

"Sending the Gospel":  
The Development of the  
Knox College Student Missionary Society, 1845-1925

by

Peter Bush

Much of our success as a Church, in the expansion of Home Missions work, is due to the labours of our students during the summer months, and to the sustained occupancy by the Students' Missionary Societies, of fields beyond the reach of the regular missionary....The rapid increase of preaching stations in the North-West Territories and in the Muskoka field, is almost, if not entirely due to the self-denying labours of students and catechists.<sup>1</sup>

This high praise came from the Reverend William Cochrane, Convenor of the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Canada in 1886. By far the largest of the Students' Missionary Societies was the one at Knox College, which in 1904 was able to support over forty summer missionaries in fields stretching from Washago in Ontario to Penticton, British Columbia, and over the course of the winter the Society supplied five charges in and around Toronto. These and similar endeavours were financed by an aggressive fund-raising and publicity campaign among the established Presbyterian churches, which had the additional result of educating southern Ontario churches to the needs of the frontier areas of Canada.<sup>2</sup>

From 1873 to 1915, the primary focus of the Knox College Student Missionary Society was sending the gospel to the areas of Canada where there was no Presbyterian ministry. This was done by sending Knox students, both theology and arts students, to the frontier areas of the country. In 1873 the frontier was the Muskoka region, while by 1905, the frontier had moved west as far as the Okanagan Valley. Knox was by no means the only Presbyterian College to have such a society; Presbyterian College-Montreal, Queen's, and later Manitoba College and Morrin College had similar societies.

It is important to note, at this point, that although the present day M&T Society stands for Missionary and Theological, in the period under discussion the M&T Association was the Metaphysical and Theological Association while the KCSMS (Knox College Student Missionary Society) was an organization independent of M&T.<sup>3</sup>

This paper briefly examines the early history of the Society and then turns to look at the structure of the organization as it existed during its heyday (1880-1910). A critical factor in the Society's existence lay in its relationship with the Home Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church, and therefore a large section of the paper will examine that connection. The paper will conclude with some provisional comments about the results of bureaucratization and rationalization as seen in this case, the significance of the KCSMS, and some suggestions for further research.

The KCSMS traced its roots back to the Student Missionary Society of New College, Edinburgh; for just as Knox College was created in imitation of New College and the Great Disruption of 1843, so the students of Knox College imitated the students of New College and in 1845 established a Missionary Society. The purpose of the Society was,

to gain information with respect to those mighty movements which are going on in the Missionary Field; and so far as in us lies to join our feeble co-operation, and unite our humble endeavour in helping on the glorious cause.<sup>4</sup>

In order to reach these goals, papers on missionary topics were given on a regular basis and a missionary reading room was established; as well a collection box was set up and its proceeds were forwarded to the New College Missionary Society for a mission to the Jews. In the spring of 1847, however, the students at Knox decided that they wanted the donated funds to stay in Canada

and to be used toward mission work among the French-Canadians. To this end, in 1847, the Society hired John Black, then a student at Knox, to be its first missionary. But it was not until 1849 that Black was able to go to the chosen field, Metis, Canada East, 200 miles down-river from Quebec City.<sup>5</sup>

Things went smoothly enough between 1851 and 1855, despite the death of two of the Society's missionaries, and the gospel seemed to be having an impact in Metis. However, the Society was not willing to make the financial commitment of building their own school house and mission home, preferring to rent buildings. In retrospect this was a wise decision, but the missionaries on the field got the feeling that their well-being was not the Society's top-priority. These unresolved problems led to a crisis in 1855-6 which resulted in the Society moving its mission to the Essex-Kent region of Ontario and the decision to train a French-Canadian at Knox College to be the Society's missionary. Working with non-Canadian missionaries had been extremely frustrating, and it was hoped that this switch would alleviate the problem. It did not. Two men were selected, Oliver Labelle and M. Paquette; Labelle was particularly hard to handle. When Labelle left the Society's employ in 1864, he refused to pay back the money the Society had put out for his education.<sup>6</sup> As Donald MacGillvary, a student at Knox, said in his 1887 review of the Society's history,

It may safely be said that the experiment of the Society had not proved a success, and we seem from the history of the Society's French work to be forced to the conclusion that it was too difficult for such a body.<sup>7</sup>

But the Society held on to the belief that it could make a go of the French-Canadian mission until well after Labelle's departure in 1864.

