keep his German up. He was immensely proud of the French language.

In an series of articles entitled "The French Language in Modern Society," Coussirat tries to discuss dispassionately to what language the future belonged. He argues for the simplicity of French, since it is pronounced much as it is written. To be sure, there are exceptions to the rules. At the same time, Coussirat is quick to point out that, "[t]here is another modern language far more capricious whose pronunciation could not be derived from simply reading it." After this dig at English, he dismisses other rivals to the status of French as the international language. He certainly did not think the tongue of the future was German:

> . . . the German language is often so obscure, the German sentence is so long, habitually overloaded with so many subordinate clauses (except in poetry), it is so rich in consonants and gutturals that it will be sometime before the mouth of the Latins, Celts and maybe even the Anglo-Saxons, will get used to speaking it (PCJ 1891, 227).

While on the subject of the French language we may well inquire how far Coussirat was sympathetic to the pronunciation of French in Quebec. In an article entitled "French Pronunciation" ("De la Pronunciation française"), Coussirat affirms: "We want to pronounce French as one pronounces it TODAY in proper social circles" (*Nous voulons prononcer le français comme on le prononce AUJOURD'HUI dans la bonne société*). He affirms that *la bonne société* is Paris, and more specifically at the *Conservatoire* and the *Académie* (PCJ 1901, 91). Since these are his authorities, in his discussion of rules for vowels and consonants he completely ignores the idiosyncrasies of Quebec French. It would have been nice had Coussirat at least mentioned some of these peculiarities, if only to identify them as faults. No doubt he expected his students to use standard pronunciation when they preached before him. Whether or not they continued this practice in the field is another question. Perhaps they did, and their hearers expected this. Or perhaps they did, and they alienated their congregations. At any rate I doubt that Quebec nationalism had reached the point where Coussirat's attitude toward French as spoken in French Canada differed much from the attitude of most university educated persons of his day.

Now that Coussirat began the final and longest stage of his life's work, to what intellectual pursuits did he especially turn his attention? We may answer by investigating three areas: Hebrew, apologetics and biblical criticism. Hebrew has already been covered to some extent above when exploring his Bible translation. Coussirat was not content to be simply an Hebraist, he also was committed to teaching the language. For example, Coussirat counselled: "Let the teacher be

careful that his pupil learn to read with facility, without any hesitating, stuttering or stammering." How many of our theological students today can read Hebrew with any facility even after they complete two years of Hebrew studies? We may take some cold comfort in that the situation was evidently little better even given Coussirat's strenuous efforts. Here is his all too familiar complaint:

> [M]ost students, having little taste for a study which is arid and in their eyes sterile, seize on literal translations provided with grammatical analyses. By an effort of memory pure and simple, they prepare themselves to pass the required exam. After that, the spirit at peace and the conscience in repose, they close their Hebrew Bible, sometimes sell it and hasten to forget the little Hebrew that they had learned. (PCJ 1883, 162).

The fact that Coussirat was an excellent Hebrew teacher did not long escape McGill University's attention. In 1882 McGill appointed him Lecturer and then in 1887 Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature. This was no honorary title, and one cannot help but think that his workload hastened his death. In his *Presbyterian College Journal* obituary we read:

> In 1882, he undertook in addition the Semitic language department of McGill University, and though the double duty gave him quite an unusual number of lecture-courses to deliver, he carried them on to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. It may be added that during the past two years he has also given valuable assistance in the classes of the summer French school under the auspices of McGill University (PCJ 1907, 114).

Coussirat was indeed something of a workaholic.

A second area of academic concentration for Coussirat was biblical criticism. Then as today so-called higher criticism troubled the faith of theological student and lay person alike. Perhaps it is only human nature to run to the extremes, but one is struck in perusing thirty years of *Presbyterian College Journals* how rapidly informed Presbyterian opinion in Canada shifted from a shocked rejection to a smug acceptance of what became known as "the assured results of higher criticism". Coussirat on the other hand throughout his teaching career tried to steer for the golden mean. We do not find him strenuously defending the inerrant Bible of strict Calvinism. On the other hand his acceptance of the results of the historical-critical method was both selective and severely limited. For example, as he showed in a two-part article he wrote on "The Chaldean-Assyrian Literature",

he was well aware of the Babylonian version of the story of the universal flood. Yet he makes this remark:

> The stories of the Mosaic Genesis are reproduced there, but with a strong taint of polytheism. I am tempted to explain this fact with François Lenormant as a survival of primitive traditions of humanity preserved purely in the biblical Genesis and altered by later legends in the Chaldean Genesis (PCJ 1897, 81-82).

Today we may well find his argument for the authenticity of the story of Noah's flood naïve and totally unconvincing. But listen to what Coussirat says and does not say. He does not say that the flood story must be historical because it is found in the Bible. Nor does he even say positively that the flood story is a primitive tradition of humanity. He argues irenically for the priority of the biblical flood story without being dogmatic about it.

Coussirat's cautious attitude toward higher criticism did not stop him from reading it avidly. Then, as today, the search for the historical Jesus got front page coverage. In Coussirat's time, one such searcher for the historical Jesus was Renan. The year before he died Coussirat wrote an article on "The Principles of historical criticism according to Ernest Renan". Coussirat patiently examines these principles and offers a critique of them one by one. For example, Renan said:

> "The historian has but one preoccupation: art and truth. The theologian has one interest, and that's his dogma. The theologian is "a bird in a cage," while the historian is "as free as the air".

To this Coussirat responds:

> A false principle because it generalizes. Everybody knows that there are historians more anxious to prove a thesis – another name for a dogma – than to find the truth. For example, respecting the French revolution some exalt it as a blessing while others condemn it as a crime.

Coussirat ends his critique of Renan with these words:

> And I know readers of [Renan's] Life of Jesus who, curious to know what they ought to think of it, studied the New Testament and there discovered the true Christ. This is an unexpected result for which we may thank Ernest Renan.

The last area of intellectual inquiry to mention here is apologetics. In Coussirat's time apologetics was yet to be discredited and, we are told, "all his studies have centered around the subject . . . and he is truly a master in this important branch of Theological Science" (PCJ 1886, 185). This emphasis on apologetics is clearly seen in his publications in which he tried to answer positively the critics of evangelical faith. For example he published a remarkably sympathetic article on Louis-Auguste Sabatier (1839-1901), whom he had met and whose religious convictions were, by Coussirat's own admission, a strange amalgam of contemporary science and Christian piety (PCJ 1889, 242-248).

We do not have a book-length account of Coussirat's convictions from his own pen. In fact we are told that he never wrote a book, only articles for newspapers, magazines and journals (PCJ 1907, 115). A book-length manuscript in his own hand does, however, survive in the library of The Presbyterian College, Montreal. Dated September 1871, it is entitled *Cours de Théologie*. It is striking that even in this course of doctrinal theology there is a substructure of apologetics. Instead of beginning with the doctrine of scripture or the doctrine of revelation, Coussirat starts with "the idea of God", "the origin of the idea of God", "the proofs of the existence of God", "diverse forms of unbelief", and "the history of doctrine of God".

Let me end this short look at Coussirat's academic work in Hebrew instruction, higher criticism and apologetics by asking why he wrote so much but never a book. Coussirat does not appear to have been a creative thinker. On the basis of a fine classical and theological education, he sought out the best of contemporary religious and philosophical thought and taught it with verve and competency. Nevertheless he seems to have realized that his contribution lay in teaching rather than in bold new intellectual initiatives.

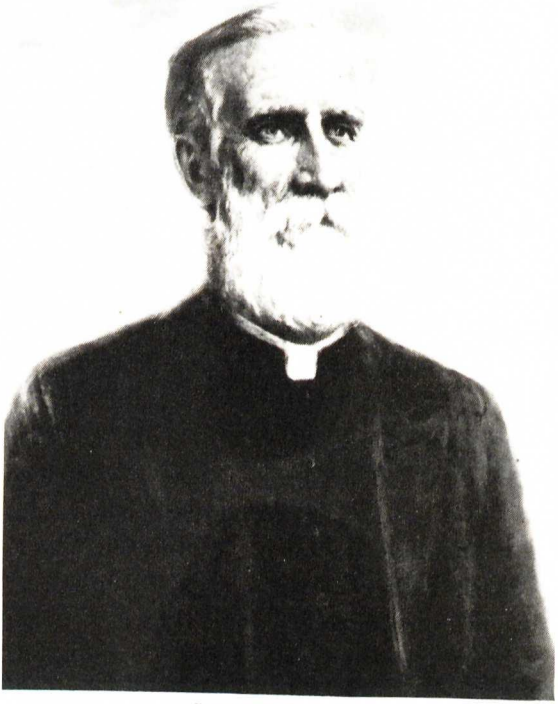
As noted above, after Coussirat became Professor of French Theology at Presbyterian College he found no inclination to move elsewhere. Or was he a victim of the Peter Principle? An indication that this was not the case is found in the action of the French government which in 1885 honoured him with the title of *Officier de l'Instruction Public* (O.I.P.). We learn that, "[t]his title is one which is highly valued, seldom granted to men of the Professor's age and conferred for the first time on a French Protestant of this country [France]" (PCJ 1886, 185). Evidently this title came to him in view of his work in education while he was a pastor in France and on account of his role in the revision of the French Protestant Bible. Certainly his title from the French government carried more prestige than did the D.D. with which Queen's University had honoured him two years before. One of his students recalled that he prized his honorific title from the French government "with an almost boyish delight" (PCJ 1918, 73).

Coussirat seemed to have a bewildering variety of interests. He wrote on Plato's *Phedo*, Victor Hugo's religion, public education in France, Charles Secrétan and Jeanne d'Albert, Queen of Navarre, as well as on all the other topics mentioned above. Was he too broad minded for the Presbyterian Church in Canada at the turn of the century? One of his English speaking students, the Rev. Norman MacLeod, thought so. Here is one of his comments penned some years after Coussirat's death:

> I have sometimes thought that had he attained to a proficiency enabling him to preach in English before some of the Presbyteries of our Church, he might have attained to the distinction of a heresy trial, for he was a man of broad and tolerant views and did not hesitate to encourage his students to dare to believe that tradition is not always infallible (JCJ 1918, 73).

MacLeod's observations might well have been true for the first few years after his arrival in Montreal in 1869, but time caught up with Coussirat. In my estimation by the time of his death in 1907 strict Calvinism had so lost its hold on the Presbyterian Church in Canada that Coussirat's mélange of evangelicalism and modernism was already a bit quaint. The evangelistic zeal that drove colporteurs to sell Bibles to French Catholics was fast evaporating, being quite crowded out by a vision of a unified Christian Church which in God's good time would include the Roman Church itself. The drive for a French Protestant Church in Quebec effectively died even before Coussirat. His work and that of a French Protestant mission to practising Roman Catholics, though a mere footnote in Canadian church history, is nonetheless a very interesting one.

Why, then, should our generation concern ourselves with Coussirat at all? Because there is an historical lesson when we consider why the Presbyterian effort in establishing churches in Quebec failed the first time. As long as the French congregations were an appendage of a Canada-wide missions programme, they were subject to the whim of changing fashions in the national church. Coussirat was a Frenchman working for the Presbyterian Church in Canada. More *a propos*,our present situation is Coussirat's doctrine. Former moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, John Congram, when in the moderator's chair briefly at the 1988 General Assembly, remarked wryly that the only niche the Canadian Presbyterian Church has is to be conservative but not fundamentalist. In his own way and in his own time Coussirat saw this clearly. His own unstable amalgam of conservatism and modernism is both an inspiration and a warning to the Canadian Presbyterian Church as it seeks to find its way in the ecclesiastical fogs at the eve of the new millennium.



James Robertson

James Robertson: Presbyterian Bishop of the West

PETER BUSH

IT WAS NOVEMBER OF 1892 and the Rev. Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of Missions in Western Canada for The Presbyterian Church in Canada was on one of his many journeys across the Canadian Prairies – this time travelling by train. In a letter to his wife he told about an incident on his trip:

> A man . . . came on board the train and shouted if Dr. Robertson was on board – I assured him he was . . . . [The man insisted I would] have to come off and marry a couple . . . – I told the conductor the situation and got him to stop the train till I could marry these poor people and the conductor went with me to the hotel [where the couple was waiting].

Robertson's care and compassion for the people of the prairies was deep and genuine, he willingly got off the train to perform a wedding for a couple he had never met, but who were left without a minister to perform that wedding due to circumstances beyond their control. (The minister they had arranged to do the wedding had been prevented by a November blizzard from getting to the hotel.) Robertson's name was so well-known across the prairies that a complete stranger could ask for him by name, and the train crew was prepared to hold the train for Robertson.

James Robertson was born in Dull, Scotland in 1839. In 1855 his family and he emigrated to Canada, settling in that hot-bed of Presbyterianism, Zorra Township, Upper Canada (near Woodstock, Ontario). Through the influence of the local Presbyterian minister, Robertson decided to enter the ministry and took his university education at University College, Toronto, graduating in 1866. During his last year at University College, he saw military action with the Queen's Own Rifles who repelled a Fenian-sponsored invasion of Canada at Ridgetown, Ontario. Robertson was deeply shaken by the fighting, and saw his survival as a further confirmation of God's call on his life.

In 1866, Robertson enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey. Under the leadership of Charles Hodge, Princeton had become one of the

foremost missionary-sending theological colleges in the world. Hodge's deep commitment to prayer and his spiritual passion created a crucible in which the lives of students were refined. Robertson remained at Princeton for two years, his second year (1867-1868) overlapping with George Leslie Mackay's (another Zorra Township product) first year at Princeton. The fall of 1868, found Robertson completing his theological training at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. While studying there, he worked part-time in an inner-city mission in New York. Upon graduation he was offered the leadership of the mission on a full-time basis, but he chose instead to return to Canada and was inducted into the pastoral charge in Norwich, Ontario (just south of Woodstock) in 1869.

The evening of December 30, 1873 found James Robertson in Union Station, Toronto, preparing for a journey to Winnipeg, Manitoba, in response to an urgent request from Knox Presbyterian Church for a minister to fill their pulpit for six months. The journey to Winnipeg took ten days and involved travelling through the United States to the end of the rail line and then north by boat and horse-drawn sleigh. On January 9, 1874 James Robertson arrived in Winnipeg and was immediately "hooked" by the West. He travelled extensively, witnessing the challenges faced by the settlers, as well as marvelling at their optimism. At the end of the six months Robertson returned to his family in Norwich. Almost immediately Knox, Winnipeg issued a call to Robertson, which he accepted, moving his family to Winnipeg and beginning a fruitful seven-year ministry. Robertson developed a rapport with newcomers to the West who stopped in Winnipeg on the way to their homesteads, providing them with advice, help, and often a place to stay in Winnipeg while they got together the goods needed to begin farming the harsh beauty of the prairie.

The opening of Western Canada to large scale settlement had confronted the Christian churches in Canada with a problem: How would the spiritual needs of the settlers be met? It had been clear from the earliest days of the Red River settlement that the inhabitants wanted the church to be part of their lives in this new land. The Presbyterian Church in Canada was very slow in responding to the spiritual needs of Western Canadians – in 1874 there were only five Presbyterian clergy west of Lake Superior. But as the trickle of settlers to the West became a steady stream in the late 1870's and early 1880's the Presbyterians in the west developed an ambitious two-part plan. As the railway system developed across the prairies, the Presbytery of Manitoba would ensure that there was a Presbyterian clergy person in place at each townsite within a year of the town being established. Thus the Presbyterian Church was to be part of the life of the community from its earliest days.

It was hoped that the missionary would develop four or five preaching points with a total of about sixty Presbyterian households, on a circuit of no more than forty miles round trip, which could be reasonably ridden by horse on a Sunday. Second, to make this vision live would require a person to implement the plan and oversee the development of hundreds of new churches across the prairies. In a word, the Presbytery of Manitoba was asking for a Presbyterian bishop – but since that is a concept anathema to Presbyterians, they asked for the creation of a new position, a Superintendent of Missions. The person that the Presbytery asked to have appointed was the Rev. James Robertson.

In June of 1881, the General Assembly of The Presbyterian Church in Canada met to consider, among other items, this request from the Presbytery of Winnipeg. The position that the Assembly was being asked to create was unique within Presbyterianism, built as it is on a collegial model, with power residing with the presbyteries. To have a single individual in this supervisory role, meant devolving power away from the presbyteries to that single individual. Remarkably the Assembly agreed to the request from Manitoba, largely because it saw the unique challenges of the West required a unique response.

At the time that General Assembly met, Robertson was in Winnipeg and his wife and children were travelling in Ontario. The Clerks of Assembly sent a telegram to Robertson informing him of the Assembly's unanimous decision that he be the new Superintendent of Missions. Without consulting his wife or children, Robertson telegraphed back that he would be honoured to accept the new position. In a letter to his wife he said, "I would like to have communicated with you ere taking the final step but the Assembly's call was urgent and there was no time to write."

Robertson's new responsibilities included: determining where to start new congregations; meeting with the prospective congregational members; finding a missionary to go to the newly formed congregation; providing oversight to all mission stations and congregations receiving grants from the Home Missions Committee; regular fund-raising speaking tours to encourage eastern Presbyterians to give generously to the cause of Home Missions; and the recruitment of clergy to minister on the prairies. Robertson was to report his activities twice a year to the Home Missions Committee of the General Assembly, and was to consult with the various presbyteries as they were established. Over time there was friction between Robertson, who was largely a free agent, and the presbyteries that were being formed in the West, who claimed that Robertson should be accountable to them. At times, over Robertson's twenty-year tenure as Superintendent, the General Assembly had to settle squabbles about areas of responsibility.

There was an enormous administrative component to this new position. There were letters to supporters and church officials back east, letters to recruit students, letters to ministers in the field answering questions ranging from how to deal with complex pastoral problems to practical issues like insurance and maintenance matters surrounding church property. Robertson wrote thousands of letters in his expansive scrawling long-hand over the twenty years he was Superintendent of Missions.

Robertson threw himself fully into the task of being Superintendent – he had a vision of what the church could do, in fact should do. Robertson boldly put his vision,

> Half a continent is now thrown open for settlement. Thousands are coming in every year to people its fertile plains. The pressing work of our church is to give them the gospel . . . . If we neglect this work, and the people lapse, we are guilty . . . . God gives us this work to do, and let us in his name do it with our might.

The West was the great challenge facing the church – the time to act was now, for the West would soon be filled. In the early 1880's Robertson's prediction of thousands of immigrants coming west each year seemed reasonable. Western farmers were enjoying bumper crops and land was still plentiful. In his first six months as Superintendent, Robertson reported that, "I travelled in all by buggy 2,000 miles, preached on 96 different occasions, and delivered about 400 addresses." He had seen the number of families receiving pastoral care from a Presbyterian Church double to nearly 2,000. Bringing the gospel to the settlers on the prairie was as important as the foreign mission work of the church. Robertson's ongoing struggle as Superintendent was convincing people in eastern Canada that the home mission work of the church was as deserving of their contributions as was foreign mission work.

Robertson did not just need money if he was going to be able to fulfil the vision of the Presbytery of Manitoba to have clergy in each community along the railway within a year of its founding. He also needed clergy. Not just any clergy would do, clergy on the prairies needed to have a wide range of abilities. It was their work,

> . . . to preach the Gospel, visit the people, organize Sunday Schools and congregations, attend to the collection of money and the erection of churches, and do all in [their] power to

> advance religion and morals; in a word lead people to fear God and love their fellow [human].

The minister had to be present for the people of the parish in their joys and in their sorrows, and therefore "systematic pastoral visitation" was imperative.

> Many of the people are strangers, and some are homesick. A visit from a minister is to them particularly welcome . . . . When frost has blighted prospects; when prairie fires have swept through the country side, wiping out wheat stacks and dwelling, . . . when sickness has visited the home, or death has robbed the family of some loved one, the Missionary finds opportunity to sympathize, to encourage and to lead the stricken heart to Him who has promised to be the Refuge and Strength of His people and a Present Help in their time of need.

Given this job description, Robertson had a clear idea of the kind of people who had what it took to be a minister in the West. They had to be able to ride a horse, since clergy often travelled forty miles a Sunday on horseback covering three or four preaching points in their immense charges. Robertson "would far rather have a man know less Latin and more Horse" for without "some knowledge of horse" a missionary was useless in the West. That did not mean that clergy were to be uneducated, Robertson noted that a number of the settlers were university-educated and widely read, being well versed in the latest philosophical theories and scientific debates. Clergy needed to be able to participate in those discussions. Robertson in his trips east described the type of clergy he sought. First, they were men (at this time only men were ordained as clergy within The Presbyterian Church in Canada).

> The man needed should be every inch a man; one who could eat anything and sleep anywhere . . . he should be a man for whom Divine grace has done much and not one of the boys who had always been good; "the good boys at school" would be no use, they wanted a man who when a boy at school had had many fights and always came out best, a man full of vigour and force of character who would be respected and listened to.

In a word, clergy were to be muscular Christians, able to adopt the lifestyle of the settlers to whom they ministered – which included the hardrock miners of

the eastern Rockies and the lumber workers of the northern prairie. Clergy had to be able to travel on foot, on horseback, by canoe and York boat, along with train travel and riding in a cutter. But this muscular Christianity should not affect their ability to provide spiritual nurture and guidance to the flock under their care. Spiritual vitality and quality preaching and worship-leading were as important in Western Canada as they were back east. The settlers should not get second class-preaching or spiritual direction. Robertson hoped that by clearly painting the challenge of ministry in Western Canada the best clergy would apply to come West.

