Thomas McCulloch

Pioneer Educationalist of Nova Scotia

by Bruce MacDonald

History is composed of two ingredients, men and events. Each component complements the other, and neither can truly be regarded *per se* as history. Man shapes events, and yet is also influenced by them. The art of biography can provide us with key insights into our past, by illuminating this relationship between man and events, especially when the figure studied played a prominent role in the events of his day. The Rev. Dr. Thomas McCulloch was such a man.

Thomas McCulloch was born in Renfrewshire, Scotland, in 1776. After receiving his elementary education at a local school, he proceeded to the study of Arts and Medicine at the University of Glasgow, but for reasons unknown never obtained a degree. An Antiburgher Presbyterian by birth, McCulloch decided to enter the Secession Divinity Hall, Whitburn, and undertake the theological training for the Presbyterian ministry. He was licensed by the Presbytery at Kilmarnock, and in 1799, at the age of 23, was called to the Secession Church congregation at Stewarton.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the state of the Presbyterian Church in British North America was indeed fragile. There was a small number of Presbyterian Scots scattered throughout the colonies; the Church was yet in its infancy, though destined for a rapid expansion, particularly with the Scottish immigration which followed the Peace of Amiens (1802-1803), and reached flood proportions

after 1815.

There was a particular concentration of Presbyterian Scots in the Pictou region of Nova Scotia. The nucleus of this settlement had arrived in 1773, on board the Hector. It was in response to an appeal from the Pictou Presbyterians to the General Associate Synod of Scotland in 1784, that the young Reverend James Drummond MacGregor sailed for Nova Scotia in 1786, to minister to the Presbyterian congregation in the Pictou area.

After labouring alone for nine years, MacGregor was joined by the Rev. Duncan Ross, and the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia (Antiburgher) was established. There was constant need for new ministers in the Maritime area, and MacGregor undertook many missionary journeys to distant settlements in Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, his efforts resulting in many new Presbyterian congregations. It was in response to the many appeals of the Associate Presbytery of Nova Scotia for ministerial aid from Scotland that Thomas McCulloch decided to seek his fortunes in British North America, and minister to a congregation in P.E.I.

Arriving in Pictou in November 1803, McCulloch and his wife Isabella were persuaded that the journey across the Northumberland Strait was too hazardous to undertake at that time of year. When the residents of Pictou discovered the presence of an educated Presbyterian minister in their midst, they lost no time in persuading him to take up residence amongst them, and in June 1804 McCulloch was

inducted as pastor of the Pictou Harbour congregation. Unforseen circumstances had combined to place McCulloch in Pictou, where he would spend thirty-five years labouring for the achievement of his goals.

Thus, in 1803, Thomas McCulloch found himself in a pioneer society where "...men struggling for food, have little time to expend upon the pursuits of Literature. But there is a danger that the modes of thinking and habits, which arise out of such a stage of society, may remain long after it is past; and imperceptibly enfeeble the community, amidst increasing means of energy .... the prosperity of a country is as closely connected with progress in the system of education, as the increase of conveniences, with the improvement of (the pioneer's) farm..."

McCulloch's emphasis on the importance of education in the advancement of society is not surprising, particularly when his background is considered. Trained in a Scottish university, he was aware of the eighteenth century Scottish tradition in education, which one historian has summarized in the following manner:

> "...a fairly well developed national system of education, a close connection between religion and education, an emphasis on philosophy as a basis for learning, the ideal of general principles rather than details, the ideal of the all round educated gentleman with a general background, the democratic belief that all should have the same opportunities, and the emphasis upon the academic

> pattern..." (R.A. MacLean, "Scottish influences in Higher Education in Nova Scotia", unpub'd ms.)

Not only was McCulloch's background Scottish; it was also strongly Presbyterian. He was a member of the Secession which had split with the Church of Scotland over the question of Church patronage, and the role of the congregation in the selection of ministers; no doctrinal matters of faith were involved in the dispute. The Presbyterians, unlike the rest of their dissenting brethren in Nova Scotia, possessed and maintained the tradition of a highly-educated and well-trained ministry. All the Presbyterian ministers received formal theological training, usually after having completed a university education. Both MacGregor and McCulloch were highly-educated men, the former excelling in Gaelic poetry, and the latter in more vigorous literary pursuits, ranging from the satirical "Stepsure Letters", to his dissertions upon Calvinist Theology. Both men were honored in later years, with honorary Doctorates of Divinity. McCulloch's interest in education was thus in keeping with his Scottish Presbyterian background.

McCulloch's interests, however, went beyond the cause of combatting ignorance and illiteracy in a pioneer society; he was also concerned with the promotion of the Presbyterian Church in British North America. He quickly perceived that a colonial Church could not depend upon Scotland for a continuous supply of trained ministers, especially when ministerial prospects in the

British Isles were much more attractive. If the evangelizing work of missionaries such as MacGregor was to be carried to completion in the colonies, provision had to be made for the training of a native ministry. Having recently arrived in British North America, McCulloch had experienced at first hand the hardships of pioneer life, and did not need to be persuaded of the difficulty of Scottish-trained ministers adapting to the missionary life of the colonies. The solution was obvious: if no competent ministers could be obtained in Britain, why not train the sons of British North American pioneers for the ministry? These young men were born and raised in the pioneer environment, and would not have to adapt to it. Thus, from the outset, McCulloch's interest in education and his concern for the advancement of the Presbyterian faith went hand in hand:

> "...From a conviction...that it was (sic) become absolutely necessary and our indispensible duty to use the means for preparing preachers among ourselves... and as it is reasonable to suppose that men of piety who are sensible and well-informed will be better qualified than others to explain and enforce the doctrines of religion it is our intention to afford them the means of instruction in the usual branches of a liberal and learned education...We trust that we are preparing the first fruits of a race of faithful ministers of the gospel who will edify the church, plant it in the wilderness and be the means of salvation to generations unborn..."

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(T. McCulloch, On Education, McCulloch Papers, Pictou Academy.)

While he was concerned that pioneer society must utilize education to advance itself beyond a "primitive" stage, he was also deeply interested in the progress of the colonial Presbyterian Church towards a position of established strength.

In 1805, McCulloch commenced his efforts for the accomplishment of his goals in education and religion, with the establishment of a school in Pictou. This was the first stage, not only in the training of a native ministry, but also in establishing a proper educational system in Nova Scotia, for it would provide youths with the educational background necessary for ministerial training and/or a higher education. In 1811, another major step was accomplished, when the Nova Scotia Government passed a Grammar School Act, which called for the establishment of grammar schools in the seven counties and three districts of the colony. McCulloch's school was selected as the grammar school for the Pictou area; he was appointed head instructor, and provided with an annual grant of 100 pounds sterling. As the school continued to expand, McCulloch's reputation attracted students from all parts of Nova Scotia, the surrounding colonies, and even the West Indies!

By 1815, McCulloch was prepared to undertake the establishment of an institution of higher learning in Pictou. At that time, the only available higher educational training in Nova Scotia was King's College (est. 1788). An

exclusive Anglican institution, King's statutes provided for a series of tests, oaths and rules which made it impossible for any conscientious Dissenter to attend the College. McCulloch strongly objected to this policy, and formed an educational society in Pictou, for the purpose of raising funds for the erection of an institution of higher learning free from any taint of denominationalism.

In 1816, the Nova Scotia Assembly granted McCulloch a charter for the incorporation of a non-denominational Academy, but His Majesty's Council, staunch defenders of the Anglican establishment, crippled the institution by refusing it any permanent annual grant; denying it college status (i.e., the right to confer degrees); and limiting Trustees and Professors to Episcopalians and Presbyterians. In spite of these restrictions, McCulloch and his supporters accepted these terms, in hopes of removing them at some future date, and the Pictou Academy came into existence.

While the Academy was perhaps McCulloch's greatest concrete achievement, behind it lay an even greater contribution to the history of education in Nova Scotia - the philosophy of a liberal education. The Academy was not merely a quasi-college; it was a concrete extension of McCulloch's mind, embodying all that he had gleaned from his Scottish Presbyterian background, as well as his own ideas on education. First of all, he was adamant in insisting that the Academy was non-sectarian, in spite of the restrictions placed upon its Trustees and Professors. In a letter to the Rev. Edward Manning, a prominent Nova Scotia

Baptist, McCulloch firmly asserted:

> "...As long as I am connected with the seminary no baptist will ever have reason to complain of our interference...with the (religious) principles of his son. Should any belonging to your connexion entrust us with the education of their children we will without intermeddling with baptism exert ourselves to return them good scholars and respectable men..."

Jotham Blanchard, one of the Academy's earliest graduates, describes its purpose in these words:

> "...The Academy was founded for the purpose of affording a sound and useful education in the higher branches of learning to all without religious distinctions and on terms to render it accessible to all the middle ranks of Society; or in different words, the Institution was intended to be a Scotch College, but without the power of conferring degrees..."
> (Journals & Proceedings Nova Scotia House of Assembly, 1832, App.1:5)

Indeed, the "Scotch" model was strictly adhered to. McCulloch concentrated on teaching "general principles", and introducing his students to as broad a general background as possible. Once the youths had absorbed this general knowledge, they were encouraged to use their own initiative in applying it to practical problems in their pioneer society.

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"...The purpose of training under McCulloch was to give the pupil just enough material and information so that he would have to think for himself and solve his own problems. This taught self-reliance and was self-education..." (G.A. Campbell, The Contributions of Thomas McCulloch to the Educational system of Nova Scotia, unpublished thesis, Dalhousie University 1955.)

This method of teaching was complemented with exposure to widely varied fields of instruction, Mathematics, Moral, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, as well as the old standards, Latin, Greek and Logic. By introducing the student to a vast spectrum of knowledge, McCulloch intended to provide him with the best general education possible; the individual could then decide where to specialize, and what to do with his life. Behind McCulloch's whole philosophy of education was the conviction that youths, especially in a pioneer society, must be provided with an education of practical, concrete value.

McCulloch's concern with the practicality and applicability of subject material developed in him a disapproving attitude towards any over-emphasis of the Classics in an educational curriculum. He often referred contemptuously to the "...protracted and irksome apprenticeship..." of students in certain colleges "...to Latin and Greek which yields little compensation for the want of that appropriate intelligence, which their subsequent pursuits render indispensable, and which, under a system better conducted, they

might have acquired..." (On the Nature and Uses of a Liberal Education).

This point of view involved McCulloch in several controversies, the first of which occurred through the medium of the press in 1818. McCulloch wrote a series of letters in the Halifax newspaper, Acadian Recorder, under the pen-name "Investigator", which stirred the Vice-Principal of King's College, Dr. William Cochran, to pen replies under the name "Pacificus". The specific bones of contention were the restrictive statutes of King's College, and the proper place of the Classics in a college curriculum.

The second controversy was private in nature, involving the Baptist scholar, Edmund Crawley, who was a candidate for a professorship at Dalhousie College in 1838, and desired a heavy emphasis on the Classics in the college's curriculum. The quarrel had far-reaching effects, for it was instrumental in alienating the Baptists from McCulloch; after Crawley failed to obtain a professorship at Dalhousie College, the Baptists retired to the Annapolis Valley, and converted their Academy at Horton into Queen's College, which later became Acadia University.

McCulloch's emphasis in his philosophy of education was on practical knowledge; that is, learning what could be applied to the problems of a pioneer society. He regarded intelligence as a tool, to be utilized for the advancement of society, and the progress of the human race. There was also heavy emphasis placed on the importance of Theology in a well-

rounded education. McCulloch felt that, as God had provided man with the ability to think, reason, and learn, it was only proper that man ought to thank the Lord, by using these powers to gain a better understanding of the Divine Creator. This blending of education and religion, when pursued to the fullest extent, would lead man into a form of "Utopia":

> "...Intelligence,...universally diffused, and exerting that control which is due to its excellence by conducting every man to the discharge of his duty, will vastly increase the happiness of the social state. When truth springs from earth, righteousness looks down from heaven; and the God of righteousness and truth gives what is good. Happy will that period prove, when human intelligence, formed on the model of heavenly wisdom, educes from every part of society that excellence of deportment which man ought to exemplify. The work of righteousness is peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever..." (Ibid).

The Academy's classes opened in a private house in Pictou, in May 1818, with instruction in Latin, Greek, Moral Philosophy, Logic and Mathematics. That winter, a permanent building was completed and officially opened. In 1820, the Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia asked McCulloch to establish a Divinity course, to be taught at the Academy, for the purpose of training native ministers. Twelve students attended the Divinity course in 1821, and the first graduates emerged in 1824, when they were unanimously recommended by the Pictou

Presbytery for licensure. The fitness of native youths for the ministry was irrevocably established that same year, when three of the graduates, John MacLean, John L. Murdock, and R.S. Patterson, ventured to the University of Glasgow, and successfully completed the examinations for the degree Master of Arts in Theology.

McCulloch's "liberal" outlook was not limited to educational matters. He was not only a Presbyterian, but also a Dissenter. Throughout his life, he exerted himself time and again, through correspondence with leading men in Nova Scotia, in order to establish a solid coalition amongst the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists of Nova Scotia, to fight for the rights denied Dissenters by the Anglican establishment: the right to issue marriage licenses; the right to the incorporation of Dissenting congregations; the right to grants from the British government, for the propogation of the Gospel in British North America; and the opening of the Academy's Board of Trustees and Faculty to all denominations. On one occasion, McCulloch privately discussed the expediency of a religious union between Baptists and Presbyterians in Nova Scotia with the Rev. Edward Manning.

The liberality of his religious views is demonstrated by two isolated occurrences in his life. While visiting the British Isles in 1825-26, on behalf of the Academy, McCulloch circulated an appeal, on behalf of the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, for support from their British brethren for their work in

the colonies. After he moved to Halifax in 1838, he ministered to the Granville St. Baptist congregation, while they were without a minister during the spring of 1839. While these actions may have proven beneficial politically, they nevertheless exhibit the liberality of McCulloch's mind in matters of religion. There were but two religious sects which he could not tolerate, the Papist Roman Catholics, who were the bitter enemies of all Protestants; and the Church of Scotland (Kirk), which violently and actively opposed McCulloch's work in the field of education.

McCulloch's endeavours in Nova Scotia were not limited to purely educational pursuits. He was actively interested in the field of Natural Philosophy, or Science. After the opening of the Academy, he procured a second-hand philosophical apparatus in Scotland, and constructed around it an elaborate course in contemporary Science. In later years, this was expanded into a series of public lectures on Chemistry, presented in Pictou, Halifax, and other Maritime centers. A prominent Nova Scotian historian has referred to these lectures as pioneering steps in the field of adult education, through "extension lectures".

McCulloch also combined an interest in Natural Philosophy with extensive work in Natural History, collecting various specimens of the birds, animals, insects, rocks and minerals of Nova Scotia. Altogether he and his sons constructed three separate collections. The first was donated to McCulloch's alma mater, the University of Glasgow; the second was sold privately in

London in 1834, due to family financial problems; and the third, collected while McCulloch was President of Dalhousie College, was offered to the province as the nucleus for a museum of Natural History. The province, however, declined the offer, and the collection was presented to Dalhousie after McCulloch's death. One of McCulloch's sons, Thomas Jr., became an excellent taxidermist and a life-long active participant in the field of Natural History, establishing a lengthy friendship with John James Audubon, when the famous American naturalist visited Pictou in 1833.

Success, however, merely breeds envious enemies, and the Academy was no exception. Consistently opposed by a small core of Anglicans in the Halifax Government circles, who felt that the institution was "...likely to rise or decay as the College at Windsor (i.e. King's) is depressed or advanced...", the Academy's request for funds during the decade of the 1820's was refused time and time again. Attempts to obtain a permanent annual grant and degree-granting powers were also unsuccessful.