In 1847 the Home Missions Committee of the Free Synod of the

Presbyterian Church of Canada was charged by the Synod with the care of the KCSMS. The Home Missions Committee, however, did not have tight control, as an 1853 decision gave the KCSMS financial freedom. The Synod decided that the easiest way to eliminate the confusion of two separate collections at any Student Missionary Society supplied station, one for the Synod and one for the Missionary Society, was to give the Society the right to all the funds collected at any mission station the Society supplied. Thus the KCSMS was able to take a huge step towards autonomy from the Home Missions Committee, for the Society had a financial resource that no other Presbyterian group could touch.<sup>8</sup>

After 1866 the KCSMS started to look towards having an English-speaking mission, and by 1869 it was sending Anglophone missionaries to Huron County and into the Penetanguishene area. In 1871 the Society sent the first Presbyterian missionary to Parry Sound and the following summer the first Presbyterian "clergyman" to Manitoulin Island was sent out under its auspices. But it was not until 1873 that the Society officially changed its focus from being a French-Canadian mission to one that dealt with "the more neglected portions of Canada." From this point on the Society had two goals: the first, "sending the Gospel to the more recently settled parts of the country and to other places not otherwise provided for by the Church," and secondly, to foster "a missionary spirit among its [the Society's] members."<sup>9</sup>

It was the goal of the Society to start a congregation in a new area with those families that claimed to be Presbyterian, expecting that after about five summers' work the congregation would be able to support a full-time missionary. The congregation

would then become a charge in the Presbytery within which bounds it was. The Society was thus perpetually starting new charges and was often involved in the construction of the first Presbyterian church building in an area.<sup>10</sup>

It is possible to now turn to look at the organizational structure of the KCSMS as it stood at the turn of the century. Every student at Knox College was automatically a member of the Society, this included both theology students and those in an Arts program living at Knox and preparing to take theological study. The executive was elected by the membership of the Society to a one year term. The executive was made up of twelve students: a president, two vice-presidents, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, financial secretary/treasurer, and a council of six. Up until the late 1860's and again after World War I executive meetings were chaired by faculty members, but in the intervening years faculty came only when invited or if they requested the privilege of presenting a matter for discussion.<sup>11</sup> With one year terms it may appear that it would be hard to keep continuity from year to year, but the example of William Fingland, who served on the executive continuously from 1910 to 1914, shows that executive members were re-elected.<sup>12</sup> Thus a strong sense of continuity blended with the addition of new blood to the executive each year. As well, a series of standing committees in such areas as Finance, Printing, Lantern Slides, Foreign Missions, Report Revision, and Programming carried out the Society's activities. Special committees to visit with the Home Missions Committee Convenor, to delegate students to the fields, and to work on the Inter-Seminary conference was also established. Clearly the students had a sophisticated executive structure which could handle the pressures

placed on it.<sup>13</sup>

Just as with any mission agency, the KCSMS had to be concerned about finances. The KCSMS was able to fund itself partially through collections from the fields it served. The support the Society received from this source never fell below 35% of its annual budget and sometimes rose to cover 60% of its expenditures. On the whole the Society needed the fields to cover 45% or more of the annual outlay in order to break even.<sup>14</sup> The rest of the costs were covered by donations from students and faculty at Knox, from individuals and congregations, and other local Presbyterian societies in Ontario and Quebec. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine precisely the make-up of these various groups, since for only three of the years between 1873 and 1925 do we have records of donations. An analysis of the extant reports (1878, 1904, 1906) indicates that a large number of Young People's Societies, Sunday Schools, and Boys' Clubs made donations.<sup>15</sup> As a young man's movement the KCSMS had special appeal to young people connected with the church.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the students became experts at raising financial support. Their publicity and fundraising took a number of forms. Until 1899 lengthy reports, often more than ten pages, of the Society's activities appeared in Acts and Proceedings. As well the Society distributed its printed report to all contributors and potential supporters, in 1910 they were printing 10,000 copies of the report each year.<sup>16</sup> Established churches that covered more than half of the costs of sending a missionary out for the summer were twinned with a student who sent back monthly reports about the field. If a church paid the entire cost of a student's summer work, the church would

