CALLED TO WITNESS

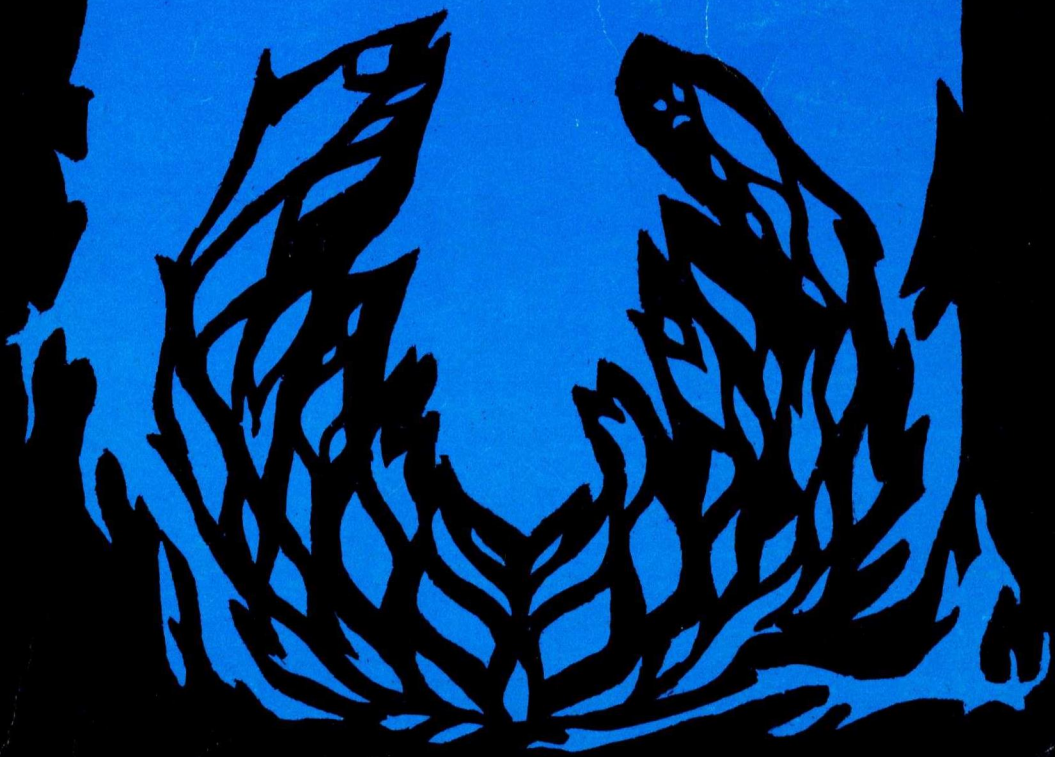
Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians

A SUPPLEMENT TO ENDURING WITNESS

Edited by

W. Stanford Reid

Volume I



CALLED TO WITNESS

Profiles of Canadian Presbyterians

(A Supplement to "Enduring Witness")

Edited by

W. Stanford Reid

This volume of biographies

is published as a memorial to

Norman Allan MacEachern

1882-1945

founder of Presbyterian Publications
and with appreciation for the work of

Beatrice Logan

and the late

Neil G. Smith

who carried on his work of providing
Canadian Sunday School Lessons for
The Presbyterian Church in Canada

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Introduction

An anniversary is always a time for remembering the past. Consequently it is most appropriate that at the time of the 100th anniversary of the union of all Presbyterians in Canada into one church, that Presbyterians should take account of what has taken place during their historic century. To this end a history of the church has been written by Professor John Moir of the University of Toronto, but it was also felt that it would be good to have a collection of short biographies of Presbyterians to supplement the more formal historical work.

That such a collection of centennial biographies has a sound biblical basis is indicated by the fact that as we turn to the Scriptures we find that God's calling is to individuals, not to broad classes nor even to one nation. This was true even in the case of Israel. (cf. Rom. 9) Yet God does not call his people apart from the Church, as though every individual believer is separate from every other believer. He calls his people to faith in Jesus Christ as saviour and lord in and through the Church in order that the Church itself may continue to be "the pillar and foundation of the truth". (1 Tim. 3:15NIV)

General histories of the Church, or of one part of it, cannot but limit themselves to large sweeps and vistas in which most of the individual figures tend to disappear into the background. True, the great figures such as Augustine of Hippo, Martin Luther, John Calvin

and others who have exercised decisive and radical influences on the church will stand out in bold relief, but the people who have faithfully fulfilled their calling although they have not had a Church-shaking impact seldom receive more than a line if even that. Movements, trends, social, economic, political and cultural forces must all be taken into account with the result that at times the more general types of church histories tend to cause the reader to lose the feeling that he is actually reading about men and women of flesh and blood, of like feelings with himself.

It is a fact, however, that the Holy Spirit works within the Church through individuals. This volume, therefore, is designed to supplement the history of Professor Moir in order that individuals who do not appear within his focus may be seen close-up in their activities in the Presbyterian Church in Canada as they sought to extend the Kingdom of Christ among men. In this way it is hoped that not only will a fuller understanding of the development of the Presbyterian Church be made possible, but that through reading the story of these thirty or more Presbyterians, the members of the church may be stimulated to emulate them by reconsecrating themselves to the service of Christ in the second century of our church's work in Canada.

It would seem appropriate at this point that some account be given of the preparation of this volume. At the request of the General Assembly's Committee on History, the editor undertook the preparation of the volume with the understanding that he would be assisted by

Professor Allan L. Farris of Knox College. Professor Farris agreed to help and has been of invaluable assistance in the work, particularly in helping to solve various difficulties which have arisen, both by advice and by hard work.

The first problem with which the editor was confronted was that of choosing the people whose biographies were to be written. As the Presbyterian Church in Canada has produced a large number of notable figures in Canada over the past two centuries making choices was not easy. However, to begin with it was decided that no one now living would be included. It was felt that this would be the safer course in that there would be no possibility of the editor and adviser being charged with favoritism, at least to the living!

In order to cover as wide a spectrum as possible, it was then thought wise to divide the biographies into three classes: ministers, missionaries and lay people. In this way it was hoped that some idea could be given of the development of the church within Canada, the influence of the Church beyond Canada's borders and the impact of the Church through its members on Canadian society as a whole. The book would not consist of merely a set of unrelated individual histories, but would give something of a coordinated account of how various individuals played their part in the story of the church's growth and expanding influence.

But even when these decisions had been made, the major question still remained. Who would be included? It was then decided that people

who had already appeared in biographies in an earlier volume: Enkindled by the Word* should be omitted, as this volume is still available. Furthermore, there were some Presbyterians who are well-known by all Canadians and who have had numerous accounts of their lives written by various authors: Sir John A. MacDonald and William Lyon MacKenzie King are good examples. Yet even with these eliminated the number of people who could be considered was still very large, far too large indeed for the size of book envisaged by the editor and the General Assembly's committee. The result was that arbitrary decisions then had to be made in determining who would be included and who would not, in order to choose a representative group.

At this point another problem arose. Were sources available for the biographical accounts? When this question was posed a number of names had to be dropped. Then there was the matter of obtaining authors who would write the short biographies. A number of people who were approached found for one reason or another that it would be impossible for them to assume this responsibility. Others responded gladly to the requests with the result that these chapters have been written and appear between these covers. Some of the authors, however, found that the time limit set by the editor was too short as they had to do considerable extensive digging in order to accumulate the necessary material. This is the reason that the book has not appeared at the same time as the history.

The editor and the committee both realize that even with all the care taken many names

have been left out which might well have been included. More women might have been included had it not been for the difficulty of finding both materials and authors to write their biographies. In this connection it should also be pointed out that many of the men who made their names in Presbyterian circles originated in the Atlantic provinces, but did not stay there. Consequently the work which they did and that which they achieved had its locale in "Upper Canada" or the west. It is hoped, however that this book will spur on others to write full-length biographies of various Presbyterians who have played important parts in the church and in Canada as a nation. We need either a Canadian Dictionary of Presbyterian Biography or a collection of short biographies published in paperback for popular reading.

As one reads these biographies, although they are relatively short, one sees the great variety of men and women who have played an important part in the history and development of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. At the same time, however, despite the fact that many different authors have written the chapters authors who themselves have very varied backgrounds, one being from North Carolina another from New Zealand as well as authors from all over Canada, certain common characteristics appear in the lives of those whose story is told.

One of these characteristics is a deep sense of commitment to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. They have seen and accepted him as the one who has reconciled them to God. But

they have also realized that he is the Lord of their lives, indeed the Lord of life for all men. This faith and commitment have been the dominant factors in their lives and activities.

But those who held this faith have not sought to keep it to themselves. The ministers and professors have striven to bring the knowledge of God's redeeming grace in Christ Jesus to men in their preaching, their teaching and their pastoral activities. The missionaries have sought to carry the message of the Gospel of divine grace to other lands: India, the New Hebrides, Guyana, China and Taiwan in order that others of different countries and cultures too might partake of that same grace which they have tasted. Finally the laymen and laywomen have sought to manifest and demonstrate their Christian faith in the lives which they have lived as businessmen, politicians, educationalists in order that as R.A. Murray wrote:

> From ocean unto ocean
> Our land shall own Thee, Lord.

In all these lives, therefore, we may well see the possibility of Christian renewal in our church and in our land at this time. They show us what ordinary men and women, committed to Christ can accomplish for him. We are reminded of the words of the writer to the Hebrews:

> Remember your former leaders, who spoke God's message to you. Think back on how they lived and died and imitate their faith. (Heb. 13:7, Good News)

INTRODUCTION

The editor would express his gratitude to Professor Farris for his help and advice on many occasions. He would also offer his deepest thanks to the various persons who have contributed to this volume. Many have taken time out of very busy schedules to do the research and writing necessary to bring it to fruition. He has had to bully some to obtain the articles, but eventually they have all appeared and the authors have been extremely cooperative whenever questions of changes or revisions have arisen. He would also say that he is happy that the General Assembly's Committee on History invited him to undertake this task as part of his contribution to the centenary celebration of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

W. Stanford Reid,
Guelph, Ontario.

NOTE

*This work may be obtained from The Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, c/o Knox College, 59 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario.

Due to the length of many of the original manuscripts it has not been possible to include all of the biographies written at the request of the Centennial Committee. It is hoped that a second volume will be produced at a later date.

John Geddie (1815-1872)

Apostle to the South Seas
by J. Graham Miller

John Geddie was born in Banff, Scotland, on 10th April 1815 and died at Geelong, Australia on 14th December 1872. He was the first foreign missionary of the Presbyterian Synod of Nova Scotia, of the Presbyterian Churches of Canada and of any of the British Colonial Churches. His father John Geddie had been influenced by the religious awakening which accompanied the preaching of the Haldanes with the result that he began to worship in the Independent chapel at Banff. His mother, Mary Menzies, came from Secession stock. John was the only son among four children and his life was in the balance after birth. His parents viewed his recovery as an answer to their prayers and dedicated the child to missionary service. In 1816 the family migrated to Pictou, Nova Scotia where the father continued his trade as a clockmaker and the family joined actively in the life and work of the Prince Street Presbyterian Church. There young John Geddie made his profession of faith on 22nd June 1834 at the age of 19. He enrolled at Pictou Academy and later took his theological studies under Dr. Thos. McCulloch, then the only professor of the Church of Nova Scotia. Illness, however, overtook him during his theological course

but out of his restoration emerged a resolve to devote himself to the heathen although he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Pictou on 2nd May 1837 at the early age of 22, as there was no opening for missionary service abroad he accepted a call to the congregation of Cavendish and New London, Prince Edward Island, where he was ordained and inducted on 13th March 1838. Here he served an apprenticeship of seven valuable years rousing his Church to zeal in Home Missions and pioneering in his Church a concern for Foreign Missions. On 21st September 1839 he married Charlotte, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Alexander McDonald, medical practitioner of Antigonish, when she was "very young and very beautiful" according to the later testimony of her eldest daughter. Charlotte bore him eight children and died in Melbourne at the age of 96. Two daughters married missionaries in the new Hebrides, Lucy (Lucretis) becoming Mrs. Thomas Neilson of Port Resolution, Tanna, and Elizabeth becoming Mrs. Daniel MacDonald of Havannah Harbour, Efate. In spite of separations for schooling the family were deeply attached, devout partners in their parents' missionary task.

The nickname "wee Johnnie Geddie" which he earned at school referred only to his slight stature and his conversion and missionary passion soon made a man of him. As a lad he read the missionary magazines which reached their home from an aunt in London, England. He

followed closely the work of the London Missionary Society then flushed with the achievements of John Williams in the South Seas. The United Secession Church of Scotland gave Williams 500 Pounds and asked him to look out for them a field in the South West Pacific. Later their interest was transferred to the Church in Nova Scotia which was a daughter Church. This explains the surprising fact that the Nova Scotia Church went so far afield for its foreign Mission field and did so in close partnership with the LMS. Meanwhile Geddie showed the instincts of generalship in the way in which, step by step, he marshalled the churches of Nova Scotia for foreign missions. In 1840 he succeeded in getting Bible and Missionary Societies formed within the congregations of the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island. They sent their first offerings to the LMS in London. The martyrdom of John Williams on Erromanga in November 1839 shook the Christian churches of the world. In 1843 Geddie published in the denominational paper a series of letters on the claims of the heathen and urged the churches of Nova Scotia to commit themselves to foreign missions. Led by Geddie the Presbytery of Prince Edward Island in July of that year overtured the Synod of Nova Scotia for authority to set up a foreign missions committee. The Synod did this in 1844, and in 1845 instructed the committee to select a field. On 24th September 1845 the committee selected Western Polynesia, now called Melanesia, as its field, leaving the choice of the particular group or island

to the missionaries in consultation with the LMS in Samoa. When no applications were forthcoming Geddie offered his name to the committee and was accepted on 24th September 1845. Opposition within the church was immediate and outspoken, but the Church got behind him with contributions and encouragement and Geddie spent an arduous year visiting the congregations of the Synod disarming criticism and inspiring confidence and support. As a second ordained missionary was not forthcoming the Geddies sailed from Halifax on 30th November 1846 with Mr. Isaac Archibald, a Catechist, and his wife as colleagues. In seeking to broaden his preparation Geddie had learned printing, building, plastering; and the rudiments of medicine from his father-in-law. Nothing of this was lost.