The blows which finally destroyed the Academy, however, were delivered by the Church of Scotland (Kirk). The Kirk's ministers in Nova Scotia, notably the Rev. K.J. Mackenzie of Pictou, constantly attacked the institution, for it threatened to provide the Secessionist Presbyterians with a vast new supply of colonial ministers. If this occurred, the prospects of the Kirk's advancement in the colonies would be destroyed. Kirk offensives, combined with Anglican opposition and Presbyterian apathy for the cause of the

Academy, finally led to its weakened position in the 1830's.

In 1831, the Nova Scotia Legislature passed an Act, which added a Grammar School to the Academy, and expanded the Board of Trustees to include a number of Kirk representatives. The financial aid provided by the Act was inadequate and as the Kirk and Presbyterian Trustees fought with one another, the Academy slipped deeper into debt. In 1838, McCulloch finally left the Academy, to seek his fortunes at Dalhousie College, Halifax.

Founded in 1819 by Lord Dalhousie and intended to be a liberal, non-sectarian institution, Dalhousie College presented a direct threat to McCulloch's plans. The Board of Governors which Lord Dalhousie selected for his college, however, largely consisted of Anglicans who were more concerned with the success of King's College than with the establishment of Dalhousie. In 1823, McCulloch had privately offered Lord Dalhousie Presbyterian support for his College, if he would agree to some type of union with the Academy, but this offer was rudely rebuffed. It was quite ironic that, fifteen years later, the Board of Governors turned to the very man that Lord Dalhousie had rejected, in order finally to establish the college. Nevertheless, in 1838, Thomas McCulloch was the only man in Nova Scotia capable of the task.

The establishment of Dalhousie was marred by the controversy between the Baptist scholar Edmund Crawley and McCulloch, over the proper place of the Classics in the college's

curriculum. The feud ended any immediate hope for the creation of a non-sectarian college in Nova Scotia, and by mid-century the Baptist Acadia College was joined by a Roman Catholic Saint Mary's, Halifax and Saint Francis Xavier College, Arichat, as well as a Methodist Mount Allison College, in Sackville, New Brunswick. McCulloch, however, laboured on at Dalhousie until his death in 1843. The College lingered on for several years after his death, only to rise again in 1863, when it was reorganized and permanently established under the Reverend James Ross, and gradually assumed the liberal, non-sectarian character which McCulloch had worked diligently to attain.

When Thomas McCulloch died in 1843, his life's work seemed a dismal failure; what he had fought for - a liberal, non-sectarian college - he had not obtained. What McCulloch did contribute, however, was the background philosophy and foundation work which later came to fruition in the Dalhousie College of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His plans for the training of a native ministry were also revived in the late 1840's, with the establishment of the West River Theological Seminary, which was subsequently moved to Truro, and finally to Halifax, where it exists today as the multi-denominational Pine Hill Divinity College.

Thomas McCulloch was a fighter, a man who formulated his principles and defended them to the best of his ability; a man who established goals for himself, and worked towards their accomplishment until the day of his death. His dedication to the cause of a liberal, non-

sectarian institution of higher learning, and the training of a native Presbyterian ministry, have earned him an important position in the history not only of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, but also in the development and history of education in British North America.

William Bell

Upper Canadian Pioneer

by A. Margaret Evans

The Reverend William Bell entered the life of Upper Canada in 1817 as the Presbyterian minister bound for the new military settlement of Perth along the Tay river west of the Rideau. This settlement was part of Great Britain's short-lived experiment in assisted emigration to Upper Canada, undertaken for the two purposes of relieving economic stress at home after the Napoleonic wars and of helping to fill the colony with loyal people. The War of 1812-14 had shown how vulnerable the position of Upper Canada was in relation to the United States. Britain was particularly concerned about populating the Rideau district from Kingston at the end of Lake Ontario to Bytown on the Ottawa river, in order that communications between Upper and Lower Canada might be protected in the event of another war with the United States. To that end during the winter of 1815-16, land was acquired from the Indians and surveyed into townships around the "Depot" or townsite of Perth.

The first settlers were Scots emigrants who had landed in Quebec the preceding September and who made their way in the spring from Brockville through the forest to begin clearing on what became known as the "Scotch Line". Besides free passage, the government provided one hundred acres for each family; food over a six months period; axes, kettles, clothes and blankets at reduced prices; and assistance toward the salaries of a minister and schoolteacher. During the summer of 1816 discharged soldiers also began to arrive.

They received grants ranging from twelve hundred acres for a lieutenant-colonel to one hundred acres for a private. The officers mostly located in Perth, where they took up government positions or began businesses.

When Bell came, he found a population of close to nineteen hundred, including 716 men, women and children among the Scots and 1174 among the soldier families. Since the Scottish emigrants were from several branches of Presbyterianism, they had not been able to agree on a clergyman to bring with them. The causes dividing Presbyterianism in Scotland lost importance in the wilderness of Upper Canada. Soon, through the Reverend William Smart at Brockville and the Reverend Robert Easton at Montreal, the Scots settlers sent a petition for a minister to the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh. It responded in March 1817 by ordaining Bell for service in the Rideau settlement. At this time, he began to keep a journal which with his other writings, furnishes not only an account of his work for the next forty years but also a chapter in the development of the province.

For a married man thirty-seven years old, with five sons and a daughter all under fifteen years of age, to begin a new career in the young province was a courageous venture. At first his wife Mary could scarcely bring herself to leave her country and friends. To Bell, however, it was the "call of Providence" in answer to much fervent prayer for direction, and there could be no "drawing back". He had had to surmount many difficulties to achieve his theological training. From his parents in

Airdrie, Lanarkshire, he had imbibed Calvinistic thriftiness and independence. When he did not receive from his father the financial backing for which he had hoped, he went to London at the age of twenty-one to make his way on his own as a building contractor. In that city, though brought up in the Established Church of Scotland, he joined the Secession Church, which had become interested in missionary enterprise. It seemed, indeed, that his life was being guided so that he would be ready when the Perth settlement in far-off Canada needed him. From boyhood he had longed to become a minister and perhaps a missionary. Material success was to him the first stepping-stone. Yet, as he prospered in England, his responsibilities grew. His son Andrew was born in 1803; twins William and John followed in 1806, and another son Robert in 1807. Both his wife and his parents thought him too old to begin the long preparation required of a Presbyterian minister. He hesitated, because of the hardships to which he would expose his family, until the impulse was at last so strong that he could not deny it. Of the year 1808 he wrote: "Probably no human being ever felt a stronger desire to preach the gospel than I did ... The word of the Lord was a fire within my bones."

Acceptance at Hoxton Congregational Academy on the north side of London in 1808 enabled him to make up for the scantiness of his formal education and to proceed to Selkirk Divinity Hall in 1810. For the next five years he was extremely busy, teaching in a private school at Rothesay on the Isle of Bute in order to make a living, and studying at the Selkirk summer

sessions as well as at the winter sessions of Glasgow University from 1812 to 1815. For his wife they must have been years of loneliness as during his absences she looked after the older children and three more - James born in 1810, Isabella Margaret in 1812, and Ebenezer in 1814. Then, when Bell finally was licensed to preach in 1815, there was not only an over-supply of Secession ministers in Scotland but often congregations were too poor to support a minister. He had attained his goal, only to find that his sacrifices and hard work were apparently in vain. The death of James from the effects of measles added sadness to the worries of this period. If Bell could not obtain a regular appointment, he at least gained experience from preaching assignments Sabbath by Sabbath. But these were at such distances from one another that travelling and provision for himself and his horse left him out of pocket. He had earlier disposed of his properties in London at a loss through the deceitfulness of men in whom he trusted. Although he opened a school in Airdrie, his old home, in order to provide for his family, his money was nearly expended when the call came to the Rideau settlement. It was no wonder that he felt his earnest prayers had been answered!

The Atlantic crossing in the days of the sailing-ship was dangerous and unpleasant. The journey of the Bells in the Rothiemurchus, a timber ship which brought emigrants on its westward passage, was described later in Hints to Emigrants. Bell had chosen this ship because of knowing the captain's father. Its departure from Leith on the east coast, however, made the trip very long, for the

vessel on the route around the north of Scotland was beset by both calm and gales and took three weeks before ever starting across the ocean. One of Bell's firmest "hints" to emigrants was to leave from a port on the west coast. During the eight weeks and two days that they were at sea, the family experienced the trials of noise, crowding, bad air, and abominable provisions. The dirty, rancid-smelling water had been in the casks for months; the black, bitter-tasting beef and biscuit "rotten and full of vermin" were said to have been purchased the year before at a sale of condemned stores. Bell endeavoured, with the aid of the Reverend William Taylor who was also on his way to Upper Canada, to hold regular daily worship. Often the storms were too great, and the people were too ill to attend. The captain was a complete disappointment. He did not erect the partitions promised to give a semblance of cabin privacy for the Bells; and, on two Sundays obstinately ignoring Bell's protest at the "profanation" of the Sabbath, he ordered airing of all beds on deck. When the ship reached Quebec on June 2, Bell and his family were "reduced to skeletons". The mother and children could not walk. Many persons migrating from Britain to Canada in the nineteenth century had a similar voyage.

The comfortable accommodation and abundant food on the steamboat Malsham on which the Bells travelled from Quebec to Montreal, followed by the kind hospitality of the Eastons for two days in Montreal, were an enjoyable interlude. But west of Montreal lay the frontier. The arduous journey by carts and bateaux to Prescott took seven days. Bell was

shocked by the swearing and drunkenness of the boatmen, and by the carelessness of the men who smashed some of his articles during loading - "the awkwardest blockheads I ever met with." When he found that wagons could not be obtained at Prescott immediately, he set off on foot for Brockville to visit William Smart whom he had known in London. Smart's new stone church, complete with bell and steeple, was dedicated on June 22 while Bell was present. Also on hand for the occasion were Easton and the Reverend Robert McDowall, a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church from the Bay of Quinte. In this meeting with his fellow-clergymen, the tribulations of the trip from Scotland and the strangeness of the new land were forgotten for at least an afternoon, which, Bell recorded, "escaped unperceived". Moreover, various people made Bell welcome and one man loaned him a horse to ride part of the way to Perth. Except for being "ferried" across Lake Rideau in a canoe, he walked the last twenty-two miles over rocky, swampy trails through the woods.

At Perth Bell found a clearing of about sixty acres with a large government storehouse, some thirty log shanties and a scattering of huts and tents. No habitation was ready for him, since the settlers were disputing over where it should be. Whereas the Scots thought that they had an exclusive right to the services of the minister whom they had obtained, the townspeople felt that he came for the general benefit and should live amongst them. Bell quickly made up his mind that it was sensible to locate in the town which was central to the settlement. In the day and a half before his wife and children arrived by wagon,

he presented himself to the superintendent, received a building lot within the village and a twenty-five acre lot nearby, rented a log house "nothing more than bare walls and a roof" for 20 pounds sterling a year, and called on some of the settlers on the Scotch Line. Until the sawmill began operation several weeks later, there were no boards from which to make furniture or shelves for his books. Fortunately he was of a practical bent with experience in construction, for he had a well to dig, partitions to build in the house, and the floor to repair which had been so flimsy that one of the children fell through into the wet cellar below. The settlers, if woefully lacking in piety as Bell thought, were kind to the new minister, giving him milk, maple sugar and potatoes - a welcome change from the food on the emigrant ship. In July he got his share of implements and blankets, and a cow. The latter, however, created the problem of finding enough pasture and of making a shelter behind the house. With the aid of the oldest boys, aged fourteen, eleven and ten, he began clearing their lot outside the town so that fall wheat could be sown. Their custom was to arise at four o'clock and work at it until breakfast.

Only a portion of Bell's time could be given to the immediate needs of the family. On his first Sunday in Perth, he began morning and afternoon services in the one room large enough for the purpose - the unfinished and unfurnished loft of the inn, reached by a ladder. On the second Sunday he started the Sabbath School with five children present. Two days later, he opened a day school in the settlement,

partly to provide instruction for his own children. With the prospect of education for their families, some of the officers who had been grumbling about conditions at Perth resolved not to move away. Bell now had desks to make for the school, as well as seats for the congregation and a temporary communion table. Meanwhile his organizing of a congregation continued. "Professing Christians must be collected into congregations", he wrote, "and superintended by pious, active, and faithful ministers." Faced by the factiousness of the mixed civilian and military population in the Perth settlement, he realized that much prudence and caution would be necessary to "unite them into one religious community". As he examined the applicants for communion, he found people from all the Presbyterian bodies in Scotland. To prevent dispute in the future and unite them for the present, he proposed that the church in Perth be based on the worship and government of the Church of Scotland. On September 14, when Bell for the first time administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, forty-seven communicants were received. He was much moved by the thought:

> ... that we were far distant from our native land, that we were forming a Christian Church where there never had been one before, and that we had been all, till lately, strangers to one another, but were now united by the bond of Christian affection ...

In some ways Perth was not a typical settlement in Upper Canada. The settlers had the advantages of government aid to ease the

initial strains, and of government superintendence until the end of 1822. Since the officers were on half-pay, there was more cash than usual. Similarly, Bell was better off than most other clergymen. Although he received not more than 10 pounds sterling a year from his congregation, he was sure of his annual minister's salary of 100 pounds sterling from the British government, and of an additional 50 pounds sterling while schoolteacher. Still, in early Perth money did not buy much physical comfort by modern standards Like other pioneers, Bell suffered accidents in his rough manual work - a blow on his jaw while logging, a badly cut foot while hewing the corners of his house. Frequent references in his writings suggest how much the family suffered from the plague of mosquitoes and black flies and from the extremes of the Canadian weather. During their first December at Perth, when Mrs. Bell gave birth to another son (called James after the little boy who had died in Scotland), Bell noted the intense cold in their house:

> When I attempted to cut the loaf at breakfast time, I found it hard as stone; the moist sugar had become solid, and all bottles containing liquids, were burst. This was somewhat inconvenient, especially in the case of two bottles of ink I had brought from home.

He had to move the Sunday service to the kitchen of one of the settlers for warmth. But the greatest of the frontier hardships at Perth was its isolated position and lack of communications by road or canal. Though the

church founded by Bell in Perth remained the centre of his religious work, he ministered to people on the back concessions of five townships as well. Until he acquired a horse in 1820, he visited them regularly on foot. He waded through bogs and climbed over stones, through heat and storms, so that he could preach to small groups in homes, attend the sick and dying, baptize the children. Today's traveller in Ontario, accustomed to excellent highways and swift conveyance, can scarcely comprehend the time and endurance needed for those visitations. He described himself as ready every night "to drop down both with corporal and mental fatigue".

The privileged position of Anglicanism in Upper Canada was irritating to a Presbyterian minister. Under the Marriage Act of 1793, for example, Bell, after giving three months' notice, was required to appear with seven "respectable" members of his congregation at the Quarter Sessions in order to be certified by the magistrates as an ordained clergyman and take the oath of allegiance. Bell and the seven persons made the forty-two mile trip to Brockville over the almost impassable roads in October 1817, only to find that his notice had not been properly exhibited by the clerk and he would have to reapply. Consequently, he and his parishioners had to "trudge back again" in January 1818 to make the "degrading" appearance before the court so that he might obtain the special licence without which non-Anglican ministers could not perform marriages. Education, too, was Anglican-controlled throughout the province. When the first Church of England clergyman, the Reverend Michael Harris,

came to Perth in 1819, he took over, with the approval of the government officials, the school which Bell had been conducting.