receive, in addition to the monthly reports, two personal visits from the student when he returned from his mission charge and these visits would be at the expense of the Society. Contributing congregations could not designate which student they wanted to support, but they could designate which congregation they would support.<sup>17</sup> Thus it was possible for an eastern church to develop a long term relationship with a western church, providing for continuity and continued interest even after the student had graduated or had been appointed to a new charge the following summer. Even if congregations were unable to provide the level of support needed to be in this twinning relationship, the Society had an active winter program of visiting churches, presenting the work they were doing. No matter how one looks at it the students were effective in raising funds; needing contributions of over \$4,500 each year after 1900 from eastern churches to survive.<sup>18</sup>

More important that the funds they were raising, is the fact that the KCSMS was actively educating eastern churches about the needs of the west and to the special situation that existed there. The presence of enthusiastic, young missionaries in the pulpits of eastern churches would have encouraged churches to broaden their missionary vision. That the students could bring about the enlarging of a congregation's mission was realized by the students themselves. In January 1914 the Executive of the Society recommended to the student body,

that we have a 'Knox College Student Sunday', that we secure as far as possible 'the pulpits of the city' to place before the young men of the church the ends of the ministry from a student's point of view.<sup>19</sup>

The Society saw one of its prime goals to be encouraging young men to enter the ministry. This was best done through showing what

was happening in the missionary areas and discussing the benefits of life in the ministry.

We have seen how the Society was organized, how it raised funds and the public relations it did. This still leaves the large area of the relationship between the Home Missions Committee (Western Section) and the KCSMS. It is necessary to explore this relationship in detail for it plays a critical role in the history of the Society. It is, in fact, the backdrop to the Society's entire existence.

In the 1870's the Society had a very free hand. The students were financially autonomous, and determined which charges they would supply each summer. In 1875, five students were sent to the Barrie Presbytery; in the summer of 1876 four charges were supplied in the Presbytery of Barrie.<sup>20</sup> The Presbytery, therefore, had reason to hope that in 1877 the KCSMS would again supply some of their mission charges, but it was not a sure thing.

[W]e find some twelve points in these districts which stations will require to be established during the coming summer. Some of these we trust the Missionary Societies will attend to, but the others will fall to the lot of the Presbytery.<sup>21</sup>

The Presbytery wanted the missionary societies, including the one at Knox, to supply these stations, but had no way of guaranteeing how many the societies would supply before the students societies announced their intentions. That the student societies were in control of the situation was even clearer in 1882 when the Barrie Presbytery reported that it had entered into negotiations with the KCSMS to find out how many points the Society would supply and when the Presbytery got its answer it turned to the Home Missions Committee to fill in the gaps.<sup>22</sup> The Society chose where to send people and then the presbyteries had to fill in what was left over. This meant that the Society could strike out into totally new territory if it



felt there was a need, and there was little that anyone could do to stop it. The KCSMS needed pioneer areas to move into as it handed self-supporting churches over to the Presbyteries.