The tedious voyage via Cape Horn allowed them two excellent opportunities to orientation in a Polynesian environment, first for some weeks on Hawaii and later for some months on Samoa. Here Geddie's eager soul drank in avidly everything he saw, from the preparation of arrowroot as a means of financial self-support in an indigenous church to the mastering of the linguistic principles of the Polynesian languages. His subsequent work bore the imprint of Samoa on all its facets. The LMS had been at work in the New Hebrides since 1839 and had had Polynesian evangelist-teachers stationed on Aneityum since 1841. When the mission party finally sailed for the New Hebrides in 1848 they favoured placing the Geddies on Efate,

now the centre of the New Hebrides with Villa the capital of the Condominium government. On arrival there the reports they gathered were too disturbing and so the "John Williams" sailed south again and landed the mission party on Aneityum on 29th July, 1848, the birthday of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission. The LMS seconded the Rev. Thomas Powell a senior worker in the Samoan Mission, to assist the New Hebrides Mission.

Aneityum the southernmost of the 30 inhabited islands of the New Hebrides group, is about 35 miles in circumference, a typical tropical island with fringing reefs, protected harbour, graceful volcanic peaks, and lush vegetation. But the presence of malaria, the periodic cyclones, the savage usages of heathenism and the no less savage influence of the first wave of European whalers and traders told another story. The first missionaries found an imbalance of 100 men to 60 women in the sex ratio due to the habitual strangling of the wife upon the death of her husband, the destruction of infants, especially girls, and the eating of children for food. Wars were chronic and the victims were devoured as part of the price of defeat. The results were perpetual insecurity of life, unrelieved bondage to the spirit-world, coarse depravity and universal distrust.

From 1841 the Aneityumese had encountered Europeans. Whaling ships favoured anel-

gauhat Harbour on Aneityum as a base and so did the sandalwood traders. Their exactions from the people, grabbing of land, women and food, brutality with firearms and inducements with cheap trade goods constituted the greatest threat to the Mission and prejudiced Geddie's position from the beginning. But the novelty of white women as the partners of the missionaries along with the presence of their little children reassured the people serving to soften and disarm them. Alone of all the white men the missionaries carried no firearms. A Roman Catholic Mission had arrived in strength three months before the "John Williams" in 1848. They were housed in a formidable iron structure of two storeys surmounted by cannon, never being seen abroad without firearms. Geddie made his overtures of friendship to both the trading community and the Roman Catholics. But both groups withdrew in 1852, the Roman Catholics victims of malaria and discouragement; the traders in disgust at the irresistible progress of the Mission and the gospel which it brought to the people.

The Samoan teachers who had been on Aneityum for some years eased the missionaries into their culture and language study and acted at first as interpreters. But on the fourth Lord's Day after their arrival Powell preached in Aneitumese and Geddie on the sixth, thanks to the drilling in Samoan grammar. The mission teams began regular visits to the people within easy access and "urged them to give up their superstitions

and horrid customs and receive the truth as it is in Jesus". An exploratory voyage round the coast in their whale boat evoked interest and requests for teachers from most of the chiefs that mattered. In ignorance the missionaries broke some local taboos and there was talk of burning down the mission house. Geddie's sensitivity saved the situation. "When they saw our disposition to yield to them it had a softening influence ...Natives may be drawn but they cannot be forced". September saw the mission band dispersed to key points as bases for evangelisation of the island. "We will now be able to attack the enemy from different points".

Before this diaspora the Lord's Supper was observed on Aneityum for the first time. Geddie preached from I Cor. 16:22. Fifteen partook, but no Aneityumese, though some were already on the side of the Christian teachers when Geddie arrived. Language now absorbed them, but the people were tardy with words and had to be bribed with ship's biscuits. Two hurricanes in quick succession gave notice of approaching malaria and the disaffection of the people who said their gods were offended with the Mission. But when the LMS' "John Williams" next called in September 1849 "they were pleased with our statement of progress". However with the ship went the Powells overcome with malaria and discouragement, and the Archibalds left the Mission, after his moral failure with a

native woman. Archibald later joined the sandalwood trading establishment giving Geddie added pain and the traders huge delight. The Geddies were now alone with the Samoan teachers. "The Clouds" begin to thicken around us". He refers in his journal to "persecution from our own countrymen..... Some of our enemies have urged the chiefs to drive us off the island and burn our houses". Geddie is sure that this hostility is due to "our efforts to arrest licentiousness...which, if unchecked, threatens to ruin this poor people". 1849 drew to a close with "much to encourage and to discourage". Geddie failed and nearly lost his life in an attempt to save a widow from strangling. But in 1850, with the active help of the chief Waihit, he prevented another widow from being strangled, "a most important event in the history of the island... The horrid system of strangulation has received a check from which it will never recover". By repatolating some marooned Aneityumese natives from Tanna he won the respect of the local chiefs who told him they had agreed "that I was to remain on their island and leave it no more". In August 1850 Geddie reviewed the first two years: Sabbath attendances had risen from 10 to 45, mainly women and children. In October 1850 he notes "no extensive movement to Christianity...They come in one by one...Few men come to hear". When the response grows the opposition of the heathen majority becomes more organized and menacing. By Feb. 1851 "All manner of evil is spoken against myself as well as the native

converts, and many threats have been made against my life". And next month "our converts are confined to the humble ranks; the chiefs as a whole are opposed to us". After the death of a Polynesian teacher he writes "We are sowing in tears...we are in the midst of enemies white and black".

Then the break came almost imperceptibly. In August 1851 he notes that many chiefs and priests were renouncing heathenism and seeking instruction in the gospel. In desperate reaction the heathen planned a massive demonstration of power to intimidate the waverers, massacre the Christians and wipe out the Mission. But they could not agree on the best plan of action and this proved the beginning of the end of heathenism. In September 1851 the Archibalds left for Sydney and many accessions to the faith immediately followed, the local chief being the most significant. An attempt by remote heathen, incited by others, to burn down the Mission house reacted in favour of the gospel, winning the sympathies of many waverers. When the "John Williams" again called in May 1852 they recorded, "An amazing change has taken place since our last visit...conspicuously the working of the Lord".

Geddie recognized that he was there to build a living church that would reflect Biblical patterns of responsible self-government, exercise the Biblical gifts of the Holy

Spirit and thus be furnished with its own leaders, initiative and resources, possessing a concern for outreach to the heathen and a healthy desire to provide for all its own needs as a church. As he saw the central place in his program to be the translation of the Bible into the vernacular he set to work to achieve this, adding book after book, some on his little press at the Mission station. He held a high view of the intellectual gifts of the people as renewed by the Holy Spirit and assisted by the facilities of learning. As a result of his labors such a church now emerged reaching its definite form between 1852-1856. When the "John Williams" arrived in June 1852 he consulted with his LMS colleagues and they resolved upon the formal establishment of the church. On the next Sabbath 15 Aneityumese were baptised comprising 6 men, seven women and two children. The Lord's Supper followed. This was the birthday of the Church on Aneityum, the Church in Melanesia and the Presbyterian Church in the New Hebrides. On 1st July welcome reinforcements arrived from New Zealand in the persons of the Rev. John Inglis and Mrs. Inglis, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. They came at the invitation of Geddie, just in time to save the mission from disaster. Geddie told Inglis that with constant malaria he could not have held on much longer.

The new zest which came from these wel-

come allies banished Geddie's malaria. Inglis proving to be an able and constant partner no team ever worked more constructively and harmoniously than these two remarkable families. They took separate sides of the island and arranged a sensible division of duties. Geddie devoted himself to the translation and printing of text books; Inglis devoted himself to building up the educational side, adding vocational schools to the village elementary schools, and matching Geddie in a Training Institution for indigenous evangelist-teachers. In 1856 the first deacons were elected but the election of elders was delayed until more of the Bible could be in the hands of the church to guide them in their choice.

The next step was remarkable. Geddie saw the need for the Christian church to give full recognition to the office of the hereditary chiefs. On 9th July 1854, when a huge gathering was held for the opening of the first large church at Geddie's station, the new chiefs were present in their capacity as the custodians of the civil authority. Their first piece of legislation was to prohibit the procuring of women for ships and foreign visitors, a law directed at the suppression of female slavery and the protection and dignity of womanhood. As a result the population began to pick up. Peace and plenty prevailed. Visiting heathen from Tanna were astonished at what they saw. The old fetishes, of which they once lived in terror, they saw destroyed. Education advanc-

ed with the rapid production of graded texts, beginning with a primer in 1849 and leading ultimately to hymnals, catechisms, a geography, and the whole Bible in Aneityunese (1878). Mrs. Geddie translated the Pilgrim's Progress and she and Mrs. Inglis worked systematically with the women and included young women in the Vocational Schools. Family worship in the homes, cleanliness and health were immediate fruits. By 1859 the entire population of 3513 professed Christianity. Those of age attended school and were literate. Heathenism with its associated uses had disappeared. The church was paying its way without overseas funds by means of voluntary teacher-catechists, the production of arrowroot each year and generous gifts of time and labour. There were then 297 communicants, 110 catechumens, 56 elementery schools, 11 churches and 60 teacher-catechists and assistants. To-day the visitor to Aneityum marvels as he photographs the ruins of Geddie's massive stone church built to seat 1200, on an island with less than 300 people.

The loss of life among the Polynesian teachers due to malaria convinced Geddie that he must train indigenous teachers as evangelists to the other islands. Therefore, he and Inglis pioneered this outreach from 1853 onwards. With the help of the "John Williams" the Aneityumese church sent its two first "missionaries" to Futuna in 1853 and another two to Tanna the same year. These were

accompanied by their wives, were men of high standing usually chiefs, and not novices. By this "native agency" the Aneityumese church undergirded the earlier effects of the LMS Polynesian teachers to evangelize the islands as far north as Efate. Mission vessels came to assist this outreach, first the 5-ton "Columba", next the 12-ton "John Knox" and finally the 115-ton "Dayspring" built in Pictou in 1863 and lost in a hurricane at Aneityum in 1873, but quickly replaced with a larger vessel. The paralysing event of the measles epidemic which destroyed one third of Aneityum's population in 1861 ended the first flush of evangelisation by that church and helped to crush Geddie's noble spirit. He felt for them as for his children.

The spirit which drove St. Paul to seek the "regions beyond" gave a restless eagerness to Geddie's later years when his thoughts turned more and more to the central and northern islands of the group. The Mission Conference in 1861 met under the shadow of tragedies on both Tanna and Erromanga, but Geddie refused to concede defeat. Led by him the Mission sought the aid of the LMS in pushing north to the large heathen islands. On 13th September 1861 Geddie and his LMS colleagues established the second island church in the New Hebrides at Erakor, Efate, the work of native teachers from Polynesia and Aneityum. They then landed teachers at Epi and another party at Santo,

but both ventures ended in the loss of most of these lives.

As Geddie was showing signs of strain the Mission Conference urged him to take a furlough in Canada, which he did for three years (1864-1866). His visitation of the home churches was one long ovation and he returned refreshed in 1866, followed by a D.D. from Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. But his intimate missionary friends detected his failing health. His heart bled for his people dying in successive epidemics and he grieved over the action of the Mission conference in seeking the assistance of British warships to redress wrongs against the persons and the property of missionaries. In this matter history vindicates Geddie. But he found fulfilment in pushing forward the boundaries of the Mission. He re-opened the Tanna Mission with his son-in-law Neilson placed at Port Resolution. He supported J.D.Gordon's desire to go to North West Santo to open work there. In 1870 he was on board the "Dayspring" procuring, locating and superintending teachers in his own gentle and persuasive way. That year saw John Goodwill of a sister Presbyterian Church in the Maritimes settled at South West Santo.

But Geddie's work was now almost done. He had been commissioned by his brethren to see the Aneityumese Old Testament through the

press in Melbourne and this necessitated several visits on the "Dayspring". He was back at the Mission Conference at Aneityum in June 1872 when he took a stroke which paralysed his right side. His death came after a steady decline into unconsciousness on Saturday 14th December 1872, in Geelong.

The memorial minute of the Mission in 1873 is a noble, factual and God-honouring tribute to his memory. But the most famous monument is the inscription which Dr. Robert Steel of Sydney, Australia caused to be written on a tablet in Geddie's old church:

> "When he landed in 1848 there were no Christians;
>
> When he left in 1872 there were no heathens".

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William Dawson (1820-1899)

and "The Puritan Ethic of Work"
by Edgar Andrew Collards

Sir J. William Dawson, who "made McGill" during his long principalship from 1855 to 1893 and who was one of the first Canadian scientists to be known and honored throughout the world, was also one of the most striking expressions in Canadian history of "the Puritan ethic of work". And his life, by the richness of its quality and the range of its achievements, proved how effectively beneficent this ethic could be.

From the time when he was only a boy till, as an old man, he dropped to the floor while classifying specimens in the Peter Redpath Museum of Natural History, he never ceased working. He worked all day. He continued far into the night in his study in McGill's East Wing, where (as Prof. John Cox recalled) "the cheerful lights at night used to assure us that the head and heart of McGill were busily at work". Sir William took no holidays; he only shifted his working pattern. He crowded work into every odd moment of the day (as when a cab had been called to take him downtown and he would put on his overcoat and seat himself at his desk to work

until the cab was actually at the door).

A friend of about his own age, Canon Jacob Ellegood, a pioneer Canadian golfer, once tried to interest Sir William in the game. "Sir William, in later years", said Canon Ellegood, "suffered from ill-health, and I suggested to Lady Dawson, one day, that she should encourage Sir William to play golf. I will never forget her look. 'Sir William play golf -- Sir William play golf!' she said, with an air which meant, 'How could you suppose that so grave a person as Sir William could think of indulging in sport?'"

To Sir William work meant far more than merely being industrious or ambitious; to him it meant duty. His life rested on the Presbyterian insistence on the direct moral responsibility of every person to a personal God. And to him life was time. He had to account to God not only for his years, but for his months and weeks and days--even for his minutes. Time wasted, or lost in recreation, would have weighed on his conscience. It would be opportunity gone, never to be recovered. Man was made to serve God through his work. Always before him was the text: "So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do". The Puritan ethic of work, as Dawson interpreted it in terms of his Presbyterian faith, was not something with bounds and limits, only a part of

life; to him it was life itself. When he came to write his autobiography toward the end of his days he chose the meaningful title: Fifty Years of Work in Canada. In his life, it was the work that mattered.

Part of the importance of work, in Dawson's view, was that it set a good example for others. The careless and slovenly person could only spread his own demoralization.

The issue emerged in an interesting way in connection with the perennial problem of discipline in classes. The North American Review published a symposium on "Discipline in American Colleges". Principal Dawson was invited to contribute his opinion.

Dawson wrote that he had been gratified that "no instance of any college rebellion or serious disturbance" had occurred at McGill in his time. Nor had he ever had to expel a student. These results had not been achieved by espionage or repression. On the contrary, he was convinced that liberty was necessary to "make students self-reliant and fit for the battle of life". The positive influence, he believed, came from principal and teachers doing the best they could to establish their own credibility as workers. How could they expect young people to work if they themselves were obviously shiftless, poorly prepared, or came late to their

appointments? "They who would rule," he stressed, "must themselves learn willing obedience. Of course, there is a place here for the elevating influence of spiritual religion, and there is scope for that most important power which arises from the example of punctuality, self-denial and honest work on the part of professors".