This undoubted disappointment for Bell was overshadowed by the joy of completing the new church in 1819 on a lot granted, together with land for a manse and graveyard, by the government. The frugal Scot had seen the need for the building as soon as he began his mission, since the rent for the inn on Sundays was using up the offering. But the year 1818 was a hard one in the settlement because of poor crops. Even the people who were content that the church should be in Perth could contribute little money, though they helped clear the ground and brought their oxen to draw the timber for the frame. Those who did nothing, Bell noted with discouragement, were "industrious" in pious fault-finding. When he went to Montreal in July 1818 for a meeting in Easton's church, he resolved to seek donations along the way. He had a disagreement with Easton who, he thought, had been acting "like a bishop" in direct opposition to the "spirit of Presbytery". Nevertheless, without Easton's help he managed to collect over 100 pounds sterling in Montreal, Lachine and Brockville, which stimulated subscriptions of over 60 pounds sterling in the settlement itself. At Bell's request friends in Scotland sent a Bible for the pulpit, and the government provided a stove - which it later took away. In 1823 the minister summarized the progress of the congregation: 270 members had been admitted, 350 children baptized, 115 marriages celebrated. Since the building, planned for two hundred people, was too small for the Sacrament

services, the gallery was finished in 1824. Paying off the debt by the end of 1826 left Bell with only the problem of prodding the lackadaisical trustees who had been appointed for the care of the church to keep it in repair. Where he had seen in 1817 a "moral as well as a natural wilderness, requiring cultivation", he considered that the worship of God was now established on a permanent footing.

Bell not only attended to his own charge devotedly until 1857, the year of his death, but was also connected with the extension of Presbyterianism. He established several other new congregations in the Rideau settlement, and undertook a number of missionary journeys, to such distant places as Bytown, Gananoque, Kingston, York, Queenston, Niagara, Ancaster and Guelph. He was associated, too, with the strengthening of the church through the organization of presbyteries and synods, being one of the four ministers who in 1817 petitioned the Secession Synod in Scotland for authority to form a presbytery. Before the favourable reply the following year, the "Presbytery of the Canadas" independent of all the Scottish churches was formed on the initiative of Easton and Smart. Bell, however, never seemed quite at ease within it or any of its reorganized forms leading up to the United Synod of Upper Canada in 1831. In the meantime, the number of Church of Scotland ministers in the province was increasing rapidly, and in the same year they formed a Synod. Against this background of division in the Presbyterian ranks and dissension over questions such as the clergy reserves, Bell decided in 1835 to withdraw from the United Synod and attach his congregation to the larger Synod in connection

with the Church of Scotland. In 1845, he was honoured by being chosen Moderator of the Kirk Synod. Believing Presbyterian unity in the province desirable, he was troubled by the friction between the Kirk and the Free Church adherents which paralleled that in Scotland after the Disruption of 1843. He noted in his journal the "melancholy effects" of the religious disunity and "sectarian spirit".

By the 1840's and 1850's Bell no longer had to engage in land-clearing, building and the other essential tasks of a backwoods settlement. Fortunately, since indispositions became more frequent with his advancing years, better roads and the Rideau canal made travel easier. Yet the maturing province brought new tasks. According to his journal he was "quite busy" with Synod and Presbytery meetings, the examination of schools and applicants for teaching, and many organizations in Perth such as the Bible Society, the Tract Society, the Missionary Society, the Temperance Society. The history of William Bell was intimately connected with both the religious and the secular history of Upper Canada.

Isabel Skelton, having in mind Bell's stern Calvinist morality, called him "a man austere". His adamant refusal to baptize infants unless they were the children of believing parents who had been received into the church aroused criticism in Perth. He often caused hard feeling when he made funerals or other family calamities the occasion for a discourse on "the awful and ruinous consequences which follow the use of intoxicating liquors." He frowned on social pleasures such as card-playing and horse races

as a waste of time meant to be used for the glory of God. His strong views on those who broke the Fourth Commandment involved him in a lawsuit with the editor of the Perth Examiner. His strictness led to defections from his congregation when another Presbyterian church began in the town in 1830 under the Reverend Thomas Wilson of the Church of Scotland. Even Archdeacon John Strachan from York remonstrated that "mild persuasion" would be more effective with the population than a "severe, stiff, formal carriage". Bell would not yield his firmly help principles even if a gentler code might have kept more followers.

On the other hand, a segment of his congregation thought him too liberal when he introduced hymn-singing; and he was not intolerant of other churches. While he looked down on Harris for always reading his sermons, he got along well with the Church of England members and very well with the Methodists whose views on temperance coincided with his. His object, as he wrote to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1818, was "not so much to build up the Church of Scotland as to enlarge the Church of Christ". Nor was Bell a dour and sombre Scot. There are glimpses of humour in his descriptions of weddings and of mishaps occurring on pastoral visits: for example, "When passing a creek I stepped on a round stick which rolled and threw me into the water a posteriori ... Upon getting up I had to undress and dispense with my indispensables till I squeezed the water out of them." For all his practicality, he revealed an aesthetic appreciation in his life-long delight in flowers and his many references to beautiful

scenery - the luxuriance along the Thames in England, the majestic view at Bytown, the rainbow seen through the spray at Chaudière Falls. And he was very human in his pride at the success of his children, Andrew and George (the youngest born in 1819), both ministers; William and John, businessmen; Robert, member of the legislature for Lanark; Isabella, the wife of Judge J.G. Malloch; Ebenezer, a lawyer, and James, the registrar for Lanark. Upper Canada was built on foundations of faith and stability by families such as this, headed by men of strength and convictions like the Reverend William Bell, who willingly accepted the rigours of a life on the frontier and showed himself a pioneer indomitable.

WILLIAM BELL

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Robert Burns

Founder of the Free Kirk in Upper Canada
by Paul Harrison

Unlike many of us who spend a great deal of time wondering what to do with our lives, Robert Burns was one of those fortunate few who knew his life's calling at an early age. One receives the impression from his Diary that being a minister of the Gospel was all that ever mattered to him. While a youngster he joined his two older brothers "preaching" from a wooden pulpit set up in the house in a small room called, appropriately, "The Kirk". Burns was emphatic that his preaching was not child's play but rather an expression of deep religious sincerity.

His family was not rich but there was enough money available to send Robert and his brothers through school. Burns himself went first to a parochial school and then was tutored privately. He entered Edinburgh University in 1801 at twelve and a half years of age. Leaving the College the youthful scholar entered Divinity Hall in November, 1805, and completed his studies in 1808.

It was during his divinity years that a dramatic change took place within him; he developed new attitudes and ideas which he was to cherish and expound the rest of his long and distinguished career. In short, Burns became a committed evangelical, a position apparently at odds with that held by many of his fellow students. Only when this fact is grasped and fully understood can one make proper sense of the rest of his life. To be an evangelical meant, among other things, that the Holy Bible and the doctrines contained therein became

personally accepted truths. The Virgin Birth, the Crucifixion and Resurrection, the Lord's Return, and above all, the need for personal, individual salvation provide the essential core of belief. To Burns and other evangelicals these were principles in which one believed with all the spiritual and intellectual strength one possessed and, in Burns' case, these were both considerable. He was licensed by Edinburgh Presbytery in March, 1810 and preached his first sermon at Cramond Church four days later on the text of Romans 1:16. That this was his first sermon text is significant - it defines the man and the message. Sixteen months later Burns emerged victorious over three other candidates in Paisley and on 19 July, 1811, was installed in his church there.

The Paisley in which Burns settled and where he was to spend the next thirty-four years of his life was a bustling middle-sized (by Scottish standards) industrial city. It had several schools, the foremost being the Paisley Grammar School established in 1576, a newspaper, The Paisley Advertiser, a Public Library, a Philosophic Society of which Burns was later President, a Union Bank, a Chamber of Commerce in connection with Glasgow's distilleries and two Temperance Societies, a tobacco works, a facility to produce gas and a three and one-half mile railway to the Clyde. It also served as headquarters for the seventeen man Renfrewshire police force founded in 1840. There were a large number of churches in Paisley, Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Baptist, Wesleyan Methodist, and a wide variety of Presbyterian Churches representing the

Established, Relief, Burgher, Anti-Burcher, and Old Light Burgher factions, as well as a Gaelic Chapel.

In economic terms, however, the major component of Burns' Paisley was the production of a wide variety of goods by the city's several thousand weavers. Working on their looms these industrious artisans gave the City its trademark, the Paisley shawl. The workers were primarily radicals or reformers politically and Burns fitted in well here for he was a Liberal in politics, a member of the Manchester League, and a strong advocate of both Free Trade and an extension of the franchise at a time when the Established Church supported the opposite position.

On at least three occasions during Burns' time in Paisley the city was hard hit by economic depression; 1817-1822, late 1825 to early 1827, 1841-1843. In the years 1841-1843, sixty-seven of one hundred and twelve manufacturing firms collapsed, losing about 750,000 pounds sterling, and in January, 1841, a Government inspector reported that twelve thousand, seven hundred and three out of a population of forty-eight thousand, four hundred and sixteen depended solely on relief funds for their survival. Furthermore, there were hard times in 1829, 1831 and 1837. As a committed Christian Burns was involved with these people each and every day but particularly so during periods of economic crisis. During one ten to twelve year period he made four trips to London as a deputy "on behalf of suffering operatives", to plead their case and, on one occasion, in 1834, even spoke directly

to King William about the tragic plight of many of his fellow Paisleyites.

The deeply genuine concern Burns felt for the temporal needs of men is evidenced by the fact that he wrote a number of books dealing with them and their difficulties. His Historical Dissertations on the Law and the Practice of Great Britain, and particularly of Scotland, with regard to the Poor was published in 1819. It was a highly detailed study of some three hundred and ninety-seven pages. His Plea for the Poor was published; and in 1841 and 1842 he lectured on "The Reciprocal Duties of Employers and Employed" and "Restrictive Laws on Food and Trade tried by the test of Christianity". He was an advocate of a waterworks for Paisley so that all persons could have a ready access to a fresh water supply. He championed savings banks, "those useful institutions for saving the earnings of the poor" and was president of a number of emigration societies which sought to erase many families' temporal problems by facilitating their passage to Canada, Australia, or New Zealand. He served for many years as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Paisley Infirmary and was also a manager of Hutcheson's Charity School. Obviously Burns was a Christian deeply involved with the temporal needs of men - he was his brother's keeper in a myriad of ways; he was a complete Christian personality.

On the purely religious side of things, Burns was an ideal minister. In Paisley his parish had some seven thousand inhabitants of all denominations and three months after his

ordination he began a systematic programme of visitation. "Visiting is the life's blood of a successful ministry. If we don't go to the people they won't come to us." These two succinct sentences are adequate summaries of an evangelical consciousness and they tell of a strong missionary sense which he developed both in Paisley and later in Canada; they also indicate good common sense. Weekly Bible classes were conducted by the energetic pastor and Sabbath Schools connected with his church included nearly one thousand persons - clear evidence of the power of God working through a remarkably receptive servant. For some twenty years he was Secretary of the Paisley and East Renfrewshire Bible Society; he was connected with the Visitor and the Monitor, two tract societies; he was Secretary of the London Missionary Society and was ever an ardent advocate of any missionary enterprise of the Church of Scotland. He was particularly fond of Dr. Duff, the "apostle of India", a man who apparently embodied the missionary zeal of which he so strongly approved.

Since he was so anxious to tell the "Good News" it is small wonder that had little time for the controlling Moderate faction of the Church of Scotland. Soon after settling in Paisley he began to write for the Christian Instructor, a publication which waged war on the Moderates in every issue. The Christian Instructor was the literary arm of Dr. Andrew Thomson, a leader of the Evangelical Party. So telling were the magazine's articles against the Moderate majority that the General Assembly passed resolutions, by a single vote, against it in 1820; however, no action was

taken. For over two decades Burns contributed articles, book reviews and missionary correspondence to the Christian Instructor and for three years, 1828, 1829, 1840 he was the sole editor. Since he was a staunch missionary evangelical it is no surprise to learn that Burns changed the name of the magazine to the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register. This publication is an important source for anyone wishing to investigate the efforts of Scottish evangelicals in British North America.

While in Paisley, in addition to being a champion of the physical and spiritual needs of men, Burns was also active in other larger national church concerns. "Dr. Burns was no intemperate partisan. He was no blind and bigoted defender of all that pertained to the 'Venerable Establishment'. He was fully alive to her errors and defects, and in the spirit of a true reformer, bent all his energies to the setting in order the things that were wanting. His Essay on the Duties of the Eldership and Hints on Ecclesiastical Reform, furnish evidence of this." (R.F. Burns, Life and Times of Rev. Robert Burns, D.D.) As a minister of the Kirk he laboured long and hard to secure its spiritual independence by the overthrow of the Patronage System, a major issue in the famous Ten Years Conflict. He was a member of two deputations in 1834 to Earl Grey, the British Prime Minister, on the patronage issue and served on the Commons' Committee on Patronage of the same year. When the long burning internal conflict of the Church finally erupted in the great Disruption in 1843, Burns left the Established Church with some four

hundred and fifty-one others. At this point his life underwent a dramatic geographic reorientation - he now became a New World citizen.

It was not by accident that Burns became a New World citizen as he had close ties with the British North America for several decades. Apart from bonds generated by those of his Paisley parish who had emigrated during the years of economic hardship, he was closely attached to the New World through his brother, the Reverend George Burns, who spent fourteen years (1817-1831) as minister of St. Andrews Church, St. John, New Brunswick. In addition, he maintained and confirmed his interest in the Scottish emigrants through a truly remarkable organization, the Glasgow Colonial Society. A central problem facing the emigrants as well as their concern for survival was the lack of ordained ministers who could lead them in religious services; this is the problem to which the Society addressed itself.

Assisted by other Evangelicals from in and around Glasgow, Burns called a meeting which was held at the city's Trades' Hall on April 15, 1825, with the Earl of Dalhousie, the Governor General in attendance. The resolution before the assembly was "That this meeting contemplate, with deep interest, the moral and religious wants of the Scottish settlers in many parts of British North America, and resolve that a society should be formed in this city and neighbourhood, with the view of promoting their improvement by means of ministers, catechists, and schoolmasters, to be sent to them, and by such other means as may be found expedient."

This resolution was carried unanimously, and the Society formed was called "The Society (in connection with The Established Church of Scotland) for promoting the religious interests of Scottish settlers in British North America", or, "The Glasgow Colonial Society" for short. At this founding session Burns was designated "Principal Secretary". And so yet another time-consuming task was added to the already heavy duties of the Doctor; that this new designation was a genuine labour of love did not in any way lessen its obligations but rather worked in the opposite direction.

The Society's life was restricted to fifteen years (1825-1840) but by 1835 it had already sent out upwards of forty ordained Presbyterian clergymen to British North America according to Burns. An average of four men per year for the first ten years may seem a minimal effort but considering Scotland's economic and religious climate it represented no small effort. Since the Society pledged itself to defray the full costs of the outfit and passage of selected missionaries and to assist in the support of catechists and purchase of "religious books, catechisms, confessions of faith, tracts, and pamphlets to be distributed in the colonies", money was a prime concern. Men like the Patron (the Earl Dalhousie) donated liberally but still shortages existed which had to be made up from the voluntary contributions of interested commoners throughout Scotland, and these commoners were often poor themselves. To raise funds Burns undertook extensive tours throughout the land, speaking in numerous towns and cities on the work of the Society and making small but important collections as he

went along. These journeys were long and difficult but necessary, he felt, if the Faith was to take root in North America. Not only was he Chief Secretary but also chief "recruiting officer", (for new ministers) chief "book buyer" (for Church libraries), and chief everything else. Burns was, in fact, the "soul" driving force. To verify such a conclusion one need only study the later issues of the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register or wade through the Society's Correspondence, most of which was addressed to Dr. Robert Burns. Strong bonds developed between the Doctor and North American Presbyterians during the fifteen year life of the Society and these bonds were vitalized and personalized with his voyage of 1844.