By 1881 concern was being expressed about this freedom. At the March 1882 meeting of the Missions Committee,

It was agreed to notify the Student Missionary Societies of the respective Colleges that all appointments made by them should be done only in concurrence with or at the request of the Presbytery within whose bounds the field may be situated.<sup>23</sup>

The student societies were forced to talk with the Presbyteries before they acted, this was not so much a limitation of the organization's autonomy as a move in continuity with the ecclesiastical structure of the church. The Society had little choice but to agree, it could not operate without close ties to the Presbyteries in which it was working. The students could not baptize, marry, or administer communion and so they needed to bring in ordained men once a summer to do these things. These men came from the Presbytery and thus links had to be established or no ordained person would come to these outlying charges. The students needed the advice and support of the Presbytery to be effective, even if a minister only visited twice during the summer that contact was extremely valuable. Thus this limitation of the Society's autonomy was one which protected the students from making mistakes both in choosing fields to move into and while on the field. This arrangement remained in place for nearly fifteen years before it was significantly changed.

In 1895 the HMC made a decision which was to spell the end of the KCSMS as a body capable of independent decision-making. During the summer a large number of students wanted to work and it was possible to start churches in new areas and expand the work in more established places; but in the winter the students went back

to school and the churches they were supplying were left without a minister until the following summer. This was a problem that the HMC had struggled with since 1877 when the issue was first raised in the minutes of the Committee.<sup>24</sup> At that point the goal had been to find a different group of missionaries who would take the churches in the winter. By 1885 it was evident that such a group would not appear unless some action was taken by the HMC, and therefore the compulsory six months of ministry in the west before being settled on a charge was recommended to and approved by Assembly.<sup>25</sup> However, this was not a complete solution.

As a result of the rapid growth of the KCSMS between 1885 and 1895, the Missions Committee had to find ten additional missionaries each winter and had to find funding for those missionaries as it, the HMC, had an operating deficit. Therefore the HMC passed the following resolution at its October 1895 meeting,

Applications for grants for the winter months having been made on behalf of a large number of mission fields...having been under the care of the missionary societies of some of the colleges during the summer, it was resolved, hereafter to make no grant from the Home Missions Fund to any field supplied by any of these societies, unless the sanction of the Committee and of the Presbytery of the bounds be first got for placing of such fields under the care of said societies.<sup>26</sup>

This meant that the KCSMS could go out and start in a new area if the Presbytery agreed, but there would be no way to get winter supply for that church unless the HMC had sanctioned the move into that area. The HMC wanted to determine early in the game where it would have to send missionaries for the fall and winter months. This meant that one further piece of the KCSMS's autonomy had been lost.

In March 1900 the logical conclusion to the decision made in 1895 was passed, "to the effect that all Mission Fields hereafter to be supplied by the College Student Missionary Societies are to

be assigned to those Societies by the sub-committee of the Assembly's Home Missions Committee."<sup>27</sup> Since the Societies had to consult with the HMC under the provisions established in 1895, it seemed reasonable to take the next step and say that the HMC would determine which charges would go to the College Societies and which would be maintained by the HMC. Thus the die was cast; there was no turning back.

The Student Societies were supposed to be consulted regarding which charges they wished to supply, but by 1901 it was clear that they would not have much say in what went on. In reality the Missions Committee Executive wrote to the various Presbyteries to find which mission charges needed to be filled; the executive then divided the charges between itself and the various College Societies. Each Society was then informed as to which places they would be sending missionaries. The Societies then produced a list of appointments which was submitted to the HMC for its approval. And only then did the Presbyteries find out who was supplying the charges within their bounds.<sup>28</sup> These appointments having been made, the missionaries were sent out and were paid by the KCSMS. Thus the HMC was able to hand pick the areas to which the KCSMS sent people and the people who went, but had none of the financial burden to bear.