Dawson was writing as a teacher, as well as a principal. He taught geology and paleontology throughout his thirty-eight years at McGill. He also taught botany and zoology for most of his McGill years (and these classes were attended, among others, by the medical students). At times he taught mineralogy, ethnology, comparative physiology, and agriculture. In fact, he once told Dr. Frank D. Adams, one of the younger professors, that at one time or another he had taught almost every course at McGill, both in science and the humanities.

As he regarded teaching as one of his moral duties, he set no bounds to it. He taught far beyond the university campus. He lectured frequently to societies and groups, especially those who would never have an opportunity to attend a university. He lectured on science and the Bible on Sunday afternoons, and would be seen walking down the campus avenue with his Bible under his arm. He was also indefatigable in spreading the knowledge of science in articles in popular magazines and in introductory books.

His own zeal as a teacher, and the example of "honest work" and punctuality he always set, removed all problems of discipline in his classrooms. One of his students in the 1870's recalled: "Though humble and approachable, he had a strength of character that commanded your respect. It mattered not what sort of rumpus was in his class before he arrived, all he had to do was to turn his eye to floor and gallery and there was order and respectful calm".

Nor was Dawson's ethic of work without its own educational value. He made workers of many of his students. "To those of us ... who have studied under him," wrote Henri Ami of the Geological Survey of Canada, "and who are now following up the science which he so dearly loved, and which he so generously imparted, with an inspiration and a zeal which but few masters possess, may it be said that we have caught something of the fire and earnestness of his life and "spirit".

The Puritan ethic of work was seen in Sir William Dawson's career as a scientist, as much as in his career as a teacher. He was not a man who was religious <u>though</u> a scientist; he was religious <u>because he</u> was a scientist. He never regarded science and religion as if they were separate realms. As a scientist he considered himself privileged to be studying the works of God. To be lazy or careless in studying God's handiwork

would display irreverence to the Creator. Dawson saw the glories of God's creation spread out before him. He must hurry to examine them; he must use every moment he could to understand and appreciate what God had done. In the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill he arranged his vast collections with a view to illustrating God's handiwork. He had a large wooden plaque erected on a wall of the museum, in a conspicuous spot. It was to remind the visitor that he was not merely seeing objects but beholding wonders. On this plaque were the words: "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches."

Dawson's love of science had a mystical radiance. It was not merely factual, needing only precision. It was a splendor for the spirit of man. He revelled with gratitude in the bounty of God's creation. His life illuminates the depth of feeling that could lie within Puritanism. He saw the poetry of the earth. Its beauty transcended all that man could create. "The world has worshipped art too much, reverenced nature too little," he told the Montreal Natural History Society in 1856. The joy of scientific work was always with him. The ethic of work was not for him grim or grinding. A man who used his days and minutes to study the wonders of God, and to instruct others in them, could only rejoice in his privileges. Why should he want to give up his work to indulge himself in

other pursuits? For Dawson the Puritan ethic of work, so understood and applied, made for a light burden and an easy yoke.

Principal Dawson would get back to his field work once the academic year had come to its close. In choosing places for his summer holidays, the primary consideration was the opportunities they offered for research. In his summers he dredged from barges, climbed mountains, or went on walking tours, "geological map in hand." He spent working holidays in New England, in Murray Bay, Metis, Gaspé and Prince Edward Island. In 1883, when in his sixty-third year, he took advantage of his first leave-of-absence from McGill to travel through Egypt and Syria. Rest seemed imperative. He needed the year to recover his "strength and energy". But work was his recreation. He spent much of his time uncovering archaeological specimens in the caves on Mount Lebanon, and returned to McGill with packing cases filled with specimens.

When eventually he decided to buy a summer cottage at Metis, it was not to have a quiet retreat for undisturbed idleness but because the region was of particular interest to a scientist. "It is near both Pleistocene and Palaeozoic deposits", he explained, "and has good dredging ground in the vicinity, which affords interesting examples of varieties of molluscs, akin to those northern forms found in the Pleistocene clays.... Here, too,

I have found time and opportunity to write most of my books and scientific papers, varying sedentary occupations with collecting expeditions, ranging from Quebec to the Bay of Chaleurs, and to Nova Scotia." He described Metis as being associated with some of "the most useful days" of his life. The naturalness with which he described his summer cottage as being "useful", is still another example of the way the ethic of work entered into every aspect of his life.

Dawson did his best to teach his students that a change of work is the best recreation--so much better than unproductive idleness. "When you are wearied with one kind of study or work," he suggested, "it is often a much greater relief to turn to another of a different character, than to sink into absolute repose." He was convinced that the capacity to find refreshment by turning from one task to another can be developed, and that "it is essential to the highest usefulness and the highest enjoyment of life". He would back up these urgings with the incontestable statement: "I have not in this been giving advice that I have been unwilling to take myself".

This overruling ethic of work--this ceaseless awareness that he was called directly by God to account for his time--was the outcme of the lifelong influence of Puritan Presbyterianism. It was an ethic reinforced by Presbyterianism in Canada's pioneer conditions.

WILLIAM DAWSON

Sir William Dawson was born and reared in Pictou, the Nova Scotian settlement to which Rev. James McGregor had been sent as missionary by the General Associate Synod in Scotland. In 1786 James McGregor had made his way toward Pictou by forest paths, sometimes nearly up to his knees in mud or water. At Pictou the primeval forest came down to the shore, with only a small settler's clearing, here or there. He had preached Pictou's first Presbyterian sermon in a barn.

In Pictou, Presbyterianism became a pervasive influence. Young William Dawson was brought up as a member of the church, and a student under clerical Presbyterian teachers in the Pictou Academy. Dawson's father, James, used to say that he owed his own soul to Presbyterianism. At Huntly in Scotland he had been surrounded by companions who were "profligate and immoral" and presented "examples of depravity" such as he had never seen before. But at the age of nineteen he had joined the Presbyterian Church and associated himself with more responsible companions. When he settled in Pictou he became an active Presbyterian layman--a worker in the Sunday school and Bible Society, and active in missionary and temperance enterprises.

The Puritan ethic of work played in such a community a social role critically important; it was an ethic peculiarly needed at such a time and place. Sir William Dawson used to

recall that in Pictou, as in most colonial communities, respectability of character was most likely to be found among hard workers; the town idlers were likely to sink "into a sort of heathenism and semi-barbarianism". The will to work marked the dividing line between the decent and the degenerate. Sir William said he had learned from his father to have "a respect for honest labour," and to prefer any useful employment to mere amusement." That paternal lesson had been well learned.

Dawson's Puritan ethic of work, though inspired and sustained by his Presbyterian faith, proved quite compatible with those who valued work in an industrial capitalist society. Part of Dawson's outstanding success as Principal of McGill came from the easy way he and the business community of Canada's metropolis agreed on hard work as an economic virtue.

Dawson undoubtedly had religious principles primarily in mind when he delivered his University Lecture in 1863 on Duties of Educated Young Men in British North America: "First, then, I would say that our country expects of you that you should prepare yourselves thoroughly for and pursue earnestly and perseveringly, some useful walk in life..British America has no room in it for idlers. There is more than enough work for all..." But the business community of Montreal, conscious of the economic value of the Principal's words, could applaud

his sentiments for reasons of its own. Such an appeal would be heartily approved even by William Macdonald, the rich tobacco manufacturer, who was strongly opposed to all churches, but who could find in the Principal's ideas about work much in accordance with his own outlook. He was shortly to become McGill's chief benefactor.

Nor did Principal Dawson in the least object to education taking a more practical and professional form. He had advocated such policies in his Inaugural Lecture in 1855. He himself was a man with a practical background. In Nova Scotia he had worked with his father in handling tools, setting type, and selling goods across a counter. As his father had taught him, there was virtue in "any useful employment," even as there was likely to be vice in any "mere amusement." The leadership that McGill under Dawson's principalship took in expanding the practical courses far beyond the limitations of the old classical curriculum was due to the way Dawson's ethic of work flourished in the atmosphere of Montreal's industrial and commercial expansion.

The tangible results of Principal Dawson's ethic of work were immense. He found McGill in 1855 as an almost moribund institution, really alive only in its Medical Faculty, which had had an independent origin and had continued an almost independent existence. The buildings on the campus were partly in ruins. The unfenced grounds were ragged and unkempt and open

to neighboring herds of cattle. The Governors had been selling off portions of the campus to raise funds.

When Dawson retired as Principal in 1893 he left McGill with a thousand students, substantial endowments, a whole row of impressive science buildings, in being or under construction. In no sense can Dawson's principalship and McGill's growth be regarded as only loosely connected. He had raised the university largely by his own extraordinary devotion to work. He was rightly recognized in his own day, as he has been recognized ever since, as "the Man Who Made McGill." If economic trends in the country and city were favorable to McGill's expansion, it was he who attracted and guided them. He gave public confidence by his own dedication. He was a man inspiring confidence by his "honest work."

McGill's reputation in the wider world owed much to Dawson's industry and reputation as a scientist. While still a young man in his twenties he had made important discoveries on his own in the geological structure of Nova Scotia. He had done field work in Nova Scotia in the 1840's with the visiting Sir Charles Lyell, the greatest British geologist of the day. Together they had discovered the remains of the world's first air-breathing animal and they had jointly announced their discovery to the world, Dawson's standing among scientists is seen on his certificate as a member of the Royal Society of London:

Charles Darwin and Thomas Henry Huxley both supported his admission. In the intervals of his administrative work at McGill he somehow found time to write a steady stream of scientific papers, recording the wide range of his original investigations. He regarded his magnum opus as the research that more than doubled the world's knowledge of the flora of the Devonian period.

McGill gained in prestige when its Principal was twice elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and also President of the British Association. As president of both societies he was host at McGill to their annual meetings. Never before had any scientist been elected to the highest office in both the associations. His election as President of the British Association had been made the occasion for his knighthood.

McGill gained further prestige when its principal was asked by the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor-General of Canada, to take a major part in founding the Royal Society of Canada and he was elected the society's first President in 1882. Such honors as these were not only in recognition of his eminence as scientist and educator; they were also a recognition of his immense capacity, and his dependable willingness, to take upon himself the efficient discharge of difficult and detailed obligations. He was honored because he was ready to serve. Additional burdens

to a life already too busy never deterred his acceptance of them.

This ethic of work was not expressing an acquisitiveness, or a selfish grasping of prominence. His working programs entangled him in serious losses and sacrifices. The university and its needs always came first; his own interests and ambitions were subordinated to them. During his early years as McGill's Principal he spent his entire salary on urgent improvements to the university; he lived meanwhile on money of his own. All through his long principalship his salary was never enough to cover the expenditures he felt obliged to make to meet university needs. He would even at times pay the expenses of students out of his own pocket, if they were doing good work but were having trouble in making both ends meet. He supplemented his principal's salary by "professional work," much of it the preparation of reports for companies on mining prospects.

At the time of his retirement he described his principalship as "that of a pioneer." The dignity of office, resting on adequate emoluments, had never belonged to him; he hoped that it would belong to his successor. He had had to work ceaselessly, turning his hand to whatever task had to be done, often realizing that if he did not do it, it would never be done at all. It had not been easy. His years as principal had,

he said, been "filled with anxieties and cares, and with continuous and almost unremitting labour."

The greatest sacrifice his McGill work had demanded of him was only imperfectly understood by others. He had given up the career in science that might have been his to see most of his life consumed in the exacting details of administration. He had not set out in life to be an educator. "My plans in life lay in an entirely different direction," he said. He wished, above all, to be a scientist.

Dawson had accepted the principalship of McGill in 1855 in the belief that he could combine it with research and writing. The years proved that he had been mistaken. It is true that somehow he was able, by prodigious application to work, to carry out substantial scientific research, to write of his discoveries, and to be rewarded with honors. But he never deceived himself. He was always aware that what he was achieving as a scientist was falling far below what he had hoped for, and far below his potential. As the years went by he saw scientific ambitions slipping away. Several times he considered resigning the principalship, while there might still be time to do the work in science that he had planned. He was seriously tempted about 1880. He said that he "received a tempting offer of employment in the United States, which would have improved my income,

and given me greater scope for original work." But the needs of McGill always seemed to be imperative; his sense of duty would never release him from commitments and obligations. In the end he grew old and exhausted and the prospect of what he might have achieved in science closed before his eyes.

His Puritan ethic of work had been motivated more by his sense of duty than by his personal inclinations. He could scarcely have been a greater principal; he could have been a far greater scientist. The ethic of work dominated his life; the form of that work was not what he would have freely chosen.

But the faithful pursuit of duty brought rewards of its own. More and more, as Principal of McGill, he had the respect, almost the reverence, earned by the worker who has served a cause greater than himself. He had demonstrated how the Puritan ethic of work, so far from being relentlessly self-seeking, could be relentlessly self-sacrificing. He became McGill's benign patriarch. His presence may be felt in the full-length portrait by Wyatt Eaton. It is a commanding presence but it commands by its beneficence. As one of his students was to write: "There was a certain impression of gentleness, simplicity and dignity made by his very presence on the campus. Somehow I always had an instinctive reverence for his character."

Sir William worked till the very end.

After his retirement, feeble in health, he worked hard to get his superb collections in natural history properly classified and arranged in the Peter Redpath Museum. Much remained to be done. He was working against time. Every day, as one observer recorded, "with indomitable perseverance ... the well-known figure of the old Principal would make its way, bag in hand, across the campus to the museum he loved so well, there to work..." One day, while at work in the museum he dropped to the floor, paralyzed by a stroke.

The Puritan ethic of work had found in Sir William Dawson a total expression. He believed that he had done only what was his duty to do. His successor as Principal of McGill, Sir William Peterson, paid tribute to him in words of precise truth when he said that Sir William had lived "a full and complete life, marked by earnest endeavour, untiring industry, continuous devotion and self-sacrifice, together with an abiding and ever-present sense of dependence on the will of Heaven. His work was done, to quote the puritan poet's noble line, 'As ever in his great task-master's eye', and never for a moment did he waver in his feeling of personal responsibility to a personal God."

In addition to all his work in education and scientific research, Dawson voluntarily assumed another immense burden. He became a controversialist, on an international scale, over the issue of evolution.

WILLIAM DAWSON

Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection was published in 1859, four years after Dawson had been appointed Principal of McGill. Dawson soon perceived, as he believed, its threat to the whole basis of Christian doctrine. He opposed many aspects of Darwin's theory. But he was concerned, most of all, with Darwin's idea that evolution had taken place of itself, as it were--not under the special direction of God, but in a hit on miss way. This groping progress in nature was not the orderly unfolding of a divine plan. It was a blind struggle, involving incalculable waste and loss and cruelty. Worst of all, he felt, was the effect of Darwin's theory on man's estimate of himself. He would be no longer the special creation of God--made by God in His own image. He would be only a relatively superior animal, who had indifferently emerged from his brutish origins, over an inconceivably long period of time.