On Monday, 8 January, 1844, Burns sailed from Liverpool with Dr. William Cunningham to the New World; they were on a fund raising expedition for the new Free Church. The trip had two distinct parts; the first was a journey through the United States to New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Richmond, Fredericksburg and other centres: the second was a two month trip Burns made alone through the British North American cities and towns of Niagara, Toronto, Hamilton, York Mills, Cobourg, Grafton, Kingston, Brockville, Prescott, Cornwall, Lachine, Montreal, Quebec, Pictou, New Glasgow, Charlottetown, Dartmouth and Halifax. This trip took two months to complete, a fact not surprising since travel was difficult and Burns preached so often on the way. Overall this New World adventure had a great effect on Burns; he was upset at slave auctions in the American South; he was interested in the

American political process, meeting Governor Armstrong (Mass.) Daniel Webster, President Tyler and hearing Crittenden, Buchanan and J.Q. Adams speak.

In general he was both encouraged and disgusted by various facets of American life he viewed. Regarding his Canadian travels he was less outspoken but sprinkled throughout his Diary are words like "met many friends", "interesting meetings", "good prospects", "meeting successful", "fine opportunity", "active committee met me", "much kindness", words which appear to indicate a degree of general satisfaction. Burns left Halifax on the Britannia, 3 June, 1845, and reached home five months after his departure, only to turn around soon and leave Scotland once again.

Burns' Paisley congregation could have had no way of knowing that only a few months would pass before he left them again, for good. Being an eloquent and enthusiastic speaker Burns was able powerfully to present the Free Church case on his North American tour. That this is so is evident in the action of a group of communicants at St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, who left the Established Church and worshipped under the Rev. James Harris. As Harris soon retired, his congregation which had taken the name of Knox Church, sent an urgent call to Burns in Paisley. The Doctor decided to come to Toronto although it was not an easy decision to make. His new church building in Paisley had just opened and his work there was going quite well. Furthermore, he had been in Paisley for all his adult life and had built up a storehouse of friends and memories. Still he

saw the great possibilities of evangelism in Canada and, being above all else an active missionary soul, he could not ignore the call. He preached his farewell sermon on Sunday, 23 March, 1845, using the text of II Corinthians 12:11. On the following Saturday he and his family left on a six weeks ship voyage to the New World, where he was inducted into the charge of Knox Church, Toronto on 23 May, 1845. It is interesting to note that on that same day he formally identified himself with the Temperance Movement - he had not been a teetotaller in Scotland.

Before his departure, Burns was hard at work gathering a library of two to three thousand volumes for the new Free Church Seminary in Toronto, Knox College. While on his North American trip the previous year Burns had visited Kingston and talked with six students of the relatively new Queen's College who told him they intended to leave the Established Church and join the Free Church movement. This was an interesting development since Burns had been calling for the development of an educational facility (Queen's) in Canada for years in the Christian Instructor. Now it seemed he was actively engaged in working for a Free Church institution, a complete reversal.

From May, 1845 until June 1856, Burns was pastor at Knox Church. When he arrived in May there were two hundred and forty-five communicants but by December, 1845, there were one thousand and sixty-four communicants, a clear indication of the Doctor's effective, always personal, evangelistic efforts. When the Synod of the Free Church met in Cobourg,

May, 1845, Burns was unanimously chosen Moderator and the following year was made Convenor of the Synod's Visitation Committee. Naturally, Burns did most of the visiting himself. Winter was his favourite season for missionary travel; sitting in a horse drawn sleigh, warm in his bearskin coat and hat, he travelled all over Canada West, Canada East and the Maritimes attempting in a valiant way to compensate for the drastic ministerial shortage which existed. (There were thirty stations to fill in the Toronto Presbytery in 1846 and Burns and Rintoul were the only ministers available!) Being a missionary-pastor had its problems; once while walking in the woods in his bearskin outfit he was almost shot by hunters who, quite reasonably, mistook him for a bear. While on his way to Durham, Ontario, the horses bolted and nearly dumped him into the Saugeen River and, on another occasion, he survived a train derailment. Being a missionary was not a comfortable way of life but, as he himself stated "every colonial minister must be, to a greater or lesser extent a missionary; and the time devoted to the mission field is by no means lost, even to the congregation more immediately his own. A missionary spirit is favourable to active effort in every way; and an affectionate flock will lose nothing by extra evangelistic labours on the part of their pastor." Burns was involved directly in the Red River Community with the Cree Indians of Saskatchewan and the Chatham settlement of freed American black slaves for which he raised four thousand dollars in England.

When Knox College was opened in November, 1844, in the Toronto home of Rev. Henry Esson,

Burns was not present. However, when he arrived in the City he was soon involved in the new college. He lectured on Church History and Apologetics. Burns' years at Knox were among his most productive; he gathered books for the Library and secured theological texts for students at reduced rates; he counselled and encouraged young students; he made trips thoughout Canada West and Britain to raise money for the college and always displayed his own unique blend of scholarship, humility and Christian charity.

It is a difficult task indeed to write a few concluding remarks on Robert Burns simply because his career had so many strands of interest in it. The one central core around which all the others were woven was, of course, his clear and unequivocal evangelical stand. As Canadian Presbyterians we are all in his debt for major efforts he made on our behalf. The articles he wrote for the Christian Instructor and Colonial Religious Register argued the cause of Presbyterian in British North America in clear and precise terms. He saw the need for an institution of higher learning for Presbyterian "Canadians" and expressed his concern over this issue as early as 1829, some years before Queen's received its Charter. In addition, Burns took a keen interest in Dalhousie College, Halifax. Such efforts are reflections of his own high intellectual standards. A brief look at the contributions of Queen's and Dalhousie Universities through the years should serve to augment our appreciation of Burns.

Furthermore, there seems little doubt that

his work through the Glasgow Colonial Society and his eventual emigration to Toronto provided much stimulation to the Presbyterian community. His continual travels through British North America as missionary and pastor were also of critical importance. Burns wrote and edited over forty historical and religious works during his long and distinguished career and having done so must have increased his stature in his adopted Canadian community. However, how can we estimate his influence as expressed through the many students to whom he lectured and counselled at Knox College? The answer is simply that we cannot.

When Burns visited Scotland in 1868 he was warmly greeted by many old friends and acquaintances. The Free Church Moderator, Rev. William Nixon said "With deepest sentiments of respect, esteem and thankfulness to the God of all grace, to the God of our life and the length of our days, we welcome this renewed visit of such a veteran of our church, and of one whom we have been long familiar with from our youth, as one of the ablest, most accomplished, and most active and laborious of our ministers, and the most devoted and effective of all loving friends of Presbyterianism and true religion in the Dominion of Canada." This statement is a not unrealistic summary of Robert Burns.

Burns knew genuine disappointment and agonizing grief during his lifetime, particularly when four of his children died in a relatively short space of time. Yet he persevered in the Faith and always took inspiration and strength from the promises of his Lord.

ROBERT BURNS

When he died on 19 August, 1869 he was mourned by many; for a power in the Church had gone. The comment of Rev. John Smith of Grafton is a fitting summary of his contribution: "He did for the Presbyterian Church in the British Provinces what no other man could do. We owe much to him under God. He loved his church - he knew every corner of the church, and his life was bound up in the success of the cause of God in the Dominion."

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Note: The original papers of the Glasgow Colonial Society are stored in the United Church Archives, Victoria College, University of Toronto.

Cairine Raey Mackay Wilson

Canada's First Woman Senator

by Flora M. Blais

On February 14th, 1930, the country was electrified with the news that the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the Prime Minister had announced that Mrs. Norman Wilson, housewife and mother of eight children had been appointed to the Senate of Canada.

Cairine Raey MacKay was born in Montreal, P.Q., on the 4th of February, 1885, the youngest daughter of Robert MacKay and his wife Jane Baptist. Her father was born in Caithness, Scotland and emigrated to Montreal in 1855 at the age of 14. Her mother, also of Scottish ancestry, was born in Trois Rivieres, P.Q. where her father, George Baptist was a pioneer lumberman. Robert Mackay joined the wholesale dry-goods firm of his uncle Joseph MacKay. He gradually became one of the most wealthy and influential business man in Montreal, and was reported to be more sought after as a director at that time than any other man in Canada. His directorates alone made a formidable list among them being the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Bank of Montreal.

The daughter who became Canada's first woman Senator was reared in an atmosphere of rugged Scots Liberalism in a staunch Presbyter-

ian family. She acquired her interest in politics at an early age at home where lively discussions of world events was a part of everyday life. Cairine became as familiar with the writings of the great Liberal reformers of the past -- Fox and Bright, Gladstone and Morley, as she was with the Shorter Catechism.

She was educated at the select Misses Symmers and Smith's School and later attended the Trafalgar Institute which was generally regarded as the most efficient and exclusive "finishing school" in Montreal for English - speaking girls. She became fluently bilingual, an accomplishment that proved very useful to her in later years.

In 1901, Robert MacKay, who was a great friend and admirer of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was appointed to the Senate. Senator MacKay was a faithful attendant and became an outstanding figure in the Senate. He frequently brought his daughter with him to Ottawa and she became very familiar with the proceedings in both the House of Commons and the Senate. Cairine MacKay was the guest of Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier when she attended the eventful ball at Government House that brought Norman Wilson into her life. He was at that time Member of Parliament for Russell County and a farmer in the village of Cumberland, Ontario. He had been elected to Parliament in 1904 when his brother-in-law W.C. Edwards, the former member, was elevated to the Senate, but he retired after four years in the House of Commons.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

Cairine MacKay and Norman F. Wilson were married in Montreal on February 24th, 1909 and went to Rockland, Ontario to live where her husband was manager of the W.C. Edwards Lumber Mill. The next few years were very busy ones for Mrs. Wilson as six of the eight children were born in Rockland. She became involved in the community and church and as the First World War was in progress, organized and was in charge of the Red Cross work done in the village. Senator MacKay died in 1916 leaving his daughter very wealthy. As well as money, she inherited business skills from her father enabling her to manage her own affairs.

In 1920 the Wilson family moved to Ottawa where Norman Wilson engaged in business. Women had now been given the complete franchise and very quickly Cairine Wilson was drawn into public life as joint president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. She travelled all over Eastern Ontario speaking on behalf of the Liberal Candidates in the election of 1921 that brought the Liberals to power with William Lyon Mackenzie King as Prime Minister. That same year a group of prominent Ottawa Liberal women, including Lady Laurier, were the committee, with Mrs. Wilson as chairman, that planned the very successful Annual Meeting of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association.

Shortly afterwards this same committee of women met to discuss the formation of a Liberal Club for women in Ottawa. This Club, the Ottawa Women's Liberal Club, was organized on February 14th, 1922 with Mrs. Norman Wilson as its first president. The purpose of the club

was to help in securing and maintaining good government by the advocacy and support of Liberal political principles; the study of the history of the people and the resources of Canada, and the encouragement of the spirit of a broad Canadian nationality. Their aim also was to assist in the formation of similar clubs for men, women and youth. They issued a booklet outlining the steps to be taken in starting a Liberal Club, suggestions for a draft constitution and quotations from political writers and parliamentary leaders. Mrs. Wilson wrote the preface of the booklet with an appeal to women to "organize clubs to encourage, nourish, build up and swell the body of public opinion that favors progress". She recognized the new power and responsibility that women had been given with the granting of the franchise. In this preface she outlined things she felt that women could do such as using their power to promote legislation that would benefit the greatest number of people. Her chief concern was for mothers separated from their children through poverty, the elderly, the discrepancy between prices paid to the producer (farmer) and the prices paid by the consumer, the need for all peoples to work together to build a nation worthy of inheritance. She also suggested that before long a federation of Liberal Clubs would be formed, one in each of the Provinces and a National Federation for the whole Dominion of Canada.

The idea of the formation of a Federation was gathering momentum and at a meeting in the Parliament Buildings of the wives and daughters of Liberal Members of Parliament together with

representative women of the city of Ottawa held on May 16th, 1923, the proposal was heartily endorsed. A further meeting held on June 2nd, 1923 with Prime Minister Mackenzie King, over 100 Liberal Members of Parliament and Senators together with their wives and daughters, joined with about 200 Liberal men and women of Ottawa in launching this new movement. A resolution was unanimously adoped of approval and a committee set up for the purpose of encouraging the formation of a Liberal Club in every locality throughout the country and the formation of nine Provincial Federations. The year 1925 was suggested as a goal for the assembling of delegates in Ottawa to form this National Federation.

However it was April, 1928 that the first National Assembly of Liberal women of Canada was held. When the Assembly met, the names of 150 women were on various committees. Mrs. Charles H. Thorburn chaired the original meeting. Mrs. Norman Wilson was the central force and inspiration in the whole organization which adopted the name "The National Federation of Liberal Women"of Canada". The first presidency went, not to the founder-organizer who preferred to stay in the background, but to the Hon. Mary Ellen Smith, M.L.A. for British Columbia.

It was at that meeting that a committee was formed to start a League of Youth and under the leadership of Mrs. Wilson, they encouraged the organization of the Twentieth Century Liberal Association in 1930. The Wilson home was always open to both youth and ideas and it

was here that the founding meeting was held with her own family and their friends as a nucleus. On her own initiative, Mrs. Wilson sent streams of young people across the country to do political field work and study the needs and opportunities of Canada. There are many mature Canadians today who learned from Cairine Wilson how to combine political enthusiasm with a sense of public responsibility. In her own mind the two qualities were inseparable.

During this period Mrs. Wilson was actively engaged in raising her five daughters and three sons, two of her children having been born after the Wilsons moved to Ottawa. Her interests were many and varied. She served for a time as President of the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa, was on the Board of the Chelsea Club, actively engaged in work with the Y.W.C.A. and the Welfare Bureau. There was no good cause, particularly relating to women and children, which did not have her devoted support and help. Regardless of her outside interests her husband, children and home were the focal point of her life. Her summers were spent with her family at their summer home in St. Andrews, N.B. Mrs. Wilson was a golfer of note and spent as much time as possible on the links at the Royal Ottawa.

At this time in Alberta, five women were working extremely hard to have women declared "persons", which would open the way for a woman to be appointed to the Senate.

These five pioneer women, headed by Judge Emily Murphy, took the plea for the admission of

women to the Senate to the highest court, His Majesty's Privy Council in England. The Privy Council's decision acknowledging women as "persons" within the meaning of the British North American Act was given in October, 1929. This decision set aside the contrary judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada in April, 1928. The way was now open for the appointment that followed.

On February 15th, 1930, the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, made the announcement that he had appointed Mrs. Norman Wilson to the Senate of Canada. Mrs. Wilson thus became the first woman ever to have been appointed to a second chamber within the Commonwealth. By association, training and aptitude she was eminently suitable and the appointment was a popular one. Mr. King had been quick to recognize the ability she possessed. She had every qualification for public life - tenacity, a highly charged sense of public responsibility and a great talent for organization. She had from her youth onward a deep sense of the responsibilities of wealth and she never spared herself in the promotion of a cause that appealed to her.