On the whole Robertson was pleased with the clergy who came to the West. Often in his reports to the General Assembly, he bore "testimony . . . to the zeal, energy and efficiency of the missionary staff." Robertson's greatest problem was finding enough personnel for the constantly burgeoning congregations in the West. Filling pulpits was not difficult in the summer time, when theological students were on holiday and looking for summer employment that would prepare them for their future ministry. The adventure and novelty of the West drew many students. They were appointed either directly by the Home Missions Committee or by the various student missionary societies of the theological colleges which supported and sent student ministers into Western Canada each year.

Robertson's, and therefore the Presbyterian Church's, greater difficulty was finding students to fill pulpits in the winter and just finding enough qualified, ordained clergy for the west. In response to the first problem, Robertson as a member of the Board of Manitoba College, the Presbyterian theological college in Winnipeg, was able to encourage the College to reverse its academic year. Theological students attended Manitoba College in the summer and were free in the winter to take up the charges that had been vacated as the other theological students headed back to school in the east. Robertson suggested this same model to the eastern colleges, but none of them was willing to take up his suggestion.

Robertson believed that many recent graduates of the theological colleges were not willing to hear the call of Christ to whatever place Christ might call. In a letter to a student who was not willing to take up a summer appointment, Robertson, his frustration in full flight, wrote,

> You are preparing for the ministry and you think this kind [of refusal] in good taste and perfect keeping with your views of the ministry. Were I to make public your conduct here – were I to give your letter to the committee you would likely find that you would ask in vain for an appointment for some

> time to come. . . . I wish to find out . . . why you refuse to go to your field?

His struggles led Robertson to suggest that all graduates of the theological colleges be compelled to spend at least six months on a mission field, prior to their accepting a call to a congregation. Robertson was remembering the impact his own six-month interim ministry in Winnipeg in 1874 had had on him. Robertson pushed his point by noting that the student's education was paid for by the denomination, and that taking the gospel to the settlers in the West was the great task of the church – therefore the students owed it to the denomination to make this sacrifice. This suggestion too fell on deaf ears, and Robertson spent much of his time struggling to find enough personnel for the charges he was responsible for, as well as creatively stretching the personnel he did have available.

Robertson was tough and demanding, but ministers who came to the West loved him because he cared about them and understood the challenges and joys of ministry on the prairies in a way that no one else did. After his death a clergy spouse who knew Robertson wrote,

> He gave the impression that we were all fellow-workers in one great work. One cannot forget the human kindness in the home. He possessed that unique trait "Easy to get on with." . . . He was never too busy to enjoy a good story, or laugh at a joke. But his good opinion would be forfeited by indifference to the great Home Mission cause, or laziness in the great work laid to the hand.

Annually Robertson wrote a report to the General Assembly detailing the past year's activities and painting powerful word pictures of the developing West. At times he painted broad sweeping pictures of the land and its inhabitants; at other times his reports looked at specific communities and the development of the Presbyterian church in those communities. In the late 1880's it was said of Robertson, "No man living knows more about the Canadian Northwest, its resources, its development, its social, moral and religious conditions and necessities." Thus Robertson's reports to the Assembly provide snapshots of the West and the life and thinking of Western Canadians in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Robertson had his finger on the economic pulse of the West and was capable of interpreting the statistics generated by the various government agencies for his readers. He understood that the fortunes of the church in the West were inti-

mately tied to the economic well-being of the region. If the economy of the West was solid, then congregations would move quickly from being grant-receiving to becoming self-supporting congregations. A growing western economy would attract immigrants to come and hopefully stay in the Canadian West, providing a larger population for congregations to build upon.

Robertson enthusiastically reported through the early 1880's the rapid settlement of the West, noting that between 40,000 and 50,000 immigrants arrived in the West in each of the first four years of the decade. But by the late 1880's Robertson was aware that his earlier predictions for the rapid economic development of the West were not going to be fulfilled. In 1887 he reported,

> The last few years have made it manifest that the progress of the country is not to be as rapid as was at one time anticipated. Church and State must consequently be prepared to make sacrifices for a few years longer, that the moral and material well-being of the people may be secured. The ultimate result does not seem to be doubtful, but evidently there lies between the people and their goal a stretch and a struggle.

The runaway exuberance of the early vision of the West had been tempered by the unrest and Riel Rebellion of 1885, the drought of the late 1880's, and the high cost of living on the prairies. Yet to be added was the flat population growth of the late 1880's and early 1890's and the poor rate of return to farmers for their crops and livestock. By the mid-1890's the slower-than-expected economic growth and the slow population growth meant that some contributors to the Home Mission Fund and the Church and Manse Fund of the Presbyterian Church began to complain that they were not seeing the results they had been promised. Why should they continue to support a project whose goals seemed to be so unattainable? In 1896, Robertson, fearing a reduction in givings to the various Home Missions fund-raising schemes, responded,

> Complaints are sometimes heard of the slow growth of population in the west. Twenty years since, Winnipeg had a population of 2,000, today nearly 40,000. Manitoba then had 20,000 souls, now 200,000. The Territories twenty years ago were empty, to-day a population of 100,000 has found a home there.

Robertson was at pains not only to encourage people to keep supporting the mission of the church in the west, but he also desired to defend the West he loved against those who would detract from the tremendous development that had

taken place between 1875 and 1895. No other part of Canada had enjoyed this kind of population growth in the same period. The West was developing and would be settled, but not as fast as had first been expected.

Robertson's reports raised other economic issues as well. He decried the impact of land speculation. People settled free homestead land until they had fulfilled the requirements for getting full title; they then sold that land and would move on to a new homestead, or with their money buy better quality land. Robertson saw this use of the land to make quick money destabilizing communities because of the "great unrest" it created. He was concerned about the "secularizing effects" that pursuing material wealth had on people's lives, attitudes, and faith commitments.

A second aspect of Western Canadian life that Robertson highlighted was "The Indian Problem." His annual reports to the General Assembly said little about the 1885 Rebellion, except to note the negative impact the rebellion had on immigration in 1885. Robertson was more open in a letter to his wife in May, 1885:

> To us the whole affair is a puzzle. There has been mismanagement from the outset I wonder when it will end. . . . It is becoming clear that the men who are managing this whole affair are not equal to the task . . . . I fear more blood will be spilt yet. And blood spilt now may mean more hereafter.

Robertson was convinced that putting down the Rebellion through force of arms would not bring a solution – it required what he described as a humane and Christian response. In a letter to *The Presbyterian Record* in April 1886, he outlined his views. Opposing those who advocated the extermination of the native people or their banishment to north of the North Saskatchewan River, he acknowledged that "the white man" was responsible for the disappearance of the buffalo and the ending of the traditional way of life of the native people of the plains.

For Robertson an appropriate response had to be built on the truth that: "The Indians are our brethren and we are bound to treat them on Christian principles . . . . We took the land of these people, and we must deal with them justly." Robertson proposed a three-fold solution, which at its heart called on native people, of their own free will, to adopt the ways of "the white man." First, the Indian Department should be moved from Ottawa to either Winnipeg or Regina, closer to those it was to serve. In the process of moving, all political

appointees should be removed, allowing only the finest minds to be employed by the department. Second, the native population of the West should be evangelized, for "as soon as an Indian becomes a Christian, [they] become an ally." And third, native people should be taught a wide variety of occupational skills so that they could become, for example: police, farmers, or trades people. In this way they would become self-supporting members of society. Robertson was under no illusions – he understood that this would take a great deal of time and money. He challenged the Presbyterian Church to show as much commitment to the native people of Western Canada as the church was showing for the people in foreign lands to whom they were sending missionaries.

A third issue that Robertson addressed in his reports was the arrival of non-English-speaking settlers in Western Canada. Robertson believed in the assimilation of all immigrants; they were to be Canadianized. He felt this way not only about the German settlers who he believed kept "rather too much to themselves," but also about the Scottish crofters who came to the west in the early 1890's. Robertson argued,

> Instead of locating the [crofters] as a colony it would be better to give them locations among other settlers. They would be able to learn farming in a much shorter time, they could get work more readily, be able to maintain their families, and parents and children would be far more apt to acquire the English language and so be more readily absorbed among the rest of the population.

That Robertson, a Presbyterian minister, could argue that it would be best for Scottish Highlanders to lose their Gaelic and learn English shows how committed he was to absorbing all immigrants into the Canadian melting pot. Robertson was biased about which immigrants were best suited for Western Canada. He believed, "Settlers from Northern Europe and the northern part of Britain, in a word, have the most promise for the best." This view was closely aligned with the policy of Clifford Sifton, the federal Minister of the Interior who was responsible for immigration policy from 1896 to 1905.

As immigrants from non-English-speaking countries arrived in Western Canada, Robertson pushed the Presbyterian Church to respond to their needs for spiritual nurture. By the summer of 1894 the Presbyterian Church had: a German-speaking minister working among German immigrants near Edmonton; a Hungarian-speaking minister, recruited from Hungary, ministering among Hungarians near Yorkton, Saskatchewan; two Icelandic-speaking theology

students from Manitoba College working among Icelandic immigrants on Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba; and a Scandinavian missionary ministering to three Scandinavian colonies near Whitewood, Saskatchewan. This pattern of actively recruiting and training ethnic language speakers to minister to immigrants of their own group became one of the hallmarks of the last seven years of Robertson's time as Superintendent. While believing that immigrants needed to assimilate into Canadian culture, he recognized that the church had a responsibility to provide for the spiritual needs of all people regardless of their mother tongue or ethnic background.

A fourth issue Robertson faced was the perceived problem called "overlapping." The secular press in the early 1890's argued that too much competition existed between the various churches for the small number of people in Western Canada, that ways should be found for the churches to co-operate. One proposal was that the various denominations divide up the west as they had divided the foreign mission fields, promising to concentrate their efforts on their own territory and to not step into another denomination's region.

Robertson was extremely critical of this idea. He could see only one denomination with whom the Presbyterians could possibly co-operate, the Methodists. The Anglicans would expect agreement with the system of bishops, the Baptists with their emphasis on adult baptism would never agree to co-operate with people who believed in infant baptism, and co-operation with the Catholics was out of the question. Anyway, Robertson argued, co-operation was already taking place between Presbyterians and Methodists. They worked to ensure that the two denominations did not have services at the same time in a given community. Robertson firmly believed that the West was big enough and its spiritual needs great enough, that there was plenty of room for all the denominations.

Robertson did not live to hear Principal William Patrick of Manitoba College make his suggestion to the General Conference of the Methodist Church in September of 1902, that the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches unite. If Robertson had lived, Patrick and the other pro-unionists in the Presbyterian Church would have found Robertson an articulate and highly committed opponent. But James Robertson died at his home in Toronto with his wife by his side on January 4, 1902 from complications connected with his diabetes. He had been working on correspondence right up to the day of his death. Fittingly he was buried in the West, in Kildonan Cemetery, Winnipeg.

When Robertson died The Presbyterian Church in Canada was the largest denomination on the prairies, making up just over twenty per cent of the population. The Presbyterian Church had 141 self-supporting congregations and 226

mission charges for a total of 1,120 preaching points, a far cry from the four congregations and eighteen preaching points that had been the Presbyterian presence on the prairies in 1881 when he had become Superintendent. Through the creation of the office of Superintendent of Missions, The Presbyterian Church in Canada had sought to meet the spiritual needs of the Canadian West. The establishment of this bishop-like position was a unique response to a unique situation. Understanding that the people of Western Canada needed and wanted the church as part of their newly founded communities, the Presbyterian Church through the work of James Robertson did everything in their power to meet the spiritual needs of Western Canadians. By meeting those spiritual needs they sought to mould a Christian society on the prairies.

In a letter to his daughter on her fifteenth birthday, Robertson sheds light on his personal motivation in life and in ministry, a motivation that he hoped and prayed would become the centerpiece of his daughter's life. He wrote, "Christ loves us and gave himself for us and we ought to love Him and honour Him all through our life." Loving Christ meant keeping his commands, which "is the surest and best way of being happy – healthy and useful in life. To keep his commands means that we show His disposition in our thinking, speaking and acting." Finally Robertson wished for his daughter to "Be decided – firm about things . . . many a person has been lost by being undecided."

Robertson knew that he was loved by Jesus Christ, and in response to that love, Robertson loved Jesus. He knew only one way to show that love, hearing the call of Christ he decided to give his total person to the service of Jesus Christ and Christ's church.

FOR FURTHER READING

The only book-length biography of James Robertson is Charles W. Gordon's (Ralph Connor) 1908, *The Life of James Robertson*. A number of articles have been published: Catherine Macdonald, "James Robertson and Presbyterian Church extension in Manitoba and the north west, 1866-1902," in *Prairie Spirit: Perspectives on the Heritage of the United Church of Canada in the West*, ed. D.L. Butcher, et. al., (Winnipeg, 1985), pp. 85-99; Gordon Harland, "James Robertson," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13, pp. 880-881; and Mac Watts, "James Robertson: Pastor from the Lakehead to the Pacific," *Touchstone*, vol. 14 #3, Sept. 1996, pp. 45-57. The best way to catch Robertson's vision and passion is to read his annual reports to the General Assembly, *Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1882-1902.

Agnes Maule Machar

Agnes Maule Machar

RUTH COMPTON BROUWER

AGNES MAULE MACHAR WAS BORN 23 JANUARY 1837 in Kingston, Upper Canada, the daughter of the Rev. John Machar and Margaret Sim. She died 24 January 1927. An author and social reformer, she was also a nationalist, an imperialist, a feminist, an environmentalist, and an artist. Nor does that list exhaust the labels one could use to introduce her. In many ways an exemplar of the theological liberalism and socially-oriented Christianity present in late Victorian Canada and of the combination of national and imperial zeal that preoccupied many of its writers, Machar was, nonetheless, a unique figure in the wide range of issues she addressed and in some of the apparently paradoxical positions she adopted. Yet in keeping with the pseudonym "Fidelis," by which she became widely known, Machar was a remarkably self-consistent woman.

John Machar, a Church of Scotland clergyman, left Scotland for Kingston in 1827 to serve as pastor of St. Andrew's Church. He took part in the founding of Queen's College in 1841 and served as its principal from 1846 to 1853. His wife, herself the daughter of a Scottish clergyman, arrived in 1832 in Montreal, where they married. Their first child, born in 1833, lived only briefly. Agnes was born four years later and her brother, John Maule, in 1841. Except for a year in a Montreal boarding school, where she studied under a future principal of Vassar College, Agnes was educated privately under the supervision of her father, who possessed an excellent personal library. Before she was ten he was instructing her in Latin and Greek; French, German, and Italian followed. Far from having her health destroyed by an academic regime that would have seemed to most contemporaries too demanding for a girl, Agnes throve on it, her precociousness in the study complemented by a love of the outdoors which she carried into a vigorous old age. She never married. Following her father's death in 1863, she remained with her mother, a local leader in women's church and charity work who died in 1883. Agnes then lived with her brother and his wife, remaining in the house on Sydenham Street after his death in 1899.

Along with the rich sources of intellectual stimulation available to the young Agnes Machar in the manse library, there were those that came from the wide range of her parents' acquaintances. These included politicians John A. Macdonald and Richard Cartwright; Queen's professor George Romanes, whose son George John would achieve fame in scientific circles in England as an associate of Charles

Darwin; and Anglican cleric Joseph Allen and his son Grant, who, like the younger Romanes, would make his mark in England as a novelist and popularizer of Darwinian science, and whose sister Catherine would become Agnes's sister-in-law in 1879. Later, as a well-known author, Agnes Machar developed her own broad circle of acquaintances and, especially at Ferncliff, the Thousand Islands summer home which Grant Allen publicized in *Longman's Magazine*, she was host to international figures who shared her interest in questions of literature, religion, and science.

On Agnes' travels abroad she came to know some of the era's most famous writers, including the one she most admired, the aged Quaker poet and abolitionist John Greenleaf Whittier. Among prominent Presbyterians she seems to have been closest both personally and theologically to Daniel James Macdonnell, an intimate of the Machar family from his student days at Queen's, and George Monro Grant, its principal from 1878 until his death in 1902.In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Machar was also part of Canada's small community of literary and artistic women and something of a mentor to its younger members. She decried the neglect and premature death of Isabella Valancy Crawford and, on happier occasions, welcomed Pauline Johnson and other women writers to Ferncliff.

If despite her life-long residence in a small colonial city Machar had the benefits of a rich social and intellectual milieu, she also had the wit and vigour to turn her opportunities to good account in a stream of publications. These began anonymously in childhood and lasted well into her eighties. She wrote two memorials, at least eight novels, and numerous poems and essays. She also wrote or collaborated on six works of popular history and produced or contributed to other works that defy ready categorization. Her poetry appeared in American and British as well as Canadian periodicals, a selection being published in 1899 as *Lays of the "True North," and Other Canadian Poems*. Patriotic and imperial themes informed much of her verse, but the natural beauty surrounding her at Ferncliff was the most direct and frequent source of her inspiration, providing her with what R.W. Cumberland in *Queen's Quarterly* aptly described as "a deep and religious joy."

Generations of Canadian schoolchildren encountered Agnes' verse in their readers. This, and the fact that her poems and novels often won prizes and, like her histories, were frequently reissued, testifies to the degree to which her work struck a chord with contemporaries. Her numerous essays, many of which can still be read with pleasure and profit, appeared in a variety of Canadian periodicals, but the wide range of her interests can best be sampled from those that appeared in the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*, later called *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly*, 1872-82, and in *The Week*, 1883-96. These were her most prolific decades.

Machar's career could be said to have been launched with the publication in 1870 of *Katie Johnstone's Cross. A Canadian Tale.* A prize-winning novel written for Sunday-school libraries, it introduced a classic Machar figure, the girl or young woman whose steadfast faith, high moral standards and good works inspire errant males to turn from paths of wrongdoing or recover their Christian belief. Turning in the same decade to adult readers in a series of essays in the *Canadian Monthly*, Machar rose to the challenge of defending the Christian faith against the onslaughts of scientific rationalism and the higher criticism. This she did not by insisting on an unchanged view of creation and a literal reading of the Bible but rather by asking both orthodox Christian believers and those teetering on the brink of scepticism to accept evolutionary theory and critical readings of the Bible as means to a new and fuller understanding of God's work in history. At the same time, she urged sceptics not to make belief in God and a spiritual realm hinge on what is materially knowable. While she may not have won many of the latter back to firm Christian belief, she did win respect. In 1876 positivist writer W. D. Le Sueur declared that of those who had responded to his arguments in an ongoing debate on the efficacy of prayer in the *Canadian Monthly*'s pages, Machar's response was the most satisfactory. Meanwhile, though she regarded Christianity as the "fullest revelation" of God and, at a personal level, remained within the Presbyterian fold, she showed a sympathetic interest in other religions, particularly Buddhism.

The other aspect of Machar's defence of Christianity was that which sought to make it socially relevant, especially in terms of what a genuinely Christian society owed to the poor in the new industrial age. Her thinking on this subject showed considerable development. In an 1879 essay she recommended various measures to assist the urban poor, ranging from prohibition to state-funded winter works programmes and refuges for the indigent but expressed concern that if the churches became "almoners" to the largely unchurched poor it might encourage hypocrisy and pauperization.

Personal experience and reflection during the next decade and reading as varied as American social gospel literature, General Booth's *In Darkest England,* and the federal government's 1889 Royal Commission Report on the Relations of Labour and Capital led Machar to a broadened perspective. She now maintained that the real hypocrisy lay in churches that preached to the poor about the state of their souls while ignoring their bodily privations. Yet neither charity nor sensitively delivered moral and practical lessons were in themselves sufficient. Whether in their capacity as individuals or church members, tax-payers or employers, privileged Christians needed to recognize that the poor had a right to expect work, justice, and respect, and the means for a way of life that rose above mere subsistence.

This message was delivered most fully (if not as forcefully as in some of her articles) in Machar's well-received 1892 novel, *Roland Graeme: Knight*. Here a greedy millowner receives accolades from the orthodox when he gives $5000 to the church even as their eyes remain closed to the miserable dwellings in which he houses his workers and to the grim factory where they labour twelve or more hours a day for wages that he threatens to reduce. Challenging this industrial-age villain and a complacent English clergyman with the Dickensian name of Chillingworth is Roland, a crusading young journalist who espouses what he calls "Christian socialism."

Roland joins the Knights of Labour and stands by the mill workers when they go on strike. Inspired by a minister who is Chillingworth's opposite and by Nora, a female paradigm of applied Christianity, he recovers his lapsed Christian faith and develops a new attitude of patience and moderation in his work on behalf of the urban poor. Undeniably cautious in its ending and unoriginal in its message, the book was nonetheless a pioneer social gospel novel in Canada and even somewhat radical in having as its hero a member of a controversial labour organization. Roland was perhaps based in part on Machar's barrister brother, who sympathized with the Knights as well as with the reformist views of Henry George.