Dawson believed that the tender mercy of God was over all His creation; but in Darwin's theory of natural selection God would be rendered irrevelant, or, at best, a sort of absentee landlord, scarcely paying any attention (or needing to pay attention) to what was going on in his earthly estate.

To emerge upon the world scene as an opponent of Darwinism, risking the prestige of his own scientific reputation and of his university position, imposed rigorous new

demands upon a man whose working-pattern was already crowding all available hours of his days. He would be ranging himself against the most informed, the most skilful, the most eminent scientific figures of the era. And it would be painful to enter into dispute with Darwin and Huxley, who had previously recognized his scientific attainments and signed his certificate as a member of the Royal Society.

But with Dawson the Puritan ethic of work prevailed over considerations of caution or convenience. The opposition to Darwin's theory of evolution was his evident duty; here also was his appointed task. Somehow he had to find time, along with all his other work, to engage for the rest of his life in this exacting, exhausting, insistent controversy.

A series of anti-evolutionist books came in rapid succession. They included (among many others) Nature and the Bible, in 1875; The Origin of the World According to Revelation and Science, in 1877, The Chain of Life in Geological Time, and Fossil Men and Their Modern Representatives, both in 1880; The Meeting Place of Geology and History, in 1894.

He realized that the influence of Darwin's theory was extending far beyond the scientific circles and into popular, public knowledge. He was ready to take on obligations as an anti-evolutionist lecturer, and as the writer of anti-evolutionist articles for the popular

press.

In this tedious controversy Dawson felt himself largely alone--a man going against the main current of scientific thought. The work involved was ceaseless. He had to keep up with the latest arguments, the most recent discoveries. His own arguments had to be re-adjusted to meet fresh challenges.

When Dawson entered the evolutionist controversy he was well aware that he was taking arms against a sea of troubles. But he had taken on this work in the spirit of faith; and he had faith that the future would justify him, even though the struggle often seemed frustrating. "Evolution," he wrote, "will have its day, and then men will wonder how they could have believed it."

Dawson felt called upon to work all the harder to save as many as he could from being deceived (as he believed) by a passing theory--one that could, nevertheless, by destroying their religion, destroy also the ethical basis of work as the service of God.

Robert McLaughlin (1836-1921)

"Business the Servant of Religion"
by Walter Jackson

From Pioneer Farmer to Industrialist

Robert McLaughlin came from a poor family but his three sons died wealthy men. The eldest, John, became a pharmacist and developed the soft drink "Canada Dry". George and Robert, Jr., were pioneers in the manufacturing of cars in Canada and were responsible for General Motors coming to Oshawa.

Not all immigrant families were poor but the McLaughlins were. Robert's first venture was a pioneer farm between Oshawa and Bowmanville, and that was with his father's help. His father, John, had come from Ireland to Peterborough by way of Port Hope. He then settled in Darlington Township, north of Bowmanville. The eldest son, Robert, was born near Peterborough. The McLaughlins were devout Presbyterians. John was travelling to Peterborough, so the story goes, when their boat overturned and he lost almost all his possessions but he saved two things, his purse and his Bible....a true Presbyterian.

Because the McLaughlins were living in a Methodist settlement, they had to travel some distance to the nearest Presbyterian Church, a Free Church in the Village of Enniskillen, in which John Smith was the minister. The

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

McLaughlins are first mentioned in local Church records as witnesses at a wedding held in Thornton's pioneer United Presbyterian Church in Whitby Township in 1841.

His father, John, was an old-style Presbyterian. He loved theological debates and he raised his family by 'The Book'. This suggests the picture of a Victorian pioneer family as it has been so often portrayed, the self-righteous parents, the inhibited children. The McLaughlins were not like that! They loved music and good times and had a good family life. Their religion was applied in concern for their neighbours and in their daily work. Thus Robert grew up to apply Presbyterian morality to his work and to his life. He believed that you should give an honest measure and an honest day's work. Christian righteousness for him meant that you should never do 'anything crooked', even the truth should not be bent - even a little bit. All through his life Robert lived by the principle that because you gave your best to God, you always gave your best to whatever you were doing.

The McLaughlins also stressed practical education. Robert's younger brother John W. was a scholar and something of an orator. He went to medical school at the University of Toronto to become a doctor. From 1879 to 1886 he served as the M.P.P. for Durham as a Liberal and an Oliver Mowat supporter. He was reputed to be a firm Presbyterian and a Prohibitionist which tells us much about the McLaughlin family.

When Robert married Mary Smith, a farm girl who attended Enniskillen Church, his

father established the young couple on a fifty-acre wood lot. He had a house to build and a farm to clear, but Robert still found time to make his axe handles. As a child he had become an expert whittler, and when still a youth, he was turning out axe handles and whiffle trees which were reputed to be the best that you could buy. In the first shed for his new house, he built a workshop. At first only his spare time was spent in the workshop as he made and repaired wooden articles but increasingly the carving business cut into the time he should have spent farming.

If this story was a story of so many other handymen, he would have lost his farm. His family would have been teetering on the edge of starvation. But Robert did well. When he was thirty-two years of age he moved to Enniskillen to go into business for himself. Already he had looked at the carriage catalogues and decided that he could build better.

His first wagons and carriages were made for the neighbours. He did the woodwork but hired a blacksmith to do the iron work and an upholsterer to make the seats. The upholsterer came from Oshawa from another pioneer Presbyterian family, the Keddies. J.B. Keddie was to become a trusted employee and a friend of Robert McLaughlin for the rest of his life. Because the painting was what the customer saw first, it had to be done especially well so he did it himself. His business grew, and won prizes at the local Fairs. In 1870 the Bowmanville newspaper reports, "R. McLaughlin First Prize for the Best Single Carriage". In a few years he had men working full time for

him. Soon the little Village of Enniskillen could no longer provide the facilities for his business.

If the neighbours thought that he had done a foolish thing in leaving the farm, they thought that he was foolhardy when he went to Oshawa in 1877 at 41 years of age to go into production in a big way. There were already two carriage works in the Town. Little factories of many kinds had come and gone in Oshawa. There seemed to be no way that Robert McLaughlin with his small capital could survive. Not only did he survive, he prospered. The McLaughlin Carriage Works became the only one in Town and then Oshawa's largest business. By 1900 McLaughlins were turning out 25,000 carriages a year.

Robert McLaughlin had two things on his side. He had invented and patented improvements on the drive mechanism and he had the McLaughlin reputation. People felt that he was completely honest and that he would give you the best he had. "In the early years he gave every job a final inspection and the slightest defect, a loose bolt or a rattling spoke, would ensure its being sent back for repair". His business kept growing. When his two younger boys, George and Robert, Jr., entered the business as apprentices, Robert felt that he could expand still further. They began to use the slogan "one grade only and that the best", which became the catchy, well-known McLaughlin trade-mark. He moved from a small factory to a bigger factory and then lost everything in a fire in 1899. The Town

loaned him the money to begin again. When he was 63 years of age he began again! The loan was repaid and his expanding business needed bigger buildings.

Son George took over the office and acted as the Sales Manager. He opened up agencies in the Maritimes and the West and sales increased. The McLaughlin carriages were sold from coast to coast. George was the son who picked up his father's commitment to the Church. By 1893 he was a member of the Board of Managers for the Presbyterian Church, Oshawa, and pushing for the building of a new Church. Both Robert and George served on the Building Committee. Robert is credited with supervising the actual building, giving a great amount of time and thought at a time when his own business was expanding.

By this time, however, the new automobile was making headlines. By 1904 the first of them were coming into Canada. Son Robert, a sportsman and innovator, was fascinated with them. Not so, his father. But eventually his sons convinced Robert that cars were the coming thing. The boys combined the McLaughlin carriage with Charles Durant's Buick motor and the McLaughlin Buick was born. Later when the Company dropped the McLaughlin name, the sale of Canadian Buicks fell. They went back to the McLaughlin name so that in Canada for twenty more years the car was called the 'McLaughlin Buick'. The father's heart, however, was in carriages. When the business ceased to be the McLaughlin Carriage Works, Robert retired in 1915 at eighty years of age.

For another six years he would live on, painting and working but not involved in the car business. Later his two sons would bring in General Motors and McLaughlins would become the Canadian branch of G.M.

General Motors of Canada was launched by the two McLaughlin brothers, George and Robert S., better known as 'Sam'. The later expansion of G.M. was largely the work of Sam. Behind General Motors is the McLaughlin Carriage Works. It was almost wholly the work of one man, Robert McLaughlin, who put his faith to work. His was the skill, the inventive touch, the courage to try the difficult, the foresight, and perhaps most important of all, the Christian character which made it all possible. This was all the capital he had. His son, Sam, said "my father started with nothing but his hands. Fortunately, through my father's good reputation as a man, a good living man, a very religious man, he was granted very reasonable credit". The modern business was built on the foundation of the skills and character of this one man.

Robert McLaughlin was much more than a self-made businessman. The Session of 'the Presbyterian Church, Oshawa', wrote of him.... "his life was a many-sided one. His interests were wide, his sympathies were broad and his influence far-reaching. He rendered great assistance in municipal affairs and generous support to all enterprises existing for the welfare of humanity".

He lived in the time before Unions. His was a paternalistic way with his employees.

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

He knew them all by name. He took time to talk to them, to help as needed. His granddaughter still remembers with delight the old-style Christmas parties given for the employees of the McLaughlin Carriage Works. He tried to maintain employment through every month in the year. Buggies were made in the fall and winter; sleighs and cutters were made in the summer. The lay-off for re-tooling, as we would call it today came in the late summer at the time to work in the harvest and in the gardens. For Robert all this seemed natural. It was the expression of Christian concern.

As a businessman he served on the Council and for one year as Mayor of Oshawa. Although he was concerned about such things as rail service to the Oshawa factories, his main concern was his church. As a young man he had worked in the Sunday School and over the years was an active churchman "interested in every department of the Church's work serving for thirty years as a ruling elder. His most important contribution was in the construction of the new 'Presbyterian Church, Oshawa', but his support for his Church went far beyond the local community. He was a long time supporter of Queen's University and Knox College. Because he supported the Salvation Army in their 'not respectable' days, he was asked to lay the cornerstone for their Oshawa Citadel. He was also one of the main supporters of the "Y" serving as its first President.

Later the beautiful McLaughlin home was given to the congregation as a manse. The congregation was then called 'The Presbyterian

Church, Oshawa', but is now St. Andrew's United Church. For almost fifty years, Robert's home has served as a manse, and as a symbol of his generosity and concern for his Church.

Son George carried on his father's tradition of quiet good works. He, too, served on the Oshawa Session and in his later years as a Trustee. George bought up the shares of the cemetery that had grown around the old Whitby U.P. burying ground and presented both to the Town of Oshawa. Ever since, Union Cemetery has been maintained and cared for by the Town, preserving the old pioneer Churchyard and the site of the first Presbyterian Church in what is now 'Durham Region'. In the 1930 depression years, he was elected to Council as a reform candidate and is credited with saving the city from bankruptcy.

Robert, Sr. was an outstanding man of his time. He had some of the weaknesses and much of the strengths of that time. He combined faith and works. The Session wrote of him, "he won for himself throughout the Dominion a reputation for honesty and integrity". A granddaughter, Mrs. D.C. Henderson has summed up his life, he was "a man who refused to make religion the handmaid of business but endeavoured to make business the servant of religion".

ROBERT McLAUGHLIN

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Robert Campbell

The Defender of Presbyterianism
by N. K. Clifford

When Robert Campbell's book The Relations of the Christian Churches appeared in 1913, Thomas T. Smellie of Port Arthur suggested it be "regarded as one of the Subordinate Standards of the Presbyterian Church" and James A. Sedgwick said he intended to place it "next the Bible and Confession", amongst his earthly and heavenly possessions. Today, a half century later, these comments seem extravagent because most Presbyterians have not heard of the book and Robert Campbell's contribution to the preservation of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has somehow slipped into complete oblivion. Time invariably reduces human vanity to its just proportions, but often it is human memory, rather than time, which fails to do justice to those who deserve to be remembered for their contribution to a community's identity. Anniversaries are occasions when such failures can be rectified and the 100th anniversary of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is an appropriate time to recall the unique role which this man played in its survival.

Robert Campbell retired in 1909 after forty-three years service as the minister of St. Gabriel's Church in Montreal. At seventy-four years of age he had lived a long, full

life which brought him many honours. In 1887 Queen's University granted him a D.D. degree. He became clerk of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1892, and was elected Moderator in 1907. Together with these posts he also served as a senator of the Presbyterian College in Montreal and as a trustee of Queen's University. From 1867-1870 he was the editor of The Presbyterian, and before the turn of the century he had published a number of essays and an extensive History of St. Gabriel's Church.

Besides his many ecclesiastical, educational and literary interests, Robert Campbell was also a dedicated botanist who kept abreast of the latest developments in science through his association with the Natural History Society of Montreal. The fortunes of this society were for many years guided by Sir William Dawson, the President of McGill University and one of the few 19th century scientists in Canada to have an international reputation as a geologist and anti-Darwinian controversialist. The society numbered amongst its patrons such figures as Cornelius Van Horne of the C.P.R. and it published a journal, The Canadian Record of Science. Campbell's participation in this group was extensive. He published seventeen articles in its journal on such subjects as "The Flowers of Montreal Island", "North American Golden Rods", "The Flora of Cap a L'Aigle" and a major article on the "Centennial of Charles Darwin". For many years he served as one of the several vice-presidents of the society, as chairman of its editorial committee and for a few years as the editor of The Canadian Record of Science.

In 1895 he became President of the society, and two weeks before his death he was seriously injured in a street car while on his way to one of its meetings.

After such a full and varied career, which began on a farm in Drummond Township, Lanark County, Ontario, one might have thought that when Robert Campbell retired he deserved a well-earned rest. Instead, he became involved in one of the greatest fights of his life, and emerged as one of the first and most important leaders of the resistance to Church union within the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1909 Campbell did not retire as the Clerk of the General Assembly, nor from many of his committee responsibilities, such as the Chairmanship of the Committee on The Presbyterian Record. As a result he was still extremely visible within the courts of the church and in a position not only to keep his fingers on its pulse, but also to act as a defender of Dr. Ephriam Scott and The Presbyterian Record, when its enemies attempted to silence this voice of anti-union opinion. Campbell's retirement from pastoral duties, therefore, simply left him more time to write, to formulate a systematic ideology of resistence and to work for the crystallization of those forces within the Presbyterian Church which were determined to preserve its existence in Canada.