This tall, slim, dark-haired, blue-eyed woman had tremendous energy and drive. She gave freely of her time and money to a wide variety of philanthropic organizations. For many years she was President of the Ottawa Welfare Bureau, the Ottawa Y.W.C.A. and Vice-President of the Victorian Order of Nurses. She was President of the Ottawa branch of the Save the Children Fund and Chairman of the

Canadian Committee for Czechoslovakian Refugees. She worked hard to organize the Ottawa Neighbourhood Services in 1932 and acted as its President for several years. This is a self-supporting philanthropic organization whose chief objective is to provide employment opportunities for the handicapped and the needy. She was a member of the Zonta Club and actively supported the St. John's Ambulance and the Salvation Army. She served as President of the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada from 1934 until 1947 with the exception of the war years when their activities were suspended for the duration.

Senator Wilson's first speech in the Senate Chamber was seconding the address in reply to the speech from the throne. Speaking first in French and then in English her voice was clear, effortless and showed no signs of nervousness. This first speech of a woman member on the floor of the Canadian Senate was a triumph not only for herself, but for the womanhood of the Dominion.

In the years that followed she proved that she could make a valuable contribution to the work of the Senate and earned the respect of her fellow members. She became a very competent debater but was careful to restrict her speeches to subjects like women's rights and social reforms in which she had a special interest. She belonged to the left wing of her party in her views on social and economic problems, and she fought hard for old age pensions and family allowances.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

Senator Wilson was a great believer in the League of Nations and became the first and only President of the League of Nations Society. In May, 1934 she strongly defended the League of Nations in the Senate when a proposal was made that Canada should withdraw. She felt that if the manufacture of armaments was discontinued, wars might cease. In her plea for support of the League she listed some of the accomplishments to date, such as the work of the League toward the curtailment of the opium traffic, the traffic in women and children and International measures to promote child welfare.

Although she admired Mr. Mackenzie King's skills as a leader, she did not let partisanship blind her to his faults and errors, and in 1938, as President of the League of Nations Society, she took sharp issue with him in a public statement, with the blessing that Mr. King had given to the pact of Munich and declared that it was "a capitulation to force".

Her greatest achievement, something she will always be remembered for by the scores of people she helped, was her work with the refugees. Her sympathetic and humanitarian response to the refugees fleeing from Sudetanland was to carry to completion the formation of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees. This organization grew until it spanned the Dominion. Senator Wilson never lost an opportunity to speak to various organizations across the country enlisting their support in petitioning the Government to open its doors to the refugees. She carried the battle into the corridors and offices of Parliament waging it at a time when those in Government who clung to

the illusion that Adolph Hitler was no more than a rather stupid peasant. Many of these refugees had skills and education to contribute to the growth of the commerce of Canada. Many were skilled farm workers, educators, doctors, business men. Some factory owners had been farsighted enough to ship machinery and cash out of their native countries, one jump ahead of Hitler. Appeals to the Prime Minister were referred to the Hon. T.A. Crerar, Minister of Mines and resources, under whose department fell the responsibility for Immigration. She cornered Cabinet Ministers and Members of Parliament alike and inevitably made a nuisance of herself until she achieved her goal and Canada opened her doors to the first of the refugees from Czechoslovakia. Among these first refugees was the famous glove-maker Louis Fischl who settled at Prescott, Ontario and Thomas Bata, the shoe manufacturer. Louis Fischl brought several other families with him and settled them on farms in the Prescott district. They proceeded to raise goats to provide kid skins for the glove factory. Thomas Bata's shoe factory was converted into a factory to manufacture armaments during the latter part of the war.

The problem of refugee children was one of the chief concerns of the Committee. The Government finally agreed to admit 100 British children, but only if sponsors and homes could be found for them. Senator Wilson appealed nationally for people to offer homes for these children or to contribute money for their transportation and settlement. The appeal met with instant response and these children were soon

on their way to Canada. They were just the first of many that eventually came here to escape the bombing in England. The Hon. T.A. Crerar called a Dominion-Provincial Conference to consider the whole refugee children problem. After the invasion of Norway, Holland, Belgium and France an offer had been made to the British Government to take refugee children from these countries as well as British children when the British Government approved of their movement.

The work of the Committee on Refugees continued as case after case of people stranded in neutral countries such as Spain came to their attention. In every case the Committee came to the rescue. Money was provided for their transportation through appeals to organizations. The children's art class under Arther Lismer, at the National Art Gallery held a poster contest to raise money.

In 1942 there were 1,500 refugees of European countries, many of them Jewish, herded into internment camps in Quebec. They had been rounded up in Great Britain when war broke out in 1939 and been sent over from there. Among their number were 300 young people of student age as well as scientists, engineers, doctors, teachers and skilled farm workers. Most of these people were innocent refugees from Hitler's barbarism and could have been admitted normally had they had some guarantors in Canada to accept responsibility for them. The Committee encouraged the Government to take a more sympathetic attitude as they felt these refugees could give useful service to Canada.

Working quietly, they won the admiration of observers on Parliament Hill with the concrete results of their work. Individual cases were studied and refugees with certain skills were channeled in the right direction. Students with the right academic qualifications and sponsors were enrolled in the Universities. Many more refugees from all the occupied countries, including many Jewish, French and Polich people, found their way to Canada in the months to follow. Senator Wilson became known as the "Mother of Refugees". For her work for French children, France created her a Knight of the Legion of Honor in 1950.

Senator Wilson fought all her life for what she considered to be worthy causes, the rights of women in Quebec, and to better the lot of women generally. She had many firsts to her credit besides being Canada's first woman Senator. She was Canada's first women delegate to the 4th General Assembly of the United Nations as well as having been the first and only President of the League of Nations Society. In 1955 she was the first woman to occupy the Speaker's Chair in the Senate when the regular Speaker, the Hon. Wishart Robertson was ill. Reports were that she carried out this duty like she did everything else with skill, efficiency and charm.

Senator Wilson was a Dame of Grace in the Order of St. John of Jerusalem and was awarded three Honorary Degrees: the L.L.D. from Queen's University, the D.C.L. from Acadia University and a degree from the only University for the deaf on the North American Continent in Wash-

ington, D.C. All her life she had a special sympathy and understanding for the deaf. Her great-uncle Joseph MacKay had founded and entirely endowed the MacKay Institute for the Deaf in Montreal about 1870. Over the years the MacKay family has taken a very special interest in the Institute and a member of the family has sat on the Board of Directors continuously since then.

Back of everything she did was her faith in God. It was a simple faith, nurtured by her strict Presbyterian upbringing. She believed that God created all men equal no matter their race or colour. She was a tireless worker for her church, St. Andrew's in Ottawa, where she was Honourary Vice-President of the Women's Guild. She had been an executive member of the Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and a member of the Canadian Coucil of Churches. In 1956 she energetically headed a campaign to raise funds for "Armagh", the Presbyterian Home for Unmarried Mothers.

She passed away on Saturday, March 3rd, 1962 at the age of 77. Her loss was felt deeply throughtout the country. She represented the very finest in Canadian womanhood with her outstanding service to the people of Canada. Truly one of the great women of the twentieth century.

Cairine Wilson will long be remembered for the warmth of her personality, for her kindness and generosity. No one had more true friends and they came from all walks of life.

CAIRINE RAEY MACKAY WILSON

They will remember her as a woman happy as a wife and mother. They will remember her beautiful home "The Manor House" in Rockcliffe Park with its spacious grounds overlooking the Ottawa River where she gathered her family and friends around her after church on a Sunday. Or they will remember her love of flowers and her generosity in sharing them with her host of friends.

The following poem that she had framed on her office wall in the Senate might be a fitting epitaph:

To steel our souls against the lust of ease
To find our welfare in the general good
To hold together, merging all degrees
In one wide brotherhood.
To teach that he who saves himself is lost
To bear in silence though our hearts may bleed
To spend ourselves and never count the cost
For others greater need.

Ella Mutchmor Thorburn

Lady Extraordinary of Ottawa
A tribute by Charlotte Whitton
(with permission of the Ottawa Journal)

Ella Mutchmore Thorburn was more than a link with the old Ottawa. She was part of it as it was part of her. She was not, she used to say, of "Bytown, the military town of the Royal Engineers as they built the canal;" she was of the real Ottawa, the great old timber town. "Slabtown" she called it and glorified in the name by which mature Montreal, aristocratic Kingston, aspiring Toronto expressed their contempt for it.

"Never mind", she would say, "the timbermen in those days made the Government and the Government made Slabtown the Capital --the Government, and, or course, the Queen." She herself was exactly the same age as the Dominion she loved, born in the same twelvemonth.

It is hard to think of that jesting robust vigor, that nimble wit, that sheer exuberance of life now still, and gathered into some strength beyond our sight. All Ottawa will miss her for, over many years, she was this city's most useful citizen.

Mrs. Thorburn was one of a remarkable familty of seven daughters and one son of Alexander Mutchmor and his wife, Dorinda Ball. Their family home was set back in extensive grounds on the banks of the Canal. It is today the Protestant Home for the Aged and, even yet,

dwells in spacious grounds beneath its sheltering elms. But the old Mutchmor property originally embraced all the land about the Canal and the present Lansdowne Exhibition Grounds.

One little girl died in childhood, "Florance Nightingale." "No wonder," Mrs. Thorburn once told a group of nurses she was addressing, "faced with carrying that name through life." The "six Mutchmor sisters" were a gay lot in the thriving Capital. Muriel became Mrs. Gordon Wadsworth, of Montreal: Eliza married the head of the historic Billings family and died in July 1955, in her 92nd year at Billings Bridge: the late Amelia married Gordon Grier, of Montreal: the late Harriet, the late "Bob" Masson, of Ottawa, and the late Polly, Leslie Gordon also of this city. Mrs. Gordon died young and Mrs. Thorburn took her young daughter, Ellen (now Mrs. E.A. Fluker, of Toronto) into her home. The one brother, Percy Mutchmor, early moved to Winnipeg where he is in the lumber business.

Mrs. Thorburn's father was senior member of the Mutchmor and Garland wholesale dry goods house, the present John M. Garland Company, then as now, one of the largest firms in the Valley. "Ella" was her father's daughter and determined to enter the firm. Such things were just not done in those days, when no one "in trade" ever went to Government House. But not then or ever was Mrs. Thorburn to be thwarted; she insisted on a compromise. A bookstore was more "genteel", and into Durie's, known to another generation as the source and rendezvous

of reading interest for contemporary Ottawa, went Ella Mutchmor.

Endowed with a remarkably "outgoing" personality, warm humor, and gifted in repartee, "young Ella" Mutchmor was as cheery and friendly in banter with Sir John A. Macdonald, as with the young civil servant Archibald Lampman, the learned grave classical scholar, Dr. John Thorburn, head of the Grammar School which became Lisgar Collegiate or the boy or girl looking for a school text or a picture book. It was in these days that she began that incredibly wide and intimate acquaintance with just everyone and everything in Ottawa.

And as for helpfulness with shy young men, looking for books of poems or a "ladies' magazine" in a day of lush romanticism, Ella Mutchmor was at her best--and knew it. "We are seven" was the slogan, one still admiring gallant of her heyday says, of the competing group who waited upon her favors. But the combination of good looks, the same staunch Presbyterian ancestry, the entrancing uniform of the Governor General's Foot Guards, and a common interest in the business of books, threw the weight of decison in favor of Charles Henry Thorburn, son of "Dr. John."

Young Thorburn had gone into "books on his own," forming the firm later known as Thorburn and Abbott. Dr. Thorburn was now acting as Dominion archivist, and he and his wife, "Maria Jane Isabella, one of the Farrishes of Nova Scotia," approved of few of the Capital's "young flighties" as a daughter-in-law.

ELLA MUTCHMOR THORBURN

"Albeit with reservations," Ella Thorburn used to say, they welcomed her into one-half of the ample family home, now the Thorburn apartment block on Daly avenue.

Mrs. Charles Thorburn then began a story of service to her day and community that has rarely been equalled and not surpassed. St. Paul's Presbyterian Church in "Sandy Hill" was the base from which her local work and sense of broader responsibility carried her into national office of high and continuous duty in the WMS of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. For a quarter century Mrs. Charles Thorburn served with splendid effectiveness as national treasurer of the WMS, the cause always closest to her heart though her other activities became manifold.

Of course, the Thorburn and Mutchmor traditions alike would not "abide," what Mrs. Thorburn always called, "discontinuing Presbyterians" and, sharp as the wrench with the church which Dr. Thorburn had been instrumental in building, the entire family transferred to St. Andrew's when St. Paul's became "St. Paul's Eastern United." Not until then, (and then only because it was "in the Lord's cause)" had Mrs. John Thorburn ever suffered a Thorburn automobile to be driven on the Sabbath.

Ella Thorburn's abounding interest in people was the expression of a human sympathy so warm and vital that, for over 60 years, her front and back doors were as frequented by the bewildered, distressed and needy as those of

any social agency in the expanding city. Mrs. Thorburn combined, in a rare way, personal charity, clear perception of changing conditions and a readiness to adopt and encourage new ways in old institutions.

The old Protestant Home for Orphans and the aged, in the founding of which the Baroness Macdonald of Ernescliffe and Mrs. D. MacTavish had been associated, stood in the centre of the city, at Elgin and Copper streets, though, when built this had been the "extension of Elgin Street and Biddy's Lane." The Protestant Infants' Home was on Bronson Avenue, Mrs. Alen Mather its focal strength.

Mrs. Thorburn, vice-president of the Elgin Street institution with Mrs. John Lewis, the president and whom she was to succeed, became impressed with the importance of more family work on the admission of children into care away from their parents, and more family life for those taken into care. She was the major force in one of the early and most dramatic changes in the child-caring set up of any Canadian city.

The aged women and children were first separated, and the former happily established in the Bronson Memorial on Bronson Avenue. This latter was the gift of Mr. Fred Bronson, at the same time a tribute to his parents and a testimony of his regard for Mrs. Thorburn.

The children were then placed in the fine modern "unit" system plant, erected in close proximity to the Civic Hospital, and named the

Protestant Children's Village. Mrs. Thorburn remained president of each institution until both were thoroughly established along their new lines, the Bronson Memorial shortly becoming self-supporting.

Then the former Infants' Home on Bronson Avenue under the energetic leadership of the late Senator Andrew Haydon and Mrs. Thorburn, became Shernfold School, for the care of maladjusted little girls of the Eastern Ontario areas. It also became self-supporting. After 25 years of effective operation it was closed in 1946 upon withdrawal of the staff of the Sisterhood of St. John the Divine (Anglican) from the diocese of Ottawa.

Mrs. Thorburn, with the late W.L. Scott, KC, was a power in the Children's Aid Society, both of them being carried in its work into the broader obligations of organizing the Canadian Coucil of Child and Family Welfare (now the Canadian Welfare Coucil). Mrs. Thorburn became president in 1924, Mr. Scott counsel, and they were influential in getting it set up as a fully operating agency with its own director, Charlotte Whitton. Mrs. Thorburn served for seven years, one of her permanent memorials being the Council headquarters in the "Gilmour" house, now Council House at 245 Cooper Street.

Mrs. Thorburn's name, with Mrs. R.A. Kennedy, Mrs. H.I. Thomas, Miss F.M. Birt and Miss Charlotte Whitton, appears in the small and determined group who applied for the charter and founded the Chelsea Club, of which

Mrs. Thorburn again served as president through all the difficult years of establishment.

The Veterans and the Legion were close to her heart, she and that other sterling woman of Ottawa, the late Mrs. A.J. Freiman, being the heart and soul of the Poppy Day organization from its inception to the day when ill-health alone gave them furlough.

Over the years Mrs. Thorburn threw herself with gusto, into every woman's cause, serving on the Local Coucil of Woman and, for years, as treasurer of the National Coucil. She repeatedly declined the presidency. A gifted speaker, she was in demand everywhere, served as president of the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa and in the creation of the Association of Canadian Clubs.