During this process of rationalization the KCSMS flourished, in 1902 it had twenty-four missionaries in the field, while in 1904 it had forty. Between 1902 and 1909 the operating budget more than doubled, rising from just over \$5,000 to \$11,000.<sup>29</sup> Thus the loss of autonomy did not have any immediate negative effects on the Society. In fact, there were some benefits to be gained. First, the hard leg work of tracking down charges was now in the hands of

the HMC, and executive of the Society could spend more time on publicity and fund-raising. Both of these activities became more prominent after the HMC took over the allocation of charges. Second, the consultation each year with the leadership of the Missions Committee of the church provided some continuity in a student-run organization, which seldom had people in leadership roles for more than two or three years. It is important to note as well that the Society still controlled its own financial base, any offerings given by congregations which students supplied went into the Society's coffers and they were allowed to appeal to congregations for funds in which they did publicity. But the Society had lost much of its earlier autonomy. Its subjugation to the HMC was most obvious to the general public in the fact that after 1898 the KCSMS was never to have more than half a page in the Home Missions Committee report in Acts and Proceedings, whereas up to 1898 the Society had often ten or more pages reporting on each charge it had supplied during the summer.<sup>30</sup>

The final pillar of autonomy was not removed until a one-two knock out punch between 1910 and 1912. In 1910 for the first time the KCSMS was unable to meet its expenses through its normal sources and an appeal to the student body did not raise sufficient funds, so in October 1910 the Society went to the Home Missions Committee to get a loan.<sup>31</sup> It was a small loan of about \$800, just over 5% of the operating budget of the Society, but it was the beginning of the end.<sup>32</sup> In 1912 a much larger loan of \$1,600 was negotiated to cover a bank overdraft of \$1,100. The overdraft represented 10% of the budget, which had shrunk by 20% over a twelve month period. This was a great reversal in the financial

fortunes of the Society and was the result of two factors, as was explained in the 1912 report of the Society,

The year's work has entailed unusually heavy financial obligations. Owing to the fact that the crops were a failure the preceding summer in the West...and the bad harvest last fall, the contributions from these stations towards their support was somewhat below average. This financial situation was accentuated by the fact that the new Budget scheme of the Church left some uncertainty whether money contributed to the Knox College Student Missionary Society would be credited as part of the amount assigned to each congregation for the Budget.<sup>33</sup>

This crisis led to a need to redefine the relationship between the KCSMS and HMC on a number of fronts. For under the new Budget Scheme the Societies could not appeal to established congregations for funds and those congregations which had previously supported the KCSMS were uncertain if their donations to the KCSMS would be credited to their General Assembly Budget and in particular to the level established for going to the HMC.

This problem was solved through a series of negotiations between the HMC and the Knox Society. The resulting document, which was approved by the Missions Committee in March 1912, became the heart of a new relationship between the two parties. Financial security was re-established through a five-point funding plan:

1. Collections among the students themselves and their friends.
2. Receipts from Lantern Slide Lectures.
3. Money raised on the mission field where the work is being done.
4. Money apportioned by Congregations and by Societies.
5. Amounts set apart by the Home Missions Committee.<sup>34</sup>

This looks very much like the structure for funding before the budgetary problems of 1911, but there were three changes. First, as noted above, the Society was not allowed to appeal to congregations for help. Second, the money that was given to the Society by various congregations would be credited towards the budget level established for that church, but the funds would be handled through the HMC. As was recommended,

...all moneys apportioned to the Mission Societies by Congregations be forwarded to the Treasurer of the Church...being subject to call by the Treasurer of that Missionary Society to which it has been set apart.<sup>35</sup>

Thus congregational donations were to be handled through the head office of the church and the Society would then get the designated funds from the HMC when they needed it. The Society was losing the direct accountability to congregations that it had had before 1912. And thirdly, the addition of the HMC in point five of the funding formula was a safety net, a net that would eventually smother the last remaining freedom the Society had.

These were not the only changes that grew out of the crisis on 1911-12. The Society to this point had determined how many missionaries it would send out each year, even though they had no control over where the students would go and all appointments had to be approved by the HMC. But as the 1912 Missions Committee report made clear even this element of autonomy was eliminated,

The number of students that any College Society may send out to the mission field will be determined by the number of men that that College center is able to furnish for the whole work; The Home Missions Committee Executive to determine the number.<sup>36</sup>

The formula to be used was not indicated, but the Society had lost control of how many missionaries it would send out each summer.