Though the elderly poor did not figure significantly in *Roland Graeme*, they became a source of particular concern for Machar. In a paper presented to the National Council of Women of Canada (NCW) in 1895, she recommended that homes should be established for the indigent elderly, by the state if necessary, and that these should be "as little regarded as *charity* for the veteran in the *industrial* army, as is the pension of the old soldier." Within them, provision should be made for couples to remain together. Moreover, prohibitionist though she was – three of her essays on temperance appeared in the *Canadian Monthly* in 1877 – Machar wanted such places to be sufficiently homelike to allow for residents' small vices, including, it seemed, the occasional drink. In the end, it was the elderly of her own sex that she assisted directly by leaving a bequest to establish the Agnes Maule Machar Home "for old ladies past earning their own livelihood." Established by the Kingston Local Council of Women in 1930, the home still functioned in the 1990s.

Like many other English Canadians of her era, Machar was both a proud nationalist and an imperialist. She took little interest in the mechanics of nation-building, instead promoting a national vision whose chief emphasis was high moral purpose. Canada's history was deployed to serve this end as well as to promote patriotism, and here her emphasis on French Canada is especially noteworthy. While she was by no means unique among English-Canadian Protestants in celebrating Quebec's past, her efforts are remarkable for the fact

that they were directed towards children as well as adults, were made through poetry and fiction as well as "factual" narratives, and were obviously intended to mitigate bitterness at moments when French-English tensions were high.

When her first book-length work of history, *Stories of New France*, was published in 1890 in the wake of controversies aroused by the Jesuits' Estates Act, some of its reviewers, recognizing its purpose, praised the work for its timeliness. Occasionally Machar left the relatively safe terrain of history and addressed contemporary French-English issues directly, as in her poem "Quebec to Ontario, a Plea for the Life of Riel, September 1885" and in letters on the same subject in the *Canada Presbyterian*. In taking this position she was swimming against a strong current, as was evident in letters of chastisement subsequently published in the latter.

Her last literary effort at crisis management on this front, *Young Soldier Hearts of France: a wreath of immortelles*, was published in 1919 when she was in her eighties. Here she added to her translations of letters of two French Protestant soldiers who had died heroically in the war those of some soldier-martyrs who were Catholic as well as French. Given the state of French-English relations at the end of the war, her final literary gesture was sadly naive but wonderfully consistent.

In her nationalist writing Machar sought to promote a vision of Canada purged of sordid party politics as well as "racial" tensions. This was one theme in "Lost and Won," a novel of Canadian political life serialized in the *Canadian Monthly* in 1875 and so *apropos* that both the author and her publisher took the precaution of asserting that no reference was being made to contemporary political events, then still dominated by the Pacific Scandal. Remarkably, even in the wake of these events, she used a Dominion Day poem to suggest that, as leaders of a young nation where the "waxen mould" was still "soft," Canada's politicians had the opportunity to set a moral example to older countries as well as to future generations. Parliamentary expert John George Bourinot was so enamoured of this lofty idea that he used a stanza of the poem to conclude his *How Canada Is Governed* in 1895 and, again, reviewers applauded.

Machar took a similar approach in writing about the British Empire and Canada's place within it. The Empire had flourished, she believed, because it fulfilled a "Divine purpose." Admittedly, for some it served chiefly as a source of material aggrandisement or chauvinistic pride (haughty young Englishmen are stock figures in her fiction). But this was where Canada could play a role: in times of temptation she could call Britain back to her ancient ideals and function as the moral jewel in the imperial crown, eventually becoming a "greater Britain."

Formal ties such as a Canadian presence in an imperial parliament did not interest Machar, since her concern was with the kinds of spiritual and cultural links that required no institutional structures. Until 1913, when she published

Stories of the British Empire, her verse was her main vehicle for promoting these links. In 1899 *Lays of the "True North"* was dedicated by special permission to Queen Victoria and began with the poem that had won Machar *The Week*'s prize for the best verse commemorating the Queen's jubilee in 1887. The poem touched on what Machar saw as the most important imperial task, promoting the world-wide spread of Christianity.

Because this spiritual aspect was at the heart of her imperialism, it allowed her to work at one of her most abiding goals: promoting closer ties between Britain, Canada and the United States and undermining what *The Week* called "Yankeephobia." This led to some positions that were decidedly unusual for a nationalist/imperialist: "yes" to trade reciprocity with the United States in 1891 but "no" to an imperial trade *zollverein* two years later; and a resounding "no" to Canada's position in the Bering Sea Dispute of 1892, since here her environmentalist concerns confirmed her in her belief that the Americans were in the right in trying to halt pelagic sealing.

As a feminist Machar's chief interests were in issues related to education and paid work. She challenged prevailing arguments that higher education would unsex women, maintaining instead that it would allow them to develop their God-given talents, make them better Christians, wives and mothers, and, if "a congenial marriage [did] not fall naturally to their lot," assist them to earn "an honourable competence." Like her contemporaries Machar took it for granted that married women of all classes should ideally be full-time homemakers. Yet she recognized that it was often necessary for poor women to work after as well as before marriage, either to supplement or replace the income of a male breadwinner.

Both in essays and in a resolution presented to the National Council of Women of Canada in 1896 she called for legislation to reduce the hours and improve the conditions of work for women and children in shops and factories. While she seems not to have pressed the Council to lobby governments on behalf of equal pay for women, she did make adequate remuneration an issue in her own writing, even urging that charwomen's tasks such as washing and ironing be recognized as "skilled" as well as exhausting labour and that "the labouring woman be [regarded as] as worthy of her hire as the labouring man."

Machar's organizational ties reflected many of her interests. In the 1880s she was treasurer of the Kingston wing of the Presbyterian Woman's Foreign Missionary Society and in the 1890s she sat on the executive of the local Council of Women as well as the national body. She served as president of the Kingston Humane Society and as secretary of the local Young Women's Christian Association. She was a founder of the Canadian Audubon Society. During the first decade of the twentieth century she was also a founding member of the Canadian Women's Press Club, a vice-president in the Canadian Society of Authors, and a

member of, and exhibitor in, the Kingston branch of the Women's Art Association of Canada. On the other hand, while her intellectual gifts and literary accomplishments would certainly have qualified her for membership, her gender kept her out of such organizations as the Royal Society of Canada. And she seems not to have been a member of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union notwithstanding her support for prohibition.

A century after Machar's heyday, modern scholars may cringe at her poetic references to the "dusky Hindoo," the "low-browed savage" and the "hardy Indian," all succumbing willingly to the "hope and progress" brought by Victoria's Christian empire, but in the end most of those who have studied her long career probably share the fond assessment of "A.E.P." (Alfred Edward Prince of Queen's) in the 1934 *Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography*: that she lived a large-hearted life and died "rich in character, rich in achievement."

FOR FURTHER READING

No collection of Agnes Machar's papers has been located, though a few of her letters have been found in other collections, including the George Monro Grant papers at the National Archives of Canada. Information on the family can be found in *Memorials of the life and ministry of the Rev. John Machar, D.D., late minister of St. Andrew's Church, Kingston* (Toronto, 1873), which she edited. Sketches of Agnes Machar written during or just after her lifetime include A. E. Wetherald, "Some Canadian Literary Women - II: Fidelis," *The Week*, 5 April 1888, pp. 300-01; Thomas O'Hagan, "Some Canadian Women writers," 25 Sept. 1896, pp. 1050-53; L.A. Guild, "Canadian Celebrities, no. 73: Agnes Maule Machar (Fidelis), *Canadian Magazine*, 27 (May-Oct. 1906), pp. 499-501; F.L. MacCallum, "Agnes Maule Machar," *Canadian Magazine*, 62 (Nov. 1923-April 1924), pp. 354-56; Robert William Cumberland's tributes in *Queen's Quarterly*, 34 (1926-27), pp. 331-39, and *Willison's Monthly*, 3 (1927-28), pp. 34-37; and Alfred Edward Prince's entry in *Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, I.

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Lucy Maud Montgomery

L. M. Montgomery (1884-1942) Witness and Wife

ELIZABETH WATERSTON

"WHOM THE GODS WOULD DESTROY they first make ministers' wives." So said L. M. Montgomery, who married the Reverend Ewan Macdonald in 1911, three years after the publication of her world-famous novel, *Anne of Green Gables*. L. M. Montgomery was indeed almost destroyed by the stresses of her life with the Reverend Mr. Macdonald, by the tensions in his church at Leaskdale, Ontario during the years leading up to church union, and by the machinations in his later charge at Norval when the managers conspired to force his resignation. Montgomery was saved from destruction by the exercise of her unique skills and attitudes – qualities developed long before her marriage to a minister. Paradoxically, these skills and attitudes were themselves part of her Presbyterian heritage.

Lucy Maud Montgomery grew up in Cavendish, a farming-fishing village on the north shore of Prince Edward Island, founded by Scots around 1775. In Cavendish community life centred in the churches – Presbyterian and Baptist, both founded by Maud Montgomery's forebears, the Macneills and the Simpsons. Even in this remote village, Presbyterians took pride in listening to and dissecting sermons modelled on the old Scottish ideals of rhetoric: fluent and forceful argument, designed to be accessible to all listeners. The Macneill grandparents who raised Maud Montgomery (her mother having died and her father having drifted out west to Saskatchewan) were strong, articulate people.

The school Maud Montgomery attended also embodied Presbyterian principles. The Scottish emphasis on universal education grew out of the essential democracy of the denomination: its insistence that the people should call their minister, and that elders together with the local minister should control church affairs, in an enlightened and rational way. The result, codified in the Scottish Education Act of 1696, guaranteed access to an education very different from that in Europe and in the more hierarchic English colonies. Since every boy might become a minister, schools emphasized oratory, memory work and rational thought developed through geometry and algebra. As in Scotland, compulsory education was extended to girls as well as boys. Consequently, Maud Montgomery, like so many Islanders, went from a good one-room schoolhouse

to a good teachers' college in Charlottetown, and eventually (though briefly) on to Dalhousie University in Halifax. Like Shakespeare, she had small Latin and less Greek, but like Burns she emerged from school able to recite and write, to laugh and to observe all God's creatures with interest and compassion.

By the time she finished high school in 1889, she was writing stories, poems, and essays. She had her first publication in all three forms when she was sixteen. Already she was also recording her thoughts and experiences in a secret journal. From its outset, her journal contains references to church and Sunday School. There is a typical fifteen-year-old comment, "I went to prayer-meeting tonight and had such fun." When she was sixteen she reports, "Went to SS and unexpectedly found myself transformed from a pupil into a teacher." Many years later, remembering those early years in *Anne of Green Gables*, she gives us Anne, traipsing off to church with her hat bedecked with buttercups and wild roses, to the horrified reaction of the staid congregation.

Cavendish would have been more horrified to read in Montgomery's journal her more serious reactions to religion during the 1890's. "Joining the church", for example, "meant assenting to certain teachings which I did not and could not accept." Her deep curiosity, she said, led her into "poking and probing into creeds and religions, dead and alive, wanting to know what vital spark of immortal truth might be buried among all the verbiage of theologies and systems." Her reading was wide and unorthodox during the years that she was first teaching in small Island schools and then attending Dalhousie College.

At the same time, during these teaching and studying years, she was reading church publications and Sunday School papers, for these were among the markets to which she sent her early writing. She was producing a steady stream of gentle, romantic, whimsical stories. For example, 1898 saw the publication in the *Christian Herald* of "A Pastoral Call"; other stories appeared in the *Philadelphia Times*, *Golden Days*, the *Family Herald*, the *Sunday Republican*, *Illustrated Youth and Age*, *Family Story Paper*, *The Churchman*, and many other newspapers and magazines. In 1898, when her grandfather died, she gave up teaching and went home to Cavendish – for many reasons, one being that she was now making enough money from her writing to survive without a teacher's stipend. In 1900 one story brought in as much as half of a teacher's annual salary.

These years brought her less success and happiness in her personal life. By 1903, when Ewan Macdonald came to Cavendish as the new Presbyterian minister, Maud Montgomery had survived two unhappy love affairs, and was feeling increasingly resentful of her restricted life in her grandmother's household, and in a village that regarded an unmarried woman as a failure, whatever her success

at scribbling stories. In the spring of 1905, Ewan Macdonald had become a frequent visitor. That same spring, Montgomery ventured beyond the short story form to create the full-length novel, to be published three years later as *Anne of Green Gables*. Between the time of writing and the time of publication, Maud Montgomery became engaged to Ewan. When he left Cavendish, however, to do graduate work in theology at Glasgow University, there was no possibility of an early marriage because Maud's grandmother was now fully dependent on her.

Anne of Green Gables has many charms, not the least being its bubbly amusement at church-related affairs. Montgomery's childhood training in discerning cant, hypocrisy and authoritarianism appears at the outset when Mrs. Lynde, mainstay of the church and the Foreign Missions auxiliary, uncharitably warns against the dangers of adopting an orphan. Later Mrs. Lynde says the new minister in fictional Avonlea "isn't perfect, but . . . we couldn't expect a perfect minister for seven hundred and fifty dollars a year;" and Anne tells Diana, "Even ministers have their besetting sins, just like everybody else." No doubt Maud Montgomery enjoyed this gentle fun, knowing she was secretly engaged to a minister.

In 1907 there was disturbing news from Glasgow. Ewan was subject to insomnia, headaches and debilitating depression. He was coming home without finishing his studies. But Maud Montgomery, in the flush of excitement over the acceptance of her novel by L.C. Page, a Boston publisher, reported no serious alarm. She had already set to work on a sequel, *Anne of Avonlea*. The barbs against church follies continued in this sequel, but now Montgomery developed what would be a continuing self-protective device. Whenever she had something critical to say, she assigned it to one of the characters who had no social status – a child, an outcast, a domestic servant, an old maid. Davy, the obstreperous child in *Anne of Avonlea*, raises all the awkward questions that ladylike Anne, now a respected teacher, would never voice.

Montgomery raced to finish this book, so as to have it ready to follow *Anne of Green Gables* and capitalize on that book's popularity. The reviews of *Anne* were marvellously encouraging, but Montgomery's mood was less than radiant. She wrote in her 1908 journal of "the conditions of worry and gloom and care under which it was written", adding – what was to be her working order for the rest of her life – "Thank God, I can keep the shadows of my life out of my work. I would not wish to darken any other life. I want instead to be a messenger of optimism and sunshine."

She finished typing *Anne of Avonlea* in October, 1908; by November she was hard at work on her next novel, a revision of an earlier-written serial, renamed

Kilmeny of the Orchard. The plot is a curious play on the idea that the sins of the fathers will be visited on the children. Here the sins of the mother (who has defied her authoritarian father) are visited on the daughter, who is born without a voice. Montgomery called this work a "doubtful experiment". Before it was finished she had begun work, in June 1909, on a more congenial book, *The Story Girl*, her own favourite among her books for many years. This is the book on which the television series "The Road to Avonlea" is (very loosely) based. It is in fact most closely reflective of Montgomery's happy holidays with her Campbell cousins in nearby Park Corner. The children's games include "playing at ministers" – taking turns preaching hell-fire sermons, and thumping out a comic version of Presbyterian theology from a pretend pulpit. The cousins cogitate on and act out Bible stories, and listen to Sara, the "Story Girl," spin wonderful stories, sentimental or comic, for their entertainment, and for her own pride and pleasure in her craft.

But the real Story Girl, Maud Montgomery, felt no such joy. In January, 1910, in spite of literary success and presumably happy prospects of marriage, whenever she could be freed from her responsibility for her grandmother, she suffered "an utter breakdown of body, soul, and spirit." Ewan Macdonald was now established in far-away Leaskdale, Ontario. His name barely appears in the very full journal account of Montgomery's life, from 1907 to 1911. At Christmas, "Mr. Macdonald [gave] me a complete set" of Mrs. Gaskell's works, perhaps to underline the fact that a woman like Mrs. Gaskell could be the wife of a minister and a successful novelist. Then Grandmother Macneill died in March 1911; in July Ewan came to Park Corner and they were married there and set off for a summer honeymoon in Scotland and England.

When the Rev. Ewan Macdonald prepared to bring a bride to the manse in Leaskdale, Ontario, in 1911, rumours about her identity excited his congregation. "Is it true", he was asked, "that your fiancée is L.M. Montgomery, the author of *Anne of Green Gables*?" Mr. Macdonald answered, rather glumly, "Yes, I believe the lady does write books." His bride did indeed write books. At the time of her marriage L.M. Montgomery was a world-famous, best-selling novelist. Four major novels were in print, and hundreds of short stories and poems; translations had carried her fame all over Europe; her publisher was proposing to collect and republish some of her early stories and tie them to the "Anne" fad; she herself was already contemplating a sequel to *The Story Girl.*

Around the world, readers were enjoying her stories about Prince Edward Island, which incidentally threw light on Presbyterianism as it coloured life in homes and villages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In her

secret journal she was still recording feelings about theology and church life that would have astonished her new husband and his congregation, let alone her family and friends back home in Prince Edward Island. Those journals, which she continued writing until 1942, the year she died, and which have been available in published form since 1985, furnish an unparalleled access to the views and experiences of a talented, sensitive woman involved ever more actively in many aspects of Presbyterianism: church policy, history and practice.

In the first years of her marriage Maud Macdonald gave birth three times, to Chester (born July, 1912), Hugh John (born, and died August, 1914), and Stuart (born October, 1915). At the same time she worked on *The Golden Road*, sequel to *The Story Girl* (begun in April, 1912), brought out *Chronicles of Avonlea* (published June, 1912), wrote *Anne of the Island*, (begun in April, 1913), blocked out *Anne's House of Dreams* (begun in June, 1916) and collected and arranged a book of poems, *The Watchman* (published November, 1916). One would have thought her pregnancies would have excused her from some of the parish duties of minister's wife. One would have been wrong. Her journal fills up with notes of resentment and irritation, compounded no doubt by the recognition of how much these duties cut into her writing time as well as into time with her babies. Here is a typical entry from January 2, 1914:

> This week I have had a visitation of Zephyr people two days of them . . . . To talk to Zephyr folk when I am well is something by way of penance. When I am as sick as I have been all this week it is martyrdom. One family came and brought three children, two of them "enfants terrible". The mother seems to have fashioned her views and conversation on the "Pansy" books. She talks a sort of cant and never heard outside of those fairy tales. Evidently she expects me, as a minister's wife, to appreciate it and respond in like manner. But alas, I cannot talk Pansies. I was indeed put to it to hide my amusement over her speeches. Had I not been so miserable physically I fear I could not have succeeded and the result would have been dire, for her husband is an elder and quite the most influential personage in Zephyr church, therefore has power to make it unpleasant for Ewan if he choose. So I tried to steer between Scylla and Charybdis and think I succeeded tolerably well.

By the end of 1914, an extra burden was added to her duties. As news of casualties reached the village, the minister's wife had the responsibility of visiting

and comforting the bereaved families. She also organized the Red Cross efforts, and dealt with the flare-ups in the society caused by petty malice. "I told them plainly that if any trouble was made I would resign." This seemed to bring them into a more reasonable frame of mind "for none of them want the bother and responsibility of being president." She adds, from a wider perspective, "It is disgusting to think that while our boys are fighting and dying at the front our women cannot work for them at home without quarrelling. And the woman against whom all this outburst of spite has been directed has had a son killed at the front. None of those who organized the cabal against her has anyone there."

Visitation could lead to troubles in a wintry country parish:

> When we left for home at eleven the worst storm I have ever known was brewing . . . . Once we got stuck, and had to get out, unhitch Queen, turn the cutter, and seek another road. We managed to get home at last and it was well we did. All Saturday and Sunday the storm raged, with a gale blowing sixty miles an hour and the mercury 36 below zero. I have been in many barns that were more comfortable than this house during those two days. My plants froze in the parlour at mid-day around the open radiator . . . . Stuart cried with the cold . . . . We had no mail for a week.

Somehow, the sense of humour and the pleasure in her own literary verve lift the writer out of her troubles. The war wore on. Mrs. Macdonald found a way to escape from its tragedy and pettiness by creating a different world in imagination. In *Anne of the Island* she converted her brief experience at Dalhousie into an important novel about the life of young women in college. In *Anne's House of Dreams* she turned the stresses of her marriage and the loss of her beloved second son into a book that is in part an idyll, a house of dreams, although it is also in part a tragic story of death, madness, loneliness.

Both books have a secondary interest, as Montgomery neatly scores points against the world she had now entered, the world of church politics. Again, negative comments are assigned to "insignificant" people – old maids. Aunt Jamesina, chaperone of the college girls, takes exception to the liveliness of one young minister:

> "He's very nice, my dear . . . but ministers ought to be graver and more dignified."
>
> "Can't a man laugh and laugh and be a Christian still?" demanded Phil.
>
> "Oh, man, yes. But I was speaking of ministers, my dear."

In *Anne's House of Dreams*, Miss Cornelia, spinster neighbour of the newly-married Anne, takes the opposite view of ministerial gravity; " What I had against Mr. Dawson was the unmerciful length of his prayers at a funeral. It actually came to such a pass that people said they envied the corpse." Another short story continues spoofing the ministers: "Jim says he was a minister of the old school. But I've always insisted it was nothing but dyspepsia. Mrs. Lowder was dreadful poor cook. . . . When he preached a sermon more scholarly than usual I knew Mrs. Lower's baking of bread had been sour." In *Anne's House of Dreams*, Miss Cornelia turns the reader's laughter simultaneously against sexism and sectarianism:

> "Women can't preach or be elders; but they can build churches and scare up the money for them."
> "The Methodists allow women to preach," said Captain Jim . . . .
> " I never said the Methodists hadn't common sense, Captain. What I say is, I doubt if they have much religion."