Her fine presence, her energy, her speaking ability singled her out for one of the first "high flight" appointments given to a woman in Canada. Hon. James Robb, then Minister of Trade and Commerce, had seen her win over the Holstein Breeders' Association to strong support of the certifying of herds, opening her appeal to them with "Now I don't know a Holstein from an ink stain but I do know TB." He asked her to become Women's Commissioner to the great British Fair at Wembley in 1924, Canadian delegate to the ILO at Geneva and representative to the World's Conference of Women in Denmark.

Mrs. Thorburn was an ardent worker for the franchise and a keen party woman, her faith in the Liberal Party being as firmly bred in her fibre as her pride in her Scotch an-

cestry and her belief in the Church of Scotland. "Though you must be fair", she'd say, "you must read The Mail sometimes and there must be something good in Conservatives when men as fine as P.D. Ross put as decent a paper as The Journal behind them."

Sir Wilfrid Laurier was her revered and loved chief, Mr. Mackenzie King, her admired and warmly held fellow-parishioner and "my P.M." She was active in the convention in 1919 which gave him the leadership.

But Sir Robert Borden and Sir George Perley were "two of the finest men I ever knew." To her they always gave their personal subscriptions to the causes close to her heart. R.B. Bennett, then Prime Minister, recommended her for the OBE, in 1935, telling her when he called her "You've deserved it though it will only add to your strength when you go out speaking for King against me in the next election."

It was inevitable that Mrs. Thorburn would be drawn into public life, becoming member and vice-chairman of Ottawa's first Public Welfare Board in the drear drab days of the depression, when she also helped to found the Ottawa Neighborhood Services. She was first woman member of the Collegiate Board, where she succeeded her other warm "Tory friend," "Hammie" Hill, as chairman. At this time rumors were rife that she would go to Toronto as deputy or perhaps Minister of Welfare in the Hepburn administration, that she was certain of appointment to the Senate when "the

Liberals came back."

Then came the tradegy of Mrs. Thorburn's life. The Thorburn family home centred about the only son, Beverley, who had gone to RMC and, at the age of 17 years, held a commission in the First World War, with the Imperial Army. Returning from conflict, he had graduated in science, mining and metallurgy, from Queen's, started work of real promise with the Republic Iron Company, and then came back to enter the family firm and make his home in Ottawa, with his wife, the former Marylu Christian of Atlanta, Georgia, and his little daughter, Mary Eleanor. Stricken suddenly with a coronary thrombosis, he died in 1940 in his 42nd year.

Mrs. Thorburn reeled and rallied from the shock, took up again all the works of her good citizenship, went about with the same cheery words, the same quick repartee, but something of the snap was gone. Into the Second World War she brought whatever service was asked from her. She was named to the important first commission, setting up and operating the Unemployment Insurance System.

On the Prime Minister's personal urging she accepted responsibility as the only woman member of the Crown Assets and Allocation Committee. Her vigor and energy were such that few in Ottawa would believe "the eighties have got me" as she would jocularly say, though an enduring grief and loneliness of heart more than age, were snapping her superb vitality of spirit and vivacity of mind. Mrs. Beverley Thorburn's decision to stay in the land of her

husband's people, her effective participation in all the traditional institutions and services of the family in church and community, and Mary Eleanor's proven inheritance of her forebears' and her father's ability and charm (upon Mary Eleanor's marriage to Dennis Monoghan, a fellow graduate of Queen's) sparked the old wit again.

"Well," said the doughty old Presbyterian grandame, "Well, if she can't find a Scotch Presbyterian, I suppose an Anglican Irishman makes a good second choice." Mrs. Thorburn's interest in living revived in a determination to be a great grandmother, a dream realized in the fourth generation's Jane Thorburn Monaghan, and her little brother James Thorburn Monaghan. These all brought reinforcing happiness to the closing years. But they were days of twilight albeit in a kindly setting sun, a long, quiet season before the quiet sinking into sleep.

Ella Mutchmor Thorburn was the embodiment of all that was finest in the stock who opened and made these counties of Eastern Ontario, who helped shape them to the glory of God and the service of man. In her long life she worked steadfastly for the furthering of decency, of justice and charity, in the day to day life of her community. Her power came from her faithful practice of these virtues in her own living. The worthiness of her service touched not only those who called her friend but this whole city and beyond, in the stronger building of the land she loved.

ELLA MUTCHMOR THORBURN

The years will be long ere one like her will pass this way again but "her work continueth, broad and deep continueth, greater than her knowing."

David George McQueen (1887-1930)

Pioneer of Western Canada
by J. J. Harrold Morris

Edmonton had been established as a Hudson's Bay Company post in 1794, and for the first seventy-five years of its history all its activities centered within the walls of the fort. During the 1860s' however, as some homesteaders took up land in the area, the business life of the hamlet spilled beyond the stockades. By the year 1887, the village of Edmonton had a population of about three hundred and fifty. Its main thoroughfare, Jasper Avenue, stretching along the top of the north bank of the broad valley of the North Saskatchewan River, was flanked by a variety of business establishments. There were six general stores, a butcher shop, a bakery, a blacksmith's shop, a land office, the Edmonton Bulletin printing shop, four livery stables, four churches (Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic), two schools, four hotels, a post office, a telegraph office, grist mill, sawmill, and a brick yard. Small settlements of homesteaders at Namao, Belmont, Stoney Plain and Clover Bar, all some ten to fifteen miles from Edmonton, gave the little village a promise of a widening agricultural industry to take the place of the receding fur trade. Edmonton was quite isolated, as the nearest railway station was at Calgary, two hundred miles to the south, accessible only by a tiresome five day stage-

coach journey.

(On one of the passengers who arrived at Edmonton this stage coach) on 27 June, 1887 was the Reverend D.G. McQueen, newly graduated from Knox College, Toronto, who had come to serve the Edmonton Presbyterian Church, a congregation which had been formed in 1881 by the Reverend Andrew B. Baird. A church building was erected the following year, and services were also started at Belmont, Namao, Clover Bar and Fort Saskatchewan. As Mr. Baird intended to leave Edmonton in 1887 to become principal of the Indian Residential School planned for Regina, D.G. McQueen came to take over the responsibilities of the work at Edmonton. (Mr. Baird did leave that fall, but as the construction of the Regina school was not completed, he took a position as lecturer at Manitoba College, where he remained as professor for many years).

David George McQueen was born at Kirkwall, Ontario, on Christmas Day, 1854. He attended Waterdown High School, then taught school for several years before entering the University of Toronto. He graduated in Arts with honours in mathematics in 1884, and in Theology from Knox College in 1887. When Dr. James Robertson, Superintendent of Missions for the North-West, visited Knox College that spring he was aware that Andrew Baird would soon be leaving the Edmonton charge. Therefore he asked David McQueen to come West. The young graduate had seriously considered joining his friends Jonathan Goforth and John and Donald MacGillivray in some part of the foreign mission work

of the church, but Dr. Robertson's insistence of the challenge of the West could not be easily withstood, nor lightly dismissed. McQueen having agreed to go to Edmonton, headed West after graduation, pausing briefly in Winnipeg to attend the General Assembly of 1887 as a newly-licensed minister, followed by another stop in Qu'Appelle, where he was ordained to the Ministry of Word and Sacrament by the Presbytery of Regina on 21 June, 1887.

From the very beginning of McQueen's ministry he was quickly involved in a wide variety of activities, for he had a breadth of interest and capability that would characterize the remaining forty-three years of his life. One of his first tasks after his arrival was to help get out logs for a church building in Fort Saskatchewan, which was dedicated in the spring of 1888. He then proceeded to construct a church at Clover Bar, doing much of the actual labour himself. He also took an active interest in all matters of public affairs, particularly in relation to the schools. The Territorial Government appointed Mr. McQueen as Protestant School Inspector for the Edmonton area in 1887, a position in which for the next four years, he supervised the schools of the entire northern part of what is now Alberta, extending as far south as Red Deer, one hundred miles down the Calgary trail. While the population of Alberta was not large, pressures were exerted on the Federal Government to improve grants for high schools, and provide training for teachers. McQueen and Frank Oliver, publisher of the Edmonton Bulletin, took a leading part in this agitation for better educational

opportunities. The outcome was a change in school organization, the establishment of Normal Schools for teacher training, and a regulation (passed in 1892) requiring that all inspectors should have completed a course at Normal School. As a result McQueen was released from the duties of his inspectorate. While these duties had been arduous and involved much travelling, they had provided an opportunity for the young minister to meet the people of the area. He became acquainted with every man, woman, and child in Northern Alberta, and for years afterward the old-timers continued to regard him as one to whom they had a particular right to turn in times of trouble or rejoicing.

Meantime, the regular work of the congregation went on. All the responsibilities of the several rural preaching points also devolved upon Mr. McQueen. He knew what his priorities were, for during this period he wrote:

> I try to prepare two sermons a week, but I am sure not with the best success. When one's mind is full of the other things necessarily laid upon it, it is really hard work to concentrate on the real work of the pastor ... It appears to me that holding an outpost like this tries a man's mettle as nothing else can do.

In 1899, two years after his arrival in Edmonton, he made his first trip back to Ontario. The General Assembly was to meet in Toronto, an event to which he had looked forward for several months. It was robbed of its

pleasure, however, for on the way east he received word of his father's serious illness. His father knew him when he arrived home, spoke briefly with him, then died that afternoon.

Yet though it was a sad homecoming it was memorable in other ways, for it was on that occasion that he first met Catherine Robertson, who later became his wife. Although they had been brought up within six miles of each other, they had never met before. They were married in September the following year at Strabane, Ontario.

Mrs. McQueen, with charm and dignity, was a constant support to her husband in all his activities, taking a leading part in the life of the community, and of the Women's Missionary Societies. The McQueens had three sons and four daughters: James, Alexander, Robert, Marjorie (Mrs. J.A. MacInnis), Christina (Mrs. D. McKnight), Jean (Mrs. H. Siemens), and Helen (Mrs. C.E. Learmonth). All three sons served in the Army in the First World War, and one of them, Alex, was killed in action in Flanders.

The last decade of the nineteenth century saw a greatly increased settlement in the Western Prairies, which coupled with the arrival of the railway from Calgary to South Edmonton in 1891 led to a growth in the whole Edmonton area. The congregation, at the same time so grew and prospered, that after serving for almost six years as an ordained missionary, McQueen was offered and accepted a call to the Edmonton congregation into which he was inducted in

March 1893. The congregation became self-supporting in 1896, and the Presbytery of Calgary, in which the congregation was situated at the time, passed a motion recording

> That the Presbytery has heard with much pleasure the prosperous state of the Edmonton congregation; they congratulate them on reaching the status of a self-supporting congregation, and commend their liberality in increasing their pastor's salary to $1000 per annum with free manse.

That same year, the Presbytery of Edmonton was formed from the northerly portion of the Calgary Presbytery, McQueen being named first moderator, and convener of Home Missions. He held the latter responsibility for ten years, a period of time that included the massive immigration into the Prairies under the aggressive policy of the Minister of the Interior, Sir Clifford Sifton. Thus he was deeply involved, along with the great Superintendent of Missions, Dr. James Robertson, in the organizing of congregations in the entire area to meet the needs of the new settlers.

The personal generosity of the McQueen family was of direct benefit to the new congregations. McQueen received a gift of money from his oldest brother, Robert McQueen of Kirkwall, Ontario, who had been a major influence in David's decision to enter the ministry. This money was invested in a coal mine at Clover Bar, and the imcome from the royalties was used entirely to assist with the cost of buildings for new congregations. Over the years,

almost every congregation in the Edmonton Presbytery received grants from this source.

The growing population also brought changes in Edmonton itself. A new church building was erected in 1902, to replace the original structure. A second congregation, Queen's Avenue (later called Westminster), was organized in 1905; a third, Erskine, in 1906; and a fourth, Robertson, in 1909. First Presbyterian Church, the name given by the Presbytery in 1905 to the original Edmonton Presbyterian Church, had initiated the development of each of these new congregations in the city, as well as financially supporting outpost mission work in the Peace River district. Mr. McQueen's broad vision of the responsibilities of the church were obviously being well communicated to his congregation. Knox College, his alma mater, honoured him in 1905, conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, "in recognition of his career as a student and of his faithful work as a minister of the Church during his many years in the North-West". Further honours came to him when, in 1917, as a member of the Senate of the University of Alberta, he was granted an Honourary Doctor of Laws by that institution.

McQueen's activity and interest however, were in no way limited to church affairs. As his biographer, E.A. Corbett, records,

> He had become a part of the city's life. In civic, school, and hospital affairs -- wherever men met to weigh and attempt to solve the problems of a rapidly growing

> town and country -- McQueen's judgment and influence were felt ... Injustice he would not countenance, and the one sure way to get Dr. McQueen into the area of public affairs was for the city council, school or hospital boards to attempt any kind of autocratic measure leading to grave inconvenience or hardship upon the employees. In fact, Dr. McQueen was usually at his best in either Church Assembly or civic gatherings when making a fighting speech on behalf of a minority unjustly dealt with.

When the Provice of Alberta was formed in 1905 and the government took steps to establish a provincial university, the Presbytery of Edmonton named a committee, convened by McQueen, to meet with the government to discuss all matters relative to the university. The Synod of Alberta, which was formed in 1907 with Dr. McQueen as its first Moderator, was successful in petitioning the General Assembly of 1910 to establish a theological college at the new University. Dr. McQueen was named to the original Board of Management and to the Senate of the theological college (named "Robertson College") remaining on them for fifteen years.

McQueen's influence on civic, provincial, and national affairs was also undoubtedly felt directly and indirectly through his friends and members of the congregation of First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton. He was a personal friend of every member of the first Alberta Cabinet, and read the prayers daily at the first sessions of the Legislative Assembly.

The premier, Dr. A.C. Rutherford, was a close personal friend for years, and the attorney-general, C.W. Cross, was a member of First Presbyterian Church. Although a strong Liberal by training and conviction, Dr. McQueen formed a genuine attachment and respect for the young leader of the Conservative opposition, R.B. Bennett, who was later to become Prime Minister of Canada. Other members of First Presbyterian Church who had wide influence in community and government affairs were: Frank Oliver, publisher of the Edmonton Bulletin, member of the North-West Territories Council in the early days and later Member of Parliament and successor to Clifford Sifton as Minister of the Interior; John A. McDougall, pioneer trader, mayor of Edmonton and Member of the Provincial Legislature; and D.A. MacKenzie, Deputy Minister of Education forthe Province of Alberta.

The continued growth of the city meant a continued growth of the congregation of First Church. The former property, on a valuable business site on Jasper Avenue, was sold the present church building being erected, and formally dedicated on 3 June, 1912. Later that same week the General Assembly met in the new building in Edmonton, and unanimously elected Dr. McQueen as Moderator.

> Twenty-five years of hard work in a congregation which, for ten years of that period, was a struggling outpost mission, had now been rewarded with a beautiful edifice, sufficiently commodious to accommodate the Church Assembly, and had placed upon Dr. McQueen's broad and still vigorous

shoulders the greatest honour and the greatest responsibility the Presbyterian church can give its sons.

For the first fifteen years after its formation in 1896, a major concern of the Presbytery of Edmonton, and especially of its key ministers like D.G. McQueen, was the expanding home missions task as settlement rapidly extended into the area. For the next fifteen years, from 1910 to 1925, the priority concern shifted to the related questions of co-operation between the denominations in the area, and the discussions of possible organic union between the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches in Canada. Once again McQueen took a leading role. He was a member of the Provincial Committee on co-operation between the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches which was set up in 1910. By January 1911 this committee had set out guidelines for co-operation, by dividing the Province into nine districts for oversight and decision on co-operative ventures. Alberta thus set the pace, for it was not until later in 1911 that the Joint Dominion Committee on Co-operation first met.