As clerk of the Assembly, Campbell was not in a position to lead the forces of opposition in the debate on church union. Outside, however, he was free of the constraints

of his position and at liberty to set forth the reasons for resistance to the merging of the Presbyterian church with the Methodists and Congregationalists. As a member of the first Presbyterian committee on union, he was aware that church union was being advocated by many as an ideal solution to most of the major problems facing the Canadian churches at the turn of the century. He also realized that many were so enthusiastic in their support of the scheme it was considered almost un-Christian to criticize it. Campbell believed, however, that the proposal was a visionary scheme which was untried and unproven. Others might be prepared to risk their heritage in a speculative venture but he would not accept any wager which threatened the existence of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In 1906, therefore, he published the first major statement of the anti-unionist case in a pamphlet entitled "Union or Co-operation - Which -? His strategy in this essay was to analyze every major argument which had been put forward in favour of union and to show that the unionist case was not as self evident as it appeared.

By far the weightiest argument in favour of the proposed union and for Campbell, "the crux of the whole subject", was the contention there would be "an immense saving in men and money". Campbell doubted this argument and focused his rebuttal on the issues of Home Missions and immigration to the Canadian West. "No one", conceded Campbell, "can deny the importance of this work, regarded from either a patriotic or religious point of view."

However, when the advocates of Home Missions urged the church to reshape its policy, to tear up its roots, to abandon its line of teaching, and throw its past and present prestige to the winds, in order to more adequately face this problem then, said Campbell, "the pastors of the church in the East are constrained to cry 'halt'." Home Missions were not the chief object for which the church existed. The work of the organized congregations throughout Canada was far more important than all of the Mission schemes. Therefore, "the larger interests," concluded Campbell, "are not to be sacrificed to the lesser."

Underlying the urgency of the Home Missions question was the problem of the massive immigration to the Canadian West. It had depleted the populations of many Eastern communities and also deluged the prairies with "the nondescript, unhappy, superfluous population of Europe." To cope with this problem many argued there was a need for more missionaries to look after the spiritual condition of these people lest they "become a menace to the future of Canada". Campbell believed that rather than calling for an "ecclesiastical revolution" to grapple with this problem, a more appropriate strategy would be for the churches to join in protesting against the immigration policy of the government. The main purpose of Campbell's argument, however, was to raise the question whether the church's duty was to be determined by the policy of the corporations which were anxious to earn large dividends by encouraging a rapid filling up of the West. "Are the churches", he asked, "to be dragged at the

chariot wheels of ambitious politicians and trading companies?"

With this type of questioning of all the major unionist arguments, Campbell sought to highlight the quixotic nature of the enterprise and to show the extent to which wishful thinking was at the core of the whole proposal. Others might be easily swept off their feet by utopian solutions to the problems facing the Canadian churches in the twentieth century, but it was his belief that Presbyterians would require proof "of the most indisputable kind". Consequently, he predicted "serious opposition to the proposals as now submitted" and no end of trouble "if the project were pursued." When the ink was barely dry on the first draft of the "Basis of Union", therefore, the basic arguments against organic union and the alternative of cooperation had been clearly articulated by one of its most widely known and respected senior officials.

Campbell's advice was ignored in 1906 but he did not give up the fight. Indeed, shortly after the 1910 Assembly he published another pamphlet on the question of "Church Union". The focus of attack in this publication was the arguments in favour of union presented to the General Assembly by Principal Patrick of Manitoba College. Campbell took issue with a number of Patrick's statements and especially with his understanding of the Barrier Act. "It is not, and never has been", Campbell argued, "the practice in the Presbyterian Churches to send any matter down to the Presbyteries under the 'Barrier Act' before the mind of Presbyteries had been ascertained."

From 1906 onwards copies of the Union Committee reports were sent to the Presbyteries, Sessions, and Congregations for their information and suggestions. Campbell claimed, however, that the mind of the Presbyteries had not been sought either on "the general question, is union desirable or as to the merits of this 'basis of union'." There were no grounds for assuming, therefore, that the issue had been sufficiently discussed in the lower courts to warrant a final decision. Campbell was prepared to admit "Presbyteries may have a predilection in favour of union in the abstract", but, he argued, they might not be "in favour of union on the basis of the document before them". As a result, sending the document to the Presbyteries under the Barrier Act prohibited the Presbyteries from setting forth their views, "except at the cost of rejecting the entire program."

Campbell's strategy in condemning this attack on the rights of Presbyteries was not simply to stall the proceedings, although he admitted he would have no objection to the course taken "if it have the effect of bringing the negotiations to an end." His purpose was to establish that the leaders of the union movement were a "clerical machine" who were determined, even by illegal means, to achieve their ends. As the controversy progressed arguments concerning the illegality of the unionists' actions and the rights of minorities were to occupy an ever-increasing role in the debate. In 1906, Campbell had briefly touched on these questions, but by 1910 they had become more central to his argument.

Up until 1912, there was no way of actually assessing the strength of the minority for which Campbell was speaking. When the results of the vote in the sessions and congregations were presented to the Assembly in 1912, however, it was apparent that the minority was sufficiently strong to make the implementation of the union impossible at that time. This was a blow to the advocates of union within the Presbyterian Church but rather than abandon the project they enlarged the union committee to include many of these who had "for some years opposed the policy of organic union", and proposed that negotiations continue "in the belief that organic union will yet be consummated."

It was partly this action of the Assembly and partly the appearance of two major books by advocates of Church union which prompted Campbell to publish in 1913 his own book on The Relations of the Christian Churches. One of the unionist books was a novel entitled Looking Forward by Hugh Pedley, the leader of the Congregationalist Union Committee. In Pedley's novel, the Rev. Fergus McCheyne, like Rip Van Winkle, falls asleep for twenty years and awakens to discover that church union has taken place and solved all the religious problems facing the nation. The utopianism of this book confirmed Campbell's suspicions about the unsubstantiated wishful thinking of the church union advocates. The second book by A.S. Morton entitled The Way to Union was a more serious piece of historical scholarship. Its thesis was that changes

in the structure of secular society "inevitably" produce ecclesiastical changes. Pointing to Confederation and the emergence of the Dominion of Canada, he argued that these changes in political structures demanded a remodelling of the church in Canada. Morton's book was a systematic statement of the environmentalist presuppositions, underlying all of the unionist arguments. Seeing its significance, Campbell immediately set out to challenge it.

In The Relations of the Christian Churches he argued the issue was not one of environment but heredity. Using Mendel's recently rediscovered work, he contended, heredity was so persistent that accidental variations have no chance to compete with the ordinary typical specimens of a species. Assuming, as most scientists did in the first two decades of the twentieth century, that Mendel's work disproved Darwin's theory of natural selection, Campbell further stressed, there was "a constant return to type when type and variety are mated and therefore it is impossible that any one of the existing species has been evolved out of the one lower in the scale." Therefore, Campbell concluded, nature abhores miscegenation. "In the realm of nature," he continued, "it is found that like begets its like; but that there is a bar to the mating of things that are unlike." From this perspective, he suggested that "crosses between varieties of a species are always weaker than parent stocks, and in competition with the originals always to to the wall, as is illustrated in Mendel's law. An amalgam does not retain the outstanding qualities of parent metals, nor when chemical substances act

on each other, do they jointly exhibit the qualities which belonged to them in the separate state."

With this argument, it was Campbell's intention to prove that organic union was against the clear plan of both God and nature and to show that the attempt to perceive the workings of divine providence from the perspective of environmentalism was false. The "laws of life" as Campbell saw them were radically different from those of A.S. Morton. In his eagerness to show that the evolutionary argument could not be applied to the realm of faith and morals, however, Campbell weakened his case by suggesting that Henry Drummond failed "to draw a clear line of demarcation between the realm of physics and metaphysics." Similar failures, of course, were all too apparent in Campbell's own thinking. Nevertheless, the main thrust of his case against union was devastatingly clear. If the cross-breeding of horses and donkeys produced mules which were sterile, the uniting of Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians would produce a hybrid offspring equally anomolous and sterile.

Over the next fifteen years, the clarity of the argument between heredity and environment was lost and both Campbell's erudition and good humour were forgotten as the issues were reduced to catch phrases and slogans designed for mass appeal. At the time, however, most anti-unionists thought the book was unanswerable and many echoed J.T. Smith's sentiments when he wrote, "I thank God we have left us two such clear-headed men as MacBeth and Campbell."

In spite of the obvious opposition to union within the Presbyterian Church in 1912 and in spite of Campbell's book which systematically formulated the ideological basis of that opposition, the movement towards union continued. Those who were resisting this movement had sufficient strength to stall its progress but they were never able to muster a sufficient number of votes within the General Assembly to remove the question of union entirely from the Church's agenda. Consequently, they were forced to organize themselves outside of the structures of the Presbyterian Church. Prior to 1912, John McKay and R.G. MacBeth put together an organization which was designed to promote the federal union of the churches rather than organic union. The strength of the opposition as revealed in 1912 was attributed to the work of this organization. Following 1912, however, it became apparent to MacBeth that McKay wished to mediate. Therefore, MacBeth and Wardlaw Taylor set up a new Organization for the Preservation and Continuance of the Presbyterian Church in Canada with John Penman, the clothing manufacturer from Paris, Ontario, as its president.

The structuring and financing of such organizations outside of the established institutional framework of the church and in the face of continual opposition was an arduous task which Campbell was content to leave to younger men. Without his support and co-operation, however, the task would have been even more difficult. In planning strategy one of the major problems which the

leaders of such an organization faced was that they never knew ahead of time who would be the commissioners to the General Assembly. The only person who had this information in advance of the Assembly was its Clerk, Robert Campbell. Thus he was in a position to accede to Wardlaw Taylor's request of March 12, 1914 to supply the organization with a list of commissioners so they could mail each of them "a copy of our statement, a list of our General Committee and some other literature." Moreover, as Clerk of the General Assembly for twenty-nine years, Campbell seemed to know almost every Presbyterian of note from one end of the country to the other. In putting an organization together this was extremely valuable information and Campbell was more than ready to share it with his younger colleagues. Other members of the old guard were not in this position as Dr. Thomas Sedgwick revealed in a letter to Campbell apologizing for not being able to supply a list of names "of a special type". The reason was that he did not know "the great mass of the younger brethren."

Although most of Campbell's anti-union activities tended to be either behind the scenes or outside of the church courts, at the 1916 Assembly his position placed him at the centre of the fight. As senior clerk, it was his responsibility to tabulate the votes of the Presbyteries on the question of union. Being an assiduous advocate of the strict application of ecclesiastical law, Campbell ruled that of the seventy-six Presbyteries of the church only thirty-two

"made returns in due form". The problem with this interpretation was that after eliminating the returns of forty Presbyteries on the grounds of various technicalities, Campbell then contended the remit had failed to command the thirty-nine votes necessary to carry it. Understandably the unionist majority in the Assembly were furious and Dr. Duval of Knox Church, Winnipeg, expressed their sentiments when he said, "the Barrier Act was never intended to be the skinflint of a critic." After some heated debate the whole matter was referred to a special committee which, paying little attention to technicalities, reported that "fifty-three Presbyteries might be recorded as voting for union." Campbell made an official protest against the findings of the committee arguing that they "did not under stand the practice of the church" and their report was not, in his estimation "a fair reading of the law". He was overruled, however, by a vote of three hundred and eighty-four to forty-seven. Later when the same Assembly voted to adopt the "Basis of Union", it was Campbell who also presented the minority's dissent and protest which stated, "all those who have gone on record as voting for the adoption of this new constitution, by that act have ceased to be the Presbyterian Church in Canada!"

The parting of the ways which occurred at this time was dramatically symbolized in the emergence of the Presbyterian Church Association at the Presbyterian Convocation held in Toronto, October 17-19, 1916. In the preparation for this event, Campbell's correspondence reveals he played a major role in

fund raising and in advising individuals like Robert Stewart on the conduct of meetings to select delegates to the Convocation. In thanking Campbell for his tireless efforts, Stewart wrote, "without your guidance, we would have been at sea tonight." Until his accident in 1921, Campbell kept up a volumnous correspondence, encouraging his younger colleagues in their efforts, attacking every move of the unionists in the public press and taking on a punishing load of speaking engagements for a man of his age. Unmindful of his own dwindling sources of energy, he left all the worries concerning his health to his daughter, Kate, who tried with little success to slow him down.

All successful movements require a variety of leaders who perform different tasks, at various stages in a movement's development. Of special importance, is the leader who first formulates the belief around which the movement crystallizes. It is he who makes a prediction about the future which inspires faith in its reality and leads men to act so as to realize it's truth. Such predictions have consequences for action which influence the conditions that enter into the judgement of their truth or falsity. The survival of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is sufficient judgement of the truth of Campbell's predictions of 1906. His death in 1921 robbed him of a place of honour in 1925. Now that the dust of battle has settled, however, his significance as a leader in that struggle stands out with a clarity which demands belated recognition from the community he worked so hard to preserve.

Lucy Baker

Missionary to Canada's North West
by Priscilla Lee Reid

High among notable pioneer women who helped to develop Canada's North West, ranks Lucy Margaret Baker who for almost thirty years lived and worked in the area which is now Prince Albert, Saskatchewan. There as a missionary and teacher she devoted herself to the problems of both the white settlers and the Indians, always attempting to bring about a better understanding between the two groups.

In 1878, in response to the call of the Presbyterian Church Lucy Baker agreed to go west with Reverend and Mrs. Donald Ross to teach at the Prince Albert Mission School. This decision must have required exceptional faith and courage in an era when women were less venturesome than they are today. It meant leaving behind a full and culturally rich life to become a pioneer in the wilderness. Miss Tina McGregor of Fort Garry, Winnipeg, one of her co-workers, writing in 1938 commented in a letter "...she had lived in Montreal where there was every comfort. She spent winters on the Reviera. All this she gave up to come to us in the West."

Although this view was probably shared by many of her friends it is doubtful that

Miss Baker would have agreed with it. As a mature and experienced woman she had made her decision to begin a new career and from that point until the end of her life she devoted herself wholeheartedly to the task to which she felt God had called her.

Physically Lucy Baker was small, dainty, and every inch a Victorian lady. But this lady was also strong and independent, unhampered by so many of the fears that plagued women of her day. What is more, she possessed a good understanding of human psychology, a keen sense of humour and a practical approach to all things which helped her to resolve amny a difficult problem. However, the most important factor in her life and basic to everything she was and did, was her deep Christian faith.

Precise details of Lucy Baker's life prior to the time she became a missionary are hard to find, and little would be known were it not for a biographical sketch by Elizabeth A. Byers, written about fifty years ago. She was born in Summerstown, Glengerry County, Ontario, in 1836. A few years later, following the death of her mother she was adopted by her father's sister, a Mrs. Buchanan, who took the young Lucy to live with her in Dundee, Quebec, a bilingual town near the American border. There she attended the local school where she received her first instruction in French, the subject in which she excelled, and later taught as a specialist. For a time she also studied in Fort Covington, N.Y., but other than this almost nothing is known about her formal education.