Mrs. Macdonald, minister's wife, might hide her amusement at ministerial oddities and sectarian illogic and narrowness, but L.M. Montgomery, popular entertainer, could use her old Presbyterian facility in reasoning and plain speaking and her trained intelligence and rhetorical sense of cadence to keep churchly follies in funny perspective. Nevertheless, as the Australian scholar Rosemary Johnston has pointed out, *Anne's House of Dreams* has a deep tragic structure. In it, though more obliquely than in her journals, Montgomery wrestles with loss and unbelief, emerging with "a separate belief that, as Captain Jim says, 'back of it all, God is good.'"

Soon after the World War ended, however, her life was invaded by three new disasters. First, Ewan Macdonald suffered a nervous breakdown. Although the old theology of Predestination was played down in modern church life, Ewan had grown up in a Gaelic-speaking community, listening to hell-fire sermons, and warning about the future torments of those not "elect" by God – a choice based, in the old belief, not on faith or works or Christ' sacrifice, but on the mere will and pleasure of a God inclined to be merciful to a remnant of sinful mankind. To explain Ewan Macdonald's obsession with this version of Predestination, a modern theological scholar, Gavin White, comments, "Scottish Presbyterian had begun to move away from Predestination in the 1830's, and by the 1870's this was largely accomplished except in the Highlands. L.M. Montgomery was certainly aware of Predestination, but probably was not taught it; in fact, she probably heard sermons rejecting it. Her husband Ewan, coming from a Highland community at the other end of Prince Edward Island, had

heard Predestination actually taught in the sermons of his youth, as had many of the settlers in Prince Edward Island."

Ewan Macdonald had come to believe that he himself was not of the elect; that he was damned, and that part of his earthly torment was his need to preach to congregations less sinful than he. His belief in his own damnation became so strong that he had difficulty facing his congregation. In 1919, his wife arranged to take him to Boston to consult nerve specialists. The contemporary diagnosis was "religious mania" or "melancholia," later his malady would be called "manic depression", and today one would call it "affective mood disorder". His delusions did pass. Meanwhile Maud Macdonald had managed to conceal his state of mind from the congregation. (People in Leaskdale still harbour the belief that there was never anything wrong with him, and assure researchers that there was no sign of disturbance, all through this period around 1919.)

The second ordeal had nothing to do with theology. L M. Montgomery had been sadly mistreated by her Boston publisher, L.C. Page. Eventually she went to law against him, and carried her case, successfully, to the Supreme Courts of Massachusetts and New York. Again, in spite of the significance of the trial for all writers concerned over copyright and royalties, she was at great pains to keep news of the succession of trials secret from her husband's congregation. Indeed, although many of the Leaskdale people knew about and respected her fame, she felt they would not have tolerated any display of the wealth that had accrued by this time. The Macdonalds lived on his very small salary. They had a maid in the manse, as most ministers did at that time, but they lived very simply, unable to enjoy the comforts she could have afforded – electricity, inside plumbing, and so on.

The third ordeal was also a lawsuit, this one brought against Ewan Macdonald for a driving accident. The plaintiff was a Zephyr man, a Methodist, and in the Macdonalds' eyes, a dreadful person who not only made their lives miserable during the lawsuit but continued to hound them after he had won the case. None of these three traumatic experiences found their way into Montgomery's fiction. But *Rainbow Valley* (published 1919) although supposedly focused on Anne's life as the mother of a growing family, is in fact centred on a dreamy Presbyterian minister, inadequate as father to his family, and unable to control his obstreperous children, let alone the busybodies in his church. The novel also presents a homely orphan girl who brazenly tells the truth about life in the village, church affairs and all.

With *Rilla of Ingleside* (begun in 1919 and published two years later), Montgomery emerged as an important social historian. This war-time novel is now prescribed in many courses on Canadian history as a unique story of WWI

as perceived by women on the home front. Another point of interest in *Rilla* is the focus on sectarian differences among the Protestant denominations, and a foreshadowing of change. There are rumours of church Union. A possible origin of the movement toward union is presented with Montgomery's characteristic lightness. One of the women (again a spinster, whose opinions could be discounted if they seem offensive or revolutionary) "used to be bitterly opposed to Church Union. But last night, when . . . told . . . it was practically decided, she said in a resigned tone, 'Well, in a world where everything is being rent and torn what matters one more rending and tearing? Anyhow, compared with Germans, even Methodists seem attractive to me.'"

Church Union was far from attractive to L.M. Montgomery. When the Canadian Senate amended the Church Union Bill, allowing each Presbyterian Church to vote on whether or not to join the new United Church, she swung into hectic action. She and Ewan canvassed every parishioner, tallying possible votes. Thanks to their efforts, Leaskdale was one of the villages that retained its continuing Prebyterian Church. Possibly her motives had much to do with the fear that Ewan Macdonald would be edged out of a job, as many ministers were in the Union process. Her journal, however, attests to her strong commitment to the church she had been brought up in. In 1923, when the General Assembly first voted for union, she wrote "I feel I have no longer a church" and "my Presbyterian church has gone – I know and feel neither love nor allegiance of its hybrid, nameless successor without atmosphere, tradition or personality."

Montgomery reveals her deep feeling that the day of church significance was ending. In 1924 she wrote, "The Spirit of God no longer works through the church for humanity. It did once but it has worn out its instrument and dropped it. Today it is working through science." At the same time, in her new fiction, *Emily of New Moon* (written in 1923, published 1925) she is still ready to poke gentle fun at the old church and its ways, knowing that her audience is ready for mild satire rather than for any scorching attack. Emily's church feels threatened by increasing tolerance in religion. "Mr. Johnson . . . said in his sermon last Sunday that there was some good in Buddhism. 'He will be saying that there is some good in Popery next,' said Aunt Elizabeth indignantly at the dinner table."

One result of Union was that when Presbyterian ministers chose to become part of a United Church, they left vacancies to be filled. This was the case in Norval, Ontario. Ewan Macdonald received a call to Norval, and the family moved from Leaskdale to that larger centre, nearer to Toronto. Maud Macdonald settled into new routines, heading up a new Youth Group, organizing dramatic presentations in the community hall, presiding at endless Mission Society

meetings, running the Christmas concert, taking a turn at playing the organ. She also, when Mr. Macdonald's old nervous troubles recurred, held his job together, arranging for and entertaining substitute preachers, warding away suspicious glances, and prodding him into performance of his duties. Her journal in the late 1920's and early 30's is an astonishing account of the public and private life of a minister's family.

Not only as a wife, but also as a mother, she was facing troubles. Her two sons, growing past boyhood into young manhood, brought worries and disappointments. Both sons went into residence at Knox College, Chester going into Engineering and later into Law, Stuart going into medicine. Each of them got into trouble, failing exams and in Chester's case being asked to withdraw. In the midst of these public and private troubles, she managed to launch a new series of novels, the "Emily" trilogy, a set of books acclaimed by subsequent writers such as Alice Munro and Margaret Laurence as empowering them in their ambitions to write. She interrupted this series with an unusual romance, *The Blue Castle*. An iconoclastic book, this is the story of a young woman in rebellion not only against her family but also against the social morality of her time, and against every orthodoxy, including religious traditions. "Roaring Abel", a great comic character, holds forth against preaching and predestination, sobriety and middle class morality (Montgomery had been reading George Bernard Shaw).

One of her most interesting non-fiction productions of this period was an article titled "What the Minister's Wife Expects from the Congregation," written for *Chatelaine* in 1931 as a companion piece for Nellie McClung's "what the Congregation Expects from the Minister's Wife." Regardless of what the congregation expected, the reading public of the time had come to expect from minister' wives such as McClung and "Marian Keith", as well as L.M. Montgomery, fresh, wholesome novels, designed to amuse and please, not to shock or to stimulate to very serious thoughts. Montgomery accepted this role, often reluctantly according to her journal, but consistently.

One of her motivations was monetary. In the Depression, her income from royalties had mostly been swept away when the stock market crashed, and it was nearly impossible to keep two sons in university on a minister's salary. That salary, as it happened, was often in arrears. Furthermore, Mr. Macdonald's health was in a parlous state. He had been having nervous and mental difficulties again. A typical journal entry (May 7, 1934) runs:

> A night of horrors. Ewan was "off" again – could not sleep and I had to listen to the old jargon I heard so many hundreds of

> times in the old years. He was "lost – he was "doomed to perish" – he had "become a fatalist" – "God hated him" etc. etc. . . . Once an idea takes possession of his mind I know from bitter experience how impossible it is to eradicate it. And besides his worry over his "lost" condition will aggravate the blood pressure. There was a U.F.O. meeting at Stirrat Leslie's tonight and we had promised to go. Ewan talked and played games – I don't suppose anybody noticed anything out of the way – but I, watching him, saw that he never smiled and that he pawed at his forehead with his hand almost constantly – the old gesture that has chilled my heart so many times.

His disorder became so acute that he was admitted to the mental hospital in Guelph during the summer of 1934.

In spite of everything, L.M. Montgomery was still producing novels for her ever-faithful audience. *A Tangled Web*, the title of a 1931 novel aimed at an adult audience, was an appropriate title also for the Macdonald's Norval years. Then, dreaming back to her own early Island days, Montgomery produced two novels, *Pat of Silver Bush* (1933) and *Mistress Pat* (1935), based, as *The Story Girl* and *The Golden Road* had been, on happy times at Park Corner.

As for her present worries about Ewan Macdonald, it is hard to know whether indeed "anybody noticed anything." Probably the dislocation caused by his malady was the real cause of the eventual eruption of trouble in the Norval church. A series of misunderstandings led to a crisis in 1935. A circular letter from the Presbytery office mentioned the failure of some churches to pay their ministers. Norval people, because of a misconception, believed this letter was directed particularly at them. At an insulting Session meeting they complained of this and other matters. Mr. Macdonald felt forced to offer his resignation. The misunderstanding was cleared up, and the Presbytery urged him to reconsider, but feelings had run so high that he and his wife felt that they had no option but to leave Norval. Perhaps the crisis had been brought on by the Session's worries about Mr. Macdonald's health. At any rate the Macdonalds departed for Toronto.

Yet even in her last novels, written in Toronto – *Anne of Windy Poplars* (1936), *Jane of Lantern Hill* (1937) and *Anne of Ingleside* (1939) – she created memorable, affectionate but comic portraits of ministers, elders, and church women. These novels offered a safety valve, a device for releasing the voice of a woman aware of serious ills in the church and its ministers.

If Montgomery was a feminist – term unknown in her day, but probably not acceptable to her if it had been current then – she was one with a peculiarly Presbyterian tinge. That bias is visible in her choice of one of the biographies she contributed to *Courageous Women* (1934). "Mary Slessor of Clabar" is about the life of a Scottish missionary and teacher, clever, independent, pugnacious, devoted to her charges. In some ways it is a strange choice of subject, since the other biographies in the volume are about Joan of Arc, Florence Nightingale and other universally recognized women. Montgomery's choice was no doubt directed by her long immersion in missionary-supported activities, as the child of a mission-minded family, and later as a minister's wife. From childhood Montgomery had heard the stories of the pioneering Geddies, Presbyterian missionaries. Later, as a leader in the local Women's Missionary Societies, she had had direct contact with many women returned from overseas assignments. The choice of Mary Slessor as a subject is also interesting, however, in the light of studies by modern feminist historians such as Ruth Compton Brouwer. In "Women and Religion in Canada, 1867-1918," Brouwer highlights early missionary endeavours as a significant breakthrough for independent women. Presbyterians, like many other denominations, had firmly barred women from preaching or serving at the communion table. Yet Montgomery's eulogy of Mary Slessor marks her recognition of the way her church had contributed to this woman's strength. The eulogy, like her laughing criticism of less heroic people, is launched from a Presbyterian position, as summarized by Mary Rubio in "Montgomery's Presbyterian Heritage"; emphasis on "the empowerment of all classes of people through education; on participatory democracy in church and civil government, on constant self-examination through reasoning faculties, on plain speaking and accessibility in rhetorical style and public discourse, on valuing intellectuality and achievement."

Thank goodness, the gods did not destroy L.M. Montgomery, even if she *was* a minister's wife. Her novels continue to offer joy to millions of readers. And her secret journals throw on a crucial period of church history the unusual light of a woman's eye, and a sensitive writer's perceptions.

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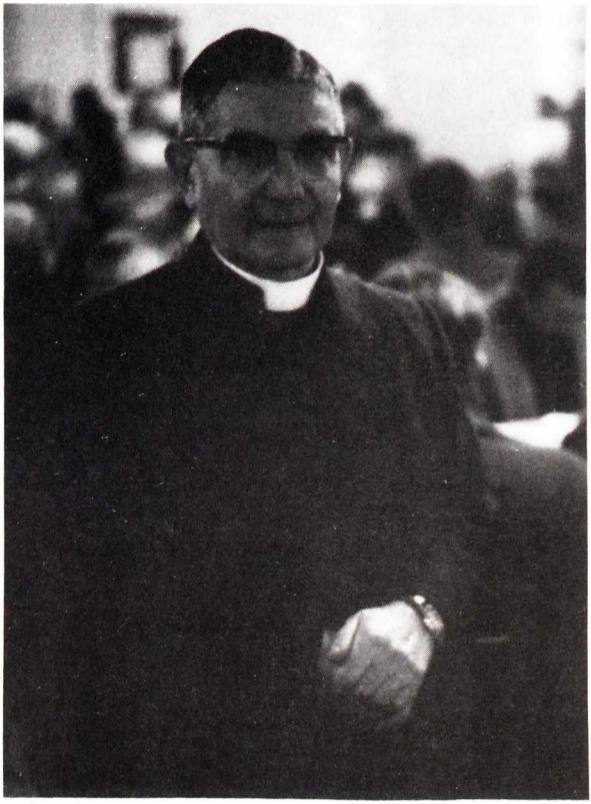

Morris Zeidman

Morris Zeidman (1894-1964)

PAUL DEKAR

MORRIS ZEIDMAN, THE SON OF ALEXANDER AND HANNAH ZEIDMAN, was born in Czestochowa, Poland, on the Jewish feast of Shevuoth. During these times life was not easy for Jews in Poland. Often as he returned home from the Jewish school he attended, he found himself at risk. Generally, he was able to escape, but these early intimations of the attacks on Jews that were to follow deeply troubled the impressionable Morris Zeidman.

At an early age, Zeidman joined a Jewish socialist youth organization called the Kleiner bund. In May 1912, he attended a demonstration and was arrested with about 150 of his friends. A district governor who had a Jewish girlfriend intervened to release Zeidman. Whether because of such incidents, or the embarrassment this matter caused to the family, Zeidman resolved to leave Poland.

As a result, when he was only sixteen Zeidman immigrated to Canada in 1912. A year later he found himself walking along Elizabeth Street in downtown Toronto. A Yiddish sign describing the Christian Synagogue, a mission the Presbyterian Church in Canada had established in 1908, drew his attention. The sign described the congregation as "The House of Good Tidings of the Messiah of the Children of Israel." Zeidman became first an inquirer and subsequently a Christian. He began volunteer work with the mission. By 1919 he held a staff position.

Simultaneously, Zeidman set about to further his education. He completed high school and continued on to University College in the University of Toronto. In 1921 he graduated with a three-year Honours degree in Oriental Languages (Hebrew and Arabic). He then embarked on theological education at Knox College with a view towards ministry. After a time away for health reasons, in 1925 Zeidman graduated with a diploma. The following year he completed his Bachelor of Divinity degree and was ordained into the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

On September 2, 1926, Zeidman married Annie Aiken Martin. They honeymooned at St. Andrew's-by-the-Sea, New Brunswick, where Zeidman had a one-month assignment with a small Presbyterian congregation. Apart from this appointment, the Zeidmans lived in Toronto the rest of their lives. Morris Zeidman returned to Toronto in the fall of 1926. He assumed leadership of the Scott Institute, as the Christian Synagogue was renamed in 1920 in memory of the

Reverend J. MacPherson Scott. Scott was a longtime minister of St. John's Presbyterian Church in Toronto and supporter of work among not only Jewish immigrants but also poor people of all backgrounds.

For the balance of his remarkable life, Zeidman provided the Scott Institute with dynamic leadership. At the time of his appointment, Zeidman found the Jewish work of the mission at a low ebb. The all-people's approach had destroyed the corporate sense of identity of what had begun as a Jewish Christian congregation. Moreover, it had failed to generate an influx in significant numbers of adherents from other traditions or ethnic groups. In addition, disputes and the split within the Presbyterian Church in Canada over creation of the United Church of Canada in 1925 created a major disruption and led to administrative delays in determining the future of the work. Zeidman resolved to remain with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and in 1926 the building which housed the Scott Institute was awarded by civil court action to the continuing Presbyterian Church in Canada.

Newly named as head of the Scott Institute, Zeidman moved to restore it to its original purpose as a mission to Jews. As a first step, he won approval to organize the congregation as a congregation of the Presbytery of Toronto rather than under the Home Mission Board. As another step, he sought to secure a sounder financial base for the work. This he won in 1928 when, after receiving an invitation to take up another appointment in St. Louis, Missouri, the Presbytery of Toronto expressed its appreciation of his work, urged him to remain in Toronto, increased his salary, and provided for new quarters at 307 Palmerston Avenue where his family could be housed and where the specifically Jewish activities of the mission could occur adequately.

Within a few months Zeidman reported, with considerable satisfaction, that the Scott Institute had been restored to its earlier state of financial health and focus as a mission to Jews. As a mechanism to win support among Presbyterians for the cause of Jewish missions, in 1930 he launched the "first Hebrew Christian magazine in the Dominion of Canada," the *Presbyterian Good News and Good Will to the Jews* (renamed in 1942 the *Hebrew Evangelist* and in 1948 the *Scott Mission Review*). In myriad articles published in this periodical and elsewhere, Zeidman articulated an approach to missionary work among the Jewish people that had two essential elements: the need to minister to Jews intentionally, urgently, and as a priority; and the need to overcome Jewish distrust of Christian missionary activity by demonstrating Christian love. This could be accomplished best by meeting essential human needs.

Zeidman expressed these views in an important address, "Relationship of the Jewish Convert to the Christian Church," delivered to a special convocation of the International Missionary Council in 1931. Zeidman condemned the tendency to discredit missions to Jews and insisted that missions to Jews should aim at both the spiritual *and* physical needs of people. Jews, he argued, would especially be responsive to a ministry of love. While this point should have been obvious, he observed that Christian-Jewish relationships were not always characterized by love.

As an example of this observation, he cited the experience of his sister, Gertrude Manson, like himself a Christian, who had been denied membership in the Willard Hall W.C.T.U. in Toronto because of her Jewish background. Zeidman criticized the all-peoples approach then dominant in mission circles. Like current advocates of an idea that people want to worship in their own language and within their own ethnicity, Zeidman argued that Jewish Christians wanted to worship with Jewish Christians. This did not preclude wider Christian engagement, but Zeidman advocated the creation of a "strong and virile Hebrew-Christian Church that will be self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating."

Zeidman also anticipated an approach to missions called Gospel and Culture, associated with the writings of Lesslie Newbigin and others and prevalent at the start of a new millennium. Zeidman believed a vibrant missiology depended on earthing the Gospel in the cultural forms and language of Jesus, a Jew. According to this approach, a Jewish Christian becomes a better and more loyal Jew. Hebrew Christianity would give a newer and fuller meaning of the Church of Christ to the western world and make Jesus, a Jew, a compelling figure, as he was to his early Jewish disciples who walked and talked with Jesus in the land Jews still regard as holy. Zeidman thus believed that, in becoming Christian, a Jew did not cease to be Jewish.

Zeidman recognized that any Christian mission approach to Jews had to break down old barriers and prejudices. Zeidman believed that the poor immigrant Jews to whom he was attempting to reach out would respond at a human level to anyone assisting them by providing needed food, clothing, and medicine. It was imperative that the church meet these needs. This did not exclude proclamation of the Gospel aimed at winning converts to Christianity. Zeidman believed that Jews were experiencing a time of spiritual awakening. As a result, he gave considerable attention to street-preaching, house-to-house evangelism, and devotional meetings. At the same time, he expressed social concern by reaching out to the last Jewish immigrants able to escape Europe for Canada before doors closed, both in Europe and Canada, in the mid-1930s.

Zeidman's approach to evangelism encouraged the staff of the Scott Institute to advise new Canadians, offer employment training and instruction in English as a second language, create job opportunities and initiate other programmes. To back up these views, Zeidman had concrete evidence that his approach worked. The statistical reports of the mission indicated that hundreds of Jews availed themselves regularly of the programs and services of the mission. As well, during the 1930s, an average of fifty Jews participated weekly in religious meetings.

Due to the economic depression which began in the winter of 1929-1930, the Scott Institute experienced a surge of activity not only among Jews but amongst a wider clientele as well. While for some the churches of Canada seemed indifferent to the worsening economic plight of people, especially immigrant communities, this could not be written of the Scott Institute. At its regular meeting on November 4, 1930, Toronto Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Canada authorized Zeidman to organize a soup kitchen that provided relief to those suffering from hunger and poverty, and to raise money for that purpose.