A further area of change was the guidance of the missionaries on the field. Before 1910 missionaries sent out by the KCSMS had had close ties with the Presbyteries to which they had been sent, but it was clear that they were responsible to the KCSMS executive and to whomever from that group was in Toronto during the summer and in a position to make decisions. Thus the KCSMS missionaries were somewhat independent of the discipline and control of the church courts. This was brought to an abrupt halt in 1912, as supervision was to be along the following lines,

...all students when in the field must conform with the regulations of the Assembly and report to the District Superintendent and Convenor as the regulations require....and that the Societies have the handling of their men and of their fields, subject, of course, always to the same oversight as those students sent out under the Home Missions Committee.<sup>37</sup>

The students became responsible to the Missions Convenor of the Presbytery and to the District Superintendent of Missions, living under the same rules as the students sent out by the HMC. There was now no real difference, therefore, between those sent out by the HMC and those sent out by any of the College Societies.

The Missions Committee of the church now determined how many charges the KCSMS would supply, the Committee decided which charges the Society would get, it approved the selection of appointees, it reviewed the financial situation of the Society and determined how much additional funding the Society would receive, and the Committee or its appointees supervised the missionaries on the field. The KCSMS had become a branch plant of the Committee, doing only that which the Committee would allow it to do, which by 1912 was basically nothing. The Society had been so totally absorbed into the HMC that 1912 was the last time a separate report was filed by the KCSMS to be published in Acts and Proceedings. The change from an eleven page spread in 1898 to no report in 1913 speaks eloquently of the rapid changes through which the Society had gone in fifteen years and the way its role was redefined.<sup>38</sup> The process by which the KCSMS's autonomy was bureaucratized out of existence raises important questions about the move towards a more bureaucratic church polity and the development of a church head office structure.

For all intents and purposes the KCSMS ceased to be a force in its own right in Home Missions after the Assembly of 1912, but the body was not laid to rest until 1915. In January of that year

the KCSMS presented the Home Missions Committee with a proposal for dealing with the continuing financial crisis of the KCSMS.

The proposal was,

Whereas the present financial scheme of the Knox College Student Missionary Society has been rendered ineffective under the Budget Scheme of Home Missions, and  
Whereas the present system leads to confusion, and  
Whereas the centralization of the finances will avoid those confusions.

Therefore, the Financial Committee of the Executive submits the following recommendations to Dr. Grant and the Executive.

- (1) That the system of financing the summer work be handed over to the Home Missions Committee of the Church.
- (2) That the Knox College Student Missionary Society turn over to the Home Missions Committee of the Church all contributions made to the Society and in return the Home Missions Committee give the Society sufficient funds to meet the expenses of delegate work, advertising, and promoting and other incidental expenses which the Society deems necessary.
- (3) That the constitution be amended to meet the proposed changed conditions.<sup>39</sup>

The students were surrendering the one thing that had been left to them from the early history of the Society, the right to keep the money collected from the churches they were supplying. The proposal was accepted by the HMC, who agreed to shoulder the financial burden of the KCSMS. This decision in January, was followed by one in February, which gave the HMC the right not only to approve the list of appointees, but to make the list up in the first place. The Society, it would seem, had lost all interest in being involved in Home Missions. Reading between the lines, one senses discouragement and frustration with the situation. But there is also a sense that nothing could have been done to make the result different.<sup>40</sup>

A last attempt was made to resurrect the Society's Home Mission endeavour in the school year 1919-1920. From 1916 to 1919 the Society had ceased to exist, but as students returned to Knox after being de-mobilized some hoped to restore the Society's previous glory. But that was not to be. In the summers of 1920 and 1921,



five students were sent out under the name of the KCSMS, but they were funded by the HMC and were really Missions Committee appointees. A brave attempt was made to assume the actual "cost of ten fields" in 1922, but the difficulties became insurmountable and the plan was dropped. In 1923 the Society sent out eight missionaries, but there was a clear lack of enthusiasm in the whole operation as the student body realized that they could never go back to the role they had had when they were among the leaders of Presbyterian Home Missions in Canada.<sup>41</sup> With church union in 1925, the Society went through a further shock, as did all of Knox College, and it would be years before the Society would recover from that. By that time it had been absorbed entirely into the Metaphysical and Theological Association of Knox College, which in turn had become the Missionary and Theological Society.<sup>42</sup>