McQueen was permanent chairman of the Edmonton district committee on co-operation, whose responsibility included the entire North-West portion of the Province. The committee met frequently over the next twelve years, diligently attempting to prevent overlapping and needless competition between churches, yet having regard for the feelings and wishes of the people involved. By 1923, there were 297

Union congregations in the Province of Alberta.

He was also involved in the official discussions on church union, and from 1912 on, was member of the General Assembly's Committee. He was a strong advocate of co-operation, but was not convinced that organic union was desirable if it meant a division within the Presbyterian Church. When the results of the first vote on the question were reported to the 1912 General Assembly in Edmonton, it was apparent that there was considerable opposition. The Assembly took cognizance both of the majority vote in favour and of the large minority opposed, and unanimously agreed,

> That the fact that a large majority of those voting have declared themselves in favour of organic union of the Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian Churches is a strong indication that the ultimate result of the present movement will be consummation of such a union. In view, however, of the extent of the minority,... the Assembly deems it unwise immediately to proceed to consummate the union, but believes that by further conference and discussion, practically unanimous action can be secured within a reasonable time.

The fact that McQueen frequently referred to this decision of the Assembly of which he was Moderator, is an indication that it expressed his particular position. In Presbytery, Synod, and the General Assembly, he consistently supported positive steps of co-operation and understanding, but opposed any action that might

lead to a division within the Presbyterian Church through the forcing of union. When it became obvious by the action of the General Assembly of 1923 that the union would take place in 1925, McQueen aligned himself with the dissenting group that would endeavour to continue the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

At the General Assembly in 1925, on June 9th, a motion was passed, "That when this Assembly adjourns this afternoon, it do adjourn to meet ... the 24th day of June, 1925, unless in the meantime its rights, privileges, authorities, and powers shall have ceased, under the terms of ... the United Church of Canada Act". A protest against such adjournment, and a claim of right signed by seventy-nine members of Assembly, was presented to the Moderator, who refused to have it read, and called for the adjournment, declaring the Assembly closed. The seventy-nine protestants immediately chose Dr. McQueen as their Moderator. Amid the tumult of the adjourned meeting they reconstituted the Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, agreeing to meet at 11:45 that same night. At the appointed time and place, Dr. McQueen moderated the session which continued its deliberations into the early hours of the next day. The third session of that Assembly was held in St. Andrew's Church, Toronto, on 11 June, at which time Dr. Ephraim Scott was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Canada.

The remaining five years of Dr. McQueen's life were full of constant activity, although the heavy responsibilities in the congregation

had been eased by the appointment of an associate minister. Since the task of reorganizing and strengthening the Presbyterian Church was a pressing one, McQueen continued to give strong leadership in all the courts and deliberations.

In June 1927, First Presbyterian Church celebrated the fortieth anniversary of Dr. McQueen's arrival in Edmonton. The illuminated address presented to him by the congregation indicates his influence, and the respect in which he was held:

> To maintain for a period of forty years a high degree of efficiency in any sphere of honourable service is itself an achievement deserving more than passing notice, but the unstained record of your good works and of your influence, which has radiated far and wide from the First Presbyterian Church as its vital centre, is in many respects so remarkable that we feel unable to express adequately the esteem and affection cherished for you by thousands of human hearts.
>
> Not only the devoted members of your own Church, but also many, many other persons have been deeply impressed by your unwavering loyalty to the Christian Faith and to the Presbyterian Church, by the fine spirit of enterprise, heroism, and self-sacrifice that brought you to this remote and difficult field of ministerial labour, and by your able endurance of incidental trials to which many a man

might have succumbed.

Your zealous service to the Church, to education, to philanthropy, and to other movements of Christian progress are remembered with devout admiration and gratitude.

Just over three years later, on 22 October 1930, after a serious operation, Dr. McQueen finished his course, having kept faith with himself and his God throughout a long a noble life. George V. Ferguson, an editorial writer for the Winnipeg Free Press at the time, and later to become a noted Canadian journalist, wrote an expressive tribute:

Dr. McQueen was as much a part of Edmonton as the woods that line the gorge of the Saskatchewan River that cuts the town in two. His tall, spare figure, the austere, clean-shaven face with its deep-hewn lines, was as familiar in the streets as in the pulpit of his church. The life of the pioneer was deep in him. He came to Edmonton when it was a tiny village, and the qualities that endeared him to his fellows were the typical characteristics of the best pioneers: character, deep-seated friendliness, tolerance, combined with utmost integrity, and a rich humour which alone can keep a man's nature sweet upon the frontier.

Everybody trusted him; everybody came to him for help; and everybody respected him. It would be no compliment to say that

everybody loved him, for there were crooks in Edmonton as there were everywhere else in the world, and Dr. McQueen dealt with them as sternly and as firmly as his Scots Presbyterian forbears had dealt with evil-doers in their days. But he was a just man, and justice brings respect in its train.

So it was with Dr. McQueen of Edmonton, and some part of that firm character which was his is built into the stones and mortar of that city in such a way that his influence will last so long as grass grows and water runs. That is the kind of immortality that counts.

The simple bronze tablet erected to his memory in First Presbyterian Church, Edmonton, gives eloquent testimony to his life, and to the love of his people:

The Rev. David George McQueen
B.A., D.D., LL.D.

An Eminent Citizen and Church Leader
And a Man Greatly Loved By All
We Humbly Thank God For the Example
of His Life.

DAVID GEORGE McQUEEN

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Ephraim Scott

Editor Extraordinary

by DeCourcy H. Rayner

A telephone call to the national offices of The Presbyterian Church in Canada in October, 1973 drew attention to a framed illustrated address on display in a pawnshop window in downtown Toronto.

Fortunately the message was passed to the achivist, the Rev. Fred Rennie, who investigated and found that it was a hand lettered scroll presented to Rev. Dr. Ephraim Scott on his retirement as editor of The Presbyterian Record in December, 1926. After some haggling with the pawnbroker the precious item was purchased, and now hangs in the editor's office.

For 35 years Dr. Ephraim Scott served as editor of The Presbyterian Record, an unequalled period of official service in our church. For some years prior to that he edited other publications in the Maritimes, so that his retirement marked 46 years of continuous publishing.

But Dr. Scott was more than a writer, he was the one who did more than any other to preserve The Presbyterian Church in Canada when union with Congregationalists and Methodists took place in 1925. This was recognized

when he was elected moderator of the General Assembly in that year. Indeed, no other name was proposed. As he says modestly in his book "Church Union" and The Presbyterian Church in Canada (note the quotation marks in that title): "This election was quickly over as there was but one nomination."

His successor, the late Rev. Dr. W.M. Rochester wrote in The Presbyterian Record, September 1931: "In the hour of his passing the church lost one of its distinguished leaders who for clarity of thought, cogency of argument, vigour of expression whether by voice or pen, independence, courage, tenacity, steadiness, self-control, industry, and unswerving devotion to the church was not surpassed by any in her history of over half a century."

What were the origins of this remarkable man, who was destined to serve the church for over 50 years in so many ways? Ephraim Scott was born on the 29th of January, 1845 in a beautiful glen among the Gore Hills in Hants County, in the heart of Nova Scotia. His mother died when he was but a few months old. His father, a farmer, was a strong Christian, active as an elder in the local church. Quite often the Scott home entertained visiting Presbyterian ministers.

Like other farm boys who have risen to prominence in Canada, Ephraim Scott was educated in a country schoolhouse. Twenty miles away at the mouth of the Shubenacadie River at the extreme end of the Bay of Fundy was the

port of Maitland. At 19 years of age, with his father's approval, Ephraim went to Maitland to appentice as a shipbuilder, and he worked at that trade for four years.

Undoubtedly he was influenced by the preaching and life of the Rev. John Currie, who afterwards became a professor in the Presbyterian College, Halifax, N.S. He also spoke with affection in later years of a devoted Sunday School teacher, an elder in the church at Maitland, whose name is not recorded. While away from home in those formative years Ephraim received a steady stream of letters from his father, which directed and steadied him. At the age of 20, after careful deliberation, he joined the church, and three years later heard a definite call to the Christian ministry.

It was not easy for a young shipbuilder to answer such a call, but at 23 years of age he enrolled for the winter in Maitland High School, leaving in the spring for Halifax to take the provincial examination for teachers. With a first-class license he returned to his home at Gore, where he taught for a few months in the country school in which he had once been a pupil. Then he entered Dalhousie University, graduating in the spring of 1872 with the degree of B.A. Each summer during his Arts course he taught school. However after a year in theology at the Presbyterian College, Halifax, young Scott began his ministry as a student at St. Croix, N.S.

Part way through his second year, in January, 1874, Ephraim Scott surprised a

professor who had befriended him by bidding him good-bye at the close of a lecture, saying that he was off to Palestine. For six months he travelled through Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy and parts of Europe before settling in Edinburgh. There he studied for eight months in the United Presbyterian Theological Hall under professors Eadie and Cairns, followed by a winter session in the Free Church College under professors Rainy and Davidson.

Early in 1875 Scott returned to Nova Scotia, and in May, just a month before The Presbyterian Church in Canada came into being, he was licensed by the Presbytery of Halifax. On September 20, at 30 years of age the Rev. Ephraim Scott was "ordained into the pastoral charge of Milford and Gay's River" in the same presbytery. Three years later, on the anniversary of his ordination, he was inducted as minister of the United Presbyterian Church (since 1925 Westminster Presbyterian Church) in New Glasgow, N. S. In 1891, after a pastorate there of 13 years, he was called to succeed James Croil, a layman, as editor of The Presbyterian Record.

Ephraim Scott had qualified for the post by editing The Maritime Presbyterian, which he had established in 1881 under the sponsorship of the Foreign Mission Committee. It dealt mainly with the missions in the New Hebrides and Trinidad, in which the Presbyterians in the Maritimes were particularly interested. It was the same size as The Presbyterian Record and alternated with the latter. Circulation reached 5,000.

Another venture edited by Ephraim Scott was The Children's Record, begun in 1885. He continued this for several years after taking over The Presbyterian Record, and it eventually became a weekly known as The King's Own. It was a popular publication under Scott's editorship, with a circulation of 25,000.

Seven years after assuming the post of editor of The Record and in addition to his children's magazine, Scott published the Sunday School helps; leaflets and quarterlies and a teachers' monthly. In fact in 1898 he provided these helps without cost to the church, cleared off a deficit of $3,000, and handed the operation over to an editor in Toronto with a credit balance of $1,000.

At that time, and until 1927 The Presbyterian Record was published in Montreal, where Dr. Ephraim Scott lived and laboured.

During the church union controversy, although he showed no partisanship in The Record, Ephraim Scott wrote and circulated many letters and leaflets expounding Presbyterian tenets and calling for the continuance of the church. In 1915, just before the second vote, he published two issues of The Presbyterian Advocate to the number of 220,000 copies. His own statement of his service with his pen read, "I have been privileged to publish monthly continuously for 46 years the work of our church specially her foreign missions, and in all that time have been kept in health so that there has been

no issue, page, or paragraph which has not been personally prepared, selected, and edited."

He certainly earned the honour of a Doctor of Divinity degree from Pine Hill College in Halifax! From 1876 on he missed only four General Assemblies, and served on the Foreign Mission Board from 1879 to 1926.

Little is recorded about Dr. Scott's family life, perhaps because it was touched with tragedy. His first wife was Margaret Ann McKeen, a native of Gay's River, Halifax County, N. S. She accompanied her husband to Montreal in 1891, but she was never well while there, dying of tuberculosis on January 28, 1894, at 39 years of age.

There were three sons born to them, Arthur, who married but had no children, he died in February, 1916 at age 29. George W. Scott was born in November, 1878, delicate and crippled, he never married. His death occurred in September, 1913, at the age of 34. The third son, William, became a medical doctor serving for a short time in China. But as his health failed he returned to Montreal to practice there until his sudden death in November, 1917 at age 36.

Dr. Scott's second wife was for many years a school teacher in New Glasgow, N. S., Annie Roy from Linacy, Pictou County. They had no children, and she predeceased Dr. Scott in January, 1928 when she was 75 years old.

His obituary records that "two daughters-in-law, Mrs. Agnes C. Scott of Canton, Ohio, and Mrs. Milton Hersey with her son and daughter, the only representatives of the family left to mourn Dr. Scott's death, were present (at the funeral) and accompanied the remains to New Glasgow where interment was made."

As the minister of United (now Westminster) Presbyterian Church in New Glasgow Ephraim Scott was loved and respected. On one occasion when the congregation was concerned that he might follow the example of another New Glasgow clergyman, by seeking a change of pulpit, a merchant assured a member of Scott's congregation: "You needn't worry about losing your minister, as he has just purchased a puncheon of molasses."

He is remembered by Miss Jean MacGregor of New Glasgow, a niece of the first Mrs. Scott, as a kindly man with a reputation for being so careful with his money, although generous, that he was always regarded as being quite poor.

In his later years Dr. Scott had a sparsely furnished room in the Y. M. C. A. in Montreal, which served as his office.

It was a surprise to many that he left a considerable legacy to The Presbyterian Church in Canada. A large part of it formed the basis of the Ephraim Scott Memorial Fund, the income from which is still used to aid ministers and their families in case of distress caused through ill health or other misfortunes. In New Glasgow he built a large house with spacious

grounds on Summit Avenue, where it still stands.

One of Ephraim Scott's great achievements at the time of church union in 1925 was to retain The Presbyterian Record with its name and format as "the official monthly record of The Presbyterian Church in Canada." There was an attempt on the part of The United Church of Canada to dismiss the editor and absorb the magazine in the official publication of that church as "continuing The Presbyterian Record."

However Dr. Ephraim Scott won that battle, and after the union he had The Presbyterian Record copyrighted in Ottawa, not as a new publication, but as the same one that had been registered with the Post Office for 50 years.

Dr. Scott must be remembered as a powerful advocate for Presbyterianism in a day when there was grave danger of the church being lost in a union with Methodists and Congregationalists. He believed in the unity of the church, but not uniformity. He stood for united witness and action on the part of all branches of Christ's church, but maintained that the courts of the Presbyterian Church were bound to preserve that church, not annihilate it. He fought to maintain the name of The Presbyterian Church in Canada, and to have that body represented as a church in what was then called the World Presbyterian Alliance.

The late Principal F. Scott MacKenzie spoke for the entire church when he said at the funeral of Dr. Ephraim Scott in Knox-Crescent Church, Montreal, on August 9, 1931:

EPHRAIM SCOTT

"I can speak for every member of the Presbytery and of all the courts of the Church to which he belonged in bearing witness to the universal esteem and regard for one of the most outstanding leaders The Presbyterian Church in Canada has ever had. He was one who commanded respect and confidence in a very marked degree.

"For more than fifty years Dr. Scott was a minister of the Church, and throughout that entire period he devoted himself unstintedly, by voice and pen, without a thought of his own interests, to the work of the Church. Only those who were closest to him knew how faithfully and conscientiously he gave of his best in this service. His one desire was to advance the cause of true religion. He lived for that. With Paul, he could say,'This one thing I do', and in the pursuit of this aim he went fearlessly forward in the way that he believed to be his duty, careless of all other considerations.

"We knew him as a man of tireless energy and of strong convictions which he was ready to defend anywhere and at any time. But we knew him also as a man of warm sympathy and a tender heart, as one whose life adorned the faith which he professed. Predeceased by those nearest and dearest to him, knowing much of the keenest sorrow and suffering, he maintained through it all a calm serenity of spirit. His strong faith upheld him in every trial and in his presence one sensed something of the peace of God which nothing can disturb and which passeth understanding.