The relief work of the Scott Institute grew tremendously. At the peak of the 1930s, the Scott Institute fed approximately 1,000 people a day. The mission distributed clothing and groceries to children and families. In considerable measure due to Rose MacDonald's reports, *The Toronto Telegram* highlighted the work of the mission. Typical of the paper's columns is one that appeared on November 30, 1935 under the headline "Fainting from weakness, elderly man specially fed." The article went on to appeal for clothing, noting that with the onset of winter, overcoats were needed in particular. Torontonians responded, with the result that the mission gained the reputation "Miracle on Spadina," a designation penned by the secular rather than the religious press. Morris Zeidman could rightly claim that the mission was contributing in a major way to the relief of people at a time of world-wide and national crisis, unemployment, and distress.

With the great increase in the social ministry of the Scott Institute, Jews as well as non-Jews were served on an equal basis. Nonetheless, Zeidman understood his own calling primarily in terms of his outreach to Jews. Throughout the 1930s, a period of growing anti-semitism in Europe and elsewhere, Zeidman sought to break down ancient barriers and to promote friendship between Christians and Jews. He could not claim great numbers of converts, but he believed that he was making significant inroads into the Jewish community. Among the evidence which he cited was the fact that contributions to the mission were received from Jews as well as non-Jews,

Thus, while the transformation of the Scott Institute from a mission to Jews to a more typical inner city mission was well under way during the 1930s, Zeidman

himself continued to devote most of his energy to ministry among Jews. Zeidman never abandoned his own Jewishness, and he put his mission principles into practice. He conducted services in Yiddish and did not stress the Christian ordinances or sacraments of baptism and eucharist. He preached on distinctive themes which would serve to explain to Jews the essence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in terms readily understood by Jews. He anticipated some of the theological discussions which have risen in more recent Jewish-Christian dialogues, by asking "Are Christian Gentiles Spiritual Jews?" and by refuting the deicide charge that Jews killed God. Such practical and theological distinctives were not necessarily understood in the wider church and therefore contributed to tensions which culminated in Zeidman's decision to sever the ties of the mission with the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but they undoubtedly contributed to the respect he gained among some Jews.

In 1941 Zeidman resolved to continue the work of the mission on a non-denominational basis. Naturally, there were other issues than his distinctive ministry involved in this decision, including difficulties in recruiting adequate staffing and raising sufficient funds from Presbyterian sources to support his ministry. Zeidman believed that the problems he encountered were due primarily to the fact that he was promoting two causes of marginal interest to Presbyterians, namely Jewish mission and social ministry. In fairness to the Presbyterian Church in Canada, it should be noted that the breach was not a one-sided affair. Aspects of Zeidman's mode of operation contributed to disaffection with the mission among some in the Presbyterian communion. These included his willingness to ignore some of the financial controls placed upon him by the denomination, his highly contextualized approach to Hebrew Christianity, and his tendency to promote himself and the work of the Scott Institute above all other matters.

In the end the separation was of mutual benefit. For its part the Presbyterian Church no longer had to contend with a rather independent minister and an unconventional, irregular ministry. For his part, Zeidman was free to continue the ministry of the renamed Scott Mission without the oversight of those unsympathetic to his cause. The mission secured new and greater funding than had ever been the case. Zeidman was encumbered no longer by a denominational structure that did not fully embrace his work. Zeidman remained on the Presbyterian church rolls as an ordained minister.

Under Zeidman's leadership, the Scott Mission continued its dual ministry of serving the poor of downtown Toronto, irrespective of race, colour, or creed, and of supporting Jewish causes. Zeidman urged that Canada's doors be open to

Jews fleeing persecution in Europe. He condemned anti-semitism, for example, by denouncing the lies and slanders contained in the notorious writing known as "Protocols of Zion." He defended his work on the grounds that "radical discrimination" festered in the Christian body, thus necessitating activities specifically designed for Jews such as services of worship and camps at Bowmanville, Grimsby, and later the Caledon Hills.

In August 1946, as soon after the Second World War as was practical, Zeidman returned to his native Poland. He found no living family survivors and was overwhelmed to such an extent that he never fully recovered. Still, he undertook relief work for survivors of the holocaust. He supported Zionism and visited the state of Israel. He maintained cordial relations with relatives and friends who settled in the new state. Although not himself greatly influenced by dispensational theology, which interprets events surrounding the re-emergence of a Jewish state as fulfilment of prophecy, Zeidman and his work did receive support from dispensationalists. Members of his board, including its long-time chairperson J. H. Hunter, and many of his supporters within the Pentecostal Church of Canada did use the dispensational method to explain Biblical texts, thus interpreting the establishment of the State of Israel as a sign of the nearing end of this age and imminent return of Christ.

During the 1940s and 1950s the dual work of alleviating human misery and evangelizing Jews continued to dominate Morris Zeidman's ministry. As well, Zeidman was in great demand as a radio broadcaster, speaker, teacher, and writer. Nevertheless, the relief efforts of the Scott Mission came to be quite independent of missionary outreach to Jews. This was due in some measure to the success of the Canadian Jewish community in responding to the needs which the Scott Mission had long laboured to meet. Ultimately, the social ministry of the mission, initially developed as a means of reaching Jews, ceased to be needed by Jews.

The need for Christian ministry of compassion to the poor did not, however, cease to exist. As a result, the work of the Scott Mission continued to grow. The mission outgrew its space and was enlarged. The Honourable Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario, laid the official cornerstone on November 15, 1960, and the Scott Mission moved into its present building on Spadina Avenue the following April. The new building drew attention to Morris Zeidman's faith, which was at once practical and visionary, and his achievements. The *Toronto Telegram* and the Progress Club of Canada named him "Man of the Year" for 1961. His alma mater, Knox College, subsequently honoured him by awarding him a Doctor of Divinity degree on April 30, 1963.

Thus far, we have concentrated on the professional life of Morris Zeidman. For a fuller picture of the man, it is important to note the place of family in his

life. He was happily married to Annie for nearly forty years. Annie supported her husband and his ministry. Her gift as a poet, and especially the poetry she published regularly in the newspaper and the annual calendar of the Scott Mission, contributed to the widening affection their ministry elicited. A sample from "The Good Samaritan Corner" published in the *Toronto Star* expresses the empathy the Zeidmans communicated through their ministry towards those in need:

> May the Lord grant you
> Special grace to love Him, special strength to serve Him,
> Special peace in Him to rest, special faith to know Him best.
> May no war alarm you, may no evil harm you,
> May your sheltered dwelling stand, roofed with joy beneath
> His hand.

Morris and Annie were parents of four children: Margaret, Alexander, Elaine, and David. For years, their home at 307 Palmerston Boulevard, at the corner of College Street, served as a residence, an abode for extended family, and a place for recreation, clubs, and workshops. All of the children involved themselves in the life of the Scott Mission. After Morris' death in 1964, his elder son Alex continued at the Scott Mission and served as Director until his untimely death in 1986.

Throughout his life, Morris Zeidman suffered from periods of illness. In 1964, colitis struck, and he died on October 29. At his funeral an overflow crowd included many Jews to whom he had faithfully witnessed. The ministry of the Scott Mission continues at this time of writing.

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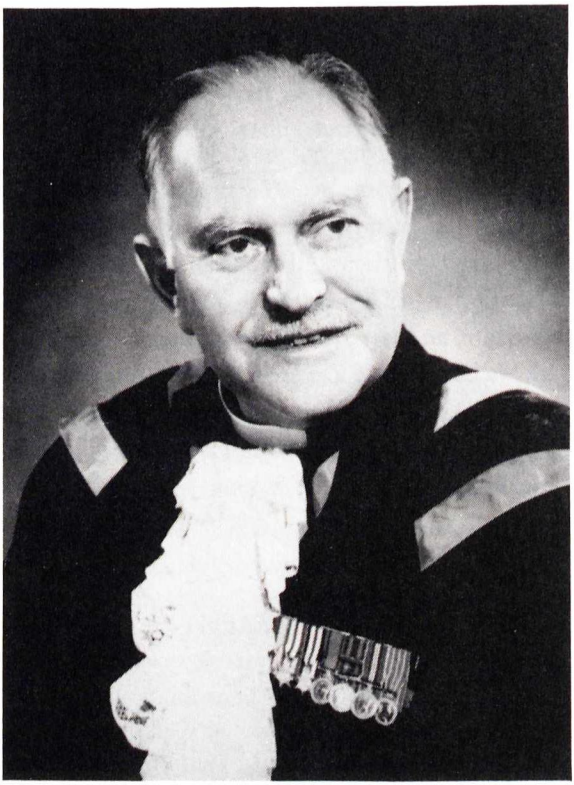


Geoffrey Deane Johnston

Geoffrey Deane Johnston

JOHN A. JOHNSTON

IS IT POSSIBLE FOR THE READER to conceive of life in the third millennium mirroring that experienced by Geoffrey Deane Johnston, 1906-1978? Born into the privileged upper-middle class of Dublin, Ireland, Deane was raised under the tutelage of a strong and erudite father of the old school, the Presbyterian minister of Abbey Church, Dublin, and convener of the Assembly's Committee on Public Worship for more than a quarter-century. It is said that the only time Dr. John Corry Johnston was ever seen *sans* clerical collar was on his death bed, following thirty-eight years of ministry. Louise Lady MacDermott, wife of the Lord Chief Justice of Northern Ireland, was Deane's sister and for some years a vice-president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. Family, Empire and Church, but not necessarily in that order, provided the young lad's parameters.

It was only natural that Deane attended St. Andrews and Trinity College, Dublin, graduating with a Master of Arts degree in History and Political Science. For a time, future plans vacillated between a career either in the India Police Force or the Church. His father openly questioned the advisability of the latter vocation for his young son, a football star of note and bachelor of repute. Yet he supported him fully when Deane decided to pursue studies at Trinity, Dublin, McRae/Magee College, Londonderry, and later at Princeton, New Jersey, leading to full-time ordained ministry.

Fate or providence, depending on one's theological bent, brought together Deane and his teenaged cousin Alexandra of Indianapolis. A family conference decided that this daughter of a wealthy owner of strip coal mines in the U.S.A. should attend a finishing school in Paris, France. Both grandmothers were sisters, so it was not surprising that Alexandra's first Christmas overseas should be spent with the Johnstons in Ireland. It was love at first sight, to the consternation of both families. Social concerns were not a problem, but an eighteen and a twenty-year-old still studying was a different matter. By New Year's Day, however, an engagement had been announced.

Alexandra returned to the United States, bored to tears. The Great Depression had begun. Her father would not allow her to work, as there were too many people without jobs. Deane decided to study at Princeton and worked during

the vacation months in the coal mines of his future father-in-law. A Model A Ford was purchased so that he could visit his fiancee in Indianapolis on weekends. In the end he returned to Ireland to complete his theological studies at the Assembly College, Belfast and his licensing by the Presbytery of Dublin in 1930. Traveling back to the United States the following year, he married Alexandra. A honeymoon in Canada was followed by his appointment as an assistant in First Bangor Church, Northern Ireland, where his father had rented a house for them.

In 1932 they again crossed the ocean, this time with baby John, wondering if the New World would be the scene of their future life. Deane found American Presbyterianism too evangelistic and was not prepared to give up his British citizenship. Alexandra's parents wanted to keep their daughter on their side of the Atlantic, and the Dominion of Canada was seen as a compromise. The Presbytery of Guelph agreed to place his name on their role as a licentiate and young Deane went job-hunting.

Central Presbyterian Church, Brantford, Ontario, took a gamble in the minds of many of the "Church Fathers." By a sizable majority and in spite of his youth, Geoffrey Deane Johnston was its choice. This congregation was the product of the Disruption in 1925 and the amalgamation of three minority congregations which had lost their buildings at Church Union. The vacancy period had wearied the people and the Johnstons were available. Members of the Synod of Hamilton, meeting in Brantford at the time, were heard to say that the young Irishman would not last six months. Instead, history tells us that the ties held strong for four decades.

The local Brantford newspaper gave wide prominence to Deane's Ordination and Induction by the Presbytery of Paris. Luminaries of the wider Church, especially those with an Irish connection, were in attendance and their comments duly noted. The first sermons of the new minister, preached at morning and evening services were quoted at length in the columns of Brantford's *Expositor.* Already Deane's down-to-earth, common sense approach to religion was recognized that day by his declaration, "Religion is eminently practical and not merely the acceptance of doctrine." Yet never was the incumbent of Central Church, throughout his long ministry, ever to minimize the importance of theology.

Brantford in the 1930s was an industrial city of considerable wealth and influence. Large manufacturing enterprises such as Massey Harris, Cockshutt, and Verity, all farm machinery factories and the well-known Brantford Cordage, were major employers. Scarfe Paints and textile plants like Watsons and Slingbys, provided a considerable job market. However, the Great Depression, raging at the time, created widespread unemployment and suffering in the community.

Used clothing was distributed by the congregation and money for food and coal was raised for the needy. Central Church was composed almost equally of white and blue collar families who sat on separate sides of the sanctuary. A former minister's wife had created hostility by sitting (and seemingly siding) with the owners and managers in the congregation. Mrs. Johnston wisely sat in the exact middle of the church between the two groups, a sign of Johnston sagacity which was to mark his forty years of ministry in Central Church.

The congregation of Central was very good to the young couple whom many considered their children, although never forgetting that their minister was one set apart. Gradually the members of the three original churches fused into a unity. The facilities of the Y.W.C.A. next door were rented to accommodate the growing church school. Seventy-five youth belonged to the Central Presbyterian Young Peoples Society. Mission Band and Canadian Girls in Training groups were organized. In 1932, 725 persons were listed on the Roll. Seven years later, in spite of statistical population fluctuations in Brantford, 803 members were listed, forty-three having been removed from the roll through death and thirty-six added as communicant members that year.

The ministry of Deane Johnston was characterized by a definite missions emphasis. Strong Women's Missionary Society (WMS) groups provided programmes for the children, business girls and young married women, as well as older adults. The church sent forth a steady stream of students for the Ministry of Word and Sacrament, Deaconess training and overseas missions. It is not by chance that the children of Dr. and Mrs Johnston were influenced in this direction: the elder son John has proved himself a stalwart in the Dixie, Ontario congregation, in its transition from rural to urban ministry. Daughter Marjorie married an architect, serving with her husband under the Mission Board in Nigeria. She was later appointed Associate Secretary for International Ministries. Her younger sister, Alexandra, became Principal of Victoria College, Toronto and chaired many major committees of the church including the special committee on restructuring the General Assembly programmes and organizations. Geoffrey, the younger son, an ordained Presbyterian minister, was commissioned with his wife Mary Lou as missionaries to Nigeria and filled various pastoral charges in Canada before becoming Director of Studies at the Presbyterian College, Montreal.

That fateful year of 1939! A time of cataclysmic upheaval in both country and congregation. World War II was declared. A disproportionately large percentage of the members of Central Church – 178 members in all – eventually presented themselves for service in the armed forces. Deane Johnston led the

way. At the outbreak of hostilities, he felt obligated to offer himself as a chaplain, being a proud British subject and firmly attached to "the old country." His wife understood his feelings, but neither expected that he would be called up immediately when there were many more experienced padres available. They even thought that the war might be ended before he would be needed.

On Tuesday, December 4, 1939, however, Deane received a summons saying that he was being shipped out the next day to go overseas as part of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. He was chaplain to the 54th Battery of Brant, whose colonel, incidentally, became his son's father-in-law many years later. No available captain's uniform, no opportunity for preparation and hardly time to offer a word of farewell to family and congregation! His wife, in her own words, was "stricken" and "in shock," being left with four children, the youngest only six months old. A proffered resignation was not accepted by the congregation. Instead a leave-of-absence was arranged which in the end stretched over five and one-half years.

Writing two days after his departure, he told his congregation that,

> no one is indispensable least of all a man with as many failings as your minister. You all know my own attitude to this war. You know that I believe it is being fought in defence of those things which we all hold dear, and which have come to us as a result of our Christian religion. It was because I was convinced of this that I volunteered my service; how could I refuse when called to the colours even on such cruelly short notice . . . . Our times are in His hand and even though the way be dark before us, He will bring us at last to a happy issue out of all our troubles.

Captain Johnston took well to military life. He liked the chain of command. The Brantford *Expositor* in 1942 stated that he was "one of the most popular artillery padres overseas." Later he was appointed Senior Acting Chaplain, 2nd Canadian Division at the time of the Dieppe Raid, then Senior Chaplain, 5th Canadian Armored Division in Italy. His service also covered England, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, returning in 1945 as a Major in the Armed Forces and a Most Excellent Member of the Order of the British Empire, prepared to resume his responsibilities as congregational minister and family head.

The post-war period proved no easy time for the demobilized. The Johnston children had grown tall in his absence. Their mother had run the household well for half a decade and was prepared to continue, if necessary protecting her husband from the demands of those who might drain his time and energies. Little children

had never been Deane Johnston's *forte*. How much easier it became for him as his own grew older and one could reason with them. Or, consider the changes in the congregation over the war years. Jobs in industry had become plentiful. A boom in births was taking place. Mobility was the order of the day. Growth and expansion were seen everywhere. Religious life was experiencing a rebirth. Across the country church extension was underway and new projects at home and overseas were undertaken.

In Brantford, the dedication in 1946 of Central's imposing war memorial plaque was closely followed by a new vestry and offices. The sanctuary underwent extensive renovations and the organ received rejuvenation. The following year, the erection of a new church school building and spacious entrance steps were completed. A disastrous fire in the steeple and only months later the collapse of the spire during a violent wind storm resulted in the construction and dedication of a magnificent new church. Could the steeple's fall be called an "act of God" and a blessing in disguise? All the above changes took place within a fifteen-year time frame.

Alongside the growth of Central Church, the Rev. G. Deane Johnston found time and energy for his community. At various times he was elected chairman of the Library Board, chairman of the Brantford Symphony, honorary chaplain and director of the local Rotary Club, and chairman of the Police Commission (a role which he especially enjoyed and which speaks volumes about his character). Directorates were accepted in the Brantford Red Cross Society, the Brant County Unit of the Cancer Society, and the Children's Aid Society. As a lecturer, he was engaged by Waterloo College to deliver extension courses in Human Relations. In later years, he was honoured by the Junior Chamber of Commerce as "Citizen of the Year." What excitement when he was named Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel of the 56th Field Regiment where he had acted until 1966 as padre! Never in Canada, it was stated, had any militia unit recognized a padre in this way. Twelve years later this regiment commandeered a twenty-five pounder gun carriage from London in order to bear the remains of their colonel through the streets of Brantford to his final resting place. The cortege, newspaper accounts pointed out, was accompanied by a military guard, drummers and fifty police, the first time most of the crowds lining the streets had ever seen a full military funeral procession.

What is considered the most influential period of Deane Johnston's contribution to the Presbyterian Church in Canada was introduced in 1945. In many ways his life epitomizes the renewed vision of the Church to the whole world. Men and women, often with very specialized skills, were offering themselves as missionaries. New moneys became available for outreach projects. Deane

Johnston was again available to the Church. In the words of Dr. Douglas J. Wilson, a senior staffer on the Montreal *Star*, he came across as "a brusque, off-hand man with his feet on the ground and a versatile knowledge of men; he knew how to get things started. His dry humour acted as a shock absorber at critical moments." The *Evening Telegram* of St. John's, Newfoundland, wrote that his "erect bearing and assured presence hold overtones of a conscious leadership. At the same time his conversation reveals a soft-hearted concern for the people."

In the spring of 1948, Dr. Johnston was appointed chairman of the General Board of Missions, a position he was to hold for an unprecedented twelve years. In that period 125 to 130 new churches were established in Canada. Property from coast to coast was purchased for future expansion. Overseas programmes were completely restaffed and new fields established. Mrs. Johnston on occasion complained bitterly that her husband acted as if he were married to the Church rather than to herself. All too often family celebrations took second place to responsibilities of the denomination, to the dismay of those who bore his name.

The philosophy of mission promulgated by Deane Johnston is reflected in a quotation of Sir Winston Churchill, often repeated by the chairman of the General Board of Missions, "Now when the first rays of Victory begin to beam on the helmets of our Soldiers, let us not faint or grow weary, let us not flag or fail, let us go on to the end." Changes were taking place in the Church courts and at the Church offices in Toronto. All too often these were effected over the opposition of many members of the Board of Administration who still possessed a Depression mentality and were fearful of deficit financing. Time and time again, the chairman clashed with conservative business men who influenced the behind-the-scenes financial decisions of the national church. Johnston wanted to grasp the expanding opportunities at home and overseas. These cost money which the church did not have in hand. The Board of Administration wanted to live within the budget of the previous year and curtail expenditures until the money was available.