After the crisis of 1911 and the agreement of 1912, it was only a matter of time before the Society would have to face the fact that it was no longer a force on the Home Missions stage. It is clear that the war finished off the Society, but the Society had been mortally wounded before the war rang the death knell. Between 1873 and 1912 the students had taken on the problem of Home Missions in Canada. To a large extent they reached their goals, but they were also caught in forces beyond their control, forces which drove them into the arms of the Home Missions Committee as the church became a business.<sup>43</sup>

Much more work needs to be done on the KCSMS and its sister organizations in the other Presbyterian Colleges and in the colleges of other denominations. What happened to the students who were sent out? How were they changed by their experiences? How were

the colleges changed when the students returned from the "real world" of ministry? How did these individual college societies relate to each other, both within the denomination and across denominational boundaries? How did this missionary interest in the Presbyterian colleges relate to the Student Volunteer Movement and the Inter-Seminary Missionary Conferences? All of these questions beg for answers, which will help us to develop a clearer picture of the practical side of seminary life at the turn of the century. For a large gap exists in the historiography about the education of clergy--the type of practical training the colleges provided students with and the practical experience that students received on the summer fields. Until we have studied this area we will not be able to fully understand how students were being prepared for ministry.

But the study of the KCSMS has a significance beyond an understanding of the educational process. Through looking at the College Student Missionary Societies we will see how the vision of a growing church was translated to the students preparing for ministry. The goal was passed on and the vision remained intact for over thirty years--the students answered the call to "send the gospel". They provide us with a model of commitment in a day when the Presbyterian Church in Canada wants to grow. We will also see students struggling to relate the gospel to the situation they faced on the field and in the process we may learn something about how to do that in our own day. But above all the students mobilized congregations to support the missionary endeavour. We have much to learn from them.

Finally, the history of the KCSMS shows that to a certain extent the drive towards a bureaucratic control of the mission of the church aided the growth of the church. By 1900 the HMC was deciding which

charges the KCSMS would supply, this meant that one of the most time-consuming parts of the executive's responsibility was taken away, freeing them to run a sophisticated publicity campaign. Also the HMC's approval of appointments allowed for a better matching of student missionary's gifts with the charges they were sent to; the HMC would have had a much better idea of the needs of charges than would the students who changed each year. Even though there were benefits to the growing centralization of the mission effort, there were serious drawbacks as the loss of autonomy was eventually to destroy the KCSMS. This points to the interesting problem of needing to learn how to balance autonomy and freedom of action against organization and directed planning. This tension is one that lies at the heart of not only the KCSMS's relationship with the Home Missions Committee, but also is to be found in the move towards a head office structure in a number of other areas, such as foreign missions, concept of ministry, and social action. The history of the KCSMS should stand as a warning to us about the need to think clearly about the way to balance the dynamics of free action with the necessity of directing that energy through administrative structures. We must always be discovering how to make the wineskins new so that none of the new wine is lost.