LUCY BAKER

While still a young girl Lucy accepted Christ and joined Zion Presbyterian Church, Dundee, where she took an active interest in Sunday School and missionary activities. Rev. Donald Ross, her first minister seems to have had a continuing influence on her, for years later it was he who persuaded her to dedicated her life to the service of the church.

Although Lucy's first teaching appointment was to the school in Dundee, following the pattern of the day she soon moved to the United States where she became a French specialist in a young ladies' day and boarding school somewhere in New Jersey. How long she stayed there or how many positions she held is not known, but by the time the American Civil War broke out in 1863 she and a cousin, Mrs. Juliet Buchanan Grubb were in charge of a school for young ladies in New Orleans, Louisiana. This no doubt was an interesting situation in peace-time for the city was an important cultural centre, but as the war progressed and conditions in the south deteriorated, life became a most trying experience for the two Canadian women. The outcome was that they determined to run the blockade and if possible return to the north. Normal travel had been interrupted but they were resourceful and aided by a personal friend who was also a naval officer they succeeded in making the hazardous journey.

What happened to Miss Baker after that is not clear but by 1878 she was teaching French in a girl's school in Lancaster, Ontario. It was in that year too, that the

local minister, Rev. Donald Ross, was appointed by the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church to take charge of the Prince Albert Mission in the North West. Therefore, since he needed a teacher, it is not surprising that he should ask Lucy Baker, whom he had known from childhood to accept the position. Her formal appointment was made by the General Assembly of the Church, on the recommendation of the Foreign Mission Committee which had special oversight of the school attached to the Mission.

Lucy Baker was forty-three years of age when she decided to accept the greatest challenge of her life and accompany Rev. and Mrs. Ross to their new charge on the bank of the Saskatchewan River, some five hundred miles north west of Winnipeg. They set out with high hopes but as travel in those days was not easy, even the section between eastern Ontario and what is now the Manitoba border presented many difficulties. By the time they reached Winnipeg both Rev. and Mrs. Ross were so ill that they could go no further without first resting. Miss Baker, on the other hand, still in excellent health and determined to press on, arranged to travel with a woman and her family going to Edmonton via Prince Albert. This proved to be the most fatiguing part of the journey since it went through unsurveyed areas and followed unmarked trails. But it was by no means a lonely experience for beside the various Indian encampments they passed there were many other people moving west. One might see caravans of fifty to one hundred waggons at a time, in close procession for safety's sake, carrying families in search of new homes.

In describing this phase of the trip. Lucy Baker commented on the scenery, so different from what she had known in the east; on the settlers, all using Red River carts drawn by oxen and Indian ponies as conveyances. She also mentioned the camping out, the cold rainy weather and the heavy buffalo coat which she wore constantly. And of course there were the interesting people she met - especially the Scot who acted as the guide. Those six weeks were a wonderful introduction to life in the new land. The party arrived in Prince Albert on October 28th, 1879 to find the temperature at 28 degrees below zero.

Prince Albert which was to be Miss Baker's home for the remainder of her life was the first Presbyterian Mission to the Indians in the North West, instituted in 1865 by the Canada Presbyterian Church (the Free Church in Canada). In that year the Synod of that body resolved to send one ordained missionary and an interpreter to the Cree Indians. The man chosen to go was Rev. James Nesbit, assistant to Rev. John Black, minister at Kildonan and Fort Garry. His interpreter was John MacKay, a part-Indian buffalo hunter and plainsman.

It was Mr. Nesbit and his companion who selected a site on the Saskatchewan River near an Indian encampment, on which to locate. He also purchased the land, erected crude log buildings, and named the Mission station Prince Albert, in honour of Queen Victoria's Consort, little dreaming that he was founding

a great Canadian city. At that time there was neither house nor settlement within a radius of sixty miles. In the early years the work prospered, though later, according to the Presbyterian Record of April, 1891, the mission to the Crees met with little success because of the migratory character of the native people who were leaving that part of the country in search of buffalo and other game which had vanished as the area began to be opened up to settlement. Some Indians did remain while others came and went. By 1878 even the school was accommodating more white children than Indian. Mr. Nesbit himself predicted this situation. In a report to the Foreign Missions Committee of his church, written in 1874 he stated:

> Only four children are now under the charge of the Mission. Uncertainty in the minds of the native peoples regarding the intention of the government with respect to them is a barrier to progress among them. So much land has been taken up by whites and half-breeds that the Indians feel impatient about their rights.. When the government shall make a treaty with them a reserve will be set up. Should any number of Indians take advantage of such an arrangement the reserve will become the principal place for Indian work ...

Such was the situation at the Prince Albert Mission when Miss Baker arrived that cold October day. She was anxious to begin her work but first she had to find a place

to live. Since no accommodation was available she decided "to keep house by myself in a room of the old mission building inside of the stockade." So began Lucy Baker's life in Prince Albert.

Prince Albert in 1879 was a tiny primitive settlement surrounded by a protective stockade. Its only neighbours were a few Indians and those living at the Hudson Bay Post some three miles upstream. Life from a physical point of view lacked most of the conveniences taken for granted in the east, but with this situation one could cope. It was the climate, severe in the extreme during many months of the year which was hardest to bear. Although not a complainer, Miss Baker does in several letters mention the cold, both inside the buildings as well as out-of-doors.

The period between 1879 and 1885 was one of learning and adapting to the new situation. On arrival Miss Baker at once opened the school, the student body being made up of several Indians, a number of half-breeds and the children of a few white settlers. The classroom was ill equipped, even the most basic needs were lacking. However, not to be discouraged she concentrated on the three Rs. Believing too that all children should have a good grounding in the Scriptures, she included a generous amount of Bible study. She was a fine teacher and gradually the enrolment increased helped on by the constant influx of new settlers.

Then in 1882 the majority of the Cree Indians left Prince Albert, accompanied by Rev. John MacKay the former interpreter now a Presbyterian missionary, to take possession of their recently established reservation called after their chief, the Mistawasis Reserve. The result was a decline in Indian enrolment at the Mission school, the only Crees attending, following the exodus, being the children of the few families who had remained behind or of those who returned for summer work.

Miss Baker's initial reaction to the move was probably one of regret for she had come to love these children and her interest and concern were deep. At the same time she realized that it was for their good since the Indian children could not always keep pace with the white children, many of whom had begun their education in the east. What is more, the capacity of the school was already being taxed by the ever increasing volume of new arrivals. If the children were to receive an adequate education more teachers must be found. In a letter dated March, 1884, she discussed the whole matter, including the fact that the school had changed its character. "Although the school cannot be said to be doing Indian work...it has been a boon established by the F.M.C. which cannot be overstated ...and this in a country where the tendency is to attend to worldly matters regardless of spiritual." In a more personal vein she goes on to say that she has had "to take girl boarders into my house which meant extra housekeeping". Then too there were other duties which she was called upon to assume

such as assisting Rev. McWilliams with Sunday School work, Bible study groups, visits to Indian encampments, nursing, to mention only a few. "My duties are never over until a very late hour, and I am too weary for any further exertion. This has been a heavy task on health and strength." The weather was also an important factor. To rise, to light fires, prepare breakfast for herself and her boarders, and then start off for school while it was still dark, and the temperatures were ranging between 50 and 60 degrees below zero, presented a task too heavy for a woman of fifty years of age. Truly help was needed.

In 1883 a new element was added to Miss Baker's concerns. She wrote:

> A convent was opened in the autumn by five nuns. As there are no Catholic children here, except a few French half-breeds, it may well be called a Jesuitical proselytizing institution... We are trying to hold our children... Christians in the east cannot be too zealous in putting forward every exertion to mould the character of the young people in the North West.

A year later in July 1885 she wrote again on the same subject stating that she is disturbed:

> because Protestant parents are sending their daughters to the convent... This is a sad spectacle, a convent placed in the midst of an old Presbyterian Mission,

> supported entirely by Protestants... This too in a country where the future of a great nation is being moulded, can not help but have disastrous effect...It is important to evangelize the Indians, but equally important to bring into the fold the children of settlers. We must do both. More teachers are urgently needed.

Mrs. Moore of the Presbyterian Mission, Balgonie, also shared this view and later wrote:

> "The Roman Catholics are determined to do all in their power to prevent the Indian children from going to our school and have succeeded in taking a few of our children...I wish I could emphasize the fact that Roman Catholics are determined to make a conquest of the Indians in the North West."

There are other such references to the activities of this group but how well they succeeded is hard to estimate. Some contemporaries of Miss Baker even blame the Catholics for the unrest among the Indians and the half-breeds. But be that as it may, unrest there was which, early in 1885 erupted into armed rebellion, led by Louis Riel.

The busy life of the Presbyterian Mission at Prince Albert was suddenly "thrown into a state of wild confusion, better imagined than described, being cut off from the outside world for months by the outbreak of the Rebellion". In a sense, isolation was not a

new condition, for until the coming of the railway in 1891, letters and papers from the east took weeks to arrive and parcels even longer. But this situation was different, it was war. As many neighbouring Indians joined the rebels there was much warlike activity in the area. It is interesting however to note that the number who followed Riel included only a few Crees, none of whom were living on the Mistewasis Reserve.

Prince Albert, as the only town in the district was fortified by the N.W.M. Police and volunteer soldiers. Frightened settlers from within a radius of twenty miles crowded in for protection, filling all accommodation to overflowing. The Presbyterian Church and Manse were surrounded by a stockade of cord-wood so that women and children would have greater security should the rebels march in. However, although the cry "The Indians are coming" frequently rang out in the streets, Prince Albert was not attacked, the nearest battle being fought at Duck Lake. Miss Baker, who lived directly across from the Manse, gave her house, without charge, to the Government to be used as a hospital. More than this, she herself not only cooked for those who needed food, but also cared for the sick and wounded. One wonders whether or not, as she went about her duties, she was reminded of her experience during the American Civil War.

Following the Rebellion, Miss Baker, exhausted from her strenuous ordeal received a well-deserved furlough in which to regain her strength and visit old friends in the east.

Later in the year however she returned to Prince Albert to take up duties in a new situation.

In 1884, the people of Prince Albert had begun to agitate for a public school, since the area around the old settlement had become a town. Next they petitioned the North West Council to erect the municipality into a school district. To this the Council agreed. In March, 1885, the Mission school became a public school and three elected trustees took control thus virtually terminating the institution founded by James Nesbit. Miss Baker remained as teacher until the end of the school year after which time she joined the staff of the new Prince Albert High School first opened in March of that same year by Messrs. McWilliams and Sinclair, the two Presbyterian ministers in charge of the local work. It was to this position that she came back after her furlough.

This high school was another Presbyterian attempt to meet a need. It began in a small way but grew so rapidly that by 1887 the General Assembly meeting in Winnipeg authorized Rev. Dr. Jardine of Prince Albert to "collect funds to secure incorporation and erect buildings for an Academy of higher education." This school was to be named the Nesbit Academy. Dr. Jardine soon raised $9,000. and by late in 1888 the buildings were ready for occupancy. The unfortunate sequal to the story is however that in the winter of 1889 the school was destroyed by fire. This was reported in 1891 by Dr. James Robertson who concluded his sketch of Prince Albert with reference to Miss Baker, "who for so many years was the efficient teacher

But Miss Baker was never one to seek praise. What is more she had not come to the west simply to teach white children for her chief concern had always been the Indians, especially the Siouxs who had settled near Prince Albert. As early as 1884 she wrote: "we have a band living among us for whom nothing has yet been attempted. While we sit at worship, especially in summer we hear the beating of their drums attended by their heathen dances. Could a teacher speaking their language be sent to them?"

These Indians numbering about one hundred and fifty adults and forty children were Chief Toma's Wahpeton band of Siouxs who had come to Canada some years earlier under the leadership of Sitting Bull to escape the vengeance of the American troops following the 1876 massacre of General George Custer and his command. Sitting Bull returned to the United States in 1881 but some of the bands remained. It was to one of these that Miss Baker was determined to devote herself. The band had not asked for help but moved by their poverty and troubled by the depths to which superstition, as practised by the medicine men had led them, Miss Baker, in spite of warnings that she would be killed, began to make advances, at first to the children then to the adults. But just making contact was difficult for she lived in Prince Albert and each day had to cross the swift-flowing Saskatchewan River in a small boat to reach the tent that at first served as a school. In bad weather the trip was dangerous in the extreme, and in winter it was impossible. Yet in spite of obstacles she persevered.

Gradually through gifts of clothing, food, medicine for the sick, and the help which she gave to the women and children, she began to gain their confidence in spite of the opposition of the medicine men. Always she prayed that "by ministering to their temporal needs we might yet reach them spiritually."

In preparation for work with the Sioux Miss Baker had begun to study their language aided by a grammar and dictionary prepared by Rev. S.R. Briggs and a translation of the Bible on which he and the Rev. Thomas Williamson collaborated. It was a mammoth task but one that bore fruit, for once able to communicate, her relationship with the Sioux improved noticeably.

Although hampered by a lack of school supplies the children began to show progress. However the parents still remained suspicious. Realizing that everything taught in the classroom was repeated to the adults, and fearing lest her words should be misinterpreted or misunderstood, she adopted the policy of giving instruction in both English and Sioux, and also insisting that all lessons must be written out in the two languages. As a result the parents began to lose their hostility and even to show a willingness to listen to Bible stories. On her frequent visits to the encampment she made friends with the adults, especially the women to whom she taught many household skills. It was with considerable pleasure that she was later able to write that "there is improvement in the appearance of the children who come to school, and the homes too are neater and tolerably clean." There is also evidence that

Miss Baker taught carpentry to the men.

As time went on it was borne in on Miss Baker that unless the Sioux Indians had land of their own they would continue to be a nomadic people with no stability or sense of belonging. Things moved slowly, but finally thanks to her influence and persistence, negotiations with the Government began which resulted in 1895 in the granting of land to them, known as the Makoce Waste or later as the Round Plain Reserve, located ten miles north east of Prince Albert. A mission house and a school were erected and there, according to Jean H. Cockburn of Prince Albert, Miss Baker lived and continued her work, establishing day and Sunday schools and conducting religious services, latterly with the assistance of Miss Annie Cameron and Miss Christina MacKay.

Miss Baker was not an elderly woman. Although she had suffered great hardships and her health was failing, she still carried on. However, in 1907 illness forced her to return to her home in Prince Albert where she lived for the last two years of her life. Although many of the Sioux did not accept Christianity, Miss Baker was loved and respected by all those who knew her, and called by Indians throughout the area Winoocha Waken, or the Holy Woman. Nor did they soon forget her for years later when Prince Albert celebrated its Jubilee, "her" Indians carried a picture of Miss Baker in the parade.

On May 30th, 1909, Lucy Margaret Baker died in the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal,

and was buried in the cemetery of Zion Presbyterian Church, Dundee, Quebec. She had become a legend in Canada. Tributes paid to her memory by the press, the Church, and friends were many and varied. Some of these could well be quoted here but it seems more fitting to conclude with an excerpt from one of her letters that appeared in the Monthly Letter Leaflet during 1891.

> "If in God's hands I have been an humble instrument in helping to extend His Kingdom in this "lone land" I am sincerely thankful. True, as you say, it is only the few, comparatively, who can go to the front, but it is not as equally true that the knowledge of a noble army, Aaron-and-Hur like, engaged in earnest prayer for the speedy coming of His Kingdom, enables those who are in the conflict to go forward, thus enabling them to be more than conquerors through Him who loved us."

John Morton (1839-1912)

The Founder of the Trinidad Mission

by Geoffrey Johnston

The Presbyterian Church in Canada may have had greater missionaries than John Morton, but few of greater significance. Because he founded and led the first reasonably successful mission to the East Indians in Trinidad, because his work subsequently overflowed into other parts of the Caribbean, and because the East Indians are the largest minority in the British Caribbean, his work has been of unusual importance, not only in the life of the Indian community itself, but in the history of the countries where they are of particular significance, Trinidad and Guyana.

The East Indians were the basis of nineteenth century prosperity in Trinidad and Guyana. Emancipation of the negro slaves found both these colonies with quantities of land not yet in sugar. The newly freed slaves, understandably would choose almost any alternative to tending cane, and where land was available they bought, or acquired, small properties and set up as small farmers, or as traders, working for the sugar estates whenever it suited their convenience. Unfortunately sugar in the nineteenth century, and to a great extent even now, is a crop which requires large

quantities of very reliable labour. When the crop is ripe it must be cut. When it is cut it must be milled. Without labour both in the field and the factory the sugar proprietors were in a bad way. And labour, consistent and reliable, the Blacks refused to supply, forcing the planters to find alternatives.

They cast their net wide. Portugese, Africans, Chinese were all tried and found wanting. Even the first experiments with Indians were a failure, but in the early fifties they tried again, with the system on a better footing, and it ran without a break till its final abolition in 1917. In contrast to the slave trade, private initiative was rigourously excluded. Recruitment, transport and distribution of labour were all carried out under public supervision, according to standards probably not unreasonable for the time. Once in the West Indies, the Indians were expected to work from five to ten years, for a known minimum wage, free housing and medical care, and some clothing thrown in. In return they were subject to a discipline so strict as to make some critics compare the system to slavery. Certainly it was no bed of roses, but at least it was temporary, and with ample supplies of cheap labour the sugar barons of Trinidad and Guyana went on to fame and fortune. Give us coolies enough, they said, and we will grow sugar to feed the world.

But the Indians were an unassimilated community. In the first place they tended to live together on the sugar estates, but of more importance, they and the older inhabitants, ex-slaves for the most part, regarded each

other with a generally peaceful but nonetheless real antipathy. To the Blacks the Indians were "coolies", people who would take on the work the Blacks refused to do, and accept a discipline reminiscent of the slavery banished from the islands in 1838. For the Indians the Blacks were literally out-castes, outside the pale of the caste system altogether, a foreign people, speaking an unintelligible language and behaving in inexplicable ways. Language, caste and culture all combined to keep the Indians and the Blacks apart.

It was to this situation that Morton first came in 1864. John Morton was an almost archetypal Presbyterian; his parents had been Scottish immigrants to Pictou county, Nova Scotia, and he was reared in the home of godly Scottish farmers. His father was an elder, and his mother an ardent supporter of overseas missions. Indeed, it was from her that John first heard of missionaries, and conceived the idea that he might be one himself some day.

But in the meantime, life was rather more pedestrian. From school at Little Harbour and Albion Mines (Stellarton) he went on to the Free Church College at Halifax in 1855, graduating in 1861. From Halifax he moved along the coast to Bridgewater, where he was appointed a probationer, and ordained to the charge in December 1861. Two years later he married a lady of Anglican persuasion, Sarah Silver, who lived to write his biography, and survived, though at a great age, to the silver jubilee of the Trinidad Mission.

JOHN MORTON

Few things occurred to disturb the even tenor of a country minister's life. John Geddie, of the New Hebrides, asked him to join the staff there, but he declined, feeling that his call had not yet come. It came in one of God's odder ways. Morton caught diptheria, and while he survived, it left his throat affected, and rather than face the rigours of a Maritime winter, he took passage in the Micmac, out of Bridgewater for the West Indies, in November 1864.

The price of oak staves, he tells us, took the ship and him to Trinidad, where with nothing in particular to do he wandered through the countryside, "and was particularly drawn to the East Indians, of whom there were about 20,000 in the island". It does not sound like a large figure, but twenty years earlier, there had been none at all, and a few years later, in 1871, the census reported 27,425 or 25% of the population. Morton's concern was that a quarter of the people in this British, Christian colony were being ignored by the church. Despite some noble efforts here and there the churches, by and large, had accepted the sharp distinction between East and West Indians, and left the former alone.

Morton spent four months in Trinidad, part of the time pressing the needs of the Indians on the Presbyterians then in the island, representing two branches of the Scottish church, and managed to get a promise of partial support from one of the sugar barons. On his way home he urged the United

Presbyterian Church in the United States to revive their defunct mission station at Iere Village as a mission to the East Indians. Apparently not very encouraged with either effort, he broached the matter with his own church, the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces of British North America.

In the last case, the matter wandered in committee for a couple of years, but nothing happened till Morton took the bull by the horns and offered to go himself. When the Americans came through with an offer of their premises at Iere, if Morton would look after the small congregation of Blacks in the area, the last obstacle was removed. The Presbytery of Trinidad received the news of Morton's imminent arrival to start a "coolie" mission with "entire satisfaction", and on January 3rd, 1868, Morton, his wife and his daughter arrived in Port of Spain, somewhat the worse for wear after an extremely rough passage.

Their first home was Iere village, back of San Fernando, where the American mission had been, and well within reach of many East Indians. The Scots predicted that Morton would not be long in Iere, and they were right, but it was here that he cut his teeth in the new work, settled down to language study, opened the first school, and began the process of building up contacts and confidence, both among the Indians and the planters. It was here also that he first met Charles Clarence Soodeen, the first Indian teacher and till the end of his life a staunch elder in the Presbyterian Church.

JOHN MORTON

The details of Morton's career need not detain us long. In 1871 Mrs. Morton's health drove them to San Fernando, where for a few years they shared a collegiate ministry with K.J. Grant, the second missionary appointment from Canada. In 1875 he moved back to the neighbourhood of Iere, eventually to a place called Princestown, and resumed specifically rural work again. Six years later, when their staff had enlarged somewhat, he moved north to Tunapuna, a village at the foot of the northern range, on the way between Port of Spain and the Atlantic coast. It was here that he spent the rest of his life, dying in the village in 1912.

At the same time as the mission was becoming established in Trinidad, news of their work spread throughout the West Indies, and they found themselves supervising work far from home. The first venture was a survey of the situation in British Guiana in 1880, but the first permanent expansion was to St. Lucia in 1883, followed by an opening in Grenada in 1885. Also in 1885 John Gibson went from Canada to British Guiana, but he died in 1888, and the work was taken up by John Slater, a Scottish minister in the colony. It was not till 1896 that the Canadian connection was resumed in the person of J.B. Cropper, the real founder of the Canadian Presbyterian Mission in BG, now known as the Guyana Presbyterian Church. Cropper was not, in fact, a Canadian, but a West Indian white, who had been Assistant Protector of Immigrants in St Lucia, and, in his spare time the local agent for the Canadian Mission. When the Indian work in St Lucia ran down, Cropper went to school in Halifax, became a

minister and entered the service of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. In the 1890s, the Jamaican Church became interested in work among Indians, and the Canadians obliged with occasional visits, some East Indian staff, and the use of their college for the training of Jamaicans. This work was, and is, a part of their programme. That in BG was finally separated, in theory as well as in fact from Trinidad by the division of overseas fields in 1927. St Lucia ran out of Indians around the turn of the century and what was left of the work went to the Methodists. The churches in Grenada remain a part of the Presbyterian Church of Trinidad and Grenada.

Morton's significance can thus be seen. Not only did he pioneer the work in Trinidad, but through his colleagues and successors, the same ideas and patterns of work were spread through the British Caribbean wherever there were enough Indians to warrant it. Compared to India, China or even Nigeria, it may be a relatively small pond, but in that pond, Morton was a very large frog.

Morton is especially important because the patterns he set were the definitive ones. K.J. Grant varied them somewhat for the circumstances of the only town in the mission, but most people followed the outlines Morton established in the first few years, the combination of church and school.

Once the cooperation of the proprietor had been secured, the work went ahead on both fronts. For the children of the labour force a primary school was established, offering the

rudiments of religion and literature five days a week. In the evenings, and on Sunday, the teacher, and the evangelist, if there was one, preached on the street corners, visited the hospitals, and conducted regular diets of public worship. So important and time consuming did the schools become that one would almost believe that the Canadian mission was an educational one pure and simple. Indeed, Morton remarked after ten years work that half his baptisms had come, directly or indirectly, through the school. If that was the case, then the other half did not, but were the result of street corner disputations, the hospital visits, and the Sunday services.

The system naturally created problems as it grew, the most pressing of which was staff. Once it began to work, there was soon more to do than the missionary could handle, and early on Morton began teaching his more promising students in off hours, trying to bring them to a reasonable standard of education. This method lasted for over twenty years, till the government became interested in teacher training, and offered to pay the bill. A formal Teacher's Training College was then begun in San Fernando, under the care of K.J. Grant. In the same way, the need for better theological training became pressing, and after some disagreement as to how to go about it, a college was opened, also in San Fernando, with Morton as its principal. It was an ingenious arrangement. All the students were evangelists, and all the teachers were district missionaries, excepting only Lal Bihari, Grant's colleague.

In order to keep the district going, and to avoid succumbing to the Indians alleged metaphysical tendencies, both staff and students alternated between the college and the districts. Three men were ordained in a few years, but it was not for another twenty-five, and a thorough reorganization of the college that any more ministers appeared on the lists.

Theologically, Morton was conservative. There is little evidence that he thought much about theological questions in the traditional sense at all, and when he did, he does not seem to have been troubled much by either higher criticism or the social gospel. For him the basic problem for the East Indians, as for all men was neither social nor economic but spiritual, alienation from God through sin and all its manifestations. Fortunately his constituents agreed on the question. Hinduism is, among other things, a system of salvation. Morton had no great sympathy for Hinduism as such, and he could be rather supercilious about some of its more popular forms, but he did respect the esteem in which it was held by the Indians, and if anyone wanted to discuss the basic issues, the authority of the sacred texts, cosmology, sin, salvation and saviour, then Morton tried to meet him fairly and courteously. So also his disciples, and the literature of the nineteenth century is littered with accounts of street corner disputations, omitting, or course, the ones in which the evangelist came off worst.

As in theology, so also in secular affairs, Morton tended to be conservative.

He did not question the wisdom of the British Empire. On the contrary he pointed with pride to the fact that Trinidadians and Canadians shared a common British citizenship, "a fact of present and practical importance". In line with the tendency of the times to think in racial terms, he called the Indians "Anglo-Saxons toasted in the Indian sun". But he did not share the fundamental scepticism about Indians that sometimes crops up in the literature of the times. On the contrary, he had a very high regard for them as people, especially when they got their feet under them and became successful bussinessmen or farmers. Like most of his colleagues, Morton was, in principle at least, pro-Indian. He was also pro-planter. He saw nothing wrong with plantation agriculture, and was prepared to argue the planters' case in the commercial difficulties of the late nineteenth century, and indeed to defend indenture, the system of contract labour by which the Indians came to Trinidad, in the columns of a Halifax newspaper, against a traveller who had compared it to slavery. Many of the planters he knew as friends, and on all of them he was dependent for access to as many of the Indians as worked in their sugar fields. But there is no evidence that he had, so to speak, been bought out. Conservative in theology and politics, there is no reason for surprise if he was conservative in economics as well.

On the other hand he was a keen supporter of the movement by the Indians, off the plantations and into independent farming. Shortly before his arrival the Trinidad government "unlocked" the Crown Lands, that is opened the

unalienated parts of the island to all comers at reasonable rates. East Indians, if they chose, could take up land as an alternative to the free passage back to India to which they were entitled after ten years work. Morton was tracking people down in the forests as early as 1870, commenting that men who had abandoned their country had taken the first step towards abandoning the false gods of their country. But while his first interest was evangelical, his concern went beyond that. Morton was always a farmer at heart. He was something of an expert at growing yams, a founding member of the Trinidad Agricultural Society, and for some time Chairman of the Local Road Board. Late in his life he described in glowing terms the work of East Indian pioneers cutting down the forests in the valleys of the northern range and opening the land for cocoa. Friend of the planters he may have been, but he was even more a friend of the small proprietors.

But for all his praise of the Indians as a race, as a community and as assistants, Morton was slow indeed to ordain men to the ministry. The first East Indian minister, Lal Bihari, was a life long friend and colleague of K.J. Grant. Grant settled down as minister in San Fernando, in Susamachar Church, and left most of the out-station work to Lal Bihari. Morton, on the other hand, never saw himself as a minister to an Indian congregation. He was a missionary, forever breaking new ground and supervising a large staff of Indian preachers and teachers. Early in his career he attracted three of his contemporaries to the

service, and they were ordained in the early 1890s. But they were the last, and they all died before Morton. When Morton was gathered to his fathers the only Indian minister left was the aging Lal Bihari, and there was no elder of real standing in the church other than C.C. Soodeen, who had been Morton's first teacher.

Morton had all the strengths and weaknesses of a true imperialist; gifted and masterful, he went to Trinidad confident in himself, in the society and the faith he represented. This confidence led him, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, to do great things for the Lord. But it also seems to have blinded him to the gifts and graces of men less commanding than himself. He never entrusted the East Indian ministers in his district with the responsibilities that Grant happily handed over to Lal Bihari. A dominant personality like Morton is not an altogether unmixed blessing.

But it is no condemnation of the man to observe that he was a normal human being and shared the limitations of his age. Morton was a great and gifted minister, a man who broke new ground that badly needed tilling, and established a church that has endured and given a string of gifted men to Christianity in the West Indies. Further, through the school system that he founded, almost instinctively, the church has been one of the major positive cultural contacts between the Indians and Trinidad society, enabling generations of Indians to respond creatively to their new society, and find their feet in the western world.

John Bethune

The Founder of Presbyterianism in Upper Canada
by James MacKenzie

"For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord." Acts 11:24.

John Bethune was the founder of Montreal's first Presbyterian church and Ontario's pioneer Presbyterian preacher. He was born on the misty Isle of Skye in 1751, and raised in the Parish of Sleat under the ministry of John MacPherson, of whom it is rightly written, "He was distinguished above all his contemporaries in the Highlands as a man of talent and learning." John MacPherson and his son, the Rev. Martin MacPherson, looked upon Bethune almost as a son and younger brother, and loved him into the Kingdom and service of God. They impressed upon him the importance of learning and truth, and encouraged him to follow their example and continue his education at King's College, Aberdeen.

He returned home from his studies to find the people of Skye planning almost en-masse to leave their lovely island and settle in North Carolina. Their chief and his tacksmen had lost all touch with their people, and couldn't care less. Their clansmen had become to them but a source of revenue, and for this they had raised their rents until rent exceeded income. With callous indifference the poor were starved-out; forced to leave their homes and the homes of their fathers for generations beyond memory, and set sail for new homes in a new land. "The best of the inhabitants (of Skye)", wrote the celebrated Flora MacDonald

on the twelfth of August, 1772, "are making ready to follow their friends to America while they have anything to bring there; and among the rest we are to go, especially as we cannot promise ourselves but poverty and oppression. We have hardly what will pay our creditors, which we are to let them have and begin the world anew in another corner of it".

In May 1771 it was reported that "two-thousand emigrants are preparing for their departure from the Island of Skye...They are all of the estate of Sir Alexander MacDonald (of Sleat) who may chance to be a proprietor without tenants". Nor was it only the unskilled and poor who were planning to leave the island. Among the two-thousand were "a parochial preacher" and "a thoroughbred surgeon". The parochial preacher was John Bethune.

This group requested a grant of forty-thousand acres on which to establish a colony, but the powers-that-were turned them down because they considered it unwise to encourage the emigration of "persons of substance and ability". Nevertheless, they were all in North Carolina by 1774.

John Bethune came over as early as 1773, as a licentiate of the Church of Scotland. Here, on McLendon's Creek in what is now Moore County, he settled with his mother, Christian, and his maternal grandparents, Donald Campbell of Scalpay, and Donald's wife, Katherine. Three decades earlier, old Donald had saved the Bonnie Prince from capture; but now he was a man of eighty summers, and the burden of support thus fell upon the shoulders of his

young grandson.

Only a few short years remained before the outbreak of the American War of Independence, but John Bethune spent them ministering to the Highland settlers in their native Gaelic tongue, and in the course of his work organized the present-day Mount Carmel Presbyterian Church near Ellerbe, North Carolina.

A letter he had written to a friend on the mainland just prior to his departure came to the attention of the Gaelic Bard of Kintail, John MacRae (Iain MacMhurchaidh), who was inspired by news of the good hunting and fishing to be found in the New World to write a song, "Thainig litir bho Iain Peutan" (There came a letter from John Bethune):

> There came a letter from John Bethune
> Which has given joy to one who has not seen it.
> A few of my country people about to depart to a land of plenty,
> Where we can find every kind of the most delightful hunting that could be seen.
> We shall find deer, buck and doe,
> With permission to take as many as we want...
> We shall get salmon and whitefish,
> And gray fish if it will please us better...
>
> Let us go and charter a ship.
> Let us depart, all of us,
> For small is my esteem for a man of no courage.

JOHN BETHUNE

This song persuaded an entire shipload of MacRaes, with a few MacKenzies thrown in for luck, to come over and fish for salmon in McLendon's Creek. Some of these remained in North Carolina, and their descendants still occupy the land on which they settled. Others, United Empire Loyalists, later took up land in Glengarry, Ontario, where their descendants still live.

Early in 1776, North Carolina Highlanders loyal to the King formed a regiment and started out for the coast "to join Governor Martin to get Arms, and to Act under him until we had an opportunity of joining the Army at Boston". John Bethune went along as their Chaplain. Alas, they never made it! They were intercepted at Moore's Creek Bridge by Americans, who got there first, set up a defensive position on the opposite side of the stream, removed the planks from the bridge, and greased the two log beams that remained. Bethune and other officers were taken prisoner, and sent to Philadelphia for confinement.

Fortunately, their imprisonment was not of long duration. October 17, 1776, the Continental Congress "resolved that the prisoners from North Carolina be permitted to return to their families if the Convention of that State shall be of the opinion they may do so without danger to that or any of the United States, and in the meantime that bedding, blankets and other necessaries be furnished the gaoler by Mr. Mease for the use of such prisoners as are unproved with them".

To this the prisoners added their own plea

and promise, in a letter to the North Carolina Convention, dated two weeks later, October 31, 1776:

> Gentlemen: After a long separation of eight months from our Families and Friends, We the undersubscribers, Prisoners of War from North Carolina now in Philadelphia Prison, think ourselves justifiable at this period in applying to your Honours for permission to return to our Families, which indulgence we will promise on the Faith and Honour of Gentlemen not to abuse, by interfering in the present disputes, or aiding or assisting your Enemies by word, writing or action.
>
> This request we have already laid before Congress who are willing to grant it providing they have your approbation.
>
> Hoping therefore that you have no particular intention to distress us more than others you have treated with Indulgence, we flatter ourselves that your determinations will prove no obstruction to our Enlargement on the above terms; and have transmitted to you the enclosed Copy of the Resolve of Congress in our favor, which if you countenance; it will meet with the warmest acknowledgements of Gent.
>
> Your most obedt & humble servts (sixteen names, including that of John Bethune).

This letter was accompanied by another, from William Hooper, North Carolina Delegate to the Continental Congress, who wrote in part, "Their confinement, tho' accompanied with every circumstance of humanity which the publick security will admit of must however as the

Winter advances become more irksome, from a scarcity of cloathing an inconvenience which at this time it will be most difficult to beare."

Upon his release, Bethune made his way to Halifax, Nova Scotia, where he was made Chaplain to the First Batallion of The Royal Highland Emigrants, a unit made up primarily of Gaelic speaking Highlanders who had settled in that area. On November 23, 1778, because he was "in some distress for want of money," and in order "to ease his difficulties", he was appointed Chaplain to the entire regiment by Captain Alexander MacDonald, who described him as "A young man of very good character tho' a presbyterian."

During his years in Nova Scotia he met, and married on September 30, 1782, Veronica Wadden, a native of Switzerland, and daughter of a professor at the University of Geneva.

After the Peace, the Bethunes took up residence in Montreal, along with other United Empire Loyalists. "A man of noble countenance, dignified presence, and engaging manners, as well as of a chivalrous spirit, he soon attracted to himself his fellow countrymen resident in Montreal and vicinity. As a loyalist who had suffered for his king and his native land, he exercised great influence among the British portion of the citizens of all creeds." As these rallied to him as their leader, he drew them together as the first Presbyterian congregation in the city, the St. Gabriel Street Church. Here he preached from March 12, 1786 until May 6, 1787, when he and his family moved to Upper Canada.

JOHN BETHUNE

While he was in Montreal, about 1784 or 1785, his mother, Christian Bethune, passed away down in Moore County, North Carolina. Her minister son had not seen her since that day so long before he had marched away to War.

Lack of support is given as one reason for the Bethunes' leaving Montreal. More basic to their decision was the lure of land, which was being granted to United Empire Loyalists in appreciation for their services during the War. As a chaplain, ranking with a captain, John was entitled to three-thousand acres. With their settlement in Williamstown, Glengarry County, Bethune began his ministry to the Highlanders there, thus becoming the pioneer Presbyterian minister in what is now Ontario. A faithful and zealous evangelist and pastor, he soon organized churches, not only at Williamstown, but also at Martintown, Summerstown, Cornwall and Lancaster.

Although for many years he suffered from a cough which "showed a weakness of the lungs", which may have been brought on by his extended stay in Philadelphia, John Bethune was an untiring servant of his Lord and his people. On a gray mare famed in story, he rode many miles east to Coteau in Lower Canada, west to Cornwall, and crossed the St. Lawrence River in summer by boat and in winter on the ice to Dundee, Quebec. When he was at home on a Sunday the church bell was rung at eight o'clock in the morning, and again at ten and eleven, to remind his neighbors that it was the Sabbath Day. This custom is still observed at Williamstown.

JOHN BETHUNE

The Bethunes never became encumbered much with this world's wealth, having little more to live on than his half pay as a retired chaplain. Still, they managed to raise and launch a large family of six stalwart sons and three daughters of whom any parents could be proud.

Like the others, that first "meeting house" at Williamstown was a plain, unpretentious log building, sans flying buttresses, grinning gargoyles and lofty steeple. Nor was there any organ or piano there, for the good people inside did not believe in using instrumental music in the worship of God. There were no hymnbooks, for they did not believe in hymns, either. They sang only the Psalms of David, which had long since been rendered into verse form and set to music. There was no carpet down the center aisle, if there was a center aisle, and no upholstered pulpit furniture. Neither were there pews as such, but only rough hewn planks resting on cedar blocks. But the Spirit and love of God were there, and this was enough for them.

During the week the building was used as a school.

It was Bethune who introduced to Ontario the Scottish custom of using Communion tokens. These were coins distributed by the Session to members deemed "worthy" to be served the Sacrament, and used as tickets of admission to the Lord's Supper Service. One of the old Bethune tokens dating back to 1794 may be seen in the collection of the United Theological College in Montreal.

On one occasion a dispute arose between pastor and people, and it was decided to submit the matter to Bishop Alexander MacDonell, their respected Roman Catholic neighbor at nearby St. Raphael's. After hearing both sides the good man ruled as he probably intended to all along, in favor of his Protestant counterpart, and lectured the Presbyterian congregation on the duty of respect and obedience in the Lord they owed to their ecclesiastical superior. Fortunately, the members of the congregation were good Christians. They received the admonition with becoming humility, and the breach was healed.

Lord Selkirk stopped at the manse on Sunday, January 22, 1804. In his diary he describes Bethune as "a worthy character by all accounts - & of so much influence with the people that his Son in law, Wilkinson, tho' English, is expected to be a candidate for the county."

The patriotic concerns of his youth returned to occupy John Bethune again at the other end of his life. He and Bishop MacDonell were with Red George MacDonell when he crossed the ice to capture Ogdensburg, New York during the War of 1812. Again, his name is second on the list of the loyal address presented to Lt. General Sir Gordon Drummond, Governor of the Province of Upper Canada on the twenty-first of December, 1814. Only the name of Bishop MacDonell preceded his

Up until the very end of his long and useful career, Bethune managed to stay busy in the business of his Lord. A letter from him to

Mr. James Reid of St. Amand, Lower Canada, dated at Williamstown, 20th April, 1814, deals with the problems of raising funds to pay for "the meeting house at McMartin's Mills". This letter was in response to a letter from Reid, to whom the money was owed, and who had written requesting payment. Bethune assured him that his letter was "without loss of time laid before the Trustees; and on your account, as well as on that of the Congregation, I am happy to inform you that the money is now in a fair way of being speedily paid."

Another letter, dated at Williamstown, September 16, 1815, reveals his declining health and his continuing concern for his people:

> To the members of the Presbyterian Congregation at Williamstown and of the other congregations connected with them in Glengarry -
>
> My state of health is so precarious and I am so advanced in life that I cannot reasonably promise to myself many more days, let the event of my present indisposition be ever so favourable.
>
> For several years past I have had many anxious thoughts about the destitute state in which you must be left when it should please God to call me away but I forebore saying anything about the subject under the impression that my declining years and growing infirmities would necessarily point out to yourselves the propriety of engaging a minister who might, in the first instance,

be an assistant and do such parts of the duty as were above my strength, and who, to diminish as much as possible his expense to the congregation, might extend his service further than the present limits and finally succeed to the whole charge.

But in this expectation I have been disappointed. There is to this day, no more thought of providing a minister, than there was twenty years ago, and there is as great an apathy respecting this essential measure as if it were certain that I should outlive the whole congregation. In this state of things I consider it a duty I owe you to lift my feeble voice in this manner and warn you of the pernicious consequences to yourselves and your families of lukewarmness in this serious business.

Bestir yourselves, therefore, to take measures of precaution and let not a miserable parsimony persuade you to shrink back from the attainment of an object so essential to your well-being in that state where money has no value nor currency. You must allow that the blessing of God has prospered your industry and that events calamitous to many others have been beneficial to you. No excuse, therefore, can be sustained for want of means. The only real want there can be is want of will. In every community to some extent there will be poor and distressed, without any fault of their own. Among you the number is small, and if it were greater, the more wealthy must in every public business fill up the deficiency, for under all governments

and salutary institutions, the rich always pay for the poor, and they have reason to bless God that they were able to do it.

Your affectionate and
faithful servant,
John Bethune.

John Bethune understood his congregation, and he made very certain that they understood him!

Just a week later, September 23, 1815, he went to be with his Lord, whom he had served so long and so well, and the Montreal Gazette memorialized him as "a man remarkable for the agreeableness of his manners, but in no time deficient in that spirit which is requisite for the support of a Christian and a gentleman. He understood what was due to 'the powers that be', without losing sight of the respect which was due to himself. He has left a widow and numerous family, but the place they hold in society will show that as a husband and father he must be remembered among those who have done their duty well."

Bethune kept complete records of births, baptisms and weddings. While in Glengarry he baptized 2,379 persons. During his entire ministry he baptized 2,576, some of these being Negro slaves. This is an almost unbelieveable average of more than one each week!

Alas, there seems to be no record of his ordination; if, indeed, he ever was formally ordained. According to Scottish records, he emigrated as a "licentiate". There is no

record he was ordained while in Carolina, and it would have been impossible for him to be ordained at that time in Nova Scotia or Quebec. Neither was there a presbytery in Ontario until many years after he settled there - years in which he kept busy organizing churches, and baptizing and marrying people all over the place. Never mind, presbytery or no presbytery, he was chosen and ordained of God, and this is of first importance.

He is buried in the churchyard at Williamstown. But he, being dead, yet speaketh. In later years a monument to his memory was erected by his six sons, Angus, Norman, John, James, Alexander and Donald. On one side they had inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Bethune, Pastor to the congregation of the Kirk of Scotland in Glengarry. He departed this life at Williamstown on the 23rd of September, 1815, in the 66th year of his age and the 44th of his ministry."

On the opposite side we read:

"That he was a faithful steward, the peace and happiness of his flock are the most certain proof.

That he was eminently endeared by those conciliating endearing qualities which united society in the closest bonds of unanimity and friendship, his numerous congregation, who shed the tribute of unfeigned sorrow over his grave, have borne the most honorable testimony.

That he was open, generous and sincere,

those who participated in his friendship can afford the most satisfactory evidence.

That he was a kind and affectionate husband, a tender and indulgent parent, the love and unanimity of his numerous family furnish the most undeniable proof."

JOHN BETHUNE

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