At the 1951 Assembly, the Chairman of the General Board of Missions, in outlining the need for increased budget and personnel, took two full evenings in order to persuade the commissioners to buy into his vision. He praised the newly-opened Chinese Institute in Montreal. The expanding work among non-Anglo Saxons was publicized. Tyndall Settlement House illustrated a new building expansion and a renewed vision. Fifty new churches in Taiwan were listed. In British Guiana, Bethel College was re-opened. The first new post-war mission field had just been opened in Nigeria and four persons were now "on seat." The biggest problem, Johnston said, was the lack of missionary personnel

and the church must recruit seventeen more men and six more women as soon as possible. Within six years, he was trumpeting the news that two hundred and fifty men were at various stages in their studies for the ministry.

The Chairman was also not adverse to challenging the Church to seek new vistas. When additional funds were needed, he appealed to the whole constituency. "You've got to go to the Elders" was his maxim. He strongly supported the post-war Advance for Christ and Peace Thankoffering Fund and the "Christian Outreach Fund" for the erection of buildings and the planting of church extension charges. At the same time he challenged aid-receiving charges to reduce their need for grants. If they were laggard, then regulations forced their acquiescence. He was well known for his unwillingness to back down from confrontation with those who contended that the church lacked the finances or pleaded caution stating it had never been done that way before.

In his State of the Church address in 1957, the Mission Board Chairman compared the 1933-45 period with that of 1946-57. In the former era congregationalism prevailed and the Church was in a state of confusion and alarm. Presbyteries were weak and disorganized. Money was in short supply during the Great Depression. An acute shortage of ministers was accompanied by many preachers from other denominations joining the Church, often to the ultimate detriment of congregations. Johnston saw Presbyterianism as the nation's need, stating that "we are not at liberty to spew out upon our people the vain imaginings of our unregenerate minds, but must adhere to a doctrinal position majestic in its conception of God and both realistic and sympathetic in its understanding of man." With World War II there came loss of members and dislocation of families. Many a congregation, he felt, "was slowed to a standstill." Lack of planning was evident as the Church lived day-to-day under war-time constrictions.

The remedy included increased liberality, the merging of smaller congregations and the closing of others. Staff to minister to the immigrants must be augmented many times, Dr. Johnston felt. When in 1956 the suggestion was made by the Board of Administration that the budget of the Board of Mission be cut in 1956 by almost $150,000, Johnston responded with the final word, "This I refuse to discuss ." "To start flying the distress flag at this juncture, to start closing overseas mission fields and firing ministers in order to keep within the estimated figure of expenditures would in my opinion be disastrous to the morale of our church and be faithless to our Presbyterian heritage. . . . We are not bankrupt yet. . . . We must have faith in our future and we must keep faith in our own people."

Reorganization of the missions structure was advocated. Superintendents of Missions in the various synods were appointed for the first time in memory.

Presbyteries engaged Directors of Church Extension and Extension Secretaries whose whole time was devoted to the establishment and growth of new congregations. Dr. Johnston in 1960, his final year as chairman, criticized the Call system as not effective and undignified and huffed that "many of our ministers should spend less time in their studies and more time on the street." In spite of the shortcomings of the clergy, he insisted that the denomination in the following fifteen years must enrol another one hundred and seventy-five ministers "who are fired with a zeal for the salvation of men's souls." It was his unequivocal conviction that "Presbyterianism offers to the modern world a man's church in a man's world with an open door and a great heart, a Church whose word is its bond and whose honour is above reproach."

The headquarters of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in the 1950s was an old mansion on St. George Street, Toronto, adjacent to Knox College. Its national staff was composed of a very limited, close-knit group of men and women, many of whom had served alongside each other in the Second World War. Ex-padres like D. Crawford Smith of Knox Church, Guelph, J. Alan Munro the Secretary of the Board of Missions, and Hugh Davidson, Stewardship Secretary, worked efficiently as a team which almost singlehandedly made decisions inside and outside the courts of the Church. Laura K. Pelton and Mary Whale trusted his leadership and sought his support at a time when the Women's Missionary Society was facing an uncertain future as a separate organization outside the General Assembly. E.H. Johnson, general secretary of the national overseas staff, though holding different perspectives from the ex-padre leadership, was equally strong in supporting their common goal for expanding the church's world mission. Deane's room-mate at each Assembly was Lewis McLean of Victoria. All highly respected individuals in Church and community, they were permitted to act and to grasp opportunities as they arose. The time for labourious committees, subcommittees and executive meetings was still only a speck on the Church's horizon.

Dr. Johnston came to realize in time that he could not continue to bear the heavy responsibilities of his national office and still serve his demanding pastoral charge. A resignation from the chairmanship was submitted. Instead, the Board of Missions, in order to retain his leadership, offered to provide a deaconess to assist in the work of Central while he was freed up for General Assembly responsibilities. For over a decade, Central benefitted from the labours of a series of able young women who assisted with the children's programmes, mid-week activities and visitation. In 1959, a summer cottage was purchased near Lakefield, Ontario.

A month with children and grandchildren worked wonders for family togetherness and for the re-creation of worn-down spirits.

It is this writer's view that this chairman had no peer in accomplishing his goals through the courts of the church. He proved a master strategist in assuring that his annual recommendations to the General Assembly were approved. Overseas travel became part of his itinerary. Of lasting significance was his hands-on role in Taiwan and Japan in arranging the assets of mission property and offering support to the fledgling Koreans in Japan and the aborigines and Taiwanese on the "Island Beautiful." Other fact-finding tours undertaken as chairman of the Board of Missions included official visits to Barbados and to daughter churches in Trinidad and Guyana.

Many ministers and their families were profoundly grateful to Deane Johnston for his supportive role as an original member (1951) of the "Appointees of the Fund for Ministerial Assistance." For twenty years – 1957-1978 – he presided over this programme, underwritten by a million-dollar gift from Senator Norman Patterson. The principal and interest were used to augment the stipends of the clergy on or near minimum stipend with special allowances for each of their children.

Ecumenical endeavours were important to Dr. Johnston. No doubt he had removed himself sufficiently from the "troubles" in his land of birth through time and distance. His experiences as a chaplain overseas could only strengthen this viewpoint. In Brantford he served as president of the ministerial and was delighted to welcome those of other Christian faiths to his pulpit. In 1932, Deane Johnston had believed that "church union (1925) was still too close" but he rejoiced to see a gradual mellowing over the years.

Thirty-five years after that Union, however, Dr. Johnston, now Moderator of the 92nd General Assembly and for some years chair of the Assembly's Inter-Church Committee, stated that Presbyterians were still too close to the traumatic experiences of 1925 to approach organic union as a political possibility. The proposed union between the Anglican and United Church in the 1960s would be a big mistake in the mind of the Moderator. The *Evening Examiner* of St. John's, Newfoundland, quoted him as telling the people of Newfoundland that he "wouldn't give it [union] much of a chance of going through in its present form." If Church Union on the mission field ever happens, he stated in 1959, then the churches would again be divided along confessional lines within twenty-five years. In Victoria, British Columbia, he thundered, "We must not renounce conviction simply for the sake of union." Then, in reference to Billy Graham, he added, "no

church can be grounded on emotionalism alone. To be of real use to its members, a church must have a basis of solid study and thought."

What about Dr. Johnston's interest in Christian Education? As Moderator, he successfully urged the Assembly to give the largely U.S.-developed *Faith and Life Curriculum* a longer trial in Canadian Church schools. Complaints had been raised on the floor of Assembly regarding the lack of Biblical content in the materials. Dr. Johnston showed his usual dry wit in chastising the opponents of the curriculum by urging them not to "shoot the piano player, he's doing his best." Although much has been reported about his pulpit gifts and his work with adults, his nurturing concerns must not be minimized. Through much of his ministry, he was privileged to obtain co-workers, assistants, deaconesses and Directors of Religious Education. Dr. Johnston insisted that the *didache* [teachings] of the church must never be neglected. When he felt that young people were not sufficiently prepared for church membership, he wrote in 1966 a three-year course for inquirers and new communicants. Four hundred sets of material were sent out in response to requests from other congregations. Dr. Johnston stated that this was "one of the most satisfying ventures of my career."

The policy of the Board of Missions, Dr. Johnston insisted in a January, 1957 issue of the *Presbyterian Record,* was basically for missionaries to work themselves out of a job as soon as possible. He acknowledged that former mission fields must now be seen as partners. "The mother church can no longer control the policy of the younger Church through its mission board . . . . This raises many problems." He believed that more difficulties as well as opportunities faced contemporary mission boards "than at any time since modern missions began one hundred and fifty years ago."

During his term in the moderatorial chair (1966-67), women were first granted ordination as Ruling and Teaching Elders, to be chosen as commissioners to the General Assembly and as members of all church courts. The final vote was a substantial endorsement for women ministers and an overwhelming support for women elders. Our fifty-nine year old spokesman for the denomination fully supported this long-delayed action and anticipated a leadership role would be speedily occupied by women throughout every sphere in the life and mission of the Church. He called it an "historic moment," being the first time in the history of the Presbyterian Church in Canada that women were allowed equal privileges with men in seeking election as ministers and elders. A month earlier, the Church of Scotland also recognized the place of women in the courts of the Church. It should also be noted that the Moderator's sister was the first woman to be given the vote in the courts of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.

The national Church did not let Dr. Johnston's efforts on its behalf pass unnoticed. In 1955, Knox College, Toronto, awarded him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity for "his services in the wider aspects of church life." Was it a Freudian slip of a local newspaper by recording that the honour was his as a result of his dedication to the "wilder aspects of church life?" Perhaps the pinnacle of his career came in 1964 when his peers elected him Moderator of the 92nd General Assembly, succeeding J. Alan Munro, his close friend and colleague in the Board of Missions. In writing to Central Church immediately following his election, Dr. Johnston stated that "this is considered the highest honour in the gift of our Church."

Those twelve months, 1964-65, overflowed with appointments and responsibilities outside of the Brantford pastoral charge. Concerns for the welfare of the congregation as a result of duties undertaken for the wider Church were his burden. To allay such fears he vowed to "attempt in as far as is humanly possible to prevent allowing this election to interfere with my regular work as your minister." Nevertheless, his presence was often missed as a result of his attendance at meetings of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, leading the Presbyterian contingent to sessions of the Canadian Council of Churches, his involvement in the Churchmen's Seminars in Ottawa, and revelling in luncheons with the Minister of External Affairs and various other political dignitaries. The annual chaplain's retreat, radio and TV appointments and visits to congregations large and small were all fitted into his schedule. He was seen as a national figure, recognized and listened to, if not always applauded, from coast to coast.

Astute students of the religious scene discovered in the election of Dr. Johnston the introduction of a subtle but important turning point in the life of the Church. The *Globe and Mail* recognized in him a person who was experienced in mission work, Church finances, administration and interfaith dialogue. He and his Church did not display a "blatant embrace of left wing modernism," the newspaper hastily added, but a subtle change of mood was undeniable. For example, the life-long friend of the moderator, Dr. Lewis McLean of Victoria, urged the revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith, a subordinate standard of the Church, which had defined the Pope as Antichrist for over three centuries. A more relevant, contemporary statement was suggested and the church's Committee on Articles of Faith agreed, stating that recent popes (e.g. John XXIII) have demonstrated a change of attitude.

Contemporaries reported that, in 1967 for the first time in its history, the Assembly debated the question of trade unionism and voted to support the principle of unions and union shops. Dr. Johnston sadly admitted to the

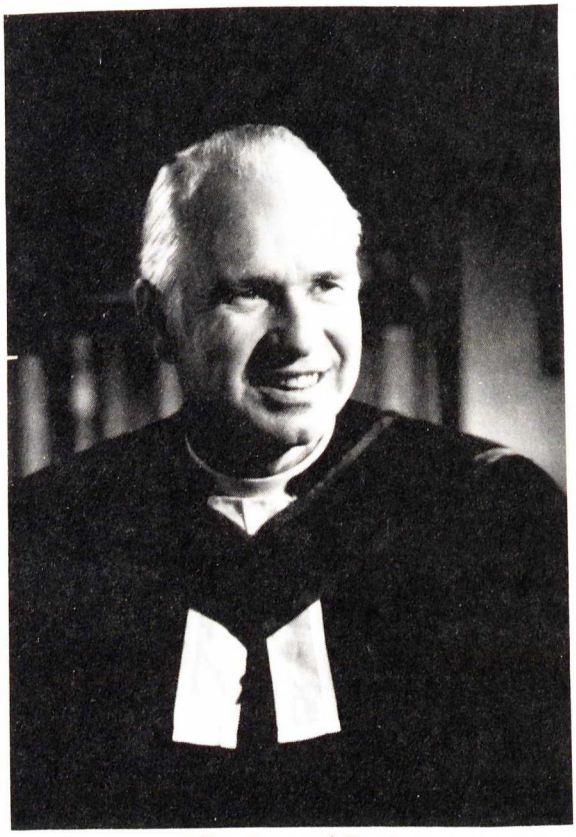
Expositor that the Church has "come to be known as an institution of the middle class" and "has lost contact with the labour movement." On the subject of marriage and divorce, he stated that a "broader attitude" was needed and the Assembly appointed a committee to re-examine the whole issue. Change is needed, he proclaimed. If the Church is to advance, the archaic language of the sixteenth century in its liturgy must be modernized. What is needed, he stated, is for the clergy to get out and talk to the people. "Religion for many," Deane Johnston told a capacity crowd in Trenton, Ontario, "has become a spectator sport. We go to Church when we feel like it, support it generously enough, but like the fans at Maple Leaf Gardens, have no intentions of going out on the ice."

In May of 1966 Deane Johnston represented the Church at the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, more than a quarter-century after he had fulfilled a similar responsibility at the annual meetings of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland. For five years, beginning in 1968, he served as chairman of the Corporation of the Synod of Hamilton and London, providing loans for outreach projects in south-western Ontario. In order that committee membership would not be limited to the rich, he introduced the advancement of travel funds to any and all committee members. As for himself, travel bills were seldom submitted. Dr. Johnston was an original member of the Presbyterian Building Corporation, administering a fund for the construction of churches and manses across Canada, guaranteeing mortgages and stretching every dollar which was available for church extension. He served on the committee which designed the LAMP Report that sought to revamp some of the outmoded organizational machinery by which the Church was operating. He was open to change and attended the first Congress of Concern, as a sympathetic and concerned churchman.

Who really was this man who influenced countless persons and who spearheaded and presided over so many lasting projects and changes which indelibly affected the denomination? Was he the "vibrant man of flashing wit and insight" described by the *Globe and Mail*? Was he the epitome of "the art of the possible" and a consummate politician as seen by his colleagues in ministry? Was he the dear friend, the powerful preacher and dedicated pastor described in letters and presentations from his faithful parishioners? One thing is certain, Deane Johnston was surely the antithesis of the caricature portrayed of him by his son, Geoffrey, who wrote, tongue in cheek, and to the infinite pleasure of his moderatorial father with whom existed a close and loving relationship:

My theology is faultless; it is strongly Calvinistic,
With overtones of Hegel and a taste that's Ritschilistic,
In Bultman I am expert, I believe in Martin Marty,
In Hodge's Systematics I am really quite a smarty,
The views of Joe McLelland I receive with acclamation,
And Stanford Reid's position I regard with approbation,
In the tenses of the talmud I'm a master conjugator
In fact, the very model of a modern moderator!

Deferred to and esteemed, Deane Johnston continued to be active in church courts and national life until his death in 1978, respected in life and honoured in death, "until time shall be no more."



Allan Leonard Farris

Allan Leonard Farris
A Theologian of the History of the People of God

J. CHARLES HAY

ALLAN FARRIS SPENT MOST OF HIS LIFE IN SCHOLARLY ENDEAVOUR. The likelihood that scholarship would be his major pursuit was evident from the beginning. He graduated from the University of Saskatchewan *cum laude*, a gold medalist in philosophy, and moved immediately into his theological studies at Knox College from which he graduated in 1945 with first class honours and at the head of his class. He began his studies for the Bachelor of Divinity degree, then a post graduate degree, during his time at Knox, and completed it in 1949, only to begin his studies for the Master of Theology degree in the then fledgling Toronto Graduate School of Theological Studies, which he gained in 1951, the first Knox College graduate to receive that degree. All of this was just in time to succeed Walter Bryden in the chair of Church History at Knox College, at 32 one of the youngest graduates ever appointed to the faculty. Allan occupied that chair for twenty- five years until his untimely death at the age of 57 in 1977. It was in and through that chair that Allan was to exercise an influence beyond measuring, not only on the generations of students that graduated from Knox in that 25 year period, but in the life of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Because of his many ecumenical interests, and through the opportunities provided by the Toronto School of Theology to reach students from the different traditions of the church, that influence was to extend well beyond the boundaries of the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the church catholic.

There were some factors in his early years that might have made it rather difficult to predict that kind of future. He was born in the village of Dodsville, Saskatchewan, but Coleville was the locale for his school and church life. He grew up on a farm in the middle of the prairie dustbowl during the depression. Life on the farm was hard and demanding, and must surely on occasion have interfered with his formal education, although a great deal of learning took place there. This was where he learned to fix whatever needed repair with the very limited resources at hand. His home thereafter always had a workshop that provided him with some escape from the endless preparation demanded by his preaching and teaching. Later the cottage on the Lake of Bays was to play the

same role. It was sports however that initially provided him with needed recreation, and he was to excel in that as he did in his studies, at one point reaching the status of a semi-professional in baseball.

His parents were people of what he was later to call a "warm evangelical faith." They had chosen to stay with the Presbyterian church following church union in 1925, and both their evangelical faith and their fidelity to the Presbyterian church determined Allan's perspective on the Christian faith and on the church throughout his life. Scott Memorial Church in Coleville also played a large role in helping to shape the direction for his life. It was a small church by any standard; 37 members in the late thirties. John Brent was the catechist in charge, obviously lacking the educational requirements for ordination. Yet Allan was to speak very highly of him, readily acknowledging the extent of his influence on his faith and his choice of a vocation. In a sermon preached much later on the text "You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you," he was to recognize the roles played by all these factors in his early experience.

> I am simply overwhelmed at the means God took to bring me to the place of service and discipleship. A Christian home, a godly minister who cared for the lambs in his flock, Christian friends, some hard and bitter experiences, economic distress in the midst of drought and depression – all came together in a life situation and used by the gracious Spirit of God to bring me to a decision that I have never regretted.

Immediately following graduation from Knox in 1945 Allan married Muriel Neale, of Melfort. Saskatchewan. After a brief honeymoon, the couple moved to Trail, British Columbia, where Allan assumed his Mission Board appointment. This was a small congregation with very limited resources, but Allan made the most of what it had to offer. He conducted a weekly radio broadcast, which gave him an audience not only beyond his own congregation, but reaching communities as far away as Nelson, Vernon and even the Peace River. His letters indicated how much he loved the pastorate, in spite of his evident impatience at any sign of lethargy or apathy. Those same letters indicate that he had ideas and plans in abundance, with the necessary energy to put them into effect.

> I'm going to attempt a method of evangelism this Fall calculated to help some. It will include a week's preaching mission, letter evangelism, personal visitation, organizational revamping, teacher's training for the Sunday staff, roll purging, reminders to members of their vows and their relation to the third commandment and of course a strong radio evangelism.

The preaching, the close involvement with people, the opportunities it provided him to reach out into the community; all these elements of ministry he embraced with great enthusiasm.

On the completion of his B.D. degree in 1949, he accepted a call to Bolton and Nashville, Ontario, intent on enrolling in the Master of Theology programme in the Toronto Graduate School of Theological Studies. Here again he was to take up his pastoral duties eagerly and energetically. His own knowledge of the farm provided him with an easy entry into the homes and lives of his congregation, many of whom came to the church from surrounding farms. In spite of the demands of a busy two-point charge, he was to complete the quite strenuous demands of that academic programme in two years.

This contiguity of direct service to a congregation and continuous study was to characterize his life at Knox; a constant involvement in the life of the church, especially through his preaching, even as he persisted in his academic interests and his continuing studies. Only when those studies took him during sabbaticals to Edinburgh, Geneva and Chicago was he to experience any kind of freedom from these involvements. He had great difficulty saying no, whether to the endless invitations that came to him from churches far and wide, or to the demands of his students. He complained at one point that he was the director of theses for one half of the Master of Theology students and an equal percentage of the Doctor of Theology candidates at Knox. He was to pay a heavy price for that incapacity to say no. His own academic studies, his writing, and his health all suffered in some measure because of these involvements.

Allan however never looked on any of those commitments as intrusive or inappropriate. He saw them as an integral part of his calling. His was a ministry of the church and to the church, and involvement in the whole life of the church represented simply a response to that call. This constant exposure to the work of the church, in congregations and committees and ecumenical endeavours, gave him a knowledge of the church that was to determine much of the content of his lectures and shape the way he taught the students. He never lost sight of the fact that those students were first of all candidates for the ministry of Word and Sacrament, and therefore the teaching of church history was at the service of the Gospel. He saw his subject as a discipline in the church, of the church, and for the church. That discipline was for him an essential factor in the preparation of students for that ministry.

He was in due course to articulate several reasons why he felt this way. Church history represented the accumulated wisdom of the church. The church was a community of memory, and church history was for him an essential means of

access to that memory. It is the capacity to connect with that memory that gives the church and its members their sense of identity. Ignorance of that history could, and often did, lead to a loss of a sense of who we are as a church and what we should be about. But church history for him was not simply a matter of accessing the past. Through church history the church not only understood more fully its traditions, but was better equipped to discern how God was at work in the world here and now. It was virtually impossible for him to prepare a sermon or a lecture without some reference to events of significance in the long experience of the church, always with a view to casting light on a contemporary situation.

He was to persist in this view that his discipline should play a necessary role in the preparation of candidates for ministry; and that persistence continued in the face of increasing demands from the church for a curriculum more practically oriented to that preparation. He was fully convinced that where that discipline is minimized in a theological curriculum then the students' roots in their faith have been proportionally minimized. They should be able to function within and out of the tradition through which, and under the authority of which, they minister. He was fully sympathetic with the church's insistence that graduates of Knox College should be able to function satisfactorily in fulfilment of their calling – not however simply as functionaries, but as servants of a community of faith that has its roots deep in that faith. The common means of access to that faith were of course the preaching of the Word and Sacrament. Allan would have seen church history as a supplementary route. It was for him, as for Walter Bryden, his mentor and predecessor, Word of God history.

A major theme of much of Allan's writing and teaching was the role of the church in the life of society. He used every opportunity to express his conviction that the church cannot, if it is to be faithful to its mission, confine its message or its concern to matters of personal faith, or that its responsibility to the body politic was fulfilled through evangelism and acts of charity. The Gospel's embrace was much wider, its reach much further. Politics, economics, issues of equality and justice, were an inescapable part of its mandate from the Gospel. These concerns were not to be viewed as addenda to the Gospel, but as integral to it. If that meant that the church had to get involved in politics, then involved the church should be.

This is a claim that has become more common in the life of the church to-day, but it was not at all common in the Presbyterian church of his day which tended to be reluctant to extend the boundaries of the church's concern in this direction. Allan, however, was adamant about this, and that in the face of some resistance from both clergy and lay people; a resistance born of the conviction that the Christian faith should be concerned exclusively with personal piety and

charitable endeavour. Where did this come from? One might expect that the experience of the church during the depression, and especially as the depression manifested itself in the prairie dustbowl, would lead the church to show an interest in such issues in its dialogue with itself and with the state, and indeed there were voices from the church raised in protest against the economic hardship that so many of its members experienced.

Allan never gave any indication that this was the source of his insistence that the church should protest those policies that led to inequity and injustice. Soon after graduation Allan raised this issue in a letter to Walter Bryden (dated December, 1946) inquiring if this might be a fitting subject for a B.D. thesis. Bryden encouraged him to explore this theme, reminding him that after all the Word did become flesh, and "the flesh must mean all that we are involved in." Christians, he argued, cannot assume that they are innocents who have no part in the injustices and inequities of society, but "are entangled in and are themselves involved in the sin from which all injustices derive." When later Allan spoke or wrote of this it was this theme of the significance of the incarnation for the life of the church in the world that was to figure prominently in his argument.

Allan did not follow through on Bryden's suggestion, at least with respect to his B.D.thesis. This theme apparently was still only on the periphery of his thinking. It would be some time later, during his initial studies at New College, Edinburgh, that he would experience what he called a "turning point in his life" – a lecture given by Professor D.M. McKinnon, in which McKinnon argued that Christians must have at least as much social concern as the communists. Personal piety was important, but must not be allowed to exclude or overshadow the church's responsibilities for the larger society. In a later note Allan was to confess that "Then, and only then, did I realize that Christ's word about the poor, the hungry, the ill-clothed and the imprisoned could not be spiritualized or allegorized. Christ meant it literally . . . and truly when he said that we would be judged at the point of the acceptance or rejection of social obligation."

Walter Bryden, in support of his suggestion that Allan might write his B.D. thesis on the role of the church in society, reminded him of Calvin's work in Geneva, and of the influence that work has had on the thinking of the church on this subject. The reformation in Geneva was to be the major focus of Allan's later graduate studies, and it was these studies that would both drive home the importance of this theme and bring it into clearer focus. Calvin's social ethic could appropriately be described as radical, and he did not hesitate to deal directly with economic matters, to call to account those who became wealthy at the cost of the poor by seeking monopoly control of staple items, or by charging exorbitant interest.

Moreover Calvin did this in language that a more sophisticated society would regard as intemperate, and fully aware that some of the accused were occupying the pews in St. Peter's as he preached. Allan reminded his students that Calvin, in both commentary and sermon, did not hesitate to condemn those who stored up wheat "in anticipation of shortages which would permit them to raise prices," calling such people "murderers, savage beasts. biting and eating up the poor, sucking up their blood." This kind of specificity convinced Allan that the church should not hesitate to speak directly to social and economic issues. "Political action," he was to write in a *Record* article (May, 1974), "was intended to limit the activities of those who would exploit the poor, take advantage of the gullible and profit from others' misfortune."

In the quest for justice in society, however, there was always the question of just how far the church should go in supporting movements that challenged the authority of the state, and in the process proved to be a threat to good order. Allan showed signs of struggle here. He was most comfortable with the Augustinian tradition which, while calling for justice, stopped short of supporting any social movement that was prepared to sacrifice good order to that quest. He did indeed acknowledge that Theodore Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva who was to be the focus of a great deal of Allan's graduate studies, did allow for insurrection in the face of an oppressive ruler. Beza had in mind the slaughter of the Huguenots in the 1572 St. Bartholomew's massacre, which originated in Catherine de' Medici's anxiety to get rid of Gaspard de Coligny, the leader of the French Huguenots. That historical event, together with Dietrich Bonhoeffer's role in the attempted assassination of Hitler, kept the door open for Allan to the possibility that rebellion, in the face of injustice and oppression, could be justified, but it was a door he hesitated to enter.

Immediately following the imposition of the War Measures Act during the F.L.Q. crisis of 1972, Allan preached a sermon in the Knox College chapel directed at this draconian measure. It was an archetypal Farris endeavour, marrying the biblical witness to pertinent historical references. There was a review of two biblical passages especially relevant to the occasion; Romans 13, with its insistence that the state did indeed wield the power of the sword, and Revelation 13, where the beast out of the sea, clearly representative of Rome, was the archenemy of the people of God. These passages, Allan noted, depict two quite different roles for the state. In one case the state is the agent of God for the maintenance of law and order in society, and in the other "the betrayer of human justice, the servant of demonic powers, and the enemy of God."

His historical references were familiar ones, and both would appear to associate the government's action with Revelation 13. Once more there was a

reference to Theodore Beza's book, written as a response to the St. Bartholomew's massacre: *Concerning the Rights of Rulers Over Their Subjects and the Duty of Subjects Toward Their Ruler,* and to Dietrich Bonhoeffer's role in the plot to assassinate Hitler. In the end, however, Allan opted for Romans 13 as the appropriate biblical guide in this situation. His conclusion puts him in the good order tradition of the church.

> Let me share my own mind at this moment . . . . I [now] find that I must support this government because it is more clearly the minister of God, that is, a protector of the innocent and a terror to those who do evil.

Interestingly, another sermon was preached in the chapel that same week by one other faculty member, who opted for Revelation 13 as the prototype of the government's action in the F.L.Q. crisis. It was a clear lesson for the students; no matter how they muster the evidence, biblical or historical or both, the judgment is still theirs to make. Allan's interest in the social involvement of the church, however, was not confined to paper. He was secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, and in that capacity tried to make sure that the social action component received the attention he thought it deserved. He was president of the Christian Social Council of Canada, and president also of the Canadian Federation of Alcohol Problems. For some years he was a member of the Board of Directors of the Scott Mission, a midtown Toronto mission and social service agency.

Allan's interest in church history was not limited to the Reformation period, although this was certainly his primary focus. He was also interested in, indeed quite fascinated by, what he called the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. Its primary locale was the United States, but it had penetrated sections of the church in Canada. This had won out over the theme of church and state as the subject of his B.D. thesis, which had the rather grandiose title: *A Critique of the Doctrines of Biblical Interpretation As Set Forth by the Westminster School of Theology, With Special Reference to the Work of John Calvin and Karl Barth.* It would be hard to imagine a more comprehensive title, for it encapsulates so much of what interested him as a person and as a historian. Westminster Seminary was founded by former faculty from Princeton Seminary, with disagreement over the nature of biblical inspiration figuring largely in the controversy. Cornelius VanTil, a leading light at Westminster Seminary, had been a very vocal opponent of Karl Barth's approach to Scripture.

This subject had been one of the suggestions that Walter Bryden had made to Allan as a suitable subject for his B.D. thesis. It would have been one at the centre of Allan's inherited interests for his own background, while by no means fundamentalist, nonetheless, as with many in the church, involved a quite conservative view of the Bible. Walter Bryden's more liberating approach to Scripture, reflecting the work of Karl Barth, and opposed to the literalistic views of Westminster, was upsetting to some of the more conservative Knox students, and liberating for others. Allan was among the latter group. Bryden had spelled out the issue in his reply to Allan: "Read Calvin's Institutes and ask yourself if their [Westminster's] contentions against Barth's positions are justified. Put your mind especially upon the relation of faith to the Word of God, the relation of the Gospel to the Word of God, the relation of preaching the Gospel to the Word of God, and all these in relation to Scripture, and the necessity of the Holy Spirit about making Scripture a Word of God to man."

Allan, however, remained very sympathetic to those conservative students. "I was brought up in a warm evangelical tradition," he wrote later, and ". . . I will not speak despairingly of this tradition. I will not trample under disrespectful feet the lovely faith of my father and my mother." In this same note he does add the rider, " . . . sometimes I think there was a dimension missing in my theology . . . ," and that dimension was the Gospel's concern with inequity and injustice in society, which concern he was to embrace so readily in his work and in his writing.

Because he understood where they were coming from and could identify with their struggle, generations of students sought his sympathy and his counsel. He gave of his time to them unsparingly. That sympathy, however, did not extend to those students who expected theological education to do no more than confirm them in the opinions they brought to the college, refusing to open their minds to what the faculty had to offer. Allan embraced the diversity of opinion at Knox among both faculty and students, and rejected what he called a "hothouse" approach to the preparation of candidates for ministry. His concern was pastoral, and it was simply an extension of his role in his earlier congregations. For Allan from the beginning loved the pastorate, so much so that he took a year out from his student days at Knox to serve a western mission field as a student minister. He served for extended periods as pulpit supply at St. Andrew's, Orillia, St. Andrew's Humber Heights and Leaside in Toronto. At one point much later in his time at Knox, he gave serious thought to the possibility of returning to a congregational ministry, for he was never happier than when dealing directly with people, sharing their interests and their problems.

Allan saw his ministry of preaching as an integral part of his role as a teacher of those for whom preaching was to be a major component of their calling. He

also saw it as a bridge between the college and the church. For a brief period he shared with other faculty in the teaching of homiletics, in addition to his role as the resident historian. He took the preaching task with great seriousness, but the legion of competing demands on his time sometimes meant that sermon preparation was a last minute affair. At times he took a full typewritten manuscript into the pulpit, and at other times some very brief, and virtually illegible, notes on a single sheet of paper. Yet even then his sermons gave evidence of the richness of the biblical and historical resources always at his command. It is also clear that he expected a great deal of his hearers. His exegesis of scripture passages and his explorations of church history, both harnessed to a contemporary theme or issue, demanded the full attention of the congregation. And still the invitations to preach came without ceasing.

For the better part of a year Allan occupied the pulpit of Leaside Presbyterian Church in Toronto, of which he and his family were then members. He preached a series of twelve sermons on Sunday evenings on the book of Revelation, and did so in the face of advice given his class by the then professor of New Testament at Knox. If you are wise, he had said to the students, you will not preach on this book for at least six months after graduation, and by then you will have accumulated enough wisdom not to preach on it at all. But preach on it Allan did, full fledged expository sermons that took full account of the details of the text – heavy fare for a Sunday evening. On one of those Sunday evenings, however, he found himself entering the pulpit without a note, having found no time at all for preparation. And there, conspicuously present in the congregation, was Professor Donald Wade, his colleague from Knox. Allan told that story with great glee.

That same interest in reaching out to the laity of the church was evident in his enthusiastic support for lay education. Knox periodically instituted evening courses for lay people, and Allan during his time at the college was a very vigorous supporter of these projects, often taking the initiative in instituting the school and always participating in it. It is evident also in his readiness to write for the *Presbyterian Record,* especially his series of articles in 1957 on the creeds of the church. What is also evident from those articles, as in his sermons, is his unwillingness to "write down" when dealing with the laity. They would not have been out of place as lectures to his students at Knox. And they reflected his own abiding conviction that knowledge of the church's thinking in the past was an essential prerequisite for its thinking in the present.

Allan never questioned those creeds. They were for him a given. It was the church's task to seek to understand them, always in the process taking account of their context and the role they were intended to play at the time of writing. He insisted that they should be seen as the product of their time and place, but

equally insistent that they had something essential to say to his own time and place. The church was also called on to struggle with the issues of the day with the same degree of commitment. Professor Joseph McClelland, in his presentation of Allan for an honorary doctorate at Presbyterian College, described him, very appropriately, as a theologian of the history of God's people.

There was never any doubt among the faculty or in the church at large that Allan would succeed Stanley Glen as the principal of Knox. Not only was he the senior faculty member, having by then taught for twenty-four years, but he was known throughout the church and trusted fully by the church. He had previously been nominated for moderator, but had been forced to withdraw his name because of ill health. That was indeed the church's loss, for he would have fulfilled that role with great distinction. The General Assembly of 1976 appointed him to the office of principal with high expectations. He was to undertake that task with equal enthusiasm. He gave himself to this office unstintingly for the one year he was to occupy it.

Allan, in the years before, had developed some very firm opinions about the role of the college and its relationship to the church. And foremost among them was the conviction that before all else Knox College was a creature of the church, with a direct, and single, line of accountability to the church. Although he had always been a supporter of ecumenical endeavour, nonetheless when the college was part of the negotiations that led to the establishment of the Toronto School of Theology, Allan was hesitant about bringing the college fully into that orbit. He saw this as placing some restrictions on Knox's freedom to provide a curriculum devoted exclusively to the needs and expectations of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and he was uncomfortable that the college would be developing a line of accountability outside the church. It very quickly became apparent that there would be no restrictions on the college's freedom to devise a curriculum suitable to the church's particular needs, but there were necessary restrictions on Knox's freedom to act without reference to the mutually agreed requirements of T.S.T. Allan fairly quickly came to recognize the advantages of ecumenical cooperation on the Toronto campus, and was grateful for the additional resources that T.S.T provided, so that even before he became principal, he had become a keen supporter of T.S.T.

He had, however, even greater reservations about the *Memorandum of Agreement* with the University of Toronto which established a new relationship with the University, on the basis of each college's membership in T.S.T. Through this Agreement the academic degrees were to be granted conjointly by the university and the Senate of Knox, and the college was to have continued access to government grants because of this new relationship with the university. The church was

nervous about these developments, fearing a further loss of control over the college, and Allan shared that nervousness. However, the University's only interest was in academic standards. Allan's fears were quickly allayed, and he readily came to accept this as a workable relationship.

It is doubtful if Allan ever worked harder than during that year. At that time the principalship was inseparable from an academic chair, so that Allan continued to carry his full load as the occupant of the Church History chair. The college infrastructure had experienced almost no change in all the years previously – the principal remained responsible, with the faculty and Senate, for the academic programme and the library, fully responsible for the support staff and the college residence, ultimately responsible for the dining hall, building care and maintenance. He chaired the Senate, represented the College on the Board of Trustees of T.S.T., and was the voice of the college in the church. He ended that year exhausted, started a late summer holiday, and very soon thereafter had his last and fatal heart attack.

Allan gave a lecture, on a date unspecified, with the title *The Watchwords of the Reformers,* to St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Ottawa. Those watchwords were, of course, *sola gratia, sola fide, sola scriptura, sola deo gloriae*; grace alone, through faith alone, from Scripture alone, to the glory of God alone. These were his watchwords, the integrating factor in his experience, the focus of his preaching and his teaching. He moved far beyond that "warm evangelical faith" with which he began his spiritual journey, and yet never left it behind. Fidelity, for Allan, was not simply a matter of repeating the faith that he had inherited, but exploring the implications of that faith for his own time and place with all the tools that his discipline offered him. Teaching and preaching have at least one thing in common – it is impossible to develop quantitative measurements to determine the influence they have on those subjected to them. There is, however, no doubt in the minds of those who knew him as a minister, a teacher, a colleague, a friend, that this influence not only reached far and wide, but also for many the deepest levels of their experience. That kind of influence is indeed beyond calculation.

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William Stanford Reid

W. Stanford Reid
Academic, Author and Activist

A. DONALD MACLEOD

IT WAS NOT TYPICAL OF STANFORD REID. He was a man full of paradoxes and one of them was that, in spite of his almost too frank responses in public places, he was surprisingly reticent about personal disclosures. But in a previous volume in this series, writing about his father and uncles ("the Quebec trio") he concluded with a memory from his father's and from his uncle Allan's death beds. They had spoken, as he recalled it, of "their fear that the Presbyterian Church in Canada, which they both loved and for which they both prayed constantly, was losing its Christ-centered Gospel to a humanistic ethic and institutionalism which they believed can never satisfy man's deepest needs – his need for reconciliation with God through Jesus Christ."

The quote was vintage Reid – W. D., Allan or, indeed, Stanford himself. It expressed the theme of Stanford Reid's life as well as his heritage. William Stanford Reid, in spite of his roots within the Presbyterian Church in Canada, was nonetheless the perennial life-time outsider. Some would go further, calling him a gad-fly. Never a part of the establishment he none the less played a significant role in being the conscience of his church. One could never be neutral about Stanford Reid: he commanded deep loyalty, passionate appreciation and with others annoyance and exasperation. For forty years no one was more frequently heard at General Assembly. Laity loved him for his outspoken and sometimes caustic comments about those in power. But no one could ever question his deep love for both his church and for his Lord. Yes, institutionalism was one thing that Stanford Reid deplored. And yes, to Stanford Reid humankind's deepest need was reconciliation with God through Christ.

William Stanford Reid (1913 - 1996): his name expresses a unique blending of English Pietism and Scots Highland pugnacity. Among the effects Stanford Reid had beside him at the end of his life was a Scofield Bible inscribed by his mother when he was seventeen. It read: "Presented to W. Stanford Reid by his parents when starting his first mission field – May 13, 1931." Stanford appears to have taken his second, his mother's, name early in life. Daisy Fanny Stanford

was, from all accounts, a remarkable woman. Born in mid-Victorian England, at the age of twenty-five she applied to the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission for service in India. She was turned down for "want of funds" and told to "wait indefinitely." Four months later she "had collected her passage money and salary for a year." She left immediately for India. Her fund-raising abilities stood her in good stead: seven years later, on furlough in 1910, she was sent to Canada to raise $25,000 for a Canadian-sponsored leprosy hospital. It was at a fund-raiser in Winnipeg that W. D. Reid first met her.

W. D. pursued her to England but as a bachelor of 45 marriage was a big step. His son would later recall how, back in Canada, his father paced for an hour outside the post office before mailing a letter proposing marriage. They were wed in the summer of 1912, weeks after W. D. had become minister of Stanley Street Church in Montreal. "Marriages are made in heaven," he would later quote and then add: "If there was a marriage thus arranged, it was ours. For twenty-six years we lived together without a cross word nor a quarrel." She flooded the Reid home with laughter and music. Her faith in God – again to quote her husband – was "most wonderfully simple" and "put me to shame when I was bothered with doubts and difficulties." "No minister ever had a more wonderful help-meet."

Living without a cross word or quarrel with W. D. Reid for twenty-six years, as her husband claimed, would qualify Daisy for sainthood. W. D. was a scrapper. Born on the family farm on the 13th Rang in Leeds in the Eastern Townships of Quebec, he was a true Highlander. Leeds, neighboring Kinnear's Mills and Inverness were Scots communities settled out of Quebec City by Reid's forebears in the 1830's. Here conflict was the norm. One village row concerned a dispute as to where School Number 6 should be built. W. D. and his family wanted it opposite his father Joseph's gate. Others who wanted it across the valley got their way but the Reids were not amused. A relative continues the yarn: "When the school was nearly completed, W. D. Reid organized a party to upset the school . . . . They got a long heavy timber, built up to some blocks of wood for a fulcrum, and prised up the level side of the building. Then with the other men on the pole, W. D. and my father, with axes, knocked out the posts that were supporting the school. When the last post went out the School rolled over . . . . The school was so badly wrecked that it had to be rebuilt. This time it was built where the Reids wanted it."

It was not from either parent that Stanford received the challenge to follow Christ that set his life on its course. At the age of 14, in 1927, he went "out of curiosity" with his Bible Class teacher at Stanley Church to an open air meeting

in the east end of Montreal. His father might be (as he later described him) "a very orthodox and fine preacher" who spoke of "commitment, allegiance, obedience." But it was not until that day, for the first time, Stanford Reid heard of justification by faith alone set forth "clearly and unambiguously." Years later he would remember his conversion as a discovery of that doctrine "that met my spiritual need as nothing else had done, and for the last fifty years I have held that to be the very heart and core of the Gospel."

On March 13, 1930, Stanford Reid – scheduled to begin as an undergraduate at McGill that Fall – was invited by a McGill student, Lyall Detlor, to attend a meeting at the McGill Union of the recently established Evangelical Christian Union. Reid was enlisted for the coming year and started to attend the activities of the group: noon hour prayer meetings at Diocesan College, a study group in Divinity Hall and monthly devotional meetings. During his first year Detlor, now a graduate student, was President but Reid himself went up through the ranks to become first Secretary-Treasurer and finally President for his last two years. The Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship connection would be pivotal in his spiritual and theological development.

It was after his first year at McGill, when only 17, that Stanford Reid was appointed to serve as student minister at the two-point mission field of the Presbyterian Churches in Crystal Falls and Lost River, Quebec. His earliest recorded sermon was delivered on May 31, 1931. He would keep a full record for the next sixty years. His sermon notes always had a subsequent notation as how many attended and the effectiveness of each message and how it might be improved. That afternoon at Lost River there were seven present. The message "went flat according to my estimation." Two weeks later, in spite of a muggy day and a terrible storm, "The Lord seemed to be there. Had only 10 at Lost River, but still I felt His presence."

Reid was popular as a student minister. He returned to Crystal Falls and Lost River by invitation a second summer in 1932. Then he went on to the Laurentian communities of Mille Isles and Cote St. Gabriel, which he served for two further years. Twenty-five years later, when this author served those congregations, Stanford was still remembered with affection. He had the ultimate tribute paid to his ministry when parents in Mille Isles named their son "Stanford." He was fun, witty, handsome and dynamic. A promising career as a minister beckoned.

After he received his Arts degree in 1934 he went on for the Master's, also in history. He wanted time to reflect on his next course of study, particularly if it was to be in theology. His thesis, titled *The Church of Scotland in Lower*

Canada: Its Struggle for Establishment, published in 1936, established his reputation as an historian and is still valued. By that time Stanford was at Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia. In going to the United States he joined a whole group of Westmount Presbyterians studying for the ministry. Edward Hewlitt Johnson, McGill 1931, gold medalist in physics and mathematics, and captain of the McGill ski team, was the first to defect from Presbyterian College. Johnson's friend Malcolm Ransom, 1934 McGill Valedictorian, editor of the *McGill Daily,* president of the Arts Undergraduate Society and President of the Student Christian Movement, followed in 1935. A close friend of Reid's, Robert Lennox from Ottawa, later to be Principal of Presbyterian College, Montreal, also left that year for Princeton. These were all able, perhaps even brilliant people, who chose to take advantage of the resources available at Princeton Seminary.

Stanford Reid chose to go south as well, but instead of Princeton chose Westminster Theological Seminary which had split from Princeton in 1929 and had established itself in downtown Philadelphia under the leadership of the noted New Testament scholar J. Gresham Machen. The year 1935 was a difficult one for Machen and for the Seminary. Six months before Reid came to the school Machen – because of his creation of an independent missionary agency – was found guilty by the Presbytery of New Brunswick of "violation of his ordination vows . . . disapproval of the government and discipline of the Presbyterian Church . . . rebellious defiance against the lawful authority of the Church . . . not being zealous and faithful in maintaining the peace of the church; with contempt of and rebellion against his superiors in the church . . . refusing subjection to his brethren in the Lord." Excommunicated from the Presbyterian Church (USA) he would go on to form a separate denomination the following year and then die tragically at 57 on New Year's Day 1937. These events all swirled around Reid as a Seminary student.

Westminster Seminary was to exercise a formative influence on Stanford Reid. It created in him a love for the Greek Testament, a well-worn copy of which went with him to the nursing home fifty-five years later and was with him on the day of his death in 1996. John Murray informed his interpretation of Calvinism. Cornelius Van Til shaped the course on the History of Western European Intellectual History which he would offer later while teaching at McGill. But it was to church historian Paul Woolley that he was particularly grateful. He would write on Paul Woolley's 75th birthday in 1977: "As I look back . . . I realize as a Christian historian how much I owed to the Seminary, but particularly to you for the guidance and encouragement which I received."

In 1938 he received from Westminster Seminary both a bachelor's and a master's in theology, squeezing in three years what would ordinarily have taken four. Graduation was just a month after his mother's sudden death. Rushing back to Montreal he had taken complete responsibility from his grief-shattered father for the funeral arrangements. He returned only to find that for the next month his sleep each evening was dominated by her image. That Fall he remained on in Philadelphia, taking doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania for the next three years. His thesis was titled *The Rise of Anti-Papalism in Fifteenth Century Scotland.* In 1941 he received the Ph. D.

The year before he had advanced another significant step in the direction his life would take. In the summer of 1940 he married Priscilla Lee, the Librarian at Presbyterian College, Montreal. She was the daughter, grand-daughter and niece of no less than three ministers of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Her father, Henry Stewart Lee, had pastored largely in the Montreal area. As with many childless couples, Stanford and Priscilla grew ever closer together during their fifty-five years of marriage. Her elegance and sophistication brought comparisons to the Duchess of Windsor. Stanford depended on her as she tactfully moderated his expansiveness. It was said that she timed his public addresses and would, with the flash of her watch raised above her head at a strategic moment, bring an over-extended sermon to an immediate, even sometimes abrupt, end. Priscilla Lee Reid had an identity independent of her husband. In Montreal she pioneered the conservation and restoration of the old city. In Guelph she provided leadership in the creation of the city's Art Gallery. She was active in the Women's Missionary Society at all levels of the church. Priscilla Reid supplemented and complemented Stanford's ministry and personality.

As Stanford's thesis neared completion the question came: What next? He was negotiating actively with the University of Maryland for a position in its History Department when his father-in-law died suddenly. Clergy were scarce in those early years of the Second World War and his congregation, Fairmount Taylor Church, pleaded: Would Stanford Reid come and take Henry Lee's place?

There had been little encouragement from the Presbyterian Church in Canada for Reid, as a Westminster Seminary graduate, to return to Canada. The year before the 1940 General Assembly had required of him "a written pledge that if admitted to the ministry of The Presbyterian Church in Canada [he would] serve in a spirit of loyalty to this Church and its institutions, including its theological colleges." In spite of this rebuff Stanford Reid, in response to Fairmount Taylor Church's plea, allowed his name to go forward to the General Assembly a second

time. This time Frank Morley, his father's successor at Stanley Church, moved in amendment to an equivocating recommendation from the Board of Education that "the Presbytery of Montreal be granted leave to take him on trial for license." The motion carried and Stanford was ordained a minister of the Presbyterian Church in Canada September 19, 1941, and installed in Fairmount Taylor Church.

Fairmount Taylor Church was able to pay only the minimum annual salary for a Presbyterian minister at the time – $1800. An opportunity came to supplement his income. F. Cyril James had been appointed Principal of McGill University the year before. The appointment of a somewhat aloof English professor from the University of Pennsylvania was not popular. Reid, as a McGill graduate studying in Philadelphia, interviewed some of James' colleagues there and sent an article to the McGill *Daily* providing his findings. McGill was fortunate, he wrote, in having such a well-respected and appreciated scholar as its next Principal. James, sorely in need of support, read the article and bonded immediately with Stanford Reid. A year later Reid was offered a position in the History Department as a lecturer, supplementing his income at Fairmount Taylor Church by $900. His friendship with Cyril James would ensure him a patron as he worked his way up through the ranks at McGill. It was a fortuitous article.

Stanford Reid was a busy man. Tireless as a minister, faithful in visiting, fervent as a preacher of the gospel, he still maintained an active career at McGill as an academic. In the course of his work around the church he became aware of the rapidly developing suburb of the Town of Mount Royal which had been without a Presbyterian witness since 1925. Stanford was encouraged to begin services in a primary school there on Reformation Day, November 2, 1944.

So began The Presbyterian Church in the Town of Mount Royal. As the work grew Stanford was called to be its first minister, inducted on September 14, 1945. It was the end of the Second World War. Suburbs throughout North America were burgeoning as the baby boom commenced. Forty-nine communicant members set themselves a budget of $25,000 and the congregation was on its way. Six years later in a ministry described by Presbytery as "able and conscientious" he had established a strong, theologically informed and highly committed congregation of two hundred members. The church evidenced every indication of a successful ministry. Three weeks before he left in 1951, at the dedication of their new building (a former United Church), he would provide his own definition of success. "The size of the church whether large or small does not indicate the successfulness of the church. It may grow physically or it may not. The important thing is that it grows spiritually. If it does it will then become more

truly all the time a dwelling of God. It will be a place or it will be a group of people on which God manifests His dwelling by the spiritual development of His people, and also the bringing of many to a knowledge of Christ as Lord and Saviour. There is the test of success."

Stanford Reid left the Town of Mount Royal Church to go full-time at McGill University. That decision came about following the selection process for the Chair of Church History and the History of Religions at Presbyterian College. To many Reid seemed the logical choice. But at the 1949 General Assembly he was not the nominee. A friend then moved in amendment to the recommendation that his name be considered. By a vote of 62 to 58 this was agreed and the final choice held over for a year. At the 1950 Assembly in Montreal the original nomination was sustained. What made matters even more painful was a personal attack on Reid during the debate before the vote. Afterwards there was a lingering sense of unfairness among Reid's friends that someone with his substantial academic, teaching, pastoral and research qualifications should be bypassed by the church he loved. But the decision made him more open to opportunities outside the Presbyterian Church in Canada. After eight months of intense prayer and consideration he closed one door and opened another. No longer would he straddle academia and church. He would go full time in the university. As "a convinced Calvinist" he clung to his conviction "that Christ guides his people by his providence." So in the Fall of 1951 Stanford Reid became Associate Professor of History at McGill University and on May 1, 1952, Dean of University Residences.

In later life he would reflect on that crossroads and his choice. "My feeling as it gradually took shape was that in the university I had considerable influence upon a number of students in strengthening their faith and in one of two cases anyhow in bringing them face to face with the claims of Christ upon them. Furthermore, I felt that the church was not reaching the young people who were in the university. At that point I could count all the faculty members who made any Christian profession on my fingers, and I had my two thumbs left over. Added to this, I felt that the Lord had opened the way for me by enabling me to obtain a specialized training and that I had been successful in the fields of teaching, research and writing which seemed to indicate that this was my metier."

In spite of this Stanford Reid continued to serve the church. Following a crisis in the financing of a new Presbyterian church on the Lakeshore of Montreal he was made Chair of the Church Extension Committee of Presbytery. First Baie d'Urfee, then others would follow: Chateauguay, Ile Perrot, Pierrefonds, St. Michel, Fabreville, Duvernay. The Presbytery experienced dramatic growth and its financial resources were stretched to the limit. Stanford Reid would chuckle

as he would meet over lunch first with representatives of Knox Crescent and Kensington and then with the Trustees of St. Andrew and St. Paul Church, playing off the two rival and well-heeled congregations as to who could give the most to the cause. He knew them all through his Westmount connections.

Nationally the Presbyterian Church was also experiencing growing pains during the 1950's. By 1958 its administrative structures were in considerable disarray and large deficits were looming. An overture from Vancouver saw a "need for both economy and efficiency in the operation of this complex organization" and asked that the General Assembly engage management consultants to provide an "objective appraisal" of the denomination's "financial and administrative structures." The Assembly responded by appointing a Special Committee on the Financial Structure and Administrative Organization and Procedures of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. Professor C. Ritchie Bell of Presbyterian College was appointed Chair and among the elders chosen for the committee was W. Stanford Reid. Ritchie Bell, an experienced and much loved pastor with considerable skills in getting the best from people, worked well with Stanford Reid for whom he had great respect as well as considerable insight. The Special Committee engaged Price Waterhouse and Company, the well known chartered accountants. By March 31 of 1959 they had sent to the Special Committee a lengthy report. Their report was sent on to the General Assembly.

All of this involved a considerable sacrifice of time and effort on the part of Stanford Reid. He would take frequent trips on the overnight sleeper from Montreal to Toronto, meet with the Special Committee, and then return the following evening, often to lecture that day and speak as a guest preacher on Sunday. At the 1960 Guelph General Assembly he brought in the final recommendations all of which were accepted and which helped to put the church on a much stronger administrative base. He was then appointed to the newly created Administrative Council and served it for the next five years. There is little public recognition or acclaim for those involved in administrative reform but the changes in the Presbyterian Church in Canada that Ritchie Bell and Reid facilitated made the Presbyterian Church turn a corner and equipped it for further advance in the early 1960's until it reached its maximum size in 1965 of over 200,000 members.

Meanwhile Quebec was going through its Quiet Revolution. The election of June 22, 1960, would change the political scene in Quebec forever. The Anglophone community was challenged. McGill University lost its position of power in the province of Quebec. Cyril James was forced to resign in a *putsch* prior to a meeting of the McGill Board of Governors in April 1962. His successor as eleventh principal of McGill University was Rocke Robertson, chief

surgeon at Montreal General Hospital and Chair of McGill's Surgery Department. Stanford Reid never developed the same rapport with Rocke Robertson as he had with his predecessor. At the same time his professional reputation as an historian had never been higher. His 1962 book *Skipper From Leith: the Life of John Robert Barron of Over Barron* was widely acclaimed. Regarded now as the best of Stanford Reid's six published works (he would edit four others) it capitalized on his research and interests. The publication made him a valuable commodity in the then expanding academic market and the limited pool of talent for the expanding new universities. As he passed fifty he was poised for a new adventure.

Ontario was busy in the early 1960's setting up a whole group of new universities to accommodate an anticipated demand for expanded tertiary education. The so-called baby boom was now preparing to enter university and would increase in numbers from 32,000 to 120,000 in the decade. One of these, the University of Guelph, was set up in 1964 by the Ontario Provincial Legislature as an amalgamation and expansion of the Ontario Agricultural College, the Macdonald Institute and the Ontario Veterinary College. J. D. MacLachlan, appointed President, would set the standard for the new institution.

> The University of Guelph is not ambitious to be great in all things, but will strive for excellence in those areas and disciplines which can be enriched by the traditions of the past and by the opportunities of the future. We intend to maintain our well-established reputation for research and services to agriculture and to rural society in general, to unfold new fields of endeavour; and wish to be known as a university that is fully aware of tradition, yet resilient and responsive to the demands of anew age.

Through its common benefactor, William Christopher Macdonald of tobacco fame, Guelph and McGill had historic links through a common patron and benefactor. With the establishment of an arts faculty, named originally Wellington College, Stanford Reid was approached about setting up a new Department of History. The Macdonald connection was more than history: it represented a common Scottish linkage between the two institutions. As Reid had capitalized on his Scottish interests at McGill so from the start he was seen as one who could strengthen those same links at Guelph. At the beginning of the summer of 1965 Stanford and Priscilla Reid pulled up their Quebec roots and settled into a new life in a large Victorian home on Queen St. in the city of Guelph. They would move many times in the years ahead as though they never really settled in Ontario. It was a seismic change.

Immediately Stanford set about as the first Chair of the new History Department to hire faculty. Those were heady days at the University of Guelph. "The directions were – get your buildings up, hire your faculty and staff, let the world know that you are accepting students, get moving as fast as you can, don't worry about the money . . . for the first three years, at least, we got a hundred per cent of any budget request to the province." (Murdo MacKinnon, 1988) It was a dramatic contrast to McGill, an Anglophone university perceived as rich and powerful, forced to squeeze money out of a reluctant Quebec legislature. Reid described himself as busy "as a one- armed paper hanger." That Fall he went to Europe to interview potential faculty members. He went on to the United States over the Christmas holidays and continued his search at the meetings of the American Historical Association (of which he had been a member since 1940). One of his colleagues (Elizabeth Ewan) would summarize his achievement: Stanford Reid "built up a department strong in both research and teaching."

At Guelph Stanford Reid would be able to expand his Scottish interests. In 1968 the first Scottish Colloquium was organized. He would enjoy describing how he outwitted the Ontario Council on Graduate Studies which did not easily approve new graduate degrees in history. He was informed that he could establish one only if it was in a unique field. Stanford then seized the opportunity and set up the Guelph Graduate History Program with a special emphasis on Scottish history. There was also an interdisciplinary Scottish Studies Graduate program. In 1969 Stanford Reid took the lead in setting up The Conference on Scottish Studies. Its publication, *Scottish Tradition*, regularly featured articles by Stanford Reid.

In 1970, when Wellington College was reorganized, Reid resigned as chair of the History Department to devote his full time to teaching and research. His long-anticipated biography *John Knox Trumpeter of God* was published by Scribners in 1974. The fourteen chapter titles maintained the musical theme. In some ways the book was a disappointment for Reid. After waiting a life time for its appearance Reid felt his *John Knox* had not been adequately promoted by Scribners. In spite of some positive reviews – one in the *New York Times*, another particularly laudatory one by the President of Princeton Seminary – it was soon remaindered. A reprint by another publisher now appeared but it was too late. Reid continued to teach until retirement in 1978 and then for a further year on the death of a colleague. At the 1979 Convocation of the University of Guelph he was given the title Professor Emeritus. "Madame Chancellor," the citation read, "this amiable scholar-colleague clearly lives vigorously in the present, as an

historian he dwells on the past, and as a true Scottish dominie he keeps a watchful eye on the future."

At the same time Reid's contributions to the church at large continued. In constant demand in the so-called Presbyterian heartland of southwestern Ontario for anniversaries and summer supply, Stanford Reid was popular as a guest speaker. He also edited an independent publication with a feisty and often controversial approach to church life. As the Chair of the General Board of Missions would graciously write after a particularly acerbic article: "Apparently among the many and varied activities in which you are involved, one is being editor of Presbyterian Comment . . . may I suggest that one of the number of times you are in Toronto ... you could perhaps use the lunch hour or the time convenient for you to seek out the answers to the questions which you must have." It was hoped that giving Stanford Reid the other side of the story might make him less critical.

During the summer of 1977 he was called to fill the gap left by the sudden death of Allan Farris, Principal of Knox College. That Fall he taught two courses and was even considered as a successor to Farris for the Church History position. But by that time he was almost 65 and he recognized that time had passed him by. That, however, would not be the last he would hear from his church's theological colleges. On May 9, 1979, in the Church of St. Andrew and St. Paul in Montreal, Stanford Reid finally received from a Canadian Presbyterian theological institution recognition that had been his due for many years. "Your letter inviting me to accept the degree of Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, came to me as something of a surprise," he wrote Principal William Klempa. To Professor Joseph McLelland he was more whimsical: "You are by now recognizing my true and golden worth." Stanford Reid's sense of humour was always his salvation.

His teaching did not end there however. In 1982 the Presbyterian Theological Hall in Melbourne Australia needed a quick replacement in its church history department and turned to Canada. Reid responded and taught for three years – 1982, 1983 and 1984. He saw in that time in Australia an opportunity to relive a lifetime vision. A continuing Presbyterian minority, reeling from its fragmentation in 1977 as the Uniting Church was formed, needed reassurance and a new vision. Stanford Reid took the lessons learned from 1925 to a church that valued his historical perspective and life-time experience.

The Reids came back to Canada only to face great challenges. Priscilla Reid became blind, learned braille, and then as Stanford was unable to care for her, she entered a nursing home. Through it all Stanford Reid was encouraged by his

supportive home congregation of St. Andrew's Guelph, and he wrote extensively. He would say that of all of the two hundred or more articles he composed in his lifetime none had greater response than his 1992 *Presbyterian Record* contribution titled "Loneliness and the Christian." "When my wife was confined to a nursing home, I experienced a deep sense of loneliness." Then he experienced grace. "Reaching out is one of the principal ways in which Christians can overcome loneliness. They should not withdraw from the fellowship of the church but should seek to reach out to other Christians as well as maintaining friendships with others." It was Stanford Reid at his pastoral best.

Stanford and Priscilla Reid left the bulk of their considerable estate to the establishment of a Trust Fund "to support Reformed and Presbyterian Theological education in Canada." The administration of this Trust will hopefully ensure those goals in theological education for which Stanford Reid strived and serve as a continuing reminder of the principles which dominated his career.

Stanford Reid died peacefully on December 28, 1996. Six months later Priscilla followed. Their pilgrimage – and fifty-five years together – had come to an end. Twenty years earlier at the golden anniversary of a friend's ordination he had expressed his hope as a Christian.

> We must always remember that the ultimate reward is not here in this world or in the present time. We are working for eternity, for the glory of God. Only in eternity will we be able to see what we have really accomplished. And in eternity will come our ultimate reward, based not so much upon what we have achieved in this world, but upon our faithful fulfilling of the stewardship which God has given to us as his redeemed people.

NOTES

This chapter is in anticipation of a forthcoming biography of W. Stanford Reid by the author. The W. Stanford Reid Correspondence and Other Files (1965 - 1980) are to be found in eight boxes at the University of Guelph McLaughlin Archives. A further Archive, dealing with the Norman Shepherd affair, is housed at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia. Two volumes containing his speeches from 1951 - 1995 were left at the Institute For Christian Studies, Toronto. The author is also grateful to Dr. Allan Harman and the staff and librarian of the Presbyterian Theological College, Melbourne, Australia; to Gordon Burr, Senior Archivist at McGill University; to Moira Barclay-Fernie, Clerk of the Presbytery of Montreal; and particularly to the late and much loved Hugh Anderson, Stanford Reid's Executor, Campbellville, Ontario. Many others, including family, friends, and colleagues have been interviewed for their memories, letters and pictures of Priscilla and Stanford Reid. Stanford Reid's brother, Dr. E. A. Stewart Reid of Knowlton, Quebec, has provided every assistance.