## ENDNOTES

1. Knox College Monthly, (Hereafter KCM), Jan., 1886, p. 102.
2. Annual Report, Knox College Student Missionary Society, 1904, pp. 1-10.
3. Presbyterian Church Archives, (hereafter PCA), Minute Book, Knox College Student Missionary Society (hereafter KCSMS), 1919-1925.
4. KCM, Jan. 1887, p. 158.
5. Ibid., Jan. 1887, pp 158-160; Feb. 1887, 227-8.
6. Ibid., Feb. 1887, pp. 227-230.
7. Ibid., p. 231.
8. Ibid., p. 229.
9. See Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), in Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1876-1898.
10. See KCM, Feb. 1887, p. 231; Feb. 1883, p. 20.
11. KCM, Jan. 1887, pp. 158-60; Feb. 1887, pp. 226-9; and Minute Book, KCSMS, 1919-1925.
12. PCA, Minute Book, KCSMS, 1910-1914.
13. Minute Book, KCSMS, 1910-1915.
14. See Annual Reports of the KCSMS in Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1912.
15. PCA, Annual Report, KCSMS, 1878, 1904, 1906.
16. Minute Book, 1910-1914, Unfortunately we do not a mailing list of where these 10,000 reports went.
17. Minute Book, 1918-1922; Annual Reports <sup>of KCSMS</sup> in Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1913.
18. Annual Reports, <sup>of KCSMS</sup> Acts and Proceedings, 1876-1913.
19. Minute Book, Jan. 20, 1914.
20. Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), in Acts and Proceedings, 1876, 1877.
21. Ibid., 1877, Appendix I, p. viii.
22. Annual Report, Home Missions Committee (Western Section), 1882.
23. United Church Archives, Presbyterian Church, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, March 1882; Acts and Proceedings, 1882, Appendix I, p. xxvii.

24. UCA, Presbyterian Church, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, October 1877.
25. Acts and Proceedings, 1885, p. 48.
26. UCA, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, Oct. 1895.
27. Ibid., Oct. 1900.
28. Acts and Proceedings, Home Missions Committee Annual Report, 1902, p. 28.
29. Ibid., 1903; PCA, KCSMS Annual Report, 1906; Minute Book, KCSMS, 1909.
30. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Reports, 1876-1913.
31. Minute Book, KCSMS, Oct. 18, 1910.
32. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Report, 1910. The total budget was \$14,500.
33. Ibid., 1912, pp. 34-5.
34. UCA, Home Missions Committee, Minutes, March.1912, p. 25.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. Acts and Proceedings, KCSMS Annual Reports, 1898, 1913.
39. Minute Book, KCSMS, Jan. 19, 1915.
40. Ibid., Feb. 4, 1915.
41. Ibid., 1919-1923.
42. Ibid., 1923-1925.
43. KCM, Nov. 1887, pp. 33-35.

The Distribution of Knox College Student Missionary Society  
Missionaries, 1875-1911

Year	Total Fields	Ontario Proper	Muskoka	Algoma	Manitoba	Sask.	Alb.	B.C.	Revenue Expend
1875	9	2	6		1				1260
1876	7	1	6						1210
1877	8	1	7						1276
1878	8	1	7						1466
1879	10	2	8						1982
1880	11		6	3	2				1817
1881	11		5	5	1				2078
1882	12	1	3	5	3				2849
1883	---								---
1884	17	3	4	5		5			2747
1885	20		8	7		5			3574
1886	17		11	2		4			3735
1887	17		9	3		5			3305
1888	16	1	8	4		3			3471
1889	14	2	7	3		2			2798
1890	17	2	7	5		3			3546
1891	24	6		13		5			3546
1892	27	6		18		3			---
1893	29	4		20		4		1	6333
1894	29	6		18		3		2	5935
1895	31	2		20		7		2	6476
1896	32	4		21		4		3	---
1897	40	4	11	8		4		3	---
1898	28		23			5			---
1899	29								---
1900	30								---
1901	24		15			5		4	5098
1902	26								---
1903	33								---
1904	40		20		Manitoba 3	Sask. 9	Alb. 6	B.C. 2	9002
1905	40								---
1906	33		12		3	12	4	2	8928
1907	35		14		2	8	9	2	10,000
1908	40		15		1	11	10	3	11,177
1909	40		15		2	11	9	3	11,563
1910	40		15			13	9	3	14,338
1911	40		16		3	12	9		11,350

From, Knox College Student Missionary Society, Annual Reports,  
in Home Missions Committee, (Western Section), Annual Reports,  
in Acts and Proceedings of the General Assembly, Presbyterian  
Church in Canada, 1876-1912.