EPHRAIM SCOTT

"And now we are left with this memory. It is an inspiring memory. This life is one which judged by Christian standards has been lived nobly and well. He has gone through the world helping others and showing them the way to the richest treasures that life holds. There are many today in widely scattered parts of this Dominion to rise up and call him blessed."

The scroll referred to at the beginning of this article sums up the contribution which he made to The Presbyterian Church in Canada as editor:

"For the long space of thirty-five years, he has prepared and edited the Church's organ, carefully scrutinizing every page and paragraph of each issue, thus rendering a service of untold value to the Church at large, both old and young. It was due to his business acumen and competent management, that The Record was published without cost to the Church during the whole period of his tenure of office.

"The Committee gratefully acknowledge the excellence of Dr. Scott's work, the timely and inspiring character of his editorial writing, and the faithful presentation of the Church's missionary work at home and abroad."

John Buchanan (1859-1942)

Missionary to the Bhils of India

by John McNab

Mission fields across the world have had many wonderful men and women dedicated to the enlightenment of varied peoples, tribes and tongues. Not all missionaries are so built that they can go forward with a smile amid their hardships and opposition. Nevertheless this seemed to be characteristic of that happy warrior, John Buchanan.

He was born in Glenmorris, Ontario, in the year 1859. On completing studies in the public school, he entered Brantford Collegiate Institute. Thence he enrolled at Queen's University, Kingston, where he graduated in Arts. He then completed the theological course in 1884.

The Student Christian Movement, enlisting college graduates for foreign service, was in its infancy, but John heard the call to carry the Gospel to distant lands. Therefore he decided to enroll in medicine, feeling this would enable him to give greater service. So he travelled to the city of New York and enrolled in the University Medical School. Among his fellow students was another Canadian, William Wanless, who was later to become an outstanding surgeon in India.

JOHN BUCHANAN

John Buchanan's first choice of a mission field was China. But the Board of Missions noting that there was a crying need for physicians in India invited him to serve there. Accepting their decision he was appointed to begin his mission of healing and preaching at Ujjain in 1888.

He sailed from Montreal. On the same ship was another young doctor, Mary MacKay of Pictou, Nova Scotia. She likewise was going to serve in India, a quiet person, so unlike the merry troubadour, who could sing his way across the oceans. Despite their differences, they had much in common. There was an ocean courtship. One month after the ship had reached Bombay, they were married in Indore, by the Reverend J. Fraser Campbell.

Ujjain was one of the twelve sacred cities of India. Missionary work had never been attempted there. Although sacred in name, it was reeking with disease, deformity, filth and crime. "Bubonic plague, cholera, smallpox and leprosy were the order of the day." In a small rented house, they began their treatment of the sick and the suffering. Another near-by bazaar house became their dispensary.

In such surroundings, their first children were born, their son Cassels and afterwards, a daughter, Helen. The two doctors laboured incessantly, indeed Mrs. Buchanan was on duty in the dispensary, until the day before her son was born.

This sacred city was crowded with the millions who attend their festivals. So the missionaries began preaching in the streets. Mrs. Buchanan, who was a born teacher, would sit patiently and explain the way of salvation to passing pilgrims. In the heart of the city, they built a school and a two-storied dispensary. On the outskirts they erected a mission home. This pioneer effort was so strenuous that her health, was seriously, indeed permanently impaired. Day and night sufferers crowded in for treatment.

India had other crying needs. In their first months spent in India, the Reverend J. Fraser Campbell had taken Dr. Buchanan into the mountainous territory where the Bhil tribes were located. The journey led through a Hindu village, and the villagers learning that one of their visitors was a doctor, carried in many of their very sick friends for treatment.

As they travelled on through the hills, they found a Bhil suffering from Guinea worm, so crippled that he was crawling on hands and knees to a village in search of food. This Bhil territory was one of those neglected areas, off the beaten path, that needed a physician of body and soul.

After eight years in Ujjain, they were commissioned to open up work among the Bhil tribes in the mountains. The Board of Missions volunteered to erect a bungalow. But Dr. Buchanan had used native labour successfully in Ujjain, and found it gave him opportunity

to mix with the workers. There followed on the part of those labouring a trust in the missionary. Until buildings could be erected, they lived in tents. Their first furlough came due that year, and during their stay in Canada he received gifts enabling him to erect the needed buildings.

During their furlough, Mrs. Buchanan became seriously ill. The surgeons found it necessary to remove one kidney. Hence as the date of their return rolled around, the Mission Board hesitated about her fitness to endure the heat and hardships of India. Two doctors were consulted and they expressed their opinion, that after a period of convalescence she would be able to return. So John Buchanan went out alone to build the hospital and a bungalow.

There were no skilled workmen in the jungle. But he enlisted four youths who with hoes and pickaxes quarried limestone. Others volunteered their services until he had a motley crew of workers. They demanded to be paid each evening in the small copper coins that were current in the hills. Gradually the missionary trained them to accept their pay weekly, thus building up their faith in another's promises. These mountaineers were sceptical of all outsiders.

All the bricks for the building had to be made by hand. There was no factory. He had purchased a mould and with a combination of gritty sand and rich clay our missionary taught the astonished tribesmen how to make

bricks. Actually they had not been familiar with any type of construction. Even their well-trodden pathways were crooked. So he taught these jungle workers how to use a plumb line during the building of that first modest sixteen by thirty-two foot bungalow.

At first there was anger and opposition to building a residence for a stranger on their territory. However Dr. Buchanan's ministry to their sick and his care for several of their tribesmen who had been mauled by wild animals lessened their distrust of their benefactor.

In his first contacts with the Bhils he found their idea of God was limited. They firmly believed that there were demons constantly at work thrusting upon them disaster and death. Nor did they believe that God was interested in them, "a wild looking people." It was a religion of fear.

This ingrained superstition manifested itself in varied ways. They seldom praised their children or ventured to predict a bountiful harvest. All this lest the demons would injure their children or destroy their prospects of ingathering.

One form of appeasing the evil spirits was to take a sacrificial goat and plant it by stealth or by force in a neighbouring village. Often the tribe receiving it would carry the supposed scourge to another settlement. Usually the poor goat became a juicy meal for a prowling panther.

The young physician was constantly in conflict with the practices of witch doctors. He treated one young Christian at Rajpur, suffering from pneumonia. Then on the eve of the youth's cure, some of his relatives brought in a witch doctor. Very soon after the young man's grandmother, who had been nursing him took seriously ill and died. The witch-doctor claimed that he had cured the youth by transferring the disease to the useless old woman.

There were many such confrontations in the early years of the mission. One menace that threatened the well-being of the tribes was the number of young people becoming opium addicts. In the little hospital on occasion there were eight or nine patients trying to kick the habit. Opium users may be attacked by pain in the head, the back and legs. Temperatures sometimes going as high as 105 degrees. Dr. Buchanan was greatly encouraged by the triumph of addicts such as Keriya Harija, who had been eating as much as one hundred grams of their native-grown opium in one day. He attained his victory, as some others did, through resolution, faith, praise and prayer.

At the turn of the century, India suffered a great famine. Tribes, like the Bhils suffered much as they were far from the source of imported supplies. Such grain as could be procured, had to be brought in from the railroad. That was many miles away. The bullocks that were sent to haul in grain, often dropped in their tracks through starvation. Brutal Hindu money lenders cornered available grain and charged outrageous prices. Buchanan warned

the superintendent of the State, that there was an ugly spirit of insurrection stirring among the tribesmen. The official then sent cart loads of grain, which the missionary doled out, often labouring until midnight, to the starving people.

In the midst of this famine, Buchanan decided to erect mission buildings at Amkhut. He taught an increasing number of Bhils to erect walls and do the needed carpentry. At Sardis an irrigation tank was built and a farm tilled in what had been waste land. He also persuaded the workers to build eleven miles of road on the hilly portion of the Dohad-Ali Kajpur route.

All this work had to be done by human hands, since the Bhils possessed no machines. But the labourers were paid and their families were rescued from starvation. All this was accomplished through the missionary's zeal and dedicated concern. He was not only the superintendent of this construction work but also the paymaster.

The famine increased greatly the medical work. Despite the heroic efforts that were made, the tribes were decimated by hunger, anaemia and smallpox. Then they were stricken by a cholera epidemic. The fight he faced this time alone, for his little family was then in Canada.

In the heat of the battle, John Buchanan came down with cholera. No nurse to aid him, he gathered medicine to the bedside, and taught a boy servant to dole this out. Night and day

throughout this epidemic, death was ever a constant menace to the entire settlement.

But his troubles were by no means only medicine. One of the brightest converts was Chomreya Dhan Singh. By the time he was eighteen years old, he had learned how to lay bricks at the mission and became one of the most skilful workers. When the church school was erected at Amkhut, he was given command of the mason work. The arches and pillars were a tribute to his consummate skill. But Chomreya was led by others to drink a little liquor. This temptation entrapped him and he took to brewing native liquor. There was a terrific struggle back and forth, resulting in the loss of this capable young leader which was a great disappointment to the missionary.

The use of intoxicating liquor had been for years a cause of considerable trouble such as fights and bloodshed among the Bhils. Some of the liquor was drawn from the palm trees and allowed to ferment in earthen pots. The failure of some professing Christians to abstain, and even to become shockingly drunk was a decided hindrance to the Christian witness in the community.

The prevalence of drunkenness led to gang warfare between rival factions. Then the injured were dumped at the door of the hospital. Our intrepid Canadian doctor at great personal risk, would at times rush into the middle and try to settle their tribal quarrels.

The Bhil mission had its one great goal: to improve the tribes physically, economically,

socially, mentally and spiritually. This was the five-fold task. One method was to teach better methods in farming, and also to improve their stock. So Buchanan purchased Arab and Australian ponies with his own funds, and also obtained as a gift, a beautiful Arab stallion, all to benefit the community.

His chief concern, however, was the Bhil's conversion and spiritual enrichment. During his early ministry in Amkhut, he discovered on a Government survey map, the Toran Mall Lake in the Satpura Mountains. As these hills were 3,800 feet above sea level he vizualized this spot as a possible educational centre during the hot season.

Accompanied by three Bhil Christians, he made the journey in the middle of the Summer. It was a tough climb, over rocks and stones, and up and down steep mountain sides. Sometimes their journey was on hands and knees before they sighted Toran Mall. However, they had a knowledgeable Bhil guide with them as they climbed and sweated.

Finally, they reached the flat top and discovered a beautiful lake of pure water. It was spring water, clear as crystal, and at the height of the hot season there was a comforting coolness. There the doctor decided to establish a Summer School. Year by year after the buildings were erected, sixty to seventy young Bhils were brought together for periods of Bible Study and work sessions. This School has become self-supporting. The road has been vastly improved since his first journey, and it has been jocularly remarked

that the road was paved by the tread of Bhils, Bears, Buffaloes and Buchanans.

Our Presbyterian mission was truly a dual conquest. For the mother spirit of Mrs. Buchanan cared not only for her own flesh and blood, but for the sick, the orphans and the hungry.

Their own family life was a remarkable illustration of what a home should be. Four children came to enrich their lives, one son and three daughters. Helen, the babe with beautiful curls, became a victim of cholera, and sleeps among the hills, buried in the Leper Cemetery. Their son, Cassels came to Queen's University, and enrolled in the faculty of Science. When World War I erupted, he joined the Sixth Field Company of Canadian Engineers. Seriously wounded in the Ypres salient, he sleeps in a soldier's grave. Ruth, an honours graduate of Queen's and her younger sister, Agnes, are living now among the hills of their beloved India. Ruth wrote a wonderful tribute, "My Mother," which is a spiritual classic.

Many came to believe in God's love, because they had experienced Memsahib's wonderful love. The power that inspired her to share the burdens and sorrows of the community was the constant meditation on the love and suffering of Jesus. For Mrs. Buchanan could have given herself wholly to medical work. But even when her children were young she enjoyed training the young Christians in the way of Salvation. This was for her a never-ending source of joy. And when Church School examinations were annually held for All-India many

of her students carried off honours.

Doctor, teacher, missionary, mother, what a wonderful life - but it was exhausting. More than once she was laid aside by illness. One very serious operation was performed by Sir William Wanless. But her strenuous labours were unceasing. Her final day on duty was typical of her labours.

> The workmen's Bible Class at 6.30 a.m;
> Visiting the homes till breakfast at 11;
> Bible Class for teachers and preachers at 2.30;
> The afternoon with one of the women who was sick;
> At dusk her garden.

She took ill that evening. Two weeks later she became one of the saints at rest. For forty-seven years, Dr. Mary Buchanan had been a faithful, zealous missionary, among the native people she so dearly loved.

The Bhil Mission had multifarious activities. There were four farms: at Amkhut, Sardi, Chicheniya and Toran Mall. All training was designed to produce better cattle, horses, goats, bees, fodder, seed, gardens and fruit trees. There was also provision for industrial know-how, such as carpentry, bricklaying, and the quarrying of lime.

There was no State education then for these backward mountaineers. That is the reason Buchanan felt compelled to give them a basis of training so schools were organized

for grown ups as well as children. They were taught to read and write. Some of the teaching was carried on by orphans, who had been instructed by Mrs. Buchanan. Even when temperatures had passed the one hundred degree mark work instruction continued. So at the turn of the century, before Dr. Frank Laubach had coined his slogan, "Each one teach one," our Bhil missionaries had been using this method.

The three Sunday Schools at Amkhut, Sardi, and Mendha were not solely for children but converts of all ages. During the first half of the year, the studies were based on the International Sunday School lessons. In the second half, The Life of Christ or a similar text book on the New Testament was used. Out of this period of instruction, men "shy and shaggy as a wild bison," became messengers of truth. The largest of these schools was Amkhut, which often had a registration around 240.

When the Buchanans began their mission at Amkhut, they found the witch-doctor in the saddle, but not one bottle of good medicine. The missionaries, however, began their labours, by visiting and treating the poorest of the poor. When the news spread patients began to arrive early in the morning and kept coming often until close to midnight. Thousands of cases were treated during their mission, but in the early years lack of hospital facilities and nurses prevented them from bestowing all the care they wished to give the sufferers.

Even the Maharani came to the mission for treatment and benefitted. During the epidemics

that periodically swept India, the missionaries were aided by some of their Christian students to care for the stricken.

Dr. Buchanan's remarkable contribution did not go wholly unrecognized. The British Government awarded him the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal, "for conspicuous service involving courage and sacrifice." Four years later in 1917 Queen's University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Then the General Assembly of 1928, meeting in Regina, acknowledging his wonderful contribution elected him Moderator.

Some will remark that his was a many-sided mission. But there was one constant goal, Men for the Master, meaning the Bhils for Christ. John Buchanan touched many lives, Hindu, Moslems and particularly Bhils. The unfailing message he proclaimed was the love of Christ for all mankind.

John Buchanan said repeatedly: "We are trying to join together what our Lord never intended should be divorced: religion, intelligence and honest labor." So the brickfield, the lime quarry, the wall building, the board sawing, and the farms were his evangelistic halls. "I want none better," was his comment. These activities, as his daughter Ruth has written, were not only to train the Bhils in honest labor, but to make them also worthy ambassadors of Christ.

After over fifty years of service, he chose to live his sunset days among the Bhils.

When need arose he often assisted his missionary brethren. In his eighty-third year he sent a characteristic message to the Church -

"It's great sport to bag a panther,
To hook out a large fish,
But the grandest sport of all,
And the one I enjoy most,
Is to win a man, a woman, a boy or a girl,
From demon bondage to the
Blessed freedom of Jesus Christ."

No greater love! They gave their lives for others, who became their